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Saada Wahab

# The History of Indians in Zanzibar from the 1870s to 1963


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*This dissertation is dedicated to my family:*

*Salma Ramadhani Kirebu and Omar Wahabi Kirebu,*
*Mohamed Amir Mohamed, Asim Mohamed Amir,*
*Akif Mohamed Amir, and Asfat Mohamed Amir*

# Contents

# List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| AA | Arab Association |
| ASC | African Sports Club |
| ASP | Afro-Shirazi Party |
| AfA | African Association |
| AsA | Asian Association |
| CA | Comorian Association |
| DOAG | Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft (German East African Company) |
| HCD | House of Commons Parliamentary Debates |
| HCL | House of Lords Parliamentary Debates |
| IMA | Indian Merchants Association |
| INA | Indian National Association |
| LegCo | Legislative Council |
| MA | Muslim Association |
| SA | Shirazi Association |
| SESM | Sir Euan Smith Madrasa |
| UMCA | Universities' Mission to Central Africa |
| ZNP | Zanzibar Nationalist Party |
| ZNA | Zanzibar National Archive |
| ZPPP | Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party |
| ZUG | Zanzibar Unity Group |

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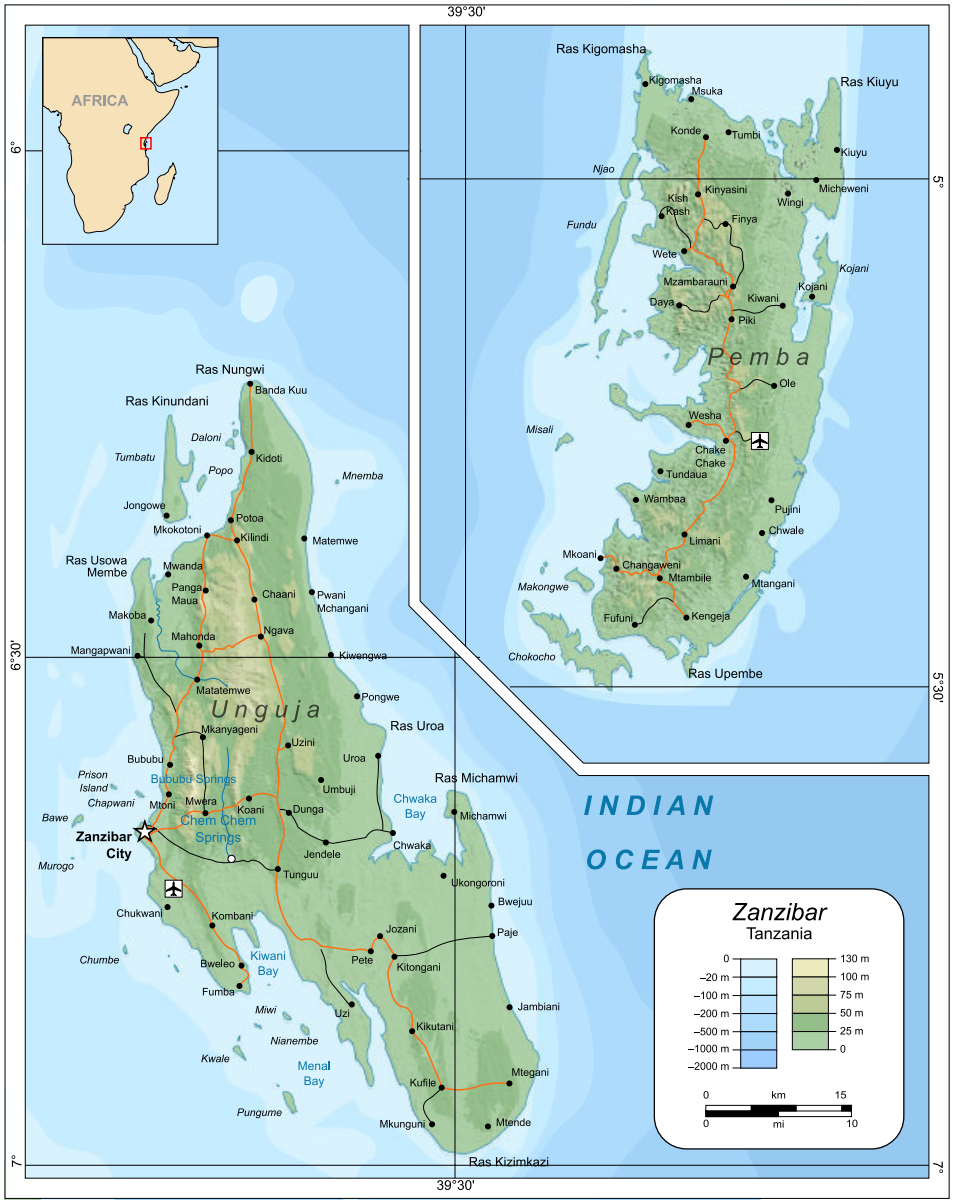
# 1 Introduction

Zanzibar consists of two main coral isles, Unguja and Pemba, plus over fifty islets. The islands are located off the shore of Tanzania (see map on next page). They are situated between latitudes 4.80 and 6.20 south of the equator and longitudes 390 and 400 east of Greenwich. The islands cover a total land area of 2,332 square kilometres, of which Unguja makes up 1,464 square kilometres and Pemba 868 square kilometres (Mkumbukwa 2014: 7).

Zanzibar[1] also has a long history of contact with outsiders that dates back to 200 BC (see Zegge 2017). It is believed that Africans inhabited the islands before the birth of Jesus Christ (Ayany 1970: 4). These Africans were part of the Bantu wave, and they were essentially cultivators. They included the Hadimu (Wahadimu), who occupied the southern part of Unguja Island, and the Tumbatu (Watumbatu), who occupied the Tumbatu islet off the north-west coast of Unguja. The island of Pemba was occupied by Pembans (Wapemba) and Hadimu, both also of African origin. Aside from Africans, the islands also attracted other people of different races, including Persians,

[1] There are two ways that "Zanzibar" is defined. In the first, Zanzibar refers to Unguja Island only. The second treats Zanzibar as referring to the two islands of Unguja and Pemba. In this study, the researcher will usually use the name Zanzibar to encompass both Unguja and Pemba. The selection of Zanzibar as the area of study was prompted by many factors, including its long history of interracial relations involving people from different parts of the world, including Indians. This makes it is possible to establish a holistic study of Indian migration over a long historical period in Zanzibar.




Map of Zanzibar (Unguja and Pemba Islands)

Source: Published 21 July 2010 by Oona Räisänen under CC 4.0 BY-SA licence at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_Zanzibar_Archipelago-en.svg

Indians, Arabs, and Egyptians from North Africa (Ayany 1970: 6). The term "race" is a complicated one with a variety of meanings in different societies across the world. The most common definition of the term is the idea of categorising people primarily by their physical differences.[2] In Zanzibar, the focus of this dissertation, the colonial government of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries used the term "race" interchangeably with the economic classes of people.

This dissertation examines the history of the Indians[3] in Zanzibar between 1870 and 1963.[4] Although the Indians were few in number compared to the Africans and Arabs who lived in Zanzibar between 1870 and 1963, they were of great importance in various aspects of life there. They held a number of essential economic, administrative and political positions, as discussed in various chapters of this dissertation. The first chapter presents a general overview of the research and a geographical profile of Zanzibar along with the research methodology and literature review. It also outlines the structure of the dissertation.

Today, Zanzibar is a semi-autonomous region of the United Republic of Tanzania. It was under British administration from 1890 to December 1963; a month later, on 12 January 1964, a political revolution took place that toppled the Zanzibari government and formed the People's Republic of Zanzibar. A few months after this, on 26 April 1964, the Zanzibari government and the Republic of Tanganyika merged to form Tanzania.

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[2] Yasuko I. Takezawa, Audrey Smedley and Peter Wade: "Race". Encyclopedia Britannica (https://www.britannica.com/topic/race-human, retrieved 10 March 2021).

[3] The word "Indian" refers to people of South Asian descent, including those from Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. Before the partition of India in 1947, these people were known as Indians. However, after 1947, the word Asian was also used to refer to the people from the Republic of India, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the People's Republic of Bangladesh. In this study, the word "Indian" has been widely used to refer to people of South Asian descent, even when discussing the period after 1947.

[4] The study is designed to cover from the 1870s to 1963 because this was an important period for Zanzibar. During this period, Zanzibar experienced significant changes in administration and policy that, in turn, impacted on the islands' history. Among the major events was the suppression of the slave trade in 1873. This affected the economy in several ways and drove the establishment of clove and coconut plantations in Zanzibar (see Sheriff 1987). Also, the partition of East Africa between 1888 and 1890 changed the geographical and political power of the Sultanate of Zanzibar and led to the establishment of the British Protectorate of Zanzibar in 1890. Furthermore, within this period, the British abolished slavery in Zanzibar in 1897. The abolition measures had a significant impact on the economy and political history of Zanzibar. Overall, during this period, the Indians experienced many economic and political changes that have not been adequately explored in a broader historical perspective.

## 1.1 Historical Background of the Present Research

This section will explore the history of relations between East Africa and India and the arrival of Indian traders in East Africa before the eighteenth century. It will discuss historical processes occurring under the Omani Sultanate and the British administration that influenced the Indian population in Zanzibar. This discussion provides an understanding of the topic and the rationale for this dissertation.

Around the first millennium AD, the Bantu ethnic group settled along the coast of East Africa, particularly on the shores of Tanganyika, Kenya and Mogadishu and the islands of Unguja and Pemba. There, their economic life became heavily influenced by the sea. These communities were initially geared towards production for direct consumption, but they were increasingly encouraged by international trade forces to produce surplus products for trade. These people identified themselves by their geographical locations, with terms such as Wapemba, Wahadimu, Watumbatu, Walamu, Wapate, and so on. In the nineteenth century, they became commonly known as the Swahili[5] people.

East Africa's coastal regions were involved in the trading networks along the Indian Ocean from an early stage. Traders from India, Persia, and Arabia had commercial links with the East African coast (see Pouwels 2002:392). As early as the first millennium AD, traders from different corners of the world began to trade with these people. Records left by the early travellers mentioned Persians, Arabs, Romans, and Indians as seafaring people who crossed the Indian Ocean and traded at Rhapta[6] (see

[5] The Swahili people (the Waswahili) were the Muslim Bantu ethnic group inhabiting East Africa's coast. They were known to be fishermen, farmers, traders, craftspeople and seafarers. The Swahili people spoke the Swahili language as their mother tongue and practised Swahili culture with Islamic traditions. They occupied a narrow strip of coastal land extending from the north coast of Kenya to Dar es Salaam. They also occupied several nearby Indian Ocean islands, including Zanzibar, Pemba, Lamu and Pate. During the tenth century, they formed numerous autonomous city states along the coast of East Africa, resulting in a network of trade ports. These states shared the culture and the language but did not identify collectively as Swahili. They spoke a similar language but with different dialects. At that point, people mainly identified themselves by their geographical locations; for example, people from Pate were called Wapate, Tumbatu Watumbatu, Pemba Wapemba, etc. The collective Swahili identity seems to have come later, sometime in the nineteenth century, as a by-product of Arab and British rule. The Swahili were greatly influenced by Arabic culture. The name "Swahili" itself is derived from Arabic Sawāhil, meaning "coasts". The Swahili people formed through interaction between Bantu inhabitants and the Arabs, and were racially mixed.

[6] Rhapta was a trading port said to be on the coast by the western Indian Ocean, somewhere in South-East Africa. The port was described as the most important marketplaces in the first two centuries CE that connected the coast of East Africa with the world. Ancient records such as the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea describe Rhapta as "the last marketplace of Azania (Coast of East Africa)." This port is also mentioned in Ptolemy's Geography, a second-century CE geographical account, in which it is termed a metropolis and located "a short distance from the sea." Due to a lack of sufficient tangible evidence such as texts or archaeological sites, the exact location of Rhapta has been a topic of historical debate for years. However, with the help of descriptions from the Periplus and Ptolemy's Geography,

Pouwels 2002: 392). How substantial trade and contact were remains a point of debate, however. From December to March, traders came to East Africa with the North-East Monsoon, or kaskazi. The kaskazi winds brought the traders to East Africa, where they stayed until kusi arrived. With kusi, the South-West Monsoon that blew from May to August, the traders could travel back to their own lands (Loimeier 2018: 152). Hollingsworth, a noted colonial historian of the East African coast, describes the importance of monsoon winds to early trade as follows:

> Long before the Christian era, a regular maritime intercourse between Western India, the Persian Gulf and Southern Arabia, and the east coast of Africa had developed. Like all early navigators, the first sailors in these regions hugged the coastline, but as they discovered the regularity of the seasonal trade winds of the Indian Ocean, they gradually ventured out to the shorter deep sea routes. From mid-December until the end of February they could rely on the north-east monsoon to carry their dhows from north-west India, the Persian Gulf, and Southern Arabia to the coast of Africa, while between April and September, they trusted the southwest monsoon to help them on their return journey across the Indian Ocean. (Hollingsworth 1960: 9)

During this early period, the people on the coast of Africa produced surplus food grains (principally millet) and mangrove poles. These two items were mainly exported to the food- and timber-deficient South Arabian coast and the Persian Gulf at different times. Moreover, the demand for ivory from the ancient Greeks and Romans persuaded traders from South Arabia to extend their routes down to the East African coast as early as the second century BC. After the decline of the Roman Empire, India and China took its place and remained the main markets until the beginning of the nineteenth century (Sheriff 1987: 12). Aside from ivory, gold was also obtained in large quantities from Zimbabwe. This was transported to Asia due to increased demand at the beginning of the second millennium AD. Shipping extended southwards from Kilwa to Sofala, where it met land routes from Zimbabwe (Sheriff 1987: 12). The medieval glory of Kilwa was directly dependent on this entrepôt trade. During the first century AD, the imports included metal tools and weapons (see Sheriff 1987: 13; Honey 1982; Tirmizi 1988: 9). By the thirteenth century, the items being imported to East Africa were beads, Chinese porcelain, and cloth. Some of these items were consumed by the wealthy merchant classes and rulers from coastal states of East Africa (see Sheriff 1987: 13).

The exact arrival date of the Indian merchants is a controversial topic among the region's historians. A written record from a Greek pilot written in the first century AD mentioned Indian goods on the coast of East Africa such as iron weapons, glass, and

three possible locations for Rhapta, were identified in modern Tanzania: the environs of Dar es Salaam, Pangani, and the Rufiji delta (see Hughes and Post 2016; Hoyle 1967: 95; Horton 1990: 97; Kirwan 1986: 99; Datoo 1970: 66).

tools (Middleton 1992: 36). The goods were probably brought in by Indian traders, although overwhelming evidence shows that many goods came from Arab areas. Tales of trade links between the East African coast and India were also reported by ancient travellers such as al-Masudi (896–956) and al-Idrisi (d. 1154). However, some of the cities mentioned have not yet been identified. Al-Masudi, for instance, describes the inhabitants of the coastal part of East Africa (the land of Zanj)[7] as black men. They had a king and a capital city. Their armaments were made of iron, and they hunted elephants to export ivory to India and China. However, none of the sites referred to by al-Masudi have yet been located (Tirmizi 1988: 5). Al-Idrisi refers more explicitly to towns such as Malindi, Manrisa (probably Mombasa) and Kilwa by name, and further reports that the iron smelted in the Sofala region was exported to India (Tirmizi 1988: 5). Given the limited evidence available, it has become increasingly difficult to show this early connection between India and East Africa before the tenth century. Links can be identified much more easily from the eleventh century onwards.

The archaeological findings and literature suggest that until the eleventh century, the East African overseas trade was mainly with Oman and the Persian Gulf. However, in the following centuries, business shifted somewhat towards India and China in one direction, and, in the other, towards the Red Sea, Egypt, and later Europe. Direct sea trade with China was rare but not unknown. However, most Chinese trade with East Africa was handled by Indian middlemen, especially in the Gulf of Cambay in north-western India. Indian merchants were the suppliers of cotton clothes, beads, and sundry manufactured goods in the region even before the fifteenth century. Excavations in different parts of Africa have shown Indian-made glass beads along the coast of East Africa and in Zimbabwe and Ingombe Ilede (an archaeological site in Zambia). Moreover, the use of Indian measuring scales, weighing systems, and cowries as currency in East Africa proves the extent of their involvement in African economic history (Mangat 1969: 1).

By the fourteenth century, Indian involvement in East African trade was extensive. Unlike the Arabs and Persians, who had established a permanent settlement on the coast of Africa even before the fourteenth century, the Indians had seasonal residence (Mangat 1969: 1). Portuguese records confirm the Indian merchants' participation in East African trade. The western Indian city of Cambay was the key entrepôt of the ivory trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Mangat 1969: 2; Strandes 1968: 81). In the early sixteenth century, the detailed account of Barbosa, translated by Sir Henry Morton Stanley, reported that trade ships operated between Muzaffarid Gujarat and the Coast of East Africa.

The Muzaffarids, also known as the Ahmedabad dynasty, were the emperors of Gujarat in Western India from 1391 to 1583. The dynasty was founded by Zafar Khan

[7] Zanj (and its adjective zanjī) was a name used by medieval Arab geographers to refer to both the coast of East Africa (primarily the Swahili Coast) and the Bantu inhabitants. It is a Persian word meaning "black". This word is probably the origin of the name Zanzibar (zanj-e-bār). The word bār is also of Persian origin; it means "shore" or "island".

(also known as Muzaffar Shah I), governor of Gujarat under the Delhi Sultanate. By the start of the sixteenth century, the coast of East Africa become one of the three essential import centres for the rulers of Muzaffarid Gujarat when it came to gold, ivory, precious stones, pearls and metals. The ships from Muzaffarid Gujarat visited Mogadishu with cargoes of cloth and spices and returned with rich shipments of gold, ivory and wax (see Tirmizi 1988:9; Barbosa ([1866]1918: 5, 13, 16). The Gujarat merchants exported the Cambay textiles in large cargo ships to Malindi, Mombasa and Kilwa. From there, trade items were carried by local merchants to the ports of the Zambezi Delta and Sofala, heading further south to sell to the inhabitants of a great Bantu kingdom inland (Tirmizi 1988: 9). This kingdom was likely Great Zimbabwe.

Further records from Vasco Da Gama confirm that by the time he arrived in Mombasa, Mozambique and other coastal cities of East Africa in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, he was surprised to see a significant number of Muslim and Hindu Indians in the area. Most of them were traders from Gujarat (Honey 1982: 38). Additionally, Tirmizi (1988: 9) mentions Pedro Álvares Cabral, a Portuguese traveller who arrived in Malindi in 1500 and hired two Gujarat pilots to show him the way to India. During this period, Cambay and Gujarat were the most influential commercial centres in India. Their maritime activities were an essential part of the economy, and since there was protection from Gujarat's Muslim rulers, these states attracted investors and traders. Gujarat had several major ports, where foreign traders operated alongside local merchants. The merchants of this area included representatives of all the major trading communities of Western Asia, such as Muslims, Persians, and Egyptians. In Gujarat there were Hindu traders such as Bhatia, Lohana and Vaishya traders; Muslim traders such as Bohora, Memon and Khōjā traders; and the Parsi community.[8]

There is no doubt that the Indian trade links with East Africa resulted in socio-economic changes. They stimulated the growth of market towns and states along the coast of East Africa, some of which may have been primarily established by the indigenous people. In these market towns, trade provided a base for the emergence of a ruling merchant class that acted as middlemen, appropriating a profit from commodities that passed through its hands (see Sheriff 1987: 14). By the sixteenth century, overseas trade provided a supply of luxuries to the ruling class of the coast of East Africa. As Barbosa explains:

> In these islands [Unguja and Pemba] they [the kings] live in great luxury, and abundance; they dress in very good cloths of silk and cotton, which they buy

[8] According to the Encyclopædia Britannica, Parsis are "members of a group of followers in India of the Persian prophet Zoroaster. The Parsis, whose name means 'Persians', are descended from Persian Zoroastrians who emigrated to India to avoid religious persecution by the Muslims. They live chiefly in Mumbai and in a few towns and villages mostly to the south of Mumbai, but also a few minorities nearby in Karachi (Pakistan) and Chennai. There is a sizeable Parsee population in Pune as well in Bangalore. A few Parsee families also reside in Kolkata and Hyderabad. Although they are not, strictly speaking, a caste, since they are not Hindus, they form a well-defined community..." (Encyclopædia Britannica: "Parsi" – https://www.britannica.com/topic/Parsi, retrieved on 10 March 2021).

> in Mombaza of the merchants from Cambay, who reside there. Their wives adorn them selves with many jewels of gold from Sofala, and silver, in chains, ear-rings, bracelets, and ankle rings, and are dressed in silk stuff.
>
> (Barbosa ([1866]1918: 15)

However, at the turn of the sixteenth century, the overseas trading network along the coast of East Africa was severely disrupted by the Portuguese conquests of Goa and East African city states such as Kilwa, Mombasa, Malindi, Mafia, Zanzibar and Pemba. Soon after the takeover of these places, the Portuguese tried to monopolise commerce, particularly the spice and gold trade (Honey 1982: 42; Middleton 1992: 45), and brought change to the Indian Ocean trade area. The Portuguese aimed to divert business from its established routes across western Asia to their own sea lane around the Cape of Good Hope, thus outflanking the Muslim monopoly over the spice trade (Sheriff 1987: 15). The Portuguese strategy involved blocking the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf by capturing Aden and Hurmuz, capturing Malacca and Goa to control and centralise the Far Eastern and Indian trade, and establishing a provisioning station in Mozambique (Sheriff 1987: 15).

In East Africa, the Portuguese aimed to control trade by driving out rival shippers and displacing the Arabs and indigenous ruling elites in the coastal cities. They left the inland business under the control of the coastal traders, who by that time had the knowledge and experience to organise such trade links (Middleton 1992: 45). This decision also stemmed from the fact that the Portuguese population was small and its administration along the coast was violent and disruptive. At most East African ports, the Portuguese succeeded in replacing local traders dealing with Indian goods, especially for textiles. As a result, they established monopolies along the eastern coast of Africa (Tirmizi 1988: 10).

The Portuguese intervention in East African coastal trade and in other societies of the Indian Ocean region destroyed the African and Arab trade links. Portuguese influence was less destructive towards connections with India, but some Indian businesses declined as well. Tirmizi reported that Indians were able to maintain significant commerce with East Africa; they continued to serve as accountants and bankers to the Portuguese as they had to the Arabs. In Kilwa, for example, the Portuguese installed Muḥammad Rukn al-Dīn, a wealthy Indian merchant, as Sultan of Kilwa. In Mombasa, they hired Indian masons for the construction of Fort Jesus in 1593. Even though the Portuguese usurped the middlemen of Indian Ocean trade during this period, the flow of goods between India and East Africa did not stop (Tirmizi 1988: 11). In some cases, the Portuguese also granted licenses to Indian merchant vessels plying the high seas (Honey 1982: 43). These opportunities gave the Indians direct access to trade with the African continent.

Strandes (1968), Gregory (1971) and Honey (1982) also report Indians as having been accountants and financiers to the Portuguese after the Portuguese realised that their interests would be better served by focusing on control and regulation rather than excluding Indian merchants. Alpers confirms that Arab merchants underwent

extreme hardship in this period of compared to the Indians. According to him, their problems were related to religious and economic factors. He notes that the "Portuguese were determined to eliminate Muslim merchants, especially Arabs. Accordingly, the Hindu and Jain merchants of Gujarat were ideally situated to further increase their domination of the traditional trade of Asia" (Alpers 1976: 32). As a result of the Muslims' elimination, some Indian traders, especially non-Muslims, profited from the trade during this period. They continued to have a leading role in trade between the East African coast and Asia, especially in Mozambique. Thus, one can conclude that even under Portuguese rule, Indian traders served as trade agents between India and East Africa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Alpers 1976: 39–43).

However, by the middle of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese lost their supremacy in the Indian Ocean. They were eventually driven out of East Africa by Oman, which was led by Sulṭān bin Saif, the Imam of Muscat. The Omani Empire challenged the Portuguese and expelled them from Oman and the coast of East Africa. Following the decline of Portuguese rule in East Africa in 1698, the shore came under Oman's influence. Even though the Portuguese tried to reoccupy East Africa in 1728, taking advantage of rivalries and civil wars within Oman (Sheriff 1987: 18–22), they were expelled by the new Sultan of Oman from the Āl Bū Saʿīd dynasty, Sulṭān Aḥmad b. Saʿīd. Oman rulers' intervention into East African politics marked the official end of Portuguese trade monopoly on the East African coast.

The Omani political expansion into East Africa began in the last few decades of the seventeenth century, after they drove the Portuguese away. This victory was achieved under the Yaʿrūbī dynasty, which came into power in Oman in 1624. From 1649 to 1668, the Yaʿrūbī built up a strong navy and undertook expeditions to liberate Oman, India and East Africa. In the process, they expelled the Portuguese in Muscat and on East Africa's coast and established long-term settlements around coastal towns. By the eighteenth century, only Mozambique in East Africa and Goa in India remained under Portuguese control. The Oman leaders also dominated trade routes to East Africa.

The Omani political leaders were accepted in many Swahili cities at first, as they were also Muslims and used the Arabic alphabet, as Swahili did. As such, Swahili communities treated them as liberators. However, the Omani rulers then installed their own governors in the coastal towns of East Africa and levied tribute from the residents. This decision practically transformed their status in the Swahili people's minds; they went from liberators to conquerors. As a result, some coastal states rejected Omani rule, which resulted in temporary overthrows of Omani representatives, e.g. in Mombasa, and led to the Mazrui family's dominance along the coast of East Africa. Moreover, the opposition to Omani rule drove some city states to ally with the former Portuguese rulers. For example, the people of Pate invited the Portuguese back in 1727. Similarly, between 1724 and 1765, the rulers of Kilwa made repeated requests to the Portuguese in Mozambique for assistance against the town's Omani governor (Eliot 1966: 6–19).

Back in Oman, political instability haunted the empire, and in 1744 the Yaʿrūbī dynasty was overthrown by the Āl Bū Saʿīd dynasty. The Āl Bū Saʿīd began to as-

sert their rights over their territories along the coast of East Africa. Hence, during the 1800s, older trade patterns entered into a new phase of revival, and the Āl Bū Saʿīd rulers helped win back the territories. This process had already started during the eighteenth century, when Omani ships began to sail to the captured East African towns, but control was strengthened when Sayyed Saʿīd came to power (he ruled from 1806 to 1856).[9]

Sulṭān Saʿīd turned his attention to the Omani territories in East Africa, which extended from present-day central Somalia to Cape Delgado, including the Zanzibar islands. His aim was to control the area and establish effective leadership. To achieve this, he made treaties with the British and supported them in their expeditions against the Persian Gulf pirates in 1810 and again in 1819, consequently securing a powerful ally. By this time, the British had established their rule in India and had naval supremacy throughout the Indian Ocean after the Napoleonic wars (Mangat 1969: 2). With the help of good diplomatic support from European powers, the Sultan of Oman established a commercial empire in Zanzibar.

To establish a commercial empire in Zanzibar, Sayyed Saʿīd decided to move his capital from Muscat to Zanzibar in 1840. Saʿīd wished to extend the Muscat economic framework to East Africa with the financial support of Indians. Indian traders from Kutch, Surat and Porbandar were active in trade along the Persian Gulf, which operated mainly from Muscat. Even before he shifted his capital to Zanzibar, there were already more Indian merchants in Muscat than anywhere else in the Persian Gulf. There they worked as traders, bankers and customs collectors, having won the Omani rulers' confidence quite some time ago. Saʿīd convinced them to accompany him to East Africa, encouraging them to settle and spread their commerce to the coastal and interior regions of East Africa and broaden their roles in the East African economy. Saʿīd offered them security and opportunities (Mangat 1969: 2–3; Goswami 2016a: 132).

His move went hand in hand with a strengthening of diplomatic and commercial relationships with major Western capitalist powers. In 1833, he signed a trade agreement with the United States, who opened an American consulate in Zanzibar a few years later in 1837. The British signed a trade agreement in 1839 and opened a consulate in 1841, followed by the French in 1844. All these contracts attracted European traders, leading to an expansion of export and import of goods to Zanzibar, which later contributed to the strengthening of Zanzibar's commercial importance.

The nineteenth-century trade expansion along the East African coast transformed the social and economic status of Zanzibar. As part of this, Indians were drawn there to invest in trade and establish permanent settlements in Zanzibar. At the beginning

[9] Saʿīd came to power in Oman in 1806 after he assassinated his cousin Badr, who had usurped the throne from Saʿīd's father. Saʿīd became the first Sultan who was not addressed as imam, as all his predecessors had been. He was never elected to the religious office of imām; as a result, his throne was surrounded by enemies inside and outside Oman, with family and tribal disputes to content with alongside the "Wahhābī" movement in Arabia and the Anglo-French rivalry in the Indian Ocean. However, over two decades of rule, he managed to overcome both his domestic and international enemies.

of the century, prior to the trade expansion, only a few Indian vessels were trading in Zanzibar; the traders came from Surat and Bhownagar (also spelt Bhavnagar) in British India and appeared to visit on a seasonal basis (see Sheriff 1987: 83). When the Bombay government sent Captain Smee to Zanzibar in 1811 to examine the trade opportunities available, he reported that there was "a considerable number of Banians ... many of whom appeared to be wealthy and hold the best part of the trade" (Smee quoted in Honey 1982: 52).

During this period, Indian traders enjoyed many opportunities in East Africa. They were allowed to use the Sultan's flag while trading in East Africa and were allowed to pay low import taxes in East Africa – by 1828, they paid as little as five per cent duty on imports. They were also allowed to trade at the Mrima coast, a top economic area used only by the Sultan; even European merchants did not extend their business to that area (Goswami 2016a: 132; Sheriff 1987: 87). Tempted by these incentives, Indian traders moved to Zanzibar and East Africa. Captain Loarer provided detailed information about merchant groups in Zanzibar in the 1840s, including the "Banian", "Hindus" and "Arabs". He acknowledged the superiority of the first two groups over Arab merchants in Zanzibar's commercial life at that time (Suzuki 2017: 143). They had well-established commercial links centred on Zanzibar and incorporating various Swahili ports, the Arabian Peninsula, and Muscat. As such, their presence in Zanzibar and other Swahili ports allowed connections to form between Zanzibar and other growing markets in Western India, in turn providing tremendous opportunities not only to traders, but also to those from India working in other professions, to come to Zanzibar and form a diaspora population. These different forms of migration are not addressed in detail in the literature, and this study attempts to bridge the gap.

Although the discussion above provides a broad perspective on the arrival of Indians in Zanzibar as caused by economic factors, especially trade links, it still lacks any historical examination of non-economic factors. The details of environmental, social, and political factors that encouraged Indian migration have been entirely missing from the discourse. This study covers this research gap by examining the contribution of these factors.

Similarly, the religious diversity of these migrants has not been studied in detail. The Indian community in Zanzibar can be grouped into several religious orientations (Loimeier 2018: 157): there were Muslims, Hindus, Christians, and a small number of Zoroastrians. The Indian Muslim community was further divided into groups such as the Khōja Ismāʿīlīs, Bohoras, Memons and Kumhars. The Indian Hindu community was also subdivided into various groups; the Bhatias, or Banians as they were known in Zanzibar, were the largest, followed by the Lohanas. Smaller Hindu groups that migrated to Zanzibar were the Bhoi, who were domestic workers; the Khattri and Sutar, who were carpenters; the Wani, the blacksmiths; and the Sonar, the goldsmiths, from whom the term Sonara entered the Swahili language to refer to the goldsmithing profession. Although most of these communities lived in Zanzibar Town, they did not develop close social ties with each other. Most of them practised their religious beliefs separately, without any effort to attract others to their religion. The different

groups were also engaged in different occupations and businesses (see Christie 1876: 301; Mehta 2001: 1743).

Despite the contributions made by various researchers on the themes of religious diversity among Indians in Zanzibar (see Christie 1876; Mangat 1969; Goswami 2011), there is still no work focused on how religious diversity affected their migration patterns. This work will discuss the diversity of religion and faith among Indian immigrants in Zanzibar from 1800 to 1963. It will also examine how religious diversity among Indian migrants led to diverse migration trajectories.

Along with the above subjects, this study also highlights education as a key issue for the Indian communities in Zanzibar. Through Loimeier's (2009) and Turki's (1987) research work, we learn that Indians established numerous schools in Zanzibar. Their schools varied a great deal; some offered secular subjects, others provided non-secular education and some covered both. The first school to be established by Indians was the Sir Euan Smith Madrasa (SESM) in 1891. This was a non-denominational school open to all Indian boys living in Zanzibar and provided only secular subjects.

A few years later, various Indian communities established their own private schools offering secular and non-secular subjects. The Khōja Ismāʿīlīs were the first to open their own community schools (in 1905 for girls and 1907 for boys), followed by the Bohora community, who established a mixed school in 1909 (Loimeier 2009: 223; Turki 1987: 212). By 1913, there were five Indian schools, including the community school of the Shīʿa Ithnāʿashara, which was established in 1912, and the older non-denominational school. While the available literature has made a significant contribution to our understanding of these schools' existence and the challenges they faced, there is still a need to look at other relevant issues concerning Indian education in Zanzibar, particularly with respect to their diversity, the qualifications of their teaching staff, and the colonial government's control over the Indian schools. A great deal of effort has been taken to enable these issues to be discussed in this study.

Another little-studied topic is the changing role of Indians in Zanzibar's economy, specifically after the advent of British rule. In the nineteenth century, directly before British colonisation of Zanzibar, Indians were responsible for a number of key duties and functions. Some were bankers who invested their money in loans to the Sultan's regime and to Swahili, Arab and European merchants. Their capital enabled them to finance almost all trade along the coast of East Africa. A prominent Indian firm could loan nearly $285,000 per year (Sheriff 1987: 67). The leading Bhatia firm spent almost half a million pounds sterling financing loans and mortgages to East African traders (Metcalf 2007: 167). Frere remarked that "[t]hroughout the Zanzibar coastline ... all banking and mortgage business passes through Indian hands. Hardly a single loan can be negotiated, a mortgage effected, or a bill cashed without an Indian agency" (Frere quoted in Metcalf 2007: 166).

Indian traders offered mortgage loans to Swahili and Arab traders in Zanzibar and all of East Africa, in most cases involving land as an asset. As early as 1843, Hamerton reported that many Arab estates were mortgaged to Indian moneylenders who used the lands to repay themselves (Hamerton to Bombay Government, 9 October

1843; Zanzibar National Archive). Throughout the nineteenth century, the Indians and their companies received special treatment from the Sultan. The Indians' commitment to their assigned duties impressed the Sultan, who offered protection to the Indian traders, especially in matters related to their capital wealth. For example, Sayyed Sa'īd was strict regarding the enforcement of debt repayments to the Indian moneylenders. According to Glassman, this treatment was related to the Sultan's own financial interests, the Indians' status as citizens of the British Empire, and the British influence on Zanzibar's legal system (Glassman 1995: 32, 52; Glassman 2004: 735; Burton 2013: 8). Agents of the Sultan persecuted several people, including Arabs, who failed to repay loans to Indian traders, and forced them to find a way to repay their debts (Burton 2013: 8). The mortgage system transformed some Indians from traders into landowners and clove producers. Arab and Swahili traders were heavily indebted to them, which resulted in large areas of land being transferred from Arab and Swahili planters to Indian creditors (Iliffe 1979: 132).

These moneylending services were amongst the primary services provided by Indians in Zanzibar, and were protected by the Sultan's government. However, this service did not receive full support from the British colonial government. Once they had established their protectorate in Zanzibar in 1890, the British recognised Zanzibar as an Arab state. Hence they designed different methods to protect the Arabs' interests, including removing Indian moneylenders from the Zanzibari economy; the British accused them of causing the Arabs' massive debts and taking the Arabs' land. However, this matter of removing the Indians from their economic position has not been broadly studied by historians and other scholars. This dissertation will address the topic by looking at the changes in policy and legislation introduced by the colonial government of Zanzibar that worked against the Indians' interests. The discussion covers the struggles that arose following the relevant laws' introduction from 1890 to 1940.

Furthermore, this dissertation will examine the political role of Indians in Zanzibar under British rule in pushing for their political rights and the independence of Zanzibar. The Indians, like the other communities, had grievances against the colonial government and had not received any satisfactory answers. In an effort to claim their various economic and political rights, they formed several associations. As early as 1909, Indian businesspeople formed the Indian Merchants Association (IMA) to defend their interests as creditors, merchants, and urban landlords and protest British policies (see Glassman 2011: 41). Indians, specifically traders, had economic grievances relating to government laws and high taxes, and these became the foundation of a protest movement (see Oonk 2013); the first organised Indian protest against the British administration in Zanzibar was arranged in 1909 to oppose government laws (see Gupta 2008: 87). A few years later, in 1914, the Indians formed the Indian National Association (INA) to oversee the broader economic and political interests of Indians present in Zanzibar at that time. This association absorbed the IMA upon its formation. This association made a significant contribution to economic policies affecting Indians and the wider population. They managed to do this with support

from other institutions outside of Zanzibar such as the Congress, the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, and the Chamber of Commerce from India.

The Indian National Association was also active in the administrative and political spheres, participating in the Legislative Council (LegCo). The Legislative Council was established in 1926. It was presided over by the British Resident, but the bills passed by the LegCo had to later get the approval of the Sultan of Zanzibar. Since its formation, the LegCo involved twelve members, including four ex officio members and three official members. Another five were nominated as unofficial members (Ayany 1970: 31). From its inception in 1926, Indians had two nominated unofficial members attending the LegCo. In addition, Indians supported the population of Zanzibar in the struggle for political independence. Alongside the INA, the Indians had another association: the Muslim Association (MA), formed in the 1940s and established by the Indian Muslims of Pakistani descent to protect their interests. Despite its relative infancy at the time, the MA participated in the Zanzibar independence movement. Moreover, between 1945 and 1963, some individual Indians joined the political parties formed by other racial groups such as the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) and the Zanzibar National Party (ZNP) to demand the independence of Zanzibar. However, the role of Indian associations and individuals has not received detailed historical analysis. Thus, this dissertation analyses the contributions of Indian associations to Zanzibar's political history, especially during the "time of politics" (zama za siasa), and their role in Zanzibari independence.

Though previous works have focused on the economic life of Indian traders in Zanzibar, especially before 1870, there are still some gaps that required extensive research into their economic life from 1890 to 1963. Furthermore, an in-depth study of the socio-political life of Indians in Zanzibar during the British protectorate was still needed as well. The aforementioned research left these gaps open, forming the basis for this dissertation.

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem and Justification of the Research Topic

Many published and unpublished texts deal directly with Indian migrants in Zanzibar, but none of these texts can be defined as a definitive study of this topic. This argument is verified by a series of works written on Zanzibar's history, such as Sheriff (1987) *Slaves, Spices, and Ivory in Zanzibar: Integration of an East African Commercial Empire into the World Economy, 1770–1873;* Goswami (2011) *The Call of the Sea: Kachchhi Traders in Muscat and Zanzibar, C. 1800–1880;* and Oonk (2006b) *South Asians in East Africa (1880–1920) with a Particular Focus on Zanzibar: Toward a Historical Explanation of Economic Success of a Middlemen Minority.* None of the literature has comprehensively analysed the economic, social and political life of Indians during the British colonial period (1890 to 1963). Sheriff (1987), for instance, discusses the establishment of the Zanzibar commercial empire and the significant eco-

nomic contribution made by Indians. However, his discussion stops in 1873, during the decline of the commercial empire. Similarly, Goswami's (2011) research has been instrumental for this study in describing the economic history of Indians in the nineteenth century. Goswami shows the advent of Gujarati traders in Zanzibar, the various companies they formed in Zanzibar and Muscat, and the connections between them. However, this work only covers the period up to 1880, i.e. the pre-colonial period. Also, her analysis was based on the Indians' economic history, so she left a research gap when it comes to political, social and environmental history, especially during the twentieth century. Similarly, Mangat (1969) and Hollingsworth (1960) have contributed to this topic, addressing the economic and political history of East African Indians. However, their studies do not cover the whole period of British colonialism as the current dissertation aims to. Furthermore, both works look at East African Indians more generally with the main focus being Kenya, so even in these works, the topic of Indians in Zanzibar has not been discussed in detail.

It is clear that the above historiography of Indian migration in Zanzibar has focused mainly on the economic aspects affecting Indian migrants and their role in the commercial empire of Zanzibar and the Indian Ocean trade up to 1880. To my knowledge, no scholars have attempted to explore and analyse the Indians' economic life after the decline of the commercial empire of Zanzibar and the advent of British rule (from 1890 to 1963) in a broader historical context. Likewise, there is inadequate information about Indians' struggles against British economic policies in Zanzibar between 1890 and 1963 and the role Indians played in Zanzibar's political history of Zanzibar, especially during the "time of politics" from the 1950s to 1963.

This study, therefore, seeks to fill this gap by looking into the history of Indian migration in Zanzibar. It specifically explores the factors that prompted Indian migration to Zanzibar, the Indians' diversity, their education system, and their economic and political roles in Zanzibar between the 1870s and 1963.

## 1.3 Research Objectives

The general objective of this study is to reconstruct the social, political and economic history of Indian migrants in Zanzibar from the 1870s to 1963. Specifically, the study analyses the forces that contributed to the migration of Indians to Zanzibar during this period. The study also examines the religious diversity among Indian migrants in Zanzibar and how this affected their migration patterns. Furthermore, the study investigates how the political shifts that occurred in Zanzibar in the last quarter of the nineteenth century impacted on the interests of Indians in the area and how Indians reacted to the changes. Finally, the study discusses the roles of Indians in the economic and political landscape of Zanzibar from the 1870s to 1963.

## 1.4 Literature Review

Numerous scholarly sources have enriched this study. For clarity and good coverage of the research objectives mentioned above, this section generated five main themes for discussion, as follows:

### 1.4.1 Contributing Factors for Indian Migration

The contributing factors for the Indians' migration to Zanzibar include both "push" and "pull" factors. As explained by Rubenstein, a push factor encourages people to move out of their present location, which may include social, cultural, economic, and political factors. On the other hand, a pull factor encourages people move into a new area (Rubenstein 2002: 73–76). These, too, may include social, environmental, economic and political factors. Migration is a big step that is not taken lightly, so it's usually driven by both push and pull factors. People migrate if they find their current location undesirable, so they feel pushed away; they migrate to another attractive location that they feel pulled towards (Rubenstein 2002: 73–76; Gupta 2008: 17–18).

With this perspective in mind, the available literature affirms that the reasons for Indian migration varied from one state to another. In South Africa, Indians' arrival began in the 1650s, when the Dutch established their colony and imported Indians to work as domestic servants (see High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora 2001: 75–77). Later, following the discovery in the 1850s that the soil and climate of Natal were ideal for sugar cultivation, many European settlers began to establish plantations in Natal. However, most of the planters suffered from a lack of labourers; it was apparently impossible to use the local African population as they were not prepared to work on plantations. Accordingly, the farmers turned to India, and thus Indians were imported to South Africa to work on sugar plantations (see Huttenback 1966: 374). A similar explanation was reported by the High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora when they studied the contributing factors for Indian migration to Mauritius. The council's report confirms that agricultural activities were the main factor; the British planters enlisted Indians as artisans and indentured labourers to work in their cane fields (see High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora 2001: 50).

In the context of Kenya, Salvador postulated that the main factor that caused Indians to migrate before British colonisation, especially to the coastal region, was trade (see Salvadori 1996). Subsequently, British colonialism became another factor that attracted Indians to Kenya, especially inland Kenya. The construction of various infrastructure projects such as the Uganda Railway was also a significant driving force for Indian settlement in Kenya (see Gupta 2008: 2–3).

In Tanganyika (now Tanzania), especially the coastal areas, Indians had been present as traders since the sixteenth century. However, following the colonisation of Tanganyika by the Germans and later the British, Indians were imported as indentured labourers (see Honey 1982: 185–186). Former coolies from the Uganda Railway also

crossed over and settled in Tanganyika. Regarding Zanzibar in particular, studies by Sheriff (1987) and Goswami (2011) show that up to 1880 (i.e. during pre-British Protectorate period), trade was the main factor that influenced Indian migration. Both works confirm that Sulṭān Saʿīd's move to Zanzibar encouraged Indians to come and do business in Zanzibar and later other East African towns.

The literature review shows that the migration of Indians to East Africa in general, and Zanzibar specifically, was motivated by economic factors. The labour demand resulting from trade and European economic projects were the principal contributing factors for the migration of Indians to East Africa. However, the present literature leaves other factors unaddressed. There is a gap in the literature where non-economic push and pull factors for Indian migration to Zanzibar are concerned, particularly during British colonialism; the discussion has omitted political, social and environmental factors. This study will address this research opportunity in great detail.

### 1.4.2 The Diversity of the Indian Communities in Zanzibar

The second theme to be reviewed is the diversity of Indian migrants. Indians who migrated to Zanzibar, and East Africa in general, varied in several ways, including language, place of origin, religion and sect. According to Gupta, Indians who came to East Africa originated mainly from the Gujarat, Punjab and Goa regions of India. Small numbers also came from Maharashtra, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, and Uttar Pradesh (Gupta 2008: 173).

Depending on their places of origin, they belonged to different language groups. Lodhi reported that Indians in Zanzibar spoke Gujarati, Punjabi, Urdu, Kutchi/Sindhi, Konkani (the language of the colony of Goa), Hindi or Sinhalese as their mother tongues. However, after settling in Zanzibar, most of them adopted Swahili at home or a mixture of Swahili and other Indic languages. The Indian Muslims, for instance, despite intermarriage, were loosely re-grouped into Kutchi, Gujarati, and Punjabi speakers. Similarly, the Goan Catholics were known as Konkani speakers and most Indian Hindus spoke Gujarati and Kutchi (Lodhi 2008: 5).

They were also grouped according to their religious beliefs. Based on this factor, Indians were divided into Muslims, Hindus, Christians, and Zoroastrians of Iranian descent. Scholars acknowledge that religious faith was a significant factor in distinguishing between different Indians who migrated to Zanzibar (see Mehta 2001: 1738). Christie explains that depending on faith, the different groups living in Zanzibar worked in different lines of business. Although the different communities dealt with each other on a business level, they generally had no other connection with each other. Since each group was involved in a different trade, there was no competition between them, and they even had different places of worship (Christie 1876: 335). Despite the contribution made by previous studies on the topic, there is still a lack of explanation as to how the diversity of the Indian migrants led to different migration patterns in Zanzibar. This study intends to fill this scholarly gap.

### 1.4.3 Indian Education in Zanzibar

The earliest attempt to comprehensively study the history of education in Zanzibar was in 1987 in the PhD thesis of Turki titled *British Policy and Education in Zanzibar 1890–1945*. Turki's study offered broad knowledge on the education services provided by the different racial, spiritual, and political groups in Zanzibar between 1890 and 1945 and the role each group played in developing education in Zanzibar. Turki has a chapter on Indian education in Zanzibar, where he examined its rich history. Turki's research, especially its chapter on Indian education, has contributed to the understanding of several fundamental points on this topic, including the history of the various schools established by the Indians and the challenges faced by those schools. However, Turki's study covers 1890 to 1945 only; hence, further research was still needed to document the policy and operational changes that took place in education after 1945.

Roman Loimeier's (2009) work *Between Social Skills and Marketable Skills: The Politics of Islamic Education in 20th Century Zanzibar* is another essential source for this topic. Loimeier wrote about the development of Islamic learning traditions in twentieth-century Zanzibar and Muslim scholars' role in the society and politics of Zanzibar. He successfully discussed the conflict over the educational sphere between British colonial authorities and indigenous Muslim communities in Zanzibar. Also, his work included an entire chapter on Indian education, which provided key information regarding the formation of individual Indian schools.

The literature exhibits a number of themes relating to the history of Indian education in Zanzibar, and the present study has benefited in various ways from the insights provided by these scholars. Still, the literature has left room for more discussion on certain aspects through which new findings could be contemplated. Specifically, this dissertation examines the reasons behind the founding of numerous Indian community schools and the issues faced regarding teaching staff. It also reviews different means of colonial government control in those Indian schools.

### 1.4.4 Indian Economic Status under British Colonial Rule in Zanzibar

Various scholars have written about the economic status of Indians in Zanzibar before and during the British colonial period. Indian migrants played a highly significant role in the economy of East African states. Gupta (2008), in *Role of Indian Diaspora in East Africa: Challenges of Integration, 1963–2003*, examined the various economic positions held by Indians in East Africa, especially after the construction of the Uganda Railway. Gupta's study concurs with many historians that Indians have a long history in East Africa. They were involved in the Indian Ocean trade network from the earliest stages; they served as traders, playing an active role in the area's commercial and financial life and brought money to the interior of East Africa even before European colonisation of the region. He argues that the Uganda Railway construction could be used as a starting point for looking at the key economic opportunities Indians had in

the twentieth century. Hence, he discussed the various positions, new and old, that Indians held after the railway construction, such as those of indentured labourers, dukawalla and professional workers (Gupta 2008: 125–138). However, his study does not incorporate the Indians' voices concerning the economic changes that occurred after colonisation of the area, especially in Zanzibar.

In the context of Tanganyika, Honey, in her text *A History of Indian Merchant Capital and Class Formation in Tanganyika c. 1840–1940* (1982), has provided a valuable contribution to the topic. This study examines the changing roles of Indians in Tanganyika after German colonisation in the late 1880s. Honey broadly explains how the German government removed the Indians from the positions they held in the pre-colonial era. For example, from 1888 (immediately after the German government took power), Indian companies were replaced by the German East African Company (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft, abbreviated DOAG) in the customs offices, with the latter taking charge of collecting customs duties in Tanganyika (Honey 1982: 137–138). The banking trade, which had been in Indian hands, also came to be monopolised by this same German company; in the 1890s, the German East African Company was granted a monopoly over the only two banks opened in Tanganyika (Honey 1982: 139). When it came to import and export trade, German companies such as the DOAG, Hansing & Co., and Oswald & Co. also competed with Indians in an area that was initially handled by Indians alone. By 1899, Governor Eduard von Liebert reported (with some exaggeration) that "whereas retail and middlemen trading is done by the Indians, the wholesale trade is almost exclusively in German hands" (Liebert quoted by Honey 1982: 133). Honey's work also examined how the Indians in Tanganyika complained about the changes and struggled to rescue their businesses in Tanganyika. Despite citing some examples from Zanzibar, the study did not focus on Indians in Zanzibar. Consequently, several events that affected them were not discussed in this work.

In Zanzibar, Indians have been a key component in issues concerning Zanzibar's economy, and various scholars have discussed them in different ways. Sheriff (1987) and Goswami (2011) studied the Indian traders in Zanzibar and Muscat, covering the 1800s. Both works examine how the Kutch traders came and invested in Zanzibar in the nineteenth century. They show how Indian merchants were able to control the economy, how their companies participated in wholesale and retail trade, and how they ran the banking trade before the advent of British colonial rule in Zanzibar. However, the two researchers did not cover the British colonial period.

Aside from Goswami and Sheriff, scholars such as El Sheikh (1986), Thakur (2007), Bader (1991), Tominaga (1993) and Cooper (1977) studied the economic history of Zanzibar under British rule and documented the role played by various ethnic groups, including Indians, in the economy. These works describe the various legal and policy changes in Zanzibar during the British era that shook the Indians' economy position. The literature has contributed significantly to discussion of the British government's reasons for bringing about changes that damaged the Indians' economic investments in Zanzibar (see Tominaga 1993; Bennett 1978; Lofchie 1965). The liter-

ature also shows how British policies transplanted British traders and their companies into the Zanzibar clove industry. Thakur (2007) quoted some of the policies Indians blamed for their economic decline and described the Indian struggle against the Zanzibar government. Despite significant contributions made by various studies, no research has fully reviewed the British laws and policies enacted from 1890 to 1939 and shown precisely what the Indians objected to in the new regulations. Thus, it is also an intention of this study to fill those research gaps.

### 1.4.5 The Role of Indians in the Political History of Zanzibar

The last theme is the political role of Indian immigrants. Various scholars have described the political role of Indian migrants in East Africa, such as Mangat (1969) *A History of the Asians in East Africa, ca. 1886 to 1945;* Gregory (1993) *India and East Africa: A History of Race Relations within the British Empire, 1890–1939;* and Gupta (2008) *Role of Indian Diaspora in East Africa: Challenges of Integration, 1963–2003.* In his study about Indians in East Africa, Gupta (2008) shows that Indian migrants played an essential role in the politics of their adoptive country. For example, Indians galvanized the people of East Africa and created the background for the struggle against colonial rule. In mobilising the community, the Indians established political associations in East Africa, such as the Mombasa Indian Association, formed in 1900. Indians in Nairobi created their own association in 1906, and a similar association was established in Zanzibar in 1914, absorbing the Indian Merchants Association (IMA), which had been founded in 1905/1909 (Gupta 2008: 86–87). In Uganda, the Indian Association was established at Jinja in 1918, in Kampala and Mbale in 1919.

Indians used these associations to express their political and economic thoughts and attitudes in their respective countries. These associations also participated in the Legislative Councils (LegCo) of their respective countries, thus enabling Indians to obtain administrative and political positions (Gupta 2008: 86–89). Moreover, the Indians joined forces with Africans to protest against colonial discrimination practices. In Mombasa, for example, the Indian Railway and Public Workers Department collaborated with Africans against the British in Kenya in 1914 (Gupta 2008: 81). Furthermore, the Indians formed various workers' associations such as the Indian Civil Services Association, Railway Staff Association, and Indian Artisan Association. These associations also championed economic and political rights. Gupta's research provides a general account of the contribution of Indians to East African political movements, such as in the trade union movement and the Mau Mau Movement of Kenya. To a large extent, though, his work focuses on Indians in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. As such, he did not speak extensively about the political role of Indians in Zanzibar.

Mangat's 1969 work did not discuss the role of Indians in Zanzibari politics either. It should be noted that Mangat did not cover the period after World War II, when independence movements flourished in many African countries, in any great detail. Nonetheless, he briefly cites some examples from East Africa of Indian participation in the region's politics, especially with regard to Kenya. He explains that in Kenya, Indi-

ans supported the demands of African nationalism; for instance, during the Lancaster House Conference in London in 1960, the Indians of Kenya, through the Kenya Indian Congress and the Kenya Muslim League, issued a joint statement demanding the granting of Kenyan freedom based on a common electoral roll. Indian leaders such I. E. Nathoo, Makhan Singh and P. Pinto played a significant role in achieving Kenya's freedom. Singh, a leader from the Indian Trade Union, was even arrested by the government and spent five years in prison for his movement against the colonial government in Kenya. Indians also supported the campaign for the release of Jomo Kenyata, an African anti-colonial activist and politician who later governed Kenya as its Prime Minister and then as its first President. The leaders of the Indian Trade Union also assisted with the release of other imprisoned African leaders (Mangat 1969: 176–177).

The political history of Zanzibar leading towards its independence in 1963 and the 1964 revolution has been widely documented in various scholarly works, such as Lofchie's (1965) *Zanzibar: Background to Revolution,* Bennett's (1978) *A History of the Arab State of Zanzibar,* Clayton (1981) *The Zanzibar Revolution and its Aftermath,* and Glassman's (2011) *War of Words, War of Stones: Racial Thought and Violence in Colonial Zanzibar.* These works examined in detail Zanzibar's political history and the contribution of the various ethnic groups living there to the independence movement, especially during the time of politics (zama za siasa). The literature also discusses the role of the racial and political associations that existed in Zanzibar during the zama za siasa, particularly the Zanzibar National Party (ZNP), Afro- Shirazi Party (ASP), Umma Party and other political associations. Still, they did not discuss in detail the contribution of Indians to the independence of 1963. The aforementioned research vacuum justifies the present study; as such, this study analyses the role of Indian communities, and individual Indians, in Zanzibar politics between 1940 and 1963.

The above survey of the literature indicates that although there are several published works on related topics, these do not encompass all aspects of the Indian community. Indeed, a significant number of authors have been concerned almost exclusively with the economic history, hardly covering the social and political dimensions of Indian migration to Zanzibar, especially during the British protectorate period. The Indians' reaction to the British colonial economy in Zanzibar has not yet been adequately covered either.

## 1.5 Theoretical Framework

The study employed two theoretical frameworks to analyse the history of Indian migration in Zanzibar, namely the push and pull theory and the political economy perspective.

The former links the reasons for migration to push and pull factors (see Rubenstein 2002: 73–76; Gupta 2008:17–21), which are forces that can either induce people to move to a new location or oblige them to leave old residences. In other words, the push-pull model consists of negative or "push" factors in the country of origin that

cause people to move away, in combination with several positive or "pull" factors that attract migrants to a receiving country (see Rubenstein 2002). Rubenstein (2002) explain that the push factors exist at the point of origin and act to cause people's movement. These include lack of economic opportunities, religious or political persecution, hazardous environmental conditions, and others. The pull factors exist at the destination, and these include the availability of jobs, religious or political freedom, and the perception of a relatively hospitable environment. What is important here is that push and pull are in balance with each other; that is, migration can only occur if the reason to emigrate (the push) is remedied by the corresponding pull at an attainable destination. This theory is relevant to this study in tracing the factors behind Indian migrants' arrival in Zanzibar from 1870 to 1963. As such, it helped the researcher while writing chapter three of this dissertation. However, the theory cannot be used to discuss the economic and political roles of Indians in Zanzibar. Accordingly, out of five research objectives, this theory covers only one – thus the inevitable need to explore another theory as well.

Political Economy Perspective

"Political economy" is a theory that draws upon economics, political science, law, history, sociology and other disciplines to explain the crucial role of political factors in determining economic outcomes (Segura-Ubiergo 2007: 1–6). This approach is more than four hundred years old, dating back to French physiocrats, Adam Smith, David Ricardo and Karl Marx, among others. More recent scholars subscribing to the field of political economy include Robert Keohane, Robert Gilpin, Peter J. Katzenstein and Stephen Krasner, along with a more critical school inspired by Karl Polanyi, Susan Strange and Robert W. Cox (Ali 2018: 33–34). There are many reasons for adopting a political economy perspective in the historical analysis of local and global changes. Political economy is convenient in giving us a broader understanding of the politics and economy of a given society. Using this approach, this study investigates how British socio-political and economic policies caused migration and changed the history of Indian migrants in Zanzibar with regard to politics, the economy, and education between 1890 and 1963.

## 1.6 Research Methodology

This section provides an overview of the research methods used in the study. It starts by explaining the various data collection methods employed. It also describes the fieldwork carried out in Zanzibar, Tanzania, mainly on Unguja Island. The fieldwork consisted of a review of numerous documents and several in-depth interviews. The present study is principally qualitative. A qualitative approach is concerned with obtaining non-quantifiable information from various sources. For this study specifically, the approach involved conducting in-depth interviews with informants and consult-

ing archival materials (see Darlington and Scott 2002: 2). The study used information from both primary and secondary sources. Secondary sources included books, journal articles, and anthropological and ethnographic sources. Data was collected from secondary sources available in Zanzibar Indian Ocean Research Institute (ZIORI) library documents (now donated to the State University of Zanzibar library), in the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, the Bibliothek des Instituts für Ethnologie Göttingen, Google e-books, the Qatar National Digital Library and the Internet Archive (the Wayback Machine). This combination of sources was consciously chosen to widen the researcher's understanding of Indian migration in Zanzibar. Relatedly, the researcher is aware that different sources represent the particular ideas of the social and political actors who produced them. Those who wrote and prepared the sources did not live in isolation; the cultural, political and environmental factors they stood for influenced the information they produced, and the researcher is well aware of this. Therefore, the researcher used the sources interdependently, as none of them could be considered self-sufficient.

Data collection in Zanzibar was conducted in two phases. The first phase lasted for five months, from February to June 2018. It involved archival research[10] and interviews. The second phase lasted three months, from August to October 2019. In this phase, the focus was on continuing with the document review at the Zanzibar National Archive (ZNA) and conducting further interviews. In order to gain access to the ZNA and be able to collect information from the sources mentioned above, one must submit a research clearance obtained from Zanzibari government authorities. As part of this process, the researcher submitted an introduction letter from Göttingen University signed by the researcher's supervisor, Roman Loimeier, as supporting evidence. Additionally, the researcher supplied a covering letter from her employer, the State University of Zanzibar (SUZA), which was another prerequisite for conducting this research. Those two documents satisfied their demands; thus, the researcher obtained a permit to conduct her research in Zanzibar.

[10] The original plan was to travel to the UK and use the London Archive. However due to the Covid-19 pandemic, travelling from one place to another became somewhat cumbersome. Thus, the researcher inquired about accessing copies of some files from the London Public Record Office (PRO). In this request, attention was paid to the files with detailed information on subjects that were found to be sparsely covered in other references already in the researcher possession. However, this too was found to be impossible due to limited library access during the pandemic, especially for scanning and photocopying sections of documents. Hence, the researcher was unable to access these files. In particular, reference numbers PRO CO 822/2138 and PRO CO 822/1379 (for the Indian National Association in Zanzibar and Muslim Association of Zanzibar respectively) would have contributed much to this research, especially in writing chapter six.

### 1.6.1 Archival Research

Archival research was an integral part of this study. It gave the researcher the ability to browse through various files kept in the Zanzibar National Archives (ZNA). The researcher consulted documents from the ZNA Series AA1 Foreign Office Correspondence from 1839 to 1890; ZNA AA2 General Correspondence from 1837 to 1890; ZNA AA3 Bombay Correspondence 1840 to 1884; and ZNA AA4 Government of Indian Correspondence. These contained essential details on communication involving Zanzibar, India and the British government; they were beneficial in examining the history of Zanzibar and provided the researcher with rich information on economic and political ties between Zanzibar, India and the British.

The researcher also studied the annual reports on education produced from 1907 to 1964, which includes: ZNA AB 1; ZNA AD 7 Miscellaneous Folders on General Education; ZNA BA 6 Education Reports; and ZNA AD 1, 3, 7, 21 and 29 on Indian Schools. These files are packed with crucial information such as the history of Indian schools, the list of subjects taught, the kinds of staff employed, and challenges the schools faced and how they overcame them. They were beneficial to chapter four of this study, which focuses on Indian education. However, in the case of most of the files mentioned above, the materials were prepared by colonial officials and other administrators; hence, the voices of the Indian communities, and these communities' assessments of the schools, were frequently missing in these sources. Also, the files only contained information about grant-aided schools; data about non-grant-aided Indian schools were not included in the reports. To address this limitation, the researcher conducted oral interviews to extract enough material to supplement the missing information.

Moreover, the researcher accessed trade and administration files such as ZNA AB25 Record on Trade and Commerce 1885 to 1963, ZNA AKP 8 Clove Growers Association, ZNA AB 47 Mortgages and Debt Settlement, ZNA HC1-18 Indian Reports, and ZNA AK 26 Asian Associations. Through a critical reading of the documents authored by colonial government officials, the researcher collected data that sheds light on the role of Indians in the Zanzibar economy. The information also provided a picture of British economic policies in Zanzibar and offered insights into financial struggles between the colonial government and the Indians in Zanzibar between 1890 and 1945. These specific clues provided valuable contributions while writing chapter five of this dissertation.

The archive also contains dispatches between government officials at different administrative levels that involved the Indian migrants, such as the file series ZNA AD8 Personal Files, ZNA AB 12 Club Association, ZNA AB 26 Immigration, ZNA AK 19 Indian Clubs, and ZNA AKP 24 Indian Migration. These files contain correspondence between government departments and Indians on various matters, such as requests for residence permits and registration of their associations. The themes of these files provide essential insights into economic and political struggles. Critical reading of these files shows the government's position on the Indians and the Indians' demands

toward the government. These files gave the researcher a significant contribution to chapters five and six.

Other sources accessed in the archives were newspapers. The researcher read various newspapers, including editions of The Samachar dated 1929, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1951 and 1955; The Zanzibar Times dated 1953; The Zanzibar Voice; and The Zanzibar Official Gazette. These were important sources of information because they covered themes, including Indians communities' history that helped me to write chapters two and three of this study. Also, since many of the aforementioned newspapers were Indian-owned, the researcher consciously used them to get the voices of Indians. Indians used newspapers as a platform for expressing their views, freely criticising the government's economic and political plans. These discussions helped me to raise arguments for Indian participation in both politics and the economy in Zanzibar.

Although the archival documents were an essential source of information for this study, they could not stand alone to explain the history of Indians in Zanzibar. Since most of the reports were produced by colonial officials, they represented the desires of the colonial government through their works, whose will often contradicted the wishes of the Indian community or the general Zanzibari community. This deficiency was supplemented by undertaking the interview method in Zanzibar.

### 1.6.2 The Interview Method

This study also applied the in-depth interviewing method to collect data. Carolyn Boyce and Palane Niale explain that in-depth interviewing is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, programme or situation (Boyce and Neale 2006: 3). The method enables the researcher to talk to selected informants to grasp their perspective and obtain personal accounts of a particular issue (Ritchie and Lewis 2003). It also provides more comprehensive information than is made available through other data collection instruments (Kinunda 2017: 48–49). These advantages led the researcher to use in-depth interviews as a research instrument in the current study.

As mentioned earlier, I conducted field research in Zanzibar in two phases. During both phases, I conducted in-depth interviews to collect as much information as possible from the respondents using the snowball technique. This is a method for finding respondents whereby one respondent provides the researcher with the name of another participant, who in turn gives the name of a third, and so on (see Vogt and Johnson 1999: 368). Using the snowball technique, I was able to reach important informants. The study employed semi-structured interviews that allowed respondents to express their views on complex issues regarding their experiences and knowledge on Indian migration in Zanzibar. This technique is open-ended and offered the participants an opportunity to express themselves beyond what was initially asked. This method helped greatly in obtaining rich details that were not included in the basic

research guides, such as family stories and personal experiences, and these were used effectively in preparing this work, especially chapters two, three and six.

The in-depth interview process involved several steps. It started with the design of a set of interview rules. These were the instructions that were to be kept in mind for each interview. The second step involved writing questions that would guide the interviews. Three different types of interview guides were applied because the study involved three different types of respondents (see next paragraph). The third step was the data collection phase itself. At the start of each interview, I explained the motivations behind the interview. Subsequently, I briefly described the study topic and briefed the participants on the reason for their involvement in the study and the expected duration of the interview. Once the interviewees had accepted the conditions of the interview, the discussion started, using the interview guide questions. Information was recorded using a voice recorder and notebooks. Afterwards, the responses were summarised for future use. During the interview sessions, the Swahili language, of which the researcher is a native speaker, was the medium of communication. However, there were few moments when the English language was used. The last step was the analysis phase. In this step, I had to transcribe the recorded audio, then checked my notes and looked for themes among the participants' comments. These themes were arranged into categories to align with different chapters of the dissertation.

The study involved three categories of interviewees. The first was made up of retired civil servants who worked in different departments of the colonial government before 1963. This group was a useful source of stories about the social and political life of Indian migrants. They also responded well to the questions about the role of the colonial government in the history of Indian migrants in Zanzibar. However, due to the age criterion of this group, especially when considering the time span between the year of independence and the time of this study (1963 to 2018/2019), I could not find a sufficient number of respondents who remained mentally and physically able to participate. Still, the research produced two respondents from this group and they both made a positive contribution to this study.

The second group of informants involved descendants of Indian migrants who lived in Zanzibar in the relevant period. During the interviews, these family members shared their knowledge of how and why their families moved to Zanzibar, the way they adapted to the city life there, integration with the local communities, challenges they faced, and achievements they accomplished. This knowledge helped me to write chapter three. However, cooperation from some Indian families, particularly Hindus, was a challenge. Most families the researcher spoke to were Muslim Indian families, with only two of the available participants being Goans.

The third group was made up of people who had acquired expertise on the subject during their professional lives as historians, researchers, and teachers. These informants were a good fit for the study as they shared a great deal of relevant expertise.

## 1.7 The Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is structured into seven chapters. Chapter one introduces the background of the study, focusing on filling in the clear historiographical knowledge gap that has existed in the history of Indian migration in Zanzibar between 1870 and 1963. It also provides an introduction to the physical location of the study area and the methods of data collection. Guided by five research questions, this study argues that religious diversity, economic and social factors among the Indians, and British colonial economic and political interests, affected the history of migration of Indians to Zanzibar between 1870 and 1963. The effects were felt in various fields of life, especially economics, education and politics. As discussed in several chapters, some of these effects were positive for this Indian community, while many others were negative. The researcher examines the many political, social and economic processes that occurred in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and affected Indians in Zanzibar. Both archival and oral evidence has been used to examine this topic.

Chapter two examines the religious diversity of Indian migrants in Zanzibar from 1800 to 1963. Supported by both archival and oral information, the chapter argues that religious diversity among the Indians led to the development of different migration patterns; the chapter observed heterogeneous migration patterns among the Indian migrants in East Africa, with religion influencing these patterns.

Chapter three discusses various historical processes that motivated the Indians to move to East Africa, particularly to Zanzibar. The discussion is based on economic, political and social factors on both sides (India and East Africa) that shaped the migration of Indians to Zanzibar. Push and pull factors played significant and interrelated roles in developing the Indian population in Zanzibar. With the help of oral family memories and archival sources, the chapter argues that multiple historical processes in India and East Africa motivated groups of Indians to leave their homeland and form a migrant community in Zanzibar from 1800 to 1963.

Chapter four highlights the historical development of the Indian educational system in Zanzibar between 1880 and 1963. This chapter's discussion and argument tie in with the second chapter's view of how religious diversity among Indian migrants led to distinct migration experiences. It argues that religious diversity played a significant role in pushing Zanzibar's Indian communities to start various schools and examines how Indians developed their education system in Zanzibar. Additionally, the chapter examines the impact of colonial rule on the establishment and control of these schools in Zanzibar and includes an introduction to the different ways in which these schools were managed.

Chapter five reviews the British economic policies that had a negative impact on Indian financial interests in Zanzibar between 1890 and 1939. Specifically, the chapter analyses the clove and banking laws established by the British government in Zanzibar between 1890 and the 1930s and discusses Indian community's main objections to them and struggles against them. This chapter argues that British economic policies

aimed to create space for British traders in Zanzibar's economy by economically weakening Indian traders and bankers.

Chapter six focuses on Indian participation in Zanzibari politics from 1940 to 1963. In particular, it discusses Indians' involvement in the struggle for Zanzibari independence, individually or through associations. Guided by oral witnesses and archival records, this chapter shows that Indians took an active part in Zanzibar's liberation struggle, especially during the time of politics (zama za siasa).

Chapter seven summarises the key findings from the study and draws conclusions. It also pinpoints several relevant topics that could not be covered in this dissertation due to limited time and space. These matters offer possible opportunities for further studies to be conducted in the future in this research area.

# 2 The Historical Background: Diversity of the Indian Diaspora in Zanzibar

## 2.1 Introduction

The term "diversity" has been used in many different ways by writers in various disciplines. The word has multiple definitions, and how one defines it tends to depend on academic field, motives, and context. In dictionaries, the term has been described as the state or fact of being diverse, difference, unlikeness,[11] variability, dissimilarity or multiformity.[12] Wellner conceptualised diversity as representing many individual differences and similarities among people, incorporating human characteristics such as race, age, creed, national origin, religion, ethnicity, and sexual orientation (Wellner 2000). Dobbs broadly defined diversity as any perceived difference among people, such as age, functional speciality, profession, sexual preference, geographic origin, lifestyle, tenure, or position within an organization (Dobbs 1996: 351). With the above in mind, "diversity" can be explained as a recognition and acceptance of individual exceptionality and differences in natural and non-natural dimensions such as gender, age, physical abilities, culture, socio-economic status, and religion. In this paper, the

[11] Dictionary.com: "Diversity" (https://www.dictionary.com/browse/diversity).

[12] Cambridge Dictionary: "Diversity" (https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/diversity); Dictionary.com: "Diversity" https://www.dictionary.com/browse/diversity).

term will be used to explain the differences among Indian populations in East Africa from the 1800s to 1963 with regard to caste, religion and socio-economic structure

At its simplest, the term "diaspora" can be defined as "the dispersal of a people from its original homeland" (Butler 2001: 189). Until the mid twentieth century, the term was closely associated with the dispersion of the Jewish people. Since the 1980s, the usage of the term "diaspora" is so widespread that it compels a critique of its meaning (see Butler 2001: 189). In this chapter, the word "diaspora" is used to refer to the dispersal of the people from the Indian subcontinent to East Africa, whether or not they retained a connection to their original homes.

Collectively, the Indian communities have been identified as a rich society with multiple languages, faiths and culture at its core. It is interesting to note that the diversity among Indians can be seen not only within India but even outside India, where Indian populations settled overseas.

This chapter will provide a historical overview of the religious diversity of the Indian population in Zanzibar between the 1800s and 1963. It will also examine how Indian religious diversity led to the development of different diaspora narratives among the Indian migrants in East Africa, especially in Zanzibar. The chapter will contribute towards the understanding of diversity among Indian populations outside of India, especially in Zanzibar. The chapter observes heterogeneous migration narratives among the Indian migrants in East Africa, influenced by different factors including the religions involved, castes, and the historical contexts in which they emerged.

## 2.2 The Indian Communities in Zanzibar

This section discusses various Indian communities, with different religious beliefs, that migrated to Zanzibar. It will enable the reader to understand religious diversity among the Indian immigrants living in Zanzibar between 1800 and 1963, in turn providing an understanding of their different immigration patterns. Indian migrants fell into three different faith groups: Hindus, Muslims and Christians. These major religious groups were subdivided into various sects, forming distinct subgroups.

### 2.2.1 The Hindu Communities

Hinduism was and still is the main religion in India, with a long and complex history. It is a way of life that embraces many aspects of South Asian culture. According to Agarwal, Hinduism's origin was connected with the Indus Valley civilisation in about 2500 BCE. Hinduism has no single historical founder. Rather, it has a combination of traditions, mostly linked to a body of sacred texts called the *Vedas* and otherwise based upon rituals deemed essential for salvation. Hinduism is a polytheistic religion that allows for multiple forms of divinity (Agarwal 2015: 43). Hindus were among the earliest immigrants in Zanzibar. They were divided into different subgroups.

*The Bhatias*

The Bhatias, or Vanias, went by different names in different places. Arabs used to call them "Banian". In Zanzibar, they were known as Kutchi-Banyans or Banians, and among the Parsis, they were called Vania Bhatias (Goswami 2011: 29; Burton 1872: 327; Christie 1876: 344). Vania is derived from Vaniji which means "trader" in Sanskrit. The Vania community lived in western India. As for the word "Bhatia", this may have derived from a sixth-century dynasty that came to be known as the Bhatti or Bhati dynasty. One branch of this caste ruled the Jaisalmer area of Rajasthan (see Rose 1911). Political instability and environmental problems in their region, specifically during the period of Mughal, forced the Vania people to migrate and settle in places like Kutch, Hyderabad and Nasarpur (also spelt Naserpur) (Goswami 2011: 30). Another explanation suggests that "Bhatia" comes from Bhat, meaning warrior (Goswami 2011: 30). Bhatias were very strict Hindus who did not eat meat, fish, onion or garlic, and abstained from alcohol (Campbell 1901: 118; Goswami 2011: 31).

It is believed that the Bhatias were the Rajput[13], as they originated from Punjab and North India. However, in the sixteenth century, some Bhatia families migrated to Sindh, Kutch, Saurashtra and South Gujarat, where they practised trade after their conversion to Vallabhacharya's teachings.[14] Bhatias were of different religious orientations but can be distinguished based on their region; for example, there are the Kutch Bhatias from Kutch, Sindh Bhatias from Sindh, Kanth Bhatias from the Jamnagar district, and Punjab Bhatias from Punjab. Since their conversion to Vallabhacharya, the Bhatia profession was trade: local, long-distance and regional trade. In Gujarat's commercial history, the Bhatias were a dominant group. By the nineteenth century, they were a robust commercial community that had settled in many parts of Western India, specifically in Kutch, Gujarat, Bombay, Kathiawar and Sindh, where they established trade and moneylending networks. Their chief ports were Mandvi and Bombay, where they operated as merchants, bankers and brokers (Campbell 1901: 117–118).

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[13] The word "Rajput" (origin "Rajaputra") is from the Hindi (Sanskrit) language and means "son of the king". The word is a combination of two Sanskrit roots: raja ("king") and putra ("son"). Rajput is a Hindu caste that has been involved in fighting and ruling since the time immemorial.

[14] Sri Vallabhacharya (1479 – 1531) was a devotional philosopher who founded the philosophy known as "vishuddhadvaita Vedanta" or pure dualism. (New World Encyclopedia: "Vallabha", https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Vallabha, retrieved 10 March 2021). According to him, the soul is separate from God and the realisation of God is the ultimate aim of a soul. He instituted a path known as "pushti marg" or pure Bhakti. He proclaimed that the Brahma Sutra, Bhagvad and the Bhagavad Gita supported the path of pushti or God's grace. Pushti is the divine love of Krishna in the heart of a devotee. He also emphasized becoming devotionally involved through the feeling of "vatsalya" or maternal love for Lord Krishna. Vallabhacharya occupies a unique place in Indian culture as a scholar, a philosopher, and devotional preacher (IndiaNetzone (2014): "Teachings of Vallabhacharya", https://www.indianetzone.com/55/teachings_vallabhacharya.htm).

Within the Indian Ocean trade, the Bhatia were the first Hindu merchants to do business in Muscat and Zanzibar (The Samachar Silver Jubilee Number 1929, p.25).[15] According to Strandes, the Bhatias claimed to be in East Africa for 300 years in commercial records (Strandes 1968: 81). In Zanzibar specifically, the Bhatias were reported to have had a presence for trade purposes as early as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see Jhaveri 2017: 3). However, in this early period, they merely conducted regular seasonal trade with East Africa, with no records of permanent settlement in the region. Later, many Bhatias migrated from Muscat to Zanzibar, following Sayyed Saʿīd's move there in 1832. Archival records explain that two Bhatias, namely Visanji Haridas Bhimani and Sivji Topan, were the first Hindus to settle in Zanzibar, having come to Zanzibar from Muscat with Sayyed Saʿīd in the 1830s (The Samachar Silver Jubilee Number 1929: 25). The two played essential roles in helping Sayyed Saʿīd establish a Zanzibar commercial empire. Bhihami became Sayyed Saʿīd's first treasurer in Zanzibar; his dhows brought merchandise from Kutch such as Kutch-made clothes, Muscat cloth, salt, and earthen pots from India. Later, Sivji Topan also became treasurer (The Samachar Silver Jubilee Number 1929: 25).

Bhatias served as the sultan's customs collectors in Zanzibar and along the East African coast in the early nineteenth century. For example, Hindu Bhatia Jairam Sewji served as a chief customs collector in Zanzibar (Mangat 1969:12). Jairam Sewji originated from Kutch-Mandvi and Bombay and made considerable profit from being the principal financial adviser to the Sultans in Oman and Zanzibar. Jairam appointed and recruited his fellow Kutch Bhatia merchants and servants to work as his agents at various ports in East Africa, thus building an extensive business network. Thus, in the nineteenth century, Bhatias held and controlled the East African coast's customs economy. They had strong family and trade relations among themselves and did not entrust their financial dealings to African employees (Paroo 2012). The Ladha Damha firm, named after its owner, was an example of a company that was run based on the strong family connections of the Bhatias. While in Zanzibar, Damha's firm was in charge of customs; his nephew Pisu was in charge of customs in Pemba, and the Lakhmidas in Mombasa. Pangani was under the control of twenty Bhatias and Trikandas (Burton 1872: 271). Aside from this, the Bhatias were also moneylenders and traders (Honey 1982: 72).

The Bhatias who arrived at the East African coast came from Mundra, Kutch and Kathiawar. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the Bhatias reached Zanzibar via Muscat (Burton 1872: 327). Mangat explains that what brought Bhatias to Zanzibar corresponded to standard practice among the Indian traders seeking opportunities in East African trade: except for the few established traders who owned their firms, most traders arrived in Zanzibar at an early age to serve an extended period of apprenticeship with an experienced firm. This would enable them to establish a shop of their own, become business agents using credit, or be appointed as a manager

[15] The Samachar Silver Jubilee Number 1929 was a special edition of the Samachar published in 1929 to mark the 25th anniversary of the newspaper in Zanzibar.

or partner in existing firms (Mangat 1969: 14). While visiting Zanzibar in the 1850s, Richard Burton described the Bhatias as the most prominent Hindu business caste in the area. He added: "The Bhatia at Zanzibar is a visitor, not a colonist; he begins life before his teens and after an expatriation of 9 to 12 years, he goes home to become a householder" (Burton 1872: 329).

According to the records from 1870 provided by Kirk, there was a population of 200 Hindus in Zanzibar. Bhatias were said to make up the largest proportion "and probably the most important in terms of wealth and influence" (Honey 1982: 70, 72). However, at the end of the nineteenth century, the Bhatias started to lose their monopoly over Zanzibar's customs and financial activities. When Sayyed Barghash came into power, he was not happy with the services of Sewji's firm, and in 1879 he transferred authority over customs to Tharia Topan, an Indian Ismāʿīlī. This change was a significant loss to the Bhatias. Moreover, following East Africa's colonisation by the British and Germans, who employed strategies to establish their own control over customs, the Bhatias' monopoly over financial and economic activities in Zanzibar was challenged, and they became less and less important over time. Meanwhile, the Bhatias "had concentrated their activities on traditional items of trade such as cloves, coconuts, textiles, beads, tortoise shells, rhinoceros' horns, ivory and slaves [and] failed to realise that the Ugandan railway project hand thrown up unprecedented objective opportunities" (Mehta 2001: 1742). As a result, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the Bhatias had disappeared as leading businessmen in Zanzibar and along the coast of East Africa, and their numbers had decreased compared to other Indian communities (Honey 1982: 72; Mehta 2001: 1742).

### *The Lohanas*

The name "Lohana" is derived from the city of Lohargadh (Lohanpur/Lohkot) in Multan. There are different tales explaining the origin of the Lohanas. One is that they descended from King Lava, son of Rama. He was the Ramayana king who founded the tribe in the Rathors to which the Lohanas belonged (Government of India 1899: 39). The second version connects the Lohanas to mythology, as they claim to descend directly from the Rathode Rajput rulers of Lohanpur (also spelt Lohkot) in Multan (see Mehta 2001: 1740). Traditionally, Lohanas believe in Pushtimarg[16] and at the same time worship the dariapira deity associated with maritime activities; pir is a Urdu term for "saint". According to Mehta, every Lohana village had a place reserved for worshipping dariapira, where a lamp fed with ghee was kept burning day and night in the month of Chaitra (see Mehta 2001: 1740).

In Gujarat, the Lohanas were engaged in several different sectors of the economy. They were known as grocers, as they used to supply groceries to the Rajput armies.

[16] Pushtimarg is a sub-tradition founded in the early sixteenth century and focused on Krishna. It recognises Krishna by many names and epithets, such as Sri Nathji, Sri Navanitpriyaji, Sri Madanamohanji, Sri Mathureshji, Sri Gokulnathji, Sri Vittalnathji and Sri Dwarkadhishji (Richardson 2014).

They were active as shopkeepers and moneylenders in Kutch and Saurashtra in the seventeenth century, and as bankers and ministers in Kutch (Campbell 1901: 122). By the nineteenth century, the Lohanas were among the most successful castes in western India. They were the most valuable labourers, masons and farmers. Some were also successful writers, shopkeepers and grain dealers. However, they had little interest in the Indian Ocean trade. Other than the Sindh Lohanas, few Lohanas risked large ventures in Arabia or even Africa (Campbell 1901: 122). Consequently, their presence in Zanzibar and East Africa was small (Burton 1872: 335). However, despite their small numbers in East Africa, Lohanas proved to be the most successful entrepreneurs there (Mehta 2001: 1739).

Like the rest of the Indian merchant communities, the Lohanas had long-established trade contacts with the coast of East Africa, though with no records of settlement before the nineteenth century. Their settlements there came much later, during the last decades of the nineteenth century; the first generation of Hindu Lohanas to settle in East Africa was reported between 1880 and 1920 (see Oonk 2004: 10), mainly from Kutch and Saurashtra. Mehta argued that the Lohanas "migrated to East Africa not out of hunger or scarcity but to take advantage of new opportunities" (Mehta 2001: 1745). As with the Bhatias, the first Lohana migrants were predominantly men, as the women stayed in India to take care of their families. However, in the early decades of the twentieth century, some Lohana women migrated to East Africa to support their partners and families. By the end of the twentieth century, the Lohanas had become one of the most essential business castes in East Africa, especially in Uganda, where they were engaged in moneylending and the grocery trade. Examples of Hindu Lohana men in East Africa included the Mehta and Madhvani groups, which controlled the cotton ginning, sugar industries and tea estates in Uganda and Kenya.

Many Hindu Lohanas in East Africa refused to travel back to India after settling with their wives. Some families only visited India when it was essential to do, such as to attend marriages or funerals or due to family members' immediate health problems. "Many of my elderly informants in East Africa do not recall their fathers and grandfathers visiting India often, except for the following reasons: to find a suitable bride, to get medical treatment, to retire and to have a peaceful life back home, and have their ashes scattered above the Ganges" (Oonk 2015: 5).

Another minority group of Hindu Indians involved in diaspora history were the Bhoi. They are believed to have come from Western India, mainly from the banks of rivers. They were principally fisherman. In Zanzibar, their migration history was linked with the movement of Hindu Indians, specifically Bhatias, who did not bring their wives with them at the early stage of their migration history, and consequently employed Bhoi for cooking and household tasks (Sampat quoted in Jhaveri 2017: 4). Other minority groups were the Khattri and Sutar, who were professional carpenters, the Wani, who worked as blacksmiths, and the Sonar, who were goldsmiths.

### 2.2.2 The Muslim Communities

Indian Muslims also settled in Zanzibar and many other towns in East Africa, where they were involved in trade and other skilled and semi-skilled professions. In terms of faith, there were both Sunni and Shīʿī. The Shīʿa included subgroups such as Bohora and Khōjas; these groups originated from Gujarat and were involved in trade. Sunni Indian migrants, such as Memons and Kumhars from Gujarat, also settled in East Africa. Each of these groups formed a different community. They were connected only by their trade needs, having little to do with each other in general. As they invested in different types of trade and commerce, there was little competition between them. Their social and religious lives were also different in terms of both how they worshipped and where they met for worship (Christie 1876: 335).

#### *The Khōja*

The name "Khōja" originated from the Persian word Khawaja (khwāja), meaning lord or master. The Khōja are predominantly believed to have stemmed from the Lohanas. Many of the Lohanas converted to Islam in the fourteenth century. This was driven by a Persian (Ismāʿīlī) imām called Pir Sadrudin (Pīr Ṣadr ad-Dīn), who was a Nizari Ismāʿīlī dāʿī and the author of the Avatar, a book in which the incarnations of Vishnu are described as leading to Islam, with the tenth incarnation manifested in the Ismāʿīlī Imamate (Anderson 1964: 21). Pir Sadruddin gave them the name "Khwaja" (Khōja) to trace their lineage to India (Sachedina 1988: 3; Daftary 2010: 58; Takim 2009: 36). Thus, the Khōja community abandoned their former belief in Hinduism and began to practice Islam. The Khōja mainly came from Kutch, Kathiawar, Punjab, Sindh and Gujarat (Takim 2009: 36). Written evidence indicates that in Ha'la'r or North-East Kathiavar, Khōja were still addressed with the Lohana title of "Thakkar" or "Thakur", which translates as "Lord" in their language, until the nineteenth century. They wear their waist cloths in the Lohana fashion. Also, the language of the Khōja and some of their Sindh religious hymns contain a liberal mixture of Punjabi words that are also present in the language of the Kathiavar Lohanas (Government of India 1899: 39).

In the mid-nineteenth century, there were significant changes and tensions within the Khōja community related to power struggles between the official leader of the Ismāʿīlī (Aga Khan I) and the Barbhui, a dissident party of reform-minded Khōja (Hickling 1998: 23; see also Purohit 2012). At times, these struggles became violent and led to police involvement. A subset of dissident leaders of the Bombay Khōja brought criminal charges against the Aga Khan in 1829, 1851 and 1866 (see Hickling 1998: 23). As a result of the internal struggle within the community, the Khōja divided into three opposing subgroups: the Sunni Khōja, the Nizari Ismāʿīlī Khōja and Ithnāʿshara Khōja. However, since the primary teachings of the Khōja had been initiated by the Persian Ismāʿīlī Imām (Pīr Ṣadr ad-Dīn), the Ismāʿīlī influence continued to play an essential role in all three Khōja subgroups.

The Sunni Khōja community was made up of the individuals who branched off from the original Khōja community. This group opposed some of the practices of the Aga Khan (the official leader of the Ismāʿīlīs). According to Sachedina, the Sunni Khōja community opposed the requirement to pay taxes to the administrators of the jamaʿat khana (the prayer hall and meeting place for the Ismāʿīlīs) and the Aga Khan's "ultimate right over everything that was owned by the Khōja community" (Sachedina 1988: 7). Accordingly, the Aga Khan excommunicated the group in September 1862. The second subgroup is the Nizari Ismāʿīlī Khōja group. In essence, these were Shīʿites. This community continued to follow the Aga Khan and fully respect him. This is believed to have been the largest group in terms of numbers and would remain the dominant group. The third group are the Ithnāʿshara Khōja. Compared to the other two groups, the Ithnāʿshara Khōja were few in number. These Khōja claimed to be followers of the authentic Shīʿa. Their community was formed in 1905 and opposed Ismāʿīlī practices (see Sachedina 1988: 7–8). By the nineteenth century, the Khōja were scattered all over Gujarat, in Kutch, Kathiavada, and the Portuguese territories of Diu and Daman, Ahmedabad, Baroda and Surat. Beyond Gujarat, Khōjas settled within the Bombay Presidency in Sindh, Calcutta and Punjab (Government of India 1899: 36).

The Khōja were primarily a business community. They had a good business reputation in Gujarat and many other places within India. In Gujarat, their business history began with selling grains and fuel, practising embroidery (zaripuranas) and laying bricks (all three trades usually conducted by men). After they had accumulated enough capital, they were able to own large businesses that traded in ivory, horn, cotton and cotton seeds, hide, mother of pearl, spice, shark-fin and cotton. By the end of the nineteenth century, some Khōja practised medicine, engineering and law. They even elected one of their members to the Viceroy Legislative Council (Government of India 1899: 44).

Moreover, the Khōja were great travellers. They travelled and settled in several different countries in Asia, Africa, and later Europe for trade purposes. Hundreds of years ago, Khōja sailed down to East Africa's coast. They have been described as the earliest Gujaratis to take advantage of the new opportunities opened up by East Africa's changing economy (Mehta 2001: 1742). Khōja from Gujarat probably made contact with the coast of East Africa as early as the sixteenth century. By 1850, their presence in East Africa was noticeable. They were the largest and most active Indian community permanently residing in the Sultan's realms, having originated from Kutch, Kathiawar, Surat and Bombay (Mohamed Bhaloo[17], 19 September 2019).

After their arrival, the Khōja were engaged in selling European and American goods and purchasing native products, operating as middlemen between dealers of European and native products (Christie 1876: 336). Due to well-established business

[17] Mohamed Bhaloo, an educationist and activist in Zanzibar, is a descendent of Khōjā Ismāʿīlī immigrants from India. He is a former director of Madrasa Research Council in Zanzibar and currently serves as chairman of the Zanzibar Stone Town Heritage Society.

connections throughout East Africa, the Khōja became Zanzibar's most prominent merchants and shopkeepers even before the end of the nineteenth century. With all their time being devoted to business right from their early years, they had little or no time left for other pursuits, or for the enjoyment of what was so highly prized by Europeans: the pleasures of the domestic circle. Their work day started early in the morning, generally about six o'clock, and continued till late in the evening, when either there were no more customers or it was time to retire for the day (Christie 1876: 337).

Both the Ismāʿīlī Khōja and the Ithnāʿshara migrated to East Africa. They were regarded as permanent settlers on the islands. The Ismāʿīlī Khōja migrated to Zanzibar in the 1820s and 1830s from the village of Beraja in the Jamnagar region and were leading agents of trade and industry throughout the century. By 1838, they had established *the jamaʿat Khana* in Zanzibar. When Sultan Sayyed Saʿīd shifted his capital from Muscat to Zanzibar in 1840, there were 165 Ismāʿīlī families in Zanzibar, including 26 married women. Two decades later, their number had increased to 2,100 in Zanzibar, 57 in Pemba, 137 in Bagamoyo, 176 in Kilwa, 25 in Marima (also spelt Mrima) villages, and 18 in Mungas (Honey 1982: 68; Mehta 2001: 1742). As in Gujarat, the Ismāʿīlī Khōja were known as a business community in Zanzibar, being involved in the wholesale and retail trades.

Among their pioneers were individuals such as Tharia Topan (1845–1901), Sewa Haji Paroo (1851–1897), Allidina Visram (1851–1916), Kassim Lakha (1853–1910), Suleman Virjee and Waljee Hirjee, all of whom migrated from Kutch and Saurashtra (particularly from Jamnagar, Diu and Bhavnagar) in the 1860s and 1870s (see Mehta 2001: 1742). These early arrivals established and maintained good professional and social relations with each other and the Sultans of Zanzibar. They were involved in the ivory and slave trades in various ways. Some of them worked as shopkeepers. At the end of the nineteenth century, some Ismāʿīlī Khōja participated in building the railway in East Africa, and after its completion, many of them preceded from Mombasa to Nairobi, Kisumu, Entebbe, Jinja, Bukoba and Mwanza between 1900 and 1910 (King 1974: 198).

The Ithnāʿshara group had a strong association with the Aga Khan disputes of the 1800s. The enmity between the Aga Khan and some of his followers led to a bitter dispute between the two communities. One reported explanation is that the ongoing conflict led the Ithnāʿshara to migrate to East Africa, where they developed an independent identity as a business community (Mehta 2001: 1743). As per another explanation, the Ithnāʿshara only separated from the Aga Khan after their migration to Africa (Mehta 2001: 1743). Either way, this group migrated to East Africa from Kutch and Saurashtra between the 1870s and 1890s. They were a well-known business community working in the ivory trade, cotton ginning, coffee buying, sisal production, and other primary industries. Among the famous Ithnāʿshara figures in East Africa was Jaffer Samji, nicknamed the "uncrowned king of Kilwa". He established a firm in Kilwa specialised in the ivory trade. Another well-known Ithnāʿshara firm was the Jamal Ramji firm, which operated mainly in Uganda in the 1940s and managed

ginneries, coffee hulling, curing works and sugar mills on a small scale (Mehta 2001: 1743). In Khōja culture, the wife was the most trusted and devoted (though non-salaried) employee in the business. In several Khōja families, while the man operated the wholesale business locations, his wife stayed at home in the duka (shop) handling retail trade (Christie 1876: 337).

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Khōja enjoyed numerical strength and a good reputation in East Africa's trading environment world. A few years after their settlement in Zanzibar and along the East African coast, the Khōja already outnumbered the Hindus. Several factors contributed to this, including the family migration culture practised by the Khōja: most Khōja migrants brought their families along at a very early stage. The Khōja relied on their co-religionists; the earlier arrivals gave support to the newly arrived merchants in the form of vital business information and connections. The Khōja were generally risk-takers; the younger Khōja were ready to take on apprenticeships in foreign Khōja firms even with a small salary of Rs. 200 to 2,000 a year with a board and lodging (Government of India 1899: 44).

*The Bohora*

The origin of the name "Bohora" is uncertain, as there are different stories. One explanation is that it originated from the Gujarati verb Vahaurau/Vohorvu, meaning "to trade" (Velji 2009: 111; Enthoven 1920: 197). Another links the Bohora to the Hindu Bohora found in Marwar Rajputana and the United Provinces. According to this explanation, many Brahman and Banian traders called Bohora retained the name after their conversion. However, this explanation cannot be verified, as there is no evidence of Hindu Bohora in Gujarat (Enthoven 1920: 197). The Bohora are thus believed to have been the members of an Ismāʿīlī Shīʿa community founded in western India in the late eleventh century. It is believed that Abdullah, a dāʿī sent from Hasar in Yemen by the supreme leader of the Mustaʿīlī sect, converted the Bohora to Islam. Abdallah was a knowledgeable person who spent his time in Cambay studying the people there. This famous man was very generous to the people, and his kindness drew many people to his religion (Enthoven 1920: 199).

According to James Forbes, the Bohora were the chief travelling merchants in Gujarat and the western parts of India, "going about like the Jews in Europe with boxes of different commodities; particularly perfumes and jewels ... The English consider them as a sort of Mussulman Jews" (Forbes 1834: 228–229). The Bohora settled in many parts of the Bombay Presidency, but their headquarters and the quarters of the leadership were in Surat. They also settled in Arabia and East Africa.

The Bohora had two main divisions. One is the Sunni Bohoras, who are the minority and are usually identified as a "cultivating class" or peasant farmers (Enthoven 1920: 200). However, written evidence indicates that some Sunni Bohora of South Gujarat were involved in trading activities and even migrated to East Africa in the 1880s to practice their profession (Mehta 2001: 1741). The other division are the Shīʿa Bohora, who were the majority and were often identified as the trading Bohora.

The Shīʿa group was under the leadership of the dāʿī al-muṭlaq (the absolute dāʿī), who maintained continuous contact with the hidden Imam.[18] The Shīʿa Bohora were further split into five divisions: ʿAliya Bohora, Daudi Bohora, Jaafari Bohora, Nagooshi Bohora, and Sulaimani Bohora. The first, the ʿAliya Bohora, are believed to have taken their name from ʿAlī, the sect's founder, in 1624. Ali was the grandson of Sheikh Adam, the leader of Mulla, through his son Ibrāhīm. The ʿAliya Bohora had a similar manner and appearance to the Sulaiman Bohora (Enthoven 1920: 201).

The second group were the Sulaiman Bohora, whose linage was associated with the sixteenth-century converts made in Arabia by a dāʿī sent by Surati Bohora. In 1588, Daud b. Ajab Shah, dāʿī al-muṭlaq of the Gujarat Bohora, died, and upon his death, the Bohora appointed Daud b. Kutub Shah to take over leadership. Meanwhile, they sent the news of this appointment to Yemen. However, a different opinion came from the people of Yemen, who instead accepted Sulaiman to be Daud's successor. The majority of the Bohora rejected Sulaiman, and the small group that didn't called themselves the Sulaimani Bohora (Enthoven 1920: 205).

The third group are the Jaafari Bohora. The name "Jaafari" came from Jaʿfar Shirazi, who converted them to the Sunni faith. Prior to this, the Jaafari Bohora were Daudi Bohora who went over to the orthodox faith under the Gujarat ruler, Muzaffar I, in 1341 (Enthoven 1920: 204). The fourth group are the Nagoshi Bohora, who are almost extinct in the twenty first century. Nagoshi was a minor schism, and a relatively new one, as its roots can be traced back to 1789. The group's founder is believed to have been excommunicated due to his unusual doctrine. For example, he held that eating animals was a sin, which is why they are also known as the "non-fleshites Bohora" (Enthoven 1920: 204).

The last one is the Daudi Bohora group, the richest and most numerous among the Bohora. They are Ismāʿīlī. Their main point of difference with the other Muslims is that they treat ʿAlī and his sons Ḥasan and Ḥussein, and their leader, the Mulla Sahib of Surat, as holy figures. Meanwhile, they reject the three Caliphs of Muslims, namely, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān (Enthoven 1920: 202). Professionally, the Daudi Bohora made a living as traders. They were among the wealthiest and most prosperous business communities of Gujarat who happened to settle in Zanzibar, Pemba and Mombasa (Government of India 1899: 66–68).

There are two explanations as to when the Bohora appeared in East Africa's commercial history. The first explanation proposed is that the Bohora were already

[18] Shīʿī sources identify the Imām as the spiritual and temporal leader of the world. "Without the Imam, the universe would crumble, since he is the Proof, the Manifestation, and the Organ of God, and he is the Means by which human beings can attain, if not knowledge of God, at least what is knowable in God." (Moezzi quoted in Ghaemmaghami 2020:1). According to Shīʿī sources, the Imam of the present age, the twelfth and final Imam, disappeared in the late third of the ninth century and has been in an ongoing state of concealment (ghayba) for more than eleven hundred years. The twelfth Imam has been defined as the hidden Imam (Ghaemmaghami 2020:2). The Hidden Imām is still considered to be the Imām of the present age, to hold authority over the community, and to guide and protect individuals and the Shīʿa community.

involved in it during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Herbert asserts that a small number of Bohora controlled the agate[19] trade between Cambay and East Africa, sending agate beads, cups, saucers and necklaces to Malindi, Mombasa, Zanzibar and Sofala (Herbert quoted in Mehta 2001: 1743). However, they did not settle until the early nineteenth century, when they migrated to East Africa (particularly Nairobi), typically operating shops. Some moved to Zanzibar and the area on Kenyan coast from Mombasa to Lamu (Mehta 2001: 1743). The other theory is that they first arrived in the eighteenth century, with the Daudi Bohora being the first Indian Muslims to settle in Zanzibar.

The archival records suggest that the Bohora belonged to Dara clan from Surat were believed to be the first to live on East Africa's coast, arriving in 1770. For some unspecified reason, the Surat Bohoras were replaced later by Kutchi Bohora, who initially established seasonal contact and later established a permanent settlement in Zanzibar (The Samachar Silver Jubilee Number 1929, p.35). Among the Bohora who came to Zanzibar in this way in the nineteenth century were Jivanjee Suleiman Bukhawala, Nurbhai Buhhabhai, Karemjee Dawoodji Chakera, Ibrahimji Valiji Gundhiari, Lukmanji Janmohaed Janoowala (The Samachar Silver Jubilee Number 1929, p.36). The Karimji-Jivanji family came from Mandvi to Zanzibar in 1818 and opened their first business in 1825. They became one of the wealthiest Indian families in East Africa, with involvement in various kinds of trade, including sisal and cashew (Loimeier 2018: 153).

In an 1870 survey conducted by Kirk, a British consul, the number of Bohora living permanently in Zanzibar was reported to be 250 (Honey 1982: 67). Like the Khōja community, the Bohora migrated with their wives and children. However, unlike Khōja women, Bohora women remained veiled and were generally not permitted to participate in business activities (Honey 1982: 68).

Generally, the Bohora specialised in the cutlery and hardware trades. They owned big and small businesses dealing in hardware, silks, hides, horns, live cattle and clothes in India, Muscat and Zanzibar (Enthoven 1920: 202). In Zanzibar, the Bohora were known to work as peddlers, artisans (tinsmiths, locksmiths, and watchmakers) and retail traders of household supplies, ceramics and pharmaceuticals. The also owned tin/glass-cutting workshops (Honey 1982: 68). They were highly prosperous and exceptionally good at cricket, volleyball and other sports, and a few qualified as lawyers and doctors (see Jhaveri 2017:5).

[19] Agate is a semi-precious gemstone. It is said to be one of the oldest stones to be used in jewelry and has been used for making jewelry, pestle and mortars. Indian agates were traded in in a great number to East Africa by Indian traders. Indian agate beads have been found in different East African sites such as the Port of Kilwa (Francis 1982: 40).

*The Memons*

The term "Memons" refers to the Sunni Ḥanafī Muslim community from the western part of India. The Memons are believed to have been Lohana Hindus who lived in Sindh and converted to Islam in the fifteenth century. A century or so later, they migrated to Kutch, where they settled. There were two migrations: the Kutch Memons, who the first group to migrate, and the Nassapporia Memons (Hamilton 1967: 114). The Memons were a prominent business community, and for business reasons they migrated from Sindh to Kutch and to other parts of Gujarat and Bombay such as Surat and Porbandar, where they operated as small traders (Goswami 2011: 35).

Ambitions of extending their business capital led the Memon community to cross India's borders. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Memon traders reached the Middle East, South Africa and even East Asia. Following the Bhatia merchants' lead, they also went to East Africa towards the end of the nineteenth century (Zarwan 1977: 41; Christie 1876: 343). In Zanzibar, the Kutch Memons migrated as traders and merchants from Kutch and Kathiawar. By 1870, their population in Zanzibar was estimated to be no more than 250 (Loimeier 2009: 29). Apart from Zanzibar, they also entered Pemba, Dar es Salaam, Mombasa, and other East Africa coastal towns.

*The Kumhars* (Makumbaro)

The Kumhars were another Indian community in Zanzibar. The name "Kumhars" derives from the Sanskrit word umbhakar, meaning earthen pot maker; the Kumhars have historically been associated with the art of pottery. They were classified into Hindu and Muslim cultural groups. They lived in various parts of India, such as Gujarat, Rana, Lad and Telangi, though the ones who immigrated to Zanzibar (in the 1850s) were mainly from Kutch and Kathiawar. The oral evidence suggests that a Kumhar trader named Mohamed Khara was the first Kumhar to reach Zanzibar in the early 1800s. He played an essential role in the migration of Kumhars to Zanzibar, especially after the stories he sent them about pottery soil availability and a good market for their products (Isaak Ismail,[20] 22 September 2019).

The first group of Kumhars to actually migrate to Zanzibar came in the 1850s. They reached the east coast of Zanzibar, specifically the Paje and Bwejuu areas. Later, they spread to other parts of the east coast, such as Makunduchi, Mtende and Kizimkazi. Most of the Kumhars were involved in pottery work, and the rest were engaged in various small areas of business such as selling cigarettes (Mohamed Ibrahim Sanya,[21] 22 September 2019). They had a friendly relationship with the local people and

[20] Isaak Ismail is a Zanzibari of Kumhar origin who currently resides abroad in the Scandinavian countries. He is a researcher with an interest in the history passed down in his community and Zanzibar in general.

[21] Mohamed Ibrahim Sanya is an activist of Indian descent. His parents were Kumhars, and he grew up in Makunduchi, a place where Kumhars lived before the 1964 revolution. In recent years, he has been a prominent politician in Zanzibar from the Civic United Front (CUF) and later joined the Alliance for

their children spoke Kihadimu as fluently as the local population of the area (Ingrams 2007). The Kumhars of Zanzibar were mainly Muslims, although there were a small number of Hindu families. Most of the Muslim Kumhars lived in the countryside, while all of the Hindu Kumhars lived in Stone Town (Mohamed Ibrahim Sanya, 22 September 2019).

### 2.2.3 The Christian Community

*The Goans*

The Goans are people from Goa in Western India. They were Portuguese citizens between 1505 and 1961. Although most Goans were Christians, specifically Roman Catholics, there were some Hindus and a few Muslims. The Christian Goans are the ones under discussion here, as the early migration in the nineteenth century mainly consisted of this group. Due to the Hindus' norms and customs – especially the belief that it was not appropriate for upper-class Hindus to cross the sea – most Hindu Goans were not involved in this migration, and instead, Christian Goans took the lead. Goans' migration to East Africa was accelerated by the establishment of empires in Africa by the British and Portuguese; the Goans crossed to Portuguese East Africa as early as the sixteenth century (Karnik 1998) and reached Zanzibar (along with German and British colonies in East Africa) in the end of the nineteenth century.

The earliest records of the Goans in British East Africa are from around the 1850s. Stories of their migration appeared in Richard Francis Burton's report written in the nineteenth century. Burton employed two Goans as travelling assistants for a journey of exploration in East Africa when he and his second in command, Lt John Hanning Speke, travelled from Bombay. These two Goans were called Valentine Rodrigues and Gaetano Andrade (Burton 1872: 410, 428). In December 1856, Burton reported that Rodrigues and Andrade had reached Zanzibar, and in January 1857, they accompanied him on short coastal explorations and trips to Mombasa, Tanga and Pangani. Burton had many complaints about their performance, but he still paid them in 1859 when their contract ended. It is unclear whether the two Goans stayed on in Zanzibar after their contract with Burton, but it is clear that other Goans soon arrived.[22]

Compared to the other Indians, the Goans were a small segment of the population. It is difficult to give a firm number, but various figures have been suggested. In 1870, a British physician reported that 31 Goans lived in Zanzibar.[23] According to the census report of 1910, there were 440 Goans in Zanzibar, with no records from other East Africa towns. A decade later, there were 1,136 Goans recorded in Kenya alone. By

Change and Transparency (ACT-Wazalendo). He was a Member of Parliament for the Mji Mkongwe constituency from 2010 to 2015.

[22] Torrence Royer (n.d.): "Goa and Zanzibar" (https://www.zanzibarhistory.org/Goa-and-Zanzibar, received at 28. March 2022).

[23] Torrence Royer (n.d.): "Goa and Zanzibar" (https://www.zanzibarhistory.org/Goa-and-Zanzibar, received at 28. March 2022).

1921, the number of Goans in East Africa had reached 4,572, of whom 2,431 were in Kenya, 474 in Uganda, 869 in Zanzibar, and 798 in Tanganyika. In 1931, there were 7,829 Goans in East Africa, 3,979 of whom were in Kenya, 1,124 in Uganda, 1,004 in Zanzibar, and 1,722 in Tanganyika. By 1948 there were 11,294 Goans in East Africa, 7,159 of whom were in Kenya, 1,448 in Uganda, 681 in Zanzibar, and 1,839 in Tanganyika (Frenz 2014: 64). These figures make it clear that the Goan population in East Africa continued to grow, while also indicating that, between 1900 to 1940, Goans made up nearly 10 per cent of the resident Indian population in East Africa.

In East Africa, the Goans integrated themselves into a number of different sectors of the economy, with successful businesses in retail, photography, tailoring, and baking (see Frenz 2014: 92–103). In Zanzibar, the first Goan retail shop opened sometime in the 1860s (ZNA AB 33/10, List of Europeans, Indo- Europeans and Goans resident in Zanzibar in 1894). In 1894, 119 Goans opened shops in Stone Town of Zanzibar, Dar es Salaam, Bagamoyo, Mombasa, Entebbe and Kampala. Among the famous Goan traders in East Africa were C. R. de Souza, L. M. de Souza, Messrs Souza Junior & Dias, and Messrs Peres & Pereira (Frenz 2014: 98). C. DeSilva, for example, had a large retail business in Zanzibar (with branches in Tanga and Dar es Salaam) starting in the 1870s. Another important figure was Domingo Baptist Pereira. After working in the Sultan's customs office for several years, he started a business as a navy contractor in Zanzibar in 1875. He also owned a bakery and butchery business in Vuga. A few years later, he developed his business into that of a general merchant, also dealing in wines and spirits. In 1901, the Sultan awarded him "the Brilliant star of Zanzibar" for his services (Frenz 2014: 102).

The Europeans also employed Goans as stewards, cooks, and head servants in their houses (Christie 1876: 355). Goans also served as administrative staff and customs officers at the various stations inland and on the East Africa coast (Mangat 1969: 27, 28). According to Mangat, by 1904, almost all clerical posts in the provincial and district administration in Kenya and Uganda were filled by Goans (Mangat 1969: 74). They also worked as health and sanitary officers and were talented teachers who taught English, mathematics and history; they were also excellent sports players, and good doctors (Nayla Jidawi,[24] 12 June 2018).

Colonial officials made positive remarks on Goans' efficiency in performing their work. Charles Eliot, the Commissioner of British East Africa, wrote in 1901 that Goans dominated the provincial administration. They usually assisted the district officers in the British East African sphere and even outnumbered the European clerks. In one instance, German officials passed on the following comments to General Hardinge, a political agent and consular general in Zanzibar: "We envy you and your subordinate staff of India baboo clerks, whether custom officers or tax collectors, who never get drunk, rarely lose their temper, and have enough experience on Oriental pre-

[24] Nayla Jidawi is the managing director of the Palm Beach Inn hotel in Zanzibar. She was a member of parliament for the opposition party, the Civic United Front. She even contemplated running as an opposition candidate in the 2000 presidential election in Zanzibar.

judice and habits to avoid incurring the district which so many of our men inspired" (Hardinge 1928: 91).

To conclude this section, the Indian migrants belonged to several different religions. I have further subdivided them into the various smaller groups within each faith. Each of these formed an entirely different community, connected only via trade and business – and even in that respect, they had little to do with each other. They each had their own manners and customs. They even had separate places of worship. The differences in their migration patterns will be discussed in the following section.

## 2.3 The Diversity of Indian Migration Narratives in Zanzibar

### 2.3.1 The Hindus' Migration Narratives

In reviewing the histories of Indian subgroups in Zanzibar, it becomes clear that Indians were not a homogenous group. This section argues that the Indians' religions influenced their migration narratives in Zanzibar and examines the differences.

The fundamental difference between the Hindu, Muslim and Christian Indians in East Africa that influenced their migration patterns was their religious beliefs. The Hindus believe in "Samudrolanghana" or "Sagarollanghana", which means that it is an offence to cross the sea. According to this Kālā Pānī (taboo of the sea in Indian culture), high-caste Hindus are not supposed to cross the ocean (Eliot 1998: 102, 127). The reasons behind this include the inability to carry out daily rituals of traditional Hindu life and the sin of making contact with the soulless, people of foreign lands. The fear of crossing the seas also derives from the notion that it entailed the end of the reincarnation cycle, as the traveller was cut off from the regenerating waters of the Ganges (Gopalakrishnan 2008: 23–24).

Even Kālā Pānī did not stop Hindus, even those of high castes, from crossing the sea and trading in Zanzibar. It did, however, impact on the Hindu families that migrated. The Bhatias, for instance, came to Zanzibar before they were teenagers and later went back to India for marriage (see Burton 1872); due to Kālā Pānī, most Hindus did not bring their women to Zanzibar, rather coming to Zanzibar as bachelors to do business or find employment. After a few years, they would return to India and marry, then they would leave their wives in India and return to Zanzibar for four or five years to trade again before returning to India for a year. Oonk argued that the upper-caste Hindu men considered Africa to be "alien" and "unsafe" for their women and believed that their women would be well cared for if they stayed in India with their own extended families. This custom also ensured that the men would return to India (Oonk 2013: 70).

This migration pattern, which was dominated by the male and excluded the female, was the primary form of migration for the early Hindu population in East Africa and remained so until the end of the nineteenth century. Frere (1873 as quoted in

Mangat 1969: 65) reported: "With rare exceptions, all these Indian traders are birds of passage. The houses they belong to may be of old standing, and we met a few old men who had been in Africa all their lives; but they were exceptions. The Hindoos never bring their wives or families to Africa, the Bohras and Khōjas [Ismāʿīlīs and Ithnāʿsheris] do, frequently".

As late as the 1870s, there were between 200 and 300 Hindu males in Zanzibar, but not a single female (Sheriff 2019: 364; Christie 1876: 345; Honey 1982: 67). The evidence suggests that the Hindus did not bring their wives to Zanzibar because their women were religious people who lived traditional lives dictated by their faiths (Kathri Sudhri, September 2019). They mostly used silver utensils and did not eat anything touched by a non-Hindu (Nagar 1998: 125). This conviction was firm, especially in terms of the higher-caste women, who were the main keepers of household purity.

The absence of Hindu women affected the lives of Hindu men in Zanzibar. For example, food was related to purity and pollution for most Hindus, and their tradition dictated that it should be prepared by a family member, usually a woman. Eating outside, as well as taking food from non-family members was considered to be an act of impurity (see Oonk 2004: 9). Thus, the high-caste Hindus could not eat or drink anything touched by an African, a Muslim, or somebody from the lowest Hindu castes, as they considered it to be impure. As bringing their wives with them was impossible, Hindu men decided to import cooks from India who would prepare food for them and all their staff (Sampat quoted in Jhaveri 2017: 4). These cooks were fellow Hindu men, such as members of the Ranas and Bhois castes, who also did other domestic work. The name "Bhois" has continued to be used in Zanzibar as a term for domestic servants. Although the Ranas and Bhois were lower-caste Hindus, they were hired due to the lack of high-caste women in Zanzibar. This recruitment was a violation of Hindu food customs, signifying that the change in environment also led to beliefs becoming more flexible due to necessity.

Aside from food, Hindu immigrants had to contend with issues related to sexual relations. The decision to leave their wives at home affected their sexual experiences in East Africa. As a result of this decision, they had sexual relations with Arabs and slave women, contrary to their religious beliefs and ways. Burton commented that "Arab women prefer them because they have light complexions; they are generous in giving jewels, and they did not indulge in having four wives. However, most of them, especially those that settled at the coast, keep attractive slave-girls, and as might be expected where illegitimates cannot be acknowledged, infanticide was common" (Burton 1872: 329).

Aside from Arabic and African domestic slave girls, Hindu men had sexual relationships with free African women. Nagar stated that quite a few Hindu men did this in Zanzibar and the former German colony, Tanganyika. In one example, Nagar mentioned Dharani's father (a Bhatia Indian), who in the 1880s left for Zanzibar at the age of 16. Before returning to Kutch to marry a woman from his caste, he lived with several African women. Even after marriage, his wife remained in Kutch to take care of the husband's family until 1901, when she joined him in Zanzibar (Nagar 1998:

118). The Dharani family's tale was a familiar one for most immigrant Hindu men in East Africa. The situation was even more critical for lower-class men, as not all of them could afford to return home and marry. As a result, African women were their only option. It was common for Hindu men to sleep with Swahili women, and there were many mixed offspring. Men in many Hindu families had children with African women (Nagar 1998: 118).

Despite the above, intermarriage was not permitted in the Hindu faith. The Hindu religion does not acknowledge relationships outside of its culture or children from such relationships. This made men leave their women and children in East Africa when they left for India (Abdul Sheriff,[25] 1 June 2018).

Due to these circumstances, the ceremony for purging sins was important to most Hindus when they returned to India; returnees performed a Tirtha-yatra ceremony in some holy springs or had to pay Brahmans for purification (Burton 1872: 334). There was a time when their high priest, was sent from Malwa to investigate Hindus' behaviour in Zanzibar. The priest covered himself with ashes and carried an English umbrella to hide his real identity from his fellow Hindus. He found himself seriously disturbed by the relationships between Hindu men and African women. Of course, cohabitation was not the only scandal he investigated. The Hindus were also involved in selling animals, which was forbidden by their Dharma, and some were involved in handling and selling ivory, rhinoceros horns and animal hides (Burton 1872: 330). Additionally, Goswami mentions another priest, Bhatia Thakkur Jairam, who visited Zanzibar in the 1890s, who similarly noted, with disapproval, that some of the Bhatias had deviated from "purity", and voiced his concerns about its impact on their families back home (Goswami 2016a: 22). However, the absence of women changed after Sayyid Barghash bin Saʿīd came to power in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Barghash had a good relationship with Hindu families and wondered why only the men migrated to Zanzibar, not the women. The Hindus explained that the ladies followed the Marjaad custom,[26] whereby they couldn't mix with people of lower castes, and their utensils had to be of silver (see Sampat quoted in Jhaveri 2017: 3–4). Thus, with Barghash's encouragement, some Hindu men brought their wives to Zanzibar.

The earliest reference to Hindu women in East Africa dates back to 1880, when the first Hindu lady arrived in Zanzibar. She was the wife of a middle-class Bhatia gentleman and was welcomed with a big celebration in Zanzibar (see The Samachar Silver Jubilee Number 1929, p.27). A few years later, in 1882/83, another Hindu lady arrived in Zanzibar: the wife of Kuverji Paramsi, a clerk of the famous Ismāʿīlī Khōjā merchant Fazal Essa. To welcome her, Barghash offered his private vessel along with 250 Rs. (see The Samachar Silver Jubilee Number 1929, p.27). He also promised to

[25] Professor Abdul Sheriff is an internationally renowned author on Western Indian Ocean History and previously served as the director of the Zanzibar Indian Ocean Research Institute (ZIORI) and deputy director of the Zanzibar National Archive. He was born in Zanzibar as a fifth generation Indian; his ancestors settled in Zanzibar around 1870.

[26] The word "Marjaad" derives from "Vrajbhasha", which means "one who remains within limitations", or "one who is worthy of respect".

transform Zanzibar's Old Fort into a residence for Hindu merchants' wives, promising that silver water pipes and taps would be installed to facilitate the custom of Marjaad so that the Hindu women never had to go out (The Samachar Silver Jubilee Number 1929, p.27). The arrival of the two high-caste Hindu women was an essential step towards the alteration of the Kālā Pānī beliefs, in turn resulting in more Hindu women moving to Zanzibar. As a result of this, other Hindu businesses were convinced to invite their wives to settle in Zanzibar (The Samachar Silver Jubilee Number 1929, p.27).

### 2.3.2 The Muslims' Migration Narratives

Unlike Hindus, Indian Muslims have neither a taboo against crossing the sea nor the custom of Marjaad. Many Muslim Indian communities, such as the Bohoras, Ismāʿīlīs, Ithnāʿshara and Sunnis, came to Zanzibar with their wives and children. Within the context of this research, I have defined this form as a "family migration pattern" – one where the entire family moves together. Muslims were among the earliest arrivals. They were primarily merchants and storekeepers, and served as middlemen between European merchants in Zanzibar and East Africa at large. Some of the Khōjā, for instance, were said to be wealthy merchants. Once they had established their lives and businesses, they invited their wives to live with them permanently in Zanzibar. As British Consul C.P. Rigby (1861, quoted in Amiji 1971: 606) wrote: "Each bungalow (sailing vessel) from Cutch [Kutch] brings a number of Khōja and Bohra families as settlers".

Contrary to the usual Hindu practice of being "birds of passage",[27] the Muslim Indians soon built permanent houses where they lived with their wives and children. Dewji Jamal, an Ithnāʿshara Muslim Indian from Bhavnagar and Bombay, migrated to Zanzibar in 1860 and settled there with his family. Jamal was the great-great-grandfather of a prominent historian dedicated to the Indian Ocean region, Abdul Sheriff. After fifteen months of trading in Zanzibar, he decided to build a permanent home there; he bought a plot in the Malindi quarter and built a three-storey building where he then lived with his family (Sheriff 2019). This story is not unique. The annual report compiled by the British consul in Zanzibar in 1870 about the Indians residing in Stone Town documented that 700 married women lived in the area, belonging to the Bohora, Ismāʿīlī Khōja and Sunnī Muslim groups (Suzuki 2017: 5).

The establishment of permanent houses was a remarkable declaration of long-term settlement and acceptance of Zanzibar as a new home for them and their descendants. Nevertheless, it was not always easy for Indian Muslims to bring their wives. Some came without their wives and married African women; it was common practice in

[27] The term "birds of passage" refers to the early Hindu migrants in East Africa, who lived without their families. It was a common practice among them to live and trade in East Africa for four to five years and then return to India for a year and come back. Since their stay in East Africa was impermanent, they were known as "birds of passage" (see Goswami 2011: 137–138; Tejpar 2019:53–54).

East Africa to see Muslim Indians marry Swahili women as a first or second wife while keeping African Surias[28] for themselves (Ali Marumi,[29] 26 May 2018).

They recognised the offspring from such marriages as legitimate children entitled to all rights. Still, the caste mentality remained strong, even among Muslims. As a result, mixed-race children were considered to be somewhat separate from their communities. The father would recognise the children, imparting caste customs and rituals and teaching them to read and write in their language. However, the community would not fully allow for integration. As a result, society called them "chotara" (pl. machotara), a scornful Swahili word of Gujarat that means "half-caste" or "half-breed". Etymologically, this is a diminutive term that hints at caste impurities; it refers to a person of mixed racial ancestry, particularly in Africa and Asia. Such individuals' genealogy is generally traced to an Asian (Indian) father and an African mother (Akhtar 2014: 301).

The following situation describes one example of discrimination within communities on "chotara" children. Marumi, one of my informants, described a young "chotara" man in Zanzibar. The man and his siblings had a Khōjā father who accepted them, but following their father's death, they suffered a great deal of discrimination. Although they were still young, it was clear that the Khōjā community never recognised their identity. They grew up with Africans, who did accept them, but "chotara" was always their nickname (Ali Marumi, 26 May 2018).

However, these particular "machotara" were not the only ones who suffered caste discrimination from Indian communities; there were many cases where such children lost the right to inherit their father's property. The case of Jesa Damani's family is another example. Jesa Damani was a Khōjā merchant who had Swahili and Khōjā wives in Kilwa and Zanzibar, respectively. His Swahili wife was the first to have children, bearing two sons. By the time their father died, they were aged sixteen and fourteen. Damani's second wife was a Khōjā, with whom he had a daughter and a son aged six and nine respectively. Damani died in Zanzibar in the 1870s with his second wife and stated in his will that he wanted his property to be divided between all of his children, as per Islamic inheritance laws.[30] However, his Khōjā wife, Hurbayee, refused to

[28] The Suria (Surias plural) are slaves and 'secondary wives', and can be distinguished from the term 'concubines'. These are women who were bought, acquired as a gift, captured in a war, or kept as domestic slaves, and who established cohabitation with the slave masters as secondary wives with certain legal rights and social status (Wahab 2016: 97–98).

[29] Ali Marumi is a history teacher in the public schools of Zanzibar. His father worked in Indian homes as a domestic servant for many years.

[30] As the main source of Islamic law, the Qur'ān outlines general guidelines for Muslims to follow when dividing the properties of a deceased relative. It contains three verses that give guidance on this topic (Chapter 4, verses 11, 12 and 176). The information in these verses, combined with the practices of the Prophet Muḥammad, provides a basis for Muslim scholars to follow. After accounting for personal wills and obligations, the Qur'ān mentions certain close family members who inherit a fixed share of the estate. Under no circumstances can these individuals be denied their fixed share, and these amounts are calculated directly after the first two steps (obligations and wills) are accounted for. It is not possible for these family members to be "cut" out of a will; their rights are outlined in the Qur'ān and cannot

distribute Damani's assets to his "chotara" children, claiming that Khōjā custom followed the Hindu caste tradition and did not allow chotara children to inherit property. She quoted the belief from Khōjā oral tradition: "āpaṇā dīṭh asmāmma pramāṇṇē", which translates as "from our perspective there exists no equality [between a Khōja and a non-Khōja chotara]" (Akhtar 2014: 304). However, Damani's chotara children managed to get their inheritance via court.

Marriage arrangements were another area where they faced discrimination. For most of the "chotara", a marriage with people of the same caste or sect was difficult or impossible. This practice was reported in almost all of the Muslim denominations: Bohora, Khōjā Ithnāʿshara, and Sunni (Abdul Sheriff, 1 June 2018).

Research by Anand and Nitasha Kaul describes how the group of Indian Muslims in Zanzibar called the Kumbhars (kumhars/makumbaro) suffered from the stigma of caste impurity. The Kumbharo, mostly Sunni Muslims, originated from Western India and were considered lower in the caste hierarchy and marginal to the otherwise prospering Indian population in Zanzibar throughout British rule. They mostly settled on the east coast of Zanzibar and intermingled with Africans through work and marriage but were never accepted as Indians within Indian communities (Anand and Kaul 2011: 187–188; Mohamed Ibrahim Sanya, 22 September 2019).

Different Indians integrated and engaged differently with the local people. The Muslim Indian community, especially the Khōja, Memons and Kumhars, integrated quickly with the locals, likely because most of the other Zanzibaris were also Muslims. They quickly picked up the local language of the local people; most young Indian Muslim men spoke Swahili instead of Kutchi, especially among the Khōja, Kumhars and Memons (see Pearce 1920: 254). They even tended to talk Swahili at home rather than Kutchi. The Bohora, on the other hand, were ardent Gujarati speakers. Despite adopting Swahili as their primary language for transactions, their communication at home and among themselves was in Gujarati.

### 2.3.3 The Goans' Migration Narratives

The Christian Indians, i.e. the Goans, had a different migration experience compared to Hindu and Indian Muslims. They were Roman Catholics, and the Portuguese lifestyle strongly influenced their attitude toward life. Their spiritual direction and essential life elements changed under Portuguese rule – language, names, identity and self-perception (Frenz 2014: 69) – all of which had an impact on their migration narratives.

In most cases, the men started their journey to Africa alone, then returned to Goa to marry and brought their wives back to East Africa. For the majority of Goans,

be taken away regardless of family dynamics. The "fixed heirs" are close family members including husband, wife, son, daughter, father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, full brother, full sister, and various half-siblings (see Huda: "Inheritance Law in Islam", Learnreligions.com, 25. June 2019, https://www.learnreligions.com/inheritance-law-in-islam-2004419; Cheema 2018).

crossing the sea was not a problem. The wife would join her husband in Zanzibar and give birth on the island, in contrast to the Hindu communities. However, many Goan families did not remain in Zanzibar permanently due to their educational needs, which were one of the main areas of investment of the Goan family. Due to this, families tended to separate when the children reached schooling age; as they believed a quality education was not available in Zanzibar, the wife usually travelled to Goa with the children while the husband continued working in East Africa (see Gracias 2000: 425–426). In some cases, the whole family would move from Zanzibar to another location, usually Kenya, Goa or even the United Kingdom, for education. Even after the Indian communities in Zanzibar opened a non-denomination school, the Sir Euan Smith Madrasa (SESM), Goans continued to send their children abroad for education (see chapter four).

The first Goan education facility in Zanzibar came in 1895 when the Catholic Mission opened St. Joseph's Convent School (ZNA BA 5/15, Annual Report 1949, p.4). The school was located in Shangani and was primarily intended for Goan children of both sexes. Initially, the school taught up to grade VI (up to age twelve). The establishment of this school enabled Goan families to stay longer in Zanzibar. Nonetheless, many of them continued to travel abroad to give their children a better education, especially in families with boys, because the mission required boys of twelve years to leave the mixed convent school. After that, they could not join any other Indian schools in Zanzibar, including the non-denominational ones, as they had different curricula and languages, so most of them travelled back to Goa.

Interestingly, most Goan families returned to Zanzibar for work after the children finished their studies abroad. Frenz narrates a story of a man called Alberto: "His father born in Goa, moved to Zanzibar in the late nineteenth century on the recommendation of relatives. He worked in the services of the Sultan of Zanzibar for a couple of decades, and then in the late 1930s the family moved on to Kenya, where Alberto and his siblings went to school. Some of them did their further education in India, others in the United Kingdom, but eventually, they all returned to East Africa to work" (Frenz 2014: 1). Alberto's story was not unusual among Goan families. Many of them still recall having sent their wives and children or entire families abroad, which resulted in most Goans living as a multiple migration society. They were proud of this, and convinced that migrating several times had equipped them exceptionally well to adjust to a different environment. The aforementioned practice was common until the 1930s, when the school opened a branch for boys called St. Joseph's Boys School. This offered educational opportunities for Goan boys and made it possible for Goan parents to give their sons a complete education without sending them abroad (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1929, p.24).

## 2.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the diversity of religion and faith among Indian immigrants in Zanzibar from 1800 to 1963. It also examined how this diversity led to diverse diasporic trajectories and narratives. As we have seen in the above discussion, the Indians in Zanzibar belonged to a variety of religions: Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. The Hindus included the Bhatias, also known as Banians, who were the earliest Hindu immigrants trading in Zanzibar and the most prominent and wealthy class among the Hindus. Apart from the Bhatias, there was the Hindu Lohana caste from Gujarat, particularly the rural districts of Kutch and Kathiawar. Other minority Hindu castes in Zanzibar included the Khattri, Wani and Sonar.

Regarding Muslims, there were Shīʿa and Sunni divisions. The Shīʿa were further sub-divided into Bohora and Khōja groups. The Sunni groups were the Kutch Memons and Kumhars, who came from Sindh, Kutch and Kathiawar. There was also a small Catholic Goan community in Zanzibar. These were the only Christian Indians in Zanzibar and came from the Portuguese territories of Goa, Diu and Damao in Western India. Even after the end of colonial rule in Zanzibar, most Goans resent being classified as Indians, as they speak different languages and culturally hew more closely to Western customs.

Between these religious groups, there was no proselytising or organised conversion efforts. They were isolated from each other by descent and theology, resulting in rigid divisions between them. They even met and worshipped in different places and settled their own disputes among themselves.

The aforementioned religious diversity among Indian migrants influenced each group's migration narratives, in terms of both their journeys to Zanzibar and their living situations there. The chapter demonstrates that there is no linear or homogenous explanation for the diaspora history of Indians in Zanzibar. Instead, we see heterogeneous patterns in which religion and faith became essential aspects in shaping a diverse set of diasporic trajectories and stories among different Indian groups. Why these heterogeneous groups of Indians decided to travel to Zanzibar is the subject of the following chapter.

# 3 The Development of the Indian Communities in Zanzibar, 1800–1963

## 3.1 Introduction

Human migration is not a new phenomenon, but rather an old and natural one. Throughout humanity's history, migration has been an essential feature of human lives, involving the movement from one place to another voluntarily or by force, in groups or as individuals, searching for new opportunities or running from difficulties. Indian migration, in particular, is one of the oldest migration phenomena. Written evidence suggests that Indians have moved within and outside of India ever since the first century (Pearce 1920: 10). Many centuries ago, Indians, through the means of trade established bases dotted around the Indian and Pacific Oceans, particularly in Eastern and Southern Africa, as well as Western and South-Eastern Asia.

A variety of historical factors motivated Indians to leave their homeland and form diaspora communities in various parts of Africa at different times. Migration is caused by two main factors: push and pull factors. A "push" factor encourages people to move out of their present location, and may include social, cultural, economic, and political factors (Kainth 2002: 2). A "pull" factor prompts people to move into a new location and is caused by the same forces. Based on this perspective, the available literature affirms that the reasons for Indian migration in Africa varied from one place to another.

With regard to East Africa, Salvadori, studying the Indians in Kenya, suggests that the main factor that enticed Indians to move there before the nineteenth century,

especially to the coastal area, was trade. Indians served as financiers to traders who organised the trade caravans from the coastline to the interior (Salvadori 1996). British colonialism was another factor that sent the Indians to Kenya, especially inland Kenya, as was the construction of various forms of infrastructure, such as the Uganda Railway (see Gupta 2008: 2–3). In Tanganyika, Indians had had a presence as traders in the coastal areas since the sixteenth century. However, following the colonisation of Tanganyika by the Germans and later the British, Indians were also imported as indentured labourers (Honey 1982: 186–187). Additionally, the former coolies from the Uganda Railway crossed over and settled in Tanganyika. In Uganda, the Indians' main tasks included lifting and transporting heavy pieces of machinery used in railway construction. This heavy labour made some turn down the work and return to India. Concerning Zanzibar, studies by Sheriff (1987) and Goswami (2011) show that up to 1880 (pre-British Protectorate period), trade was the main factor prompting the influx of Indians to Zanzibar. Sayyed Saʿīd bin Sulṭān's decision to establish a commercial empire in East Africa, and subsequently move his capital from Muscat to Zanzibar, tempted many Indians to come to Zanzibar and other places in East Africa.

The literature quoted above shows that the migration of Indians to East Africa in general, and Zanzibar in particular, was motivated by economic factors, principally trade and the labour demand from European economic projects. However, the existing literature leaves other factors unexplored – there is a gap where non-economic push and pull factors are concerned, particularly during British colonialism. The discussion has excluded political and environmental aspects altogether. This research gap is what justifies this chapter, which will examine the factors that motivated Indians to move to Zanzibar between 1800 and 1963. The discussion will be based on the economic, political and physical (environmental) factors from both sides, India and East Africa, that shaped the migration of Indians in Zanzibar. These push and pull factors played significant and interrelated roles in developing the Indian population there. This chapter uses oral family memory, archival sources, and literature to argue that multiple historical processes in India and East Africa motivated groups of Indians to leave their homeland and form a diaspora community in Zanzibar.

As a theoretical approach, the push and pull theory has informed the researcher perception and understanding of the reasons (see Rubenstein 2002: 73–76; Gupta 2008: 17–21; Portes and Böröcz 1989; European Commission 2000). Through this theory, the researcher managed to explore the factors that can be observed in relation to both lands and how they interrelate. That last point is key, as migration can only occur if the reason to emigrate (the push) is remedied by the corresponding pull at an attainable destination. This approach helped trace the contributing factors for the arrival of Indians in East Africa, particularly in Zanzibar from 1800 to 1963.

## 3.2 Push and Pull Factors

The leading causes of migration are almost exactly the same all over the world. It stems from economic, social, political or environmental phenomena. These push and pull factors have been acknowledged as important factors for human migration – and for migration to occur, both forces must be operating. This section will review various situations in India and East Africa that motivated Indians to migrate to East Africa, specifically Zanzibar.

### 3.2.1 Physical (Environmental) Conditions

Conditions in India and East Africa played vital roles in influencing the movement of the Indians to Zanzibar and other parts of East Africa. Natural disasters in western India were often a factor. Evidence collected via interviews with Indian families confirms that such factors were vital for the immigration of Indians to East Africa; many Indian migrants were forced to move to Zanzibar to escape famine and disease (Nayla Jidawi, 12 June 2018; Abdul Sheriff, 1 June 2018). The western part of India, particularly Kutch and Gujarat, where many Indians migrants originated, experienced natural disasters from time to time, which influenced people's decisions to move to Zanzibar and other coastal towns in East Africa. Rainfall was irregular and uncertain, making Gujarat and many other parts of India liable to famines; written evidence suggests that Gujarat suffered from famines of varying degrees (mild to severe) throughout the nineteenth century.

The usual cause of famine in western India was a partial or total failure of the crops due to insufficient or unseasonable rainfall or both. Occasionally, significant damage was caused to standing crops by locusts, rats, floods, frost and pests. Because a large portion of the area's population depended on agriculture for its livelihood, the effects of crop failure were felt very keenly. The labouring classes usually employed in the fields were also affected by the pressure of bad seasons, which caused dramatic increases in food costs while simultaneously decreasing employment prospects (Indian Economic Enquiry Committee 1925).

The western region of India experienced several famines that influenced migration in the early decades of the nineteenth century. One occurred in 1812–1813 and primarily affected the Kathiawar region; this came in the wake of several years of crop loss due to locusts and rats. Broach then suffered from a famine between 1819 and 1820, and from 1820 to 1822, Sindh suffered as well. Later, the area experienced another famine, called the Guntur famine of 1832–1833, caused by crop failure (see the table below; Roy 2016: 6). From 1899–1900, the whole of Gujarat, except for 102 square miles in the Surat district, suffered from another famine (Choksey 1968: 170). Another famine spread in central and western Indian around the same period (1899–1902) due to the summer monsoons' failure in 1899. It was reported that this

Table 1: List of Droughts/Famines in Western India from the 1800s

| Year | Area Affected |
|---|---|
| 1801–1803 | Kutch and Surat |
| 1812–1813 | Kutch |
| 1815 | Whole of Gujarat |
| 1824–1825 | Kutch, Saurashtra |
| 1845–1846 | Many parts of Gujarat |
| 1897–1898 | Gujarat |
| 1899–1902 | Kutch, Gujarat |
| 1911, 1921, 1926 | Gujarat, Saurashtra |
| 1935, 1938 | Gujarat |
| 1939–40 | Gujarat, Saurashtra |
| 1940–1941 | Kutch and Gujarat |
| 1946–1947 | Kutch, Panchmahal |
| 1947–1948 | Parts of Gujarat |
| 1948–1949 | Kheda, Sabar Kantha |
| 1951–53 | Parts of Gujarat, Saurashtra |
| 1957–58 | Kutch, Gujarat |

Source: Records of The Drought Famines of GUJARAT (https://www.scribd.com/doc/47713630/Records-of-the-Drought-Famines-of-Gujarat-Since-Last-616-Years).

famine affected the princely states of the Rajputana Agency, Central India Agency, Hyderabad, and Kathiawar Agency.

To sum up, famines of varying degrees of severity plagued the western part of India at intervals of two to three years. These recurring famines affected the area's population growth. Within thirty years (from the 1870s to 1920), more than fifteen cases were recorded that had a mild to severe impact on the community. Famine was often accompanied by drought. Rats made the situation worse, especially for low-income families, as this increased the competition for food supplied in the area: "The rats have been so numerous that they have driven quail away ... they were constantly falling into and being drowned in a good drinking water well" (Choksey 1968: 171).

Other threats in western India included epidemics such as cholera, malaria, smallpox, plague and influenza. Influenza was reported to have affected the Gujarati pop-

ulation in 1872, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1921. In the Ahmedabad district alone, the influenza epidemic of 1918 took around 28,419 people. In Broach, Kaira, Panchamahal and Surat, the total numbers of people affected by influenza were 15,158, 23,574, 11,000 and 21,834 respectively (Mehta 1930: 33). Other epidemics, such as malaria and cholera, also took many lives in the area.

The repeated famines and epidemics had a significant impact on people's decision to leave Gujarat for better conditions elsewhere, whether inside or outside of India. Many of those who had an opportunity to leave moved overseas to be safe from epidemics and famine cycles. In reporting the impact of famine and plague in western India, The Gazette of 20 January 1897 said that the serious alarm caused by the plague interfered with business to a great degree. Thousands of people were leaving the area every day by ship and train. Out of 400 goods shops in the bazaar, 200 were closed, their owners having fled in terror. Household servants, too, left the area in vast numbers to look for better workplaces (The Gazette, 20 January 1897, p.5). The Times of India declared in 1897 that a quarter of the population had left the area to flee the epidemics (The Times of India, quoted in The Gazette, 20 January 1897, p.5).

Sheriff argued that most Indian migrants had been peasants in India whose livelihoods had been wiped out by the regular cycle of famines in Kutch, and they therefore sought refuge by migrating overseas (Sheriff 2019: 356). Many families from India seem to agree with Sheriff's argument. One of my interviewees explained that his grandfather arrived in Zanzibar from Surat at the beginning of the twentieth century. He explained how famine had affected their lives back in Surat – the memory of hunger and death had remained firmly implanted in his grandfather's mind. He remembers the first time he arrived in East Africa from India, landing in Mombasa and then moving to Zanzibar. He was surprised and excited to see the abundance of foods at the markets (Jamal Hussein,[31] 16 June 2018). Clearly, food scarcity and hunger were essential factors in his decision to emigrate and stay in Zanzibar. The details mentioned above were no surprise to the Indian migrant families interviewed for this study; many insisted that India's physical condition pushed them to East Africa.

### 3.2.2 Economic Conditions

Economic conditions are considered to be another important factor for Indian migration to Zanzibar between 1800 and 1963. These include the topics discussed below.

#### *Economic Hardship and Poverty in India*

Poverty and hardship in India prompted some of the migration in this period. Many Indian migrants in Zanzibar and other East African towns were poor farmers. They were forced to move to East Africa in search of economic relief due to severe poverty, which was caused by several factors including the repeated famines and epidemics. The

[31] Jamali Hussein is a Zanzibari of Indian descent. He is a textile trader in the Mtendeni area of Zanzibar.

unemployment resulting from this situation was a pressing problem for many young people, and resulted in poor living conditions; according to Sheriff, many families in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries lived below the subsistence level. Though poverty and hardship had affected people for years, to the extent that they accepted it as part of life, events such as drought and epidemics exacerbated the situation to an intolerable degree for many families. Consequently, young people decided to leave for East Africa and inland locations in India such as Ahmedabad (Abdul Sheriff, 1 June 2018). Along with adults, this migration involved children as young as ten if they were physically fit.

In 1898, while writing about this subject, an officer in Gujarat reported that "this emigration is not confined to any one class or caste ... all who cannot make both ends meet at home and who can raise the expenses for the journey, leave their homes in the hope of rapidly attaining wealth" (Mehta 1930: 35). Furthermore, oral evidence suggests that migration was more common from areas where the living situation was challenging (Ali Marumi, 26 May 2018). For instance, rural Gujarat has been identified as the most badly affected area, with worse economic hardship and poverty than urban Gujarat. As a result, many young people from rural Gujarat – often penniless and rootless – were involved in migration, moving from rural regions to urban ones, to Bombay or other economic centres where money could be made, including parts of Africa. Mehta researched rural Gujarat in the 1920s and reported many instances of Gujarat villagers going to Africa to seek economic opportunities (Mehta 1930: 35).

Indians not only migrated to Zanzibar (and East Africa in general), but also to Mozambique and KwaZulu-Natal. There was a call in India during the nineteenth century encouraging people to travel: "Bas Chalo Afrika" – "Let us go to Africa" (Rupani quoted in Walji 1974: 23). This view inspired many young people to shift their economic operations to East Africa. In the late nineteenth century, the protector of emigrants in Bombay reported that large numbers of Indians, including traders, tailors, shoemakers, dhobis, and cooks, were going to East Africa by every available steamer: "The people are flocking to Africa of their own free will, at their own expense, and for the chance of doing better there. Many classes and professionals are represented in exodus" (Mangat 1969: 48). However, no reliable statistics are available for the number of people who travelled to Africa to escape economic hardship.

The difficult economic situation was further felt by some Indian migrants who had a difficult life even in Zanzibar. Through various reports, we see Indian physical workers such as fishermen and barbers as migrants in Zanzibar. Some of them had a hard time even earning enough money to rent a house due to their meagre income. The colonial report documented the case of the Indian fishermen from Diu who migrated to Zanzibar in the early twentieth century. Being too poor to rent hotel rooms or houses, they set up temporary camps on the shores of the Malindi and Funguni Zanzibar (ZNA AB 39/734, Report from the Director of Medical Services 1938, pp.1–3). At one point, the government complained about the environmental pollution in those areas caused by the beaches being overrun by visitors, including Indians, who had decided to settle in the area.

The roles of individual such as religious leaders, traders, and ex-railway workers in East Africa also influenced others' decisions to move to Zanzibar. As poverty was severe in many areas of India, those who had been to East Africa would spread the word about the opportunities available there when travelling back to their home country. For instance, Aga Khan III, His Highness Sulṭān Mohamed Shah (1885 to 1957), is reported to have encouraged Ismāʿīlī families to move to East Africa to escape poverty and famine. He visited East Africa in 1897 and 1907 and witnessed the opportunities and progress made by Indians there. On his return, he advised his men to travel to East Africa to take advantage of this. Mamdani quoted in Tejpar writes:

> Verbal evidence indicates that Ismaili Imams had advised the Jamat (community) of Kachchh [Kutch] and Kathiawar to relocate. However, the severe famine known in history as Chapanio, caused distress and farmers lost their livestock, land and thousands of Indians died of starvation. Reviewing the circumstances, Hasan Ali Shah, Aga Khan I, advised the Jamat (Community) to leave Kutch, Kathiawar and move to other regions of India and the Gulf states. However, it was Sultan Mohamed Shah, Aga Khan III, who gave specific advice to migrate, particularly to the eastern coast of Africa.
>
> (Mamdani quoted in Tejpar 2019: 47–48)

In line with the above evidence, Hussein, one of my interviewees, confirmed that his grandfather did not know anything about East Africa before Aga Khan III's visit exposed them to the region. He confidently believes that his grandfather's decision to visit East Africa in the early 1900s and remain a permanent resident in Zanzibar was driven by Aga Khan III's advice. Hussein comments that "because of Sulṭān Mohammed's advice, my great-grandfather visited East Africa, and upon his arrival, he fell in love with Zanzibar. Since then, he has travelled to India only a few times" (Jamal Hussein, 16 June 2018).

Individual traders' success stories also tempted other young people to try their luck in East Africa. Among these traders was Tharia Topan, a king of the ivory trade in Zanzibar. Tharia Topan was born in 1823 in Lakhpar, Kutch to a low-income family that sold vegetables. In 1835, at the age of twelve, Tharia Topan tried to retrieve some money that was stolen from a friend at a shop in Kutch. While returning the money to the owner, he was accused of being a thief and was severely beaten and injured by the crowd. To save himself from the worst, he jumped into the nearest dhow and hid among the cargo. Frightened and tired, he fell asleep – and when he woke up, he found that the dhow was at sea. Pushed by hunger and thirst, he came out of his hiding place, but it was too late for the captain to reverse course. By pure happenstance, the dhow was heading to Zanzibar. Among the travellers onboard was the accountant for the Jairam Shivji firm, who knew Tharia Topan's family (Tajddin 2003: 416).

Tharia Topan arrived in Zanzibar illiterate and penniless at the age of twelve and got a job as a garden sweeper for six shillings a month in the house of Ladwa Damji. While in Zanzibar, he learnt to read and write, and at the age of eighteen, he became

a scribe. At twenty-two, was put in charge of the credit department of Jairam Shivji. While continuing to work there, he took out a small loan and bought a donkey cart, which he drove himself. He started buying cloves and coconuts to sell in Zanzibar and managed to accumulate a lot of wealth with his small business. In 1845, Tharia Topan travelled back to Kutch to visit his parents for the first time in twelve years. He arranged his marriage, like many other Indians of his age, and travelled back to Zanzibar with his wife, this time to start a larger business. He was involved in the clove, spice and ivory trade, and also financed the local and European merchants as a banker. In 1876, Tharia Topan was chief of customs in Zanzibar (Jhaveri 2017: 5–6; Tajddin 2003: 416). By the end of the nineteenth century, Tharia Topan had opened offices in Bombay and appointed agents at many Swahili ports.

This long and exciting tale of Tharia Topan's life struggle, and his success story in Zanzibar, motivated other illiterate and disadvantaged young people to try their luck in East Africa: Nanji Kalidas Mehta, a Hindu Lohanas, confirmed that the success stories of some Bhatias, Khōjas and members of his caste "fired his ambition to cross the ocean for money as well as for adventure" (Mehta 2001: 1745). Many young Indians believed East Africa was a land of hope and promise, a place where one would never fail. It was reported that Tharia sponsored many Ismāʿīlīs to move to Zanzibar, helping them to settle in Zanzibar and other towns in East Africa. He also hired many of them himself (Tajddin 2003: 416; Jhaveri 2017: 5).

Stories similar to those of Tharia Topan were repeated by many other successful traders, although not all of them travelled to East Africa by chance. Alidina Visram was another wealthy Ismāʿīlī trader who helped many Indians to travel to East Africa. In 1863, at the age of twelve, he landed in Zanzibar from Kutch and had the chance to work as an assistant for Sewa Haji Paroo in Bagamoyo (The Samachar, 12 September 1937, p.11). Later, Visram started to organise his own caravan transport business between Bagamoyo and Ujiji. By 1897, following Sewa Haji Paroo's death, Visram extended his caravan routes north from Mwanza to Uganda and Kisumu, Kenya, allowing him to accumulate even more wealth. According to Mangat, most of Alidina's scattered stores were managed by Indian assistants drawn mainly from his Ismāʿīlī community (Mangat 1969: 53).

Much like Tharia Topan, Aldina Visram shared his fortune. In the 1900s, after a request from Sulṭān Muḥammad Shah (Aga Khan III), Visram helped penniless Ismāʿīlīs from Kathiawar settle in Kenya and Uganda with the assistance of fellow traders Mukhi Valji Hirji and Mukhi Varas Hashim Jamal. They offered immigrants accommodation, employment, and an opportunity to obtain trade goods on credit (Ebrahim 2010: 41). In another example, Visram is reported to have transported a group of Ismāʿīlīs, impoverished peasants, from Kutch to Kenya in 1914. He offered them land to settle and the opportunity of credit (Ebrahim 2010: 41). "It is said that ninety per cent of the Ismāʿīlīs who attained their prosperity in Kenya and Uganda owe their settlement to Visram" (Ebrahim 2010: 41).

*Trade Opportunities*

Trade was another vital factor that pulled the Indians to East Africa, particularly Zanzibar, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, this factor was confined to small and established traders only. In the west of India, trade was a key economic activity with a high social status for the communities involved. The nineteenth century's official documents offer vital evidence of Kutch and East Africa's trading relationship, which facilitated the Gujarati population's migration to East Africa. Captain David Seton, a resident in Kutch, confirmed in 1804 that there were strong commercial links between Kutch and the coast of East Africa (David Seton quoted in Goswami 2016b: 922). These links allowed Kutchi merchants to earned lucrative profits and thus encouraged them to settle there (David Seton quoted in Goswami 2016b: 922).

Very few of the nineteenth-century Indian migrants were well-established traders or had any capital before moving to East Africa. Even fewer owned large businesses or worked for large Indian firms such as Jairam Shivji. The majority were poor with no capital. However, some possessed business skills. Thus, they moved to East Africa and Zanzibar, in particular, to increase their financial capital. Indian interest in East African trade was based around a variety of different items but mainly ivory, textiles and the slave trade.

Ivory (in Swahili pembe) has been exported from the eastern coast of Africa since the second century BC. As early as the seventh century AD, India was a significant market (Sheriff 1987: 78). Traders from India would come to fetch ivory and then return to India with it. Ivory from East Africa was in higher demand in India than Asian ivory due to its size. It was also softer and could be polished more easily; Asian ivory is harder to polish and tends to yellow with air exposure (Sheriff 1987: 78).

In India, ivory was in high demand for various economic and cultural purposes. The deep part of the tusk, which held the tooth's pulp, was best for making bangles. These bracelets were worn by all classes of women in India and were never removed. When the owner died, the bracelets were purposely destroyed. This cultural practice contributed to high demand for ivory, because each generation needed its own bracelets (Chaiklin 2010: 535). Outside of India, East African ivory was in high demand in Europe from the ivory carving centres in southern Germany and the Low Countries during the Middle Ages, which supplied large numbers of religious shrines and artistic objects for Christian Europe (Beachey 1967: 269).

The ivory trade in East Africa developed more significantly in the nineteenth century following an increase in demand in Europe and America (Beachey 1967: 269). This occurred at a time when the coast of East Africa was under the rule of Omani Arabs led by Sayyed Saʿīd bin Sulṭān, who wished to establish a commercial empire in East Africa. In 1832, the Sultan transferred his seat of authority from Muscat to Zanzibar to build his dream empire. He invited Arabs and Indians from Muscat to expand their businesses to East Africa. Within a decade of moving to Zanzibar, the ivory traders had become more numerous and advanced further towards Eastern Africa's

interior. When traders returned from East Africa to India, they brought back vast amounts of ivory with them, and tales of Africa's richness.

Since ivory was a highly lucrative item, the stories of riches from the ivory trade drew Indians to this business in the nineteenth century. Indian interest and investment in the ivory trade grew to the extent that most writings from visitors to East Africa throughout the nineteenth century mentioned that Indians were mainly involved in the ivory trade. A letter from Atkins Hamerton, in 1841 noted that Indians made up the entire trade. The ivory was consigned to them from the interior. The Indian agents of the mainland managed even the Sultan's ivory trade (Hamerton quoted in Beachey 1967: 277).

In the nineteenth century, Zanzibar was a significant ivory trade centre. The Zanzibar Gazette reported that of the total amount of ivory used in manufacture throughout the world, seventy-five per cent was shipped from Zanzibar. It exported more than 19,931 tusks to the world in 1893 and 21,059 in 1894 (The Gazette, 5 December 1894). The ivory trade in Zanzibar was in the hands of Banyans and Khōjas. Their terms and methods of classification were outlined the article (The Gazette, 5 December 1894). If tusk scales were forty pounds and upwards, the Indian called it "pembe bab Ulaya", meaning ivory to be sent to Europe. "Ulaya" in Swahili means Europe, and "bab", a word of Kutchi origin, signified "destined for". This class of ivory was shipped to the European and American markets. A tusk weighing twenty-five to forty pounds was called "pembe bab Kutch", because such tusks were sent to that country, where they were used to make armlets, anklets, and other accessories. Tusks of less than twenty-five pounds were termed "pembe calasia", this being a word of Kutch origin meaning "small". In the East African markets, "pembe calasia" were also known as "ball ivory" because they were used chiefly to manufacture balls for billiards, pool and bagatelle (The Gazette, 5 December 1894).

Indian involvement in the ivory trade was twofold. Firstly, some Indians travelled to the interior of East Africa to collect ivory. Among the pioneers was a trader from Surat called Musa Mzuri/Msuri. He and his brother Sayyan travelled from Zanzibar to East Africa's interior to do business. Their first expedition was recorded in 1825, when they reached the Unyamwezi territory to search for ivory in exchange for cotton clothes. On their return, Sayyam died and left the business in hands of his brother, Musa Mzuri (Oonk 2006a: 255; Burton 1872; Honey 1982: 111). Aside from these two brothers, Sewa Haji Paroo, an Indian trader born in Zanzibar in 1851, played a vital role in the ivory caravan trade. He worked for his father and later inherited the family business in Zanzibar and Bagamoyo. At the age of forty, in 1891, he opened stores as far afield as Tabora, Ujiji, Mwanza and elsewhere in the region of the "great lakes". It is believed that Paroo held a "near-monopoly over the caravan trade in the interior of German East Africa and his caravans were the most important in the country" (Ebrahim 2010: 40.). Additionally, Valdina Visram was said to have reached Uganda before the railway (Oonk 2006a: 255).

Secondly, some Indians financed the traders and their caravans to travel to the interior of East and Central Africa. The leaders of these caravans were usually Arabs, and

Hindu ivory merchants generally financed them. A Banyan advanced a certain sum of rupees to the caravan leader, or a stock of articles suitable for barter in the interior, such as pieces of cloth, wire, beads, etc., and the borrower undertakes to repay this loan, with interest, upon his return to the coast. The interest charged was always very stiff, never less than fifty per cent of the amount advanced (The Gazette, 5 December 1894). However, like any other kind of investment, the risk of losing their money was reported in several cases; a caravan was sometimes reported not to return, or the leader ran away with all the goods. However, these incidents did not stop Indians from investing in the ivory trade.

Thus, Indians accumulated huge profits from the ivory trade in both ways, and the profits encouraged them to invest more and more into this lucrative trade. Euan Smith, a British Consul-General of Zanzibar in 1890, remarked that "the profits made by the Indian merchants, on the whole, have been enormous" (ZNA AA 4/6, Euan Smith to Salisbury, 24 February 1890). No regular auction sales of ivory were held in Zanzibar, but from time to time each merchant sold whatever stock of the article they happened to have on hand to the representatives of American and European firms in Zanzibar, or else shipped it directly to London, Hamburg or Bombay (The Gazette, 5 December 1894).

The textile trade was another essential aspect of the commercial contact between India and the East African coast, specifically when it came to cotton from Gujarat and Sindh. For centuries, India's western region had produced and supplied various qualities and sizes of textile products to the coast of East Africa. This trade was mainly conducted by the Gujarat merchant class, the Bhatias (Banians), who came from Diu, Kutch and Kathiawar. Kaniki/Kiniki, or indigo-dyed Indian cotton, was very common, with demand primarily in Zanzibar and East Africa. Before the end of slavery in 1896, almost all slave masters in Zanzibar and other coastal towns of East Africa required Kaniki to dress their slaves. Kaniki was available in different sizes, such as Shukkah, Doti, Jurah and Korjah (Burton 1872: 148–150). Apart from Kaniki, coloured clothes, such as Kikoi, Shali, Sohari, Ukaya, and Shazar, were also very common in Zanzibar and in demand for different purposes.

Indeed, Indian textiles were highly valued in East Africa. They were used in the barter trade on the East African coast and the interior of East and Central Africa; Goswami remarks that cotton was an essential item in the barter trade system in Zanzibar and on the East African coast (see Goswami 2011: 141). Machado provides similar explanations of Gujarat cotton textiles. He notes that the traders in the north, centre and south of Mozambique and the East-Central African interior accepted textiles as a primary measure of value for ivory, slaves and other commodities (Machado 2005: 4). Moreover, the traders offered Indian cloth as gifts to rulers in exchange for permission to conduct trade in their lands. African rulers accumulated these as reflections of their wealth (Machado 2005: 35). The aforementioned commercial opportunities persuaded Gujarati traders to do business in Zanzibar in order to take advantage of the available options.

The rise of the Zanzibar commercial empire also contributed to the migration of Indians to Zanzibar. The migration of Indians to Zanzibar increased, particularly once Sayyed Saʿīd bin Sulṭān shifted his government seat to Zanzibar in the 1830s. Saʿīd persuaded Indian traders, mostly Banyans from Muscat, to extend their capital to Zanzibar. He promised to protect their fortunes in Zanzibar and assured them of their religious freedom. Archival records indicate that Hindu traders played essential roles in helping Sayyed Saʿīd to establish a commercial empire; he appointed them as the empire's treasurers (The Samachar Silver Jubilee Number 1929, p.25). Thus, many Indians, especially traders, were enticed into relocating their businesses to Zanzibar.

Parallel to that, the British government's decision to open a consulate in Zanzibar in 1841 also pushed Indians to move to Zanzibar. It should be noted that, in the nineteenth century, Indians were British subjects; hence, the opening of the British consulate in Zanzibar influenced their decision to move there. It was a sign of good diplomatic and trade relations between the British government and Zanzibar. Even those worried about expanding their businesses to Zanzibar found themselves doing so after the British opened their consulate.

Another factor that facilitated migration was maritime technology development, especially steamer navigation availability. It meant that transportation was available at all times from many corners of the world. Pearce reported: "Today no steamer sailing in the Western Indian Ocean thinks of watering anywhere except at Zanzibar. It is the natural point whether sailing craft from India, from the Persian Gulf and from the south direct their courses... Its harbours are on the western or the sheltered side of the island. It is twenty-five miles from the main African coast, and while conveniently close, it is safe and secure from unexpected attack or surprise" (Pearce 1920: 119). The existence of reliable transport between Zanzibar and various parts of the world attracted investors from various parts of the world to invest in Zanzibar, in turn making the area commercially prominent.

Since Zanzibar was commercially prominent, it attracted traders from Europe and the United States too. These traders invested in various businesses and further increased Zanzibar's commercial prominence. In 1833, Sayyed Saʿīd bin Sulṭān, signed the "Treaty of Amity and Commerce" with Captain Edmund Roberts from America. This treaty gave the Americans considerable trading advantages. They were given "most favoured nation" status and were allowed to trade freely in all harbours in the Sultan's dominion, paying no fees beyond a five per cent import tax on all goods that arrived in the Sultan's port (al-Mukadam 1990: 18). American traders were able to bring a wide variety of goods that were in great demand in Zanzibar and East Africa, such as cotton, cloth, gunpowder and household goods. The most highly valued product of all was American cotton cloth, commonly called Merkani (Mrekani). During this period, the word "merikani" passed into the Swahili language, which is still used to this day when referring to America. Merkani was an article of domestics, developed from a type of unbleached cotton cloth imported from American industries.

Compared to Kaniki and other Indian cotton clothes, American cotton clothes were far superior in quality, which resulted in stiff competition with Indian products

from Kutch and Gujarat (Sheriff 1987: 95). This resulted in Gujarat clothes being replaced in the market. In 1848, Colonel Hamerton commented that "these coarse unbleached cotton clothes (Merkani) have come into universal use in Arabia and the coast of Africa, and is fast driving the British and Indian manufactured articles of this kind out of the market" (Coupland 1938: 379). In addition to American traders, British, German and French traders were also tempted into doing business in Zanzibar.

Accordingly, the influx of traders from America, Europe, and Asia to the East African coast changed the region's economic status. By the mid-nineteenth century, written records indicate that Zanzibar was becoming more of a vital commercial centre along the coast of East Africa. Migrants viewed Zanzibar as a land of prosperity and economic possibilities that offered professional and non-professional opportunities. There was a famous jingle that said, "Zanzibar bandari liari, kila sheri [kheri] tayari", literally, "in Zanzibar's harbour, the choice of everything was available", or more freely, "everything is found in Zanzibar, the best of all, near and far" (Strandes quoted in Goswami 2016b: 923). The presence of goods and traders in Zanzibar from different parts of the world attracted Indian traders because it allowed them to sell and buy goods from other countries.

Equally important was the trading houses' role in western India, especially from Bombay-Gujarat. Traditionally, Indians used kinship ties to form the core of their businesses. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, trading houses in Bombay-Gujarat played a significant role. According to Beachey, most Indian merchants of Zanzibar and the East African coast were agents of the Bombay trading houses, which were business firms that specialised in facilitating trade between the coast of East Africa and Bombay-Gujarat. Under these firms, traders in India sent their agents to Zanzibar or other East African coastal cities to look for business opportunities. The central office and primary capital usually remained in India, where all records and bookings were kept. In East Africa, they opened branch houses. For example, Fayal Gulam Hussein of Zanzibar was the agent of Allao Paroo, a prominent Muslim merchant of Bombay (Beachey 1967: 277). Aldina Visram, a famous trader, organised his business in a similar manner. He opened shops in almost all important towns; by the 1900s, Visram had established around sixty branches managed by some 500 staff in East Africa (see The Samachar, 12 September 1937, p.11).

Likewise, Messrs. Cowasjee Dinshaw & Bros., a firm based in Aden well known as naval and mill agents and ship owners under Cowasjee Dinshaw, opened a branch in Zanzibar in 1884. This firm imported more than a hundred Indians to Zanzibar, most of them Parsees. It was representative of many English steamship companies and agents of English firms established in Zanzibar (The Gazette, 3 August 1894).

Since the trading houses generally operated as family firms, their dominance provided some families with opportunities to travel to East Africa. One example was seen when Jairam Shivji's firm expanded its business from Muscat to Zanzibar, with Shivji serving as chief customs collector for the Sultan of the Omani Empire in East Africa. Jairam, who had a flourishing business in Zanzibar and had agents in the mainland ports, hired his Kutch relatives and friends to help him run the firm (see Mangat

1969: 16–17). This was not an exceptional practice but a prevalent one followed by many other Indian firms in Zanzibar. From archival evidence, we learn of various stories of people submitting petitions to the district commissioners in Zanzibar to apply for entry permits for their relatives living in India. Some petitions involved petty traders who owned small businesses with minimal capital but needed their relatives' support to run their business and care for them in sickness or old age. One case involved Odhavji Jeram Kotecha, an Indian trader in Ole, Pemba. Kotecha was applying for a permit for his son-in-law, Kantibal Kalyanji Mirani, from Khevalya, India. His account reads: "...my health has been now completely broken down due to my old age... It has now become a very difficult task for me to run my business owing to my ill-health, coupled with my old age. Sometimes I fall sick; there is no one to take care of me..." (ZNA AKP 24/2, A letter from Odhavji Jeram Kotecha to the Immigration Control Board, 8 March 1955, Pemba). It was in the above context that some Indians came to Zanzibar.

Apart from blood ties, a more crucial hiring factor was a shared village background. Due to this factor, Indian firms also employed non-family members to work in East Africa from various parts of Gujarat, particularly Sindh, Karachi, Kathiawar and Bombay. Some came from as far south as Cochin to work at a branch trade house in East Africa. The house appointed and motivated people to travel to East Africa through their agents in India; they sent invitations to the Indian families promising jobs in East Africa. One letter from an executive engineer in the public works department in Punjab stated: "I have come back again in Naivasha ... I have not yet taken any men in your place, and I shall be pleased if you will come, but you must come at once as I cannot wait longer than 1st January. If you come, I wish you to bring with you: four good carpenters, three good masons, one good blacksmith. To these men, I shall give Rs. 2 per working day per man" (a letter from the public works department, quoted in Mangat 1969: 72–73).

India's trading houses offered several apprenticeship posts and credit to interested men of the same caste. The apprenticeships aimed to teach business skills to new immigrants from rural Gujarat who lacked them. It was common practice for young people from rural areas to stay for a short period at ports in Gujarat, such as Mandvi, Mundra and Lakhpat, and be tasked with overseeing trade skills before coming to East Africa. As Frere described, "...after perhaps a brief apprenticeship in some older firm he [the Indian] started a shop of his own with goods bought on credit by some large house, and after a few years, when he has made a little money, generally returns home to marry, to make fresh business connections and then come back to Africa..." (Bartle Frere quoted in Goswami 2016a: 65).

Even though it is not clear how long they had to stay at the ports to learn the necessary skills, it was clear that this was an essential stage of business skill development, as it prepared them to face overseas trade challenges (Honey 1982: 61–62). In some cases, the apprenticeships actually took place in East Africa, particularly in Zanzibar. King, while reporting the experience of Ismāʿīlī traders who hired their relatives from India to work at their firms in various parts of East Africa, explains that newcomers usually

went first to Zanzibar where they would work in Ismāʿīlī firms until they gained some experience, capital and Swahili. They then moved over to the mainland and bartered for African goods brought to the coasts, and sold supplies to caravans, including guns, gunpowder and shot to hunters and local potentates and leaders who could pay (King 1974: 198). This information is not surprising, as Zanzibar was a true business centre at the time, with numerous investors and job opportunities.

Equally important were the traveller buildings (hostels) established in East Africa by Indian communities, such as the Khōja Shīʿa Ithnāʿshara Ramjee Dharamshalah in Malindi, Zanzibar. This building was constructed by Haji Rehemtullah Allarakhi Tejani to accommodate travellers belonging to that community (The Gazette, 25 April 1894). It consisted of a large square block, with an inner courtyard; some thirty-six apartments faced the yard, and there was a specific room on the ground floor for sick travellers (The Gazette, 25 April 1894). The Ismāʿīlīs had a similar hostel, established in the late nineteenth century to support the travellers from their community. Also, there was another hostel called Caravanserai (also known as Musafirkhanas) in Kiponda. Such buildings were constructed to accommodate poor Indian travellers who passed through Zanzibar. It was remarked that these kinds of buildings supported commerce and information sharing among the traders.

### 3.2.3 Political Factors

The political history of India, Zanzibar and East Africa, especially the history of colonisation, played a key role in developing the Indian population in East Africa. In the second decade of the nineteenth century, the British established their rule in Gujarat and annexed it to the British Empire. The British crown and the parliament of Great Britain became the ultimate repository of power. As part of the vast British Empire, India was administered by the Governor-General/Viceroy, who was head of British administration in India, yet subordinate to the Secretary of State for India, who was the supreme executive head in British India (the Raj). The British divided Raj India into several administrative zones, each headed by a Governor or Lieutenant Governor. Gujarat became an administrative zone of the Bombay Presidency (called the Northern Zone), incorporating large areas from Maharashtra, Karnataka, Sindh, and other parts of western and central India (Hunter 1892: 27–29; Desai 1964: 139).

Even before British colonisation, Gujarat attracted the Europeans' eyes. As early as the sixteenth century, Gujarat fascinated the Dutch, French, Portuguese and English, and they each established bases along the western coast at different times. The Portuguese were the first to arrive after the Battle of Diu 1509 and the Treaty of Bassein of 1534. They acquired several territories along the Gujarati coast, including Goa, Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli. The Portuguese administered these territories for almost 500 years until 1962.[32] The tale of the European conquest of Gujarat is long,

[32] See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portuguese_India (accessed 30. September 2022).

and the objective of this research is not to go into its history, but rather to discuss its impact on Indian migration to East Africa.

Among the significant consequences of India's colonisation was the creation of new types of migration opportunities based on labour. These opportunities started when the British abolished slavery in 1833. This contributed to a heavy demand for labour supply in the British colonies to work on colonial economic and social infrastructure projects such as plantations, roads and railway construction. To meet this demand, the British initiated labour migration from India to the British colonies in Africa, including those in East African. In India, the colonial government passed Act No. XXXIII of 1860, which extended Act No. 21 of 1855 to facilitate labour exportation procedures to the British colonies. Indentured labourers known as "girmityas" were recruited from India (Modi 2015: 3), signing a contract while in India to work abroad for a specified period. Under this system, the labourer received a wage and a promise of return passage upon the end of the contract. People were eager to be part of the indentured system, mainly because they wanted to escape their home villages' poverty and famine.

Moreover, India's oppressive caste system made most people economically and socially dependent on the dominant landowning classes, forcing them to live without social and economic mobility. As a result, the penniless agriculturalists and their families searched for other livelihood possibilities, including emigrating overseas. Indian migration to East Africa served British economic policies there, so to facilitate the process, the British government opened migration agency offices in Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta to recruit labourers. At each of the agencies, the government employed a "Protector of Emigrants" to ensure that no one was exported against their own will (Modi 2015: 3). In East Africa, the use of indentured labourers started in 1896, as Mangat describes:

> ... preliminary arrangements were made by the Railway committee with the government of India to start immediate recruitment for the labour in India. An experienced engineer and medical officer with sufficient hospital staff were acquired on loan from the government of India. By January 1896, the first batch of about 1,000 Indian indentured workers – including a proportion of blacksmiths, carpenters and masons – arrived in Mombasa. Another batch of Indian surveyors, draughtsman, accountants, clerks, and oversees with a few European officers reached Mombasa in February 1896. These Indian recruits were engaged on contract terms approved by the government of India.
>
> (Mangat 1969: 33)

Official Bombay agents were the first to register and export labour from India to East Africa. These agents, such as Messrs, Mackinnon, Mackenzie & Co., were the primary recruiting centres. However, the outbreak of plague in India in 1897 impacted on such processes, as it led to a prohibition of exporting labourers from Bombay ports. Afterwards, Calcutta and its port became the export centre for the labourers, with Grindlay, Groom & Co., appointed as recruitment agents there. These agents were required to

recruit labour from Bengal and the eastern provinces, which were free from plague infection. The British colonial government then opened another railway agent office in Karachi, which became the most significant recruitment centre (Mangat 1969: 36).

East Africa's colonial officials accepted the idea of importing Indians as indentured labourers there. Stewart, the manager of the Uganda Railway, commented in 1905: "At the present moment we could not do without them [Indians]" (Stewart, quoted in Mangat 1969: 74). As a result, their numbers grew more prominent in the railway sector; according to Stewart, by 1905, there were 1,254 Indians employed on the railways. They worked at various stations, including Mombasa, Nairobi and Port Florence (Kisumu), and worked as clerks, signallers, station managers and guards (Stewart, quoted in Mangat 1969: 74). A few years later, the number of Indians employed at the railway as clerks and station managers had increased even further, reaching 2,000 in 1914 and 2,022 in 1921 (Mangat 1969: 74).

It should be noted that recruiting and exporting labour to East Africa did not always follow formal procedures. Some Indians travelled to East Africa without proper contracts and were employed through local recruiting processes. Written evidence confirms that the railway authorities in Uganda often imported Indian workers without coming to formal agreements in India. They were encouraged to travel to Uganda at their own expense, and arrangements were made with them on their arrival.

Punjab Muslims formed the majority of the workers recruited to construct the East Africa railway under the indentured labour scheme. Later, after the end of their contracts, the indentured workers who helped build the railway mostly returned to India. Gregory admits that the available information about the number of Indian employees who remained in (or left) East Africa after their contact is incomplete and inaccurate. However, he suggests that "only 10 to 15 per cent of coolies and a slightly higher percentage of the more skilled Indians renewed their contracts" (Gregory 1971: 51). He further estimates that of 39,771 Indian workers who went to East Africa, 32,493 returned, while around 7,278 (18.3 per cent) remained (Gregory 1971: 57). Those who stayed behind took up a variety of occupations such as agriculture, trade and masonry work. Some of them moved to Uganda, Tanganyika and even Zanzibar to look for economic opportunities.

Indeed, the Uganda Railway construction intensified the migration of Indians to East Africa. Of the Indian workers who remained in East Africa, Lovegrove reports that a small number became market gardeners near the cities. Others lived in Kavirondo and produced rice, cotton, linseed and sim-sim (sesame), while some made their livings as carpenters or stonemasons. However, the majority of Indians who stayed in East Africa worked as traders. They opened small shops wherever there was an opportunity to sell their merchandise (Lovegrove 1963: 36).

Mohamed, one of my interlocutors, described how his family, originally from Punjab, reached Zanzibar: "My ancestor initially worked as indentured labour for the Uganda Railway. When his contract ended, he decided to stay in East Africa and moved to the Lake Victoria area to open a small shop selling spare bicycle parts. After several years of working there, my great grandfather moved to Zanzibar" (Mohamed

Sheriff,[33] 22 April 2018). Mohamed admits that it's tough to know the exact number of Indians who migrated from Uganda, but he has heard that there were a few former Indian railway workers who migrated to Zanzibar from Kenya and Uganda (Mohamed Sheriff, 22 April 2018).

In Zanzibar, the idea of employing indentured labour from India was also proposed in the early twentieth century. After the British abolished slavery in Zanzibar at the end of the nineteenth century, labour shortages troubled the colonial government and clove growers. Some landowners and clove investors asked the government to import indentured labourers from India, as the government did in some of its colonies, for clove plantations. Although there are no reasons specified in the colonial records for the plan's failure, the need to give former slaves a chance to work might have been a significant reason. For former plantation slaves in Zanzibar, working on clove plantations had been the primary skill they used to earn a living; if Indians had replaced them, crime and theft would probably have increased due to unemployment (Ali Marumi, 26 May 2018).

Additionally, the Indians were needed to work as peasant farmers in East Africa. The colonial authorities in East Africa highly praised the Indians' performance in agriculture compared to other workers. From a very early stage of their administration, the colonial authorities preferred the services of the Indians, as, in most cases, they appeared to do their jobs well. Since demand was high when economic conditions were not favourable in India, migration to East Africa occurred quickly. In Kenya, for instance, in 1899, a few years after the establishment of effective colonisation, Acting Commissioner Clifford Craufurd declared: "nothing would give me greater pleasure than to take steps to bring into this country suitable Indian agriculturalists to develop its resources" (Craufurd, quoted in Mangat 1969: 64).

As a response, Indians moved to East Africa to work as agriculturalists. Arthur Hardinge reported in 1900 that Indian agriculturalists had applied for land plots for cultivation in the Ukamba province in Kenya. He proposed that "encouragement should be given to them to settle there ... the government of India need not have any apprehension with regards to their welfare, as they live under the protection of the Indian Codes" (Hardinge, quoted in Mangat 1969: 65). Though India's government was not very supportive of this proposal and encouraged the former coolies to settle as agriculturalists. Likewise, the European settlers did not approve of this idea either, as it was feared that it would lead to a lack of available fertile land in the future (Peil and Oyeneye 1998: 78).

In Zanzibar, the British officials formed a plan to import Indian farmers in the second decade of the twentieth century. The plan was to involve recruiting some Indian agricultural families as free settlers and engage them in public works, especially road building. The colonial government sent an officer to India in 1912 to implement the project, but he was unsuccessful (Mangat 1969: 70). As well as importing

[33] Mohamed Sherriff is a resident of Stone Town and the owner of a small grocery store in Vuga, Zanzibar Town. His parents were of Indian descent.

agriculturalists, some local politicians, such as Ameir Tajo, advised the government to consider introducing Indian cattle such as the Red Sindhi strain into Zanzibar in the 1950s. There was a general idea that Indian breeds were better milk yielders than Zanzibar cattle (see The Samachar, 20 February 1955, p.5). Therefore, the importation of cattle could probably go along with the importation of Indian cattle keepers, who would then keep the cattle in Zanzibar. However, the idea did not materialise, as the government was keen to improve milk production using local cows (see The Samachar, 20 February 1955, p.5).

Other than agriculture, there was a massive demand for skilled workers and subordinate staff all over East Africa, which also influenced the arrival of Indians to East Africa. Due to the competitiveness of the Indians and the lack of qualified native candidates, Indians were employed in numerous departments to serve at different posts. By the beginning of the 1900s, almost every department of the central and regional government in East Africa's British colonies, from clerks to various types of artisan, was filled by Indians, particularly from Goa.

Indeed, the Indians also reached the German colonies in East Africa, not only as traders but also as professional workers in governmental and private institutions. Between 1894 and 1898, German officials made several requests to the Indian government asking for immigration of Indians to German East Africa to be made legal. Throughout the German period in Tanganyika, there were frequent demands for Indian labourers in that colony. German officials were fascinated with the idea of employing Indians – in a written statement, German officials commented that they envied the British officials for having work done by Indian staff, because the Indians had enough experience to perform their duties (Hardinge 1928: 91). On one occasion, a German ambassador wrote a letter to the Foreign Office to express the officials' strong wish of having Indian immigrants in Tanganyika as labourers and artisans. He promised to offer the right treatment and proper contacts in line with Indian law (letter from German ambassador quoted in Mangat 1969: 46).

The German request did not convince the government of India. They believed that in a vast land like Tanganyika, with few administrative officers, it would be challenging to ensure the law was carried out in full (Mangat 1969: 47). Thus, the idea of importing Indians to German East African colonies lacked governmental support. However, the government put no restrictions on free Indian immigrants to German East Africa. This decision made the colonies dependent on Indians travelling there of their own desire. As a result, many Indians penetrated the German East African colonies to work as tailors, shoemakers, dhobis, cooks, shopkeepers, coolies, and more (Aga Khan quoted in Mangat 1969: 48).

On the other hand, there were a few reports of the Indian government approving Germany's requests for Indians after all. In 1902, for example, 40 Indian men were recruited from Bombay to work as chemical assistants and a gardener at the botanical research stations in Amani, the north-eastern region of Tanganyika. Similarly, a group of Indians from Madras and Singhalese were approved as agricultural labourers, artisans, mechanics and blacksmiths in German East Africa.

It is additionally worth mentioning the importation of Sikh Indians from the Punjab region in north-western India to work as colonial police and military in East Africa. The British colonial officials had a great interest in Indian soldiers, specifically Sikhs, as they believed in and trusted their reputation as top colonial soldiers. Henry Hamilton Johnston, a British administrator in Nyasaland, laid out in detail for the Foreign Office the reasons for his opinion that without Sikhs, the protectorate government of Zanzibar and other parts of East Africa would face a military tragedy: "Not being Muhammadans, they are quite out of sympathy with the Arab slave traders. Not being Hindus of high caste, they give no trouble about their food or any inconvenient religious ceremonies. They are brave, strong, vigorous ... and well suited to the rough life and exhausting climate" (Johnson quoted in Metcalf 2007: 117). Even before the Sikhs' immigration to East Africa, the British had already recruited them as colonial police and military in Malaya, Singapore, China, and other British colonies in Asia. Following the success of the Sikhs elsewhere, the British government was inspired to recruit them in East Africa as well.

The colonial government preferred the Sikh soldiers as they were more robust than Swahilis, who were regarded as unseasoned and not very courageous. They claimed that "a force of one hundred sepoys,[34] is more valuable than three or four times their number of Swahilis" (Metcalf 2007: 114). Johnson remarked that the Zanzibaris were of "little use as fighting men especially when directed against Arabs and [Nyasa] Yaos, who were practically their brothers" (Johnson quoted in Metcalf 2007: 117). Even before the official colonisation of Nyasaland by the British, Johnston had already submitted a request to the Indian government to recruit Sikhs for the police and military. This request was rejected by the Indian government, as they wanted to keep the Sikh soldiers for their own use. They were worried that exporting Sikhs might weaken their military resources (Metcalf 2007: 113).

Nevertheless, this rejection did not stop the recruitment of Indian soldiers to Africa. In 1889, a retired officer of the Madras Sappers, Colonel J. Pollock, made unauthorised recruitments of one hundred retired artisans from Bangalore and sent them to Mombasa to supervise construction work of the Imperial British East Africa Company. Upon accomplishing his first task, he made a formal request for two hundred Sikhs for police work in British East Africa. He even reported to the Indian government that the earlier group of migrants was doing well in terms of health and socialisation in their new place in East Africa. In response to his request, the Indian government authorised the immigration of 200 residents of the Hindu Haryana district of eastern Punjab – but not the Sikhs – to serve as soldiers in East Africa. Also, the Baluchistan corps of the Bombay Provincial Army was allowed to volunteer for East Africa (see The Gazette, 27 February 1896, p.8; The Gazette, 2 September 1896, p.7). Permission was granted for them to work in East Africa for three years only. From June 1890, the recruited men sailed from Bombay to serve in East Africa. By the end

[34] The term "Sepoy" referred to Indian infantryman armed with muskets.

of their contract in July 1893, the territories were left with a heavy demand for soldiers (Metcalf 2007: 114).

To maintain the situation, Rennell Rodd begged to be allowed to recruit a hundred Punjabi soldiers who would be trained as a military police force in East Africa. He offered free rations, clothing, and a high salary of fifteen rupees a month. However, his proposal did not convince the Indian government. His offer of 15 Rs.[35] a month (versus the standard Indian army pay of 7 Rs.), military training, rations and clothes was interpreted as a form of competition with the Indian government (Metcalf 2007: 114).

It should be noted that before 1895 (the British colony), East Africa was under the rule of the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEACO) and not the imperial government. This position made it easier for the government of India to reject most of these requests (Metcalf 2007: 114). Following the British East Africa colony's change in leadership from IBEACO to the imperial government, the Indian government could no longer refuse to supply men who would work as soldiers in East Africa. Consequently, a group of 300 Punjabi Muslims taken from nineteen troops were exported to Mombasa in 1895. They joined the Sudanese, Swahili, Arabs and Somalis and formed the new Protectorate Garrison. Following the Sudanese troops' mutiny in Uganda in 1897, the British government imported four hundred Indian troops, half Sikhs and half Punjab Muslims, to Uganda. Together with the Swahilis and loyal Sudanese, they formed the Ugandan Rifles (Metcalf 2007: 121).

In Zanzibar, Sikhs and Punjabis were used to form the police force of the British protectorate government. In 1893, the Zanzibar government employed nearly 100 Indian troops (Sikhs) as part of the police force in Zanzibar (The Gazette, 2 September 1896, p.8). The Indian troops that Capt. Barratt and Lieut. Scott raised in 1895 for the East Africa Army, also reached Zanzibar in September 1896. They embarked on their military service in Zanzibar, helping to keep the city in order through guard and patrol work. There was a strong feeling of camaraderie across all ranks, and the colonial government was happy with their efficient services in Zanzibar (The Gazette, 2 September 1896, p.8).

Moreover, the colonial government imported Indians to work in the government health sector due to the need for medical workers such as doctors and nurses, which were not available in Zanzibar. Archival evidence confirms that the colonial government employed Indian nurses and doctors in the government hospital. In 1937, for example, the government, through its gazette, called for applications for qualified female Asian nurses after the government opened an Asian ward. Since the zone served Asian patients, the government wanted to ensure the nurses in attendance were also Asian. Even though the appointments were open to Asians in general, it was doubtful that applicants would include any non-Indians; the job demanded qualified applicants with a diploma, which would not have been available in East Africa at that time. As

[35] "Rs." stands for rupees, the currency in circulation in Zanzibar from early 1800 to the 1936, when it was replaced by the East African shilling (Licursi 2016: 5).

a result, the government hired nurses from India (see The Samachar, 25 July 1937, p.6). On several occasions, the government praised the Indian doctors and nurses for their services and commitment. Nevertheless, the Indian medical staff had complaints against the government; even though they had the same qualifications and worked at the same level as European doctors and nurses, their professional benefits were not as great as Europeans.

## 3.3 Conclusion

Why did Indians wish to migrate out of India? Why did they move to Zanzibar and East Africa in particular? These questions were the main focus of this chapter. Various stimuli in India and East Africa encouraged Indians to leave their homeland, and these varied from one group to another. For the majority, however, the main factor was the search for new economic opportunities. Aside from sailors, most Indians who migrated to Zanzibar originated from Kutch, Saurashtra, and Bombay's business communities. Environmental troubles such as disease, floods and famine also compelled many people to leave their country for a better life elsewhere. Meanwhile, the colonisation of India and East Africa by the British opened up new opportunities on East Africa's coast in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, while new cities in East Africa such as Zanzibar, Mombasa, and Kampala offered multiple opportunities to the Indian migrants that tempted many to stay.

To some extent, though not always, these factors have been interdependent in inspiring people's decisions to move from India to East Africa. Through various interviews conducted during this study, the reasons for the migration of Indians have been shown to be highly interactive, i.e. the interaction of more than one cause or event led a person or family to make the decision to move from India to Zanzibar. Likewise, there are those who were influenced by a special event or traveled by chance, then decided to live in Zanzibar. The ways in which migrants explored the region in terms of economics and politics are essential themes in the following chapters.

# 4 Indian Education in Zanzibar, 1870–1963

## 4.1 Introduction

In the early twentieth century, Thomas Jesse Jones, a Welsh-American who had a particular interest in the education of African-Americans and the people of Africa in general, concluded that "if the educational situation can be met in Zanzibar, it can be met anywhere" (Jones 1924: 219). He drew this conclusion based on the many educational demands of Zanzibar's population. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Zanzibar had a highly diverse population with an African majority alongside Arabs, Indians and a few Europeans. Seeing themselves as racially distinct and having developed a sense of belonging to a specific economic and hierarchical position, the colonial officials categorised the population of Zanzibar by race and the economic function each race represented (Sheriff 2001: 301).

This started in the nineteenth century following Zanzibar's rise as the centre of East Africa's commercial empire, depending on a business sector and a plantation sector. The business sector in Zanzibar controlled the foreign trade of much of East Africa, giving rise not only to a wealthy commercial empire, but a substantial (though not entirely Indian) business class and the beginnings of an urban working class that was partly subservient to the business class.

Meanwhile, the plantation sector produced a slave society controlled by landowners (of whom many though not all, were Arabs) and slaves imported from the main-

land. This situation brought about a racial pattern during the British colonial rule that enabled Zanzibar's people to be characterised by race, with race symbolising occupation: Arabs were landlords, Indians were traders, and Africans were labourers (Flint 1965: 651; Sheriff 2001: 301). However, these dividing lines were by no means clear-cut in Zanzibar; the aforementioned categorisation failed to consider the reality of the conditions in which the people of Zanzibar lived. For example, there were Africans who owned farms and became commercial farmers, especially in Pemba. Similarly, in the business sector, which the colonial government described as Indian-dominated, there were Arab traders as well. Sheriff also cites the Hadhrami Arabs, who did not hold any leadership positions or have the capital to own large clove plantations, but rather (in many cases) moved to Zanzibar to work as porters in business areas. A more limited number opened small businesses in Zanzibar's suburbs (Sheriff 2001: 302). Also, although colonial records recognized the Indians as the wealthiest traders in Zanzibar, the reality is that not all Indians engaged in trade. Some were indeed traders with large and medium-sized capital, but a large proportion of the rest were poor, owning small businesses or being employed by large Indian companies.

This diverse population practised a variety of different religions. Most were Muslims, while some were Christians, Hindus, and believers in indigenous African religions. The differences in race, economic role, and religious practice, all concentrated in a small area like Zanzibar, presented quite a challenge when it came to providing essential services such as education. Each group understood the importance and value of education, but each had its own preferences, needs and aspirations based on who they were, where they came from, and what they did for a living. This chapter will reconstruct the history of Indian education in Zanzibar from the 1880s to 1963, tracing how it developed while considering the various processes, policies and practices that had an impact.

The earliest serious attempt to understand the history of education in Zanzibar was a PhD dissertation by Turki (1987). Turki studied British education policies in Zanzibar between 1890 and 1945, concentrating on the importance of education in colonial Zanzibar's history. Turki's study contributed to the understanding of educational services offered by the different religious, ethnic, and political groups in Zanzibar between 1890 and 1945 and how each group's services contributed to the overall development of education in Zanzibar. As a part of his discussion, Turki included a chapter on Indian education specifically, where he examined the attitudes towards policies concerning Indian education. Undoubtedly, his study contributed to the understanding of how and why the various Indian schools in Zanzibar were established. The period of Turki's study ended around 1945.

Another important literature source on this topic is Roman Loimeier's 2009 book "Between Social Skills and Marketable Skills: The Politics of Islamic Education in 20th Century Zanzibar". The book is based on a comprehensive study of the development of Islamic learning traditions in twentieth-century Zanzibar and Muslim scholars' role in the society and politics of Zanzibar. Loimeier successfully explains that conflict for educational space existed between British colonial authorities and indigenous Muslim

communities in Zanzibar. His literature also included an entire chapter on Indian education, adding important details regarding the establishment of individual Indian schools.

The literature displays a number of themes concerning the history of Indian education in Zanzibar, and the present study has benefited in various ways from the insights provided by these scholars. However, the literature left some education systems up for discussion about which there are also new findings.

This chapter highlights the historical development of the Indian educational system in Zanzibar between 1880 and 1963. This chapter is a crucial part of this dissertation. It ties in with the dissertation's primary argument as to how religious diversity, economic factors and social factors affecting the Indians, and British colonial interests, impacted the history of Indian migrants in Zanzibar. The chapter argues that religious diversity among the Indians played a significant role in pushing the Indian communities of Zanzibar to start numerous different schools between 1880 and 1963, and specifically examines how Indians developed their education system in Zanzibar during this period.

This chapter has three sections. The first provides background information regarding the development of secular and non-secular educational activities in Zanzibar as practised by various population segments. The second narrates the introduction of Indian schools from 1890 to 1963 and their key features. The third section highlights the characteristics of teaching staff in Indian schools.

This chapter incorporates material from the Zanzibar Archive, including reports from the Education Department of Zanzibar, files from individual Indian schools, and files collected from Indian communities. It also uses archive files that are originally from the former British Public Record Office (abbreviated as PRO, now the National Archive) but are available in copies at the Institute of Ethnology's library at Göttingen University, namely CO822/1606 and F084/2146. This chapter additionally uses information collected from interviews conducted in Zanzibar in 2019 from three groups of respondents: Indian descendants who still live in Zanzibar, retired civil servants who used to work for the British government in Zanzibar, and other key informants.

## 4.2 Historical Background to the Development of Educational Activities in Zanzibar

This section will reveal historical information regarding the development of secular and non-secular educational activities in Zanzibar between 1800 and 1900. It will discuss different educational activities in Zanzibar during the nineteenth century. Additionally, it will examine the conflict between the colonial government and various ethnic groups of Zanzibar. These parties fought to provide, demand or implement what they defined to be the best education for them. It is interesting to note that the different groups had diverse preferences in terms of education.

### 4.2.1 The Development of Non-Secular Education in Zanzibar

The history of education in Zanzibar dates back a very long time; across the islands, generations of people attended home schools, madrasa (Qur'ānic schools) or other informal settings. Only a few written sources are available to trace the historical development of the early school system in Zanzibar before the nineteenth century. The most significant feature of Zanzibar is that it is a Muslim country; since most of its population follow Islamic teachings, they have a religious obligation to ensure that they learn and teach their children the Qur'ān. This religious practice led to non-secular schools being established on the island long ago, even before the nineteenth century. The Qur'ānic schools (Darsa, Madrasa, Madarisa – see Loimeier 2009: 149–214), which offered moral and spiritual education, are the oldest educational institutions in Zanzibar's history, dating back to the Shirazi migration period between the eighth and tenth centuries (ZNA BA 6/3, Wilson and Percival 1938, p.1; Turki 1987: 5). They were an essential part of Zanzibar's education system both before and after the establishment of western education in the late nineteenth century.

Until the late nineteenth century, the Qur'ānic schools were the primary education sources for the Muslim population in Zanzibar (Loimeier 2009: 163). They offered an important educational service of decreasing the level of ignorance (ujahili), and introduced Islamic philosophies. The schools were run by a teacher (mwalimu, ustadh or sheikh), sometimes with his family. When connected to a mosque, the schools were run by a waqf, a charitable foundation (Loimeier 2009: 165; Mohamed Shamte,[36] 15 August 2019). The teacher worked with students in his own house, where he offered a small room and a mat to sit on. Sometimes, depending on the teacher's financial situation, they used the baraza; these are benches of solid stone built into the walls around courtyards or beside the doors of townhouses. In poor areas, especially in the countryside, no mat was provided (ZNA AB 1/182, Muhamed Abeid El-Haj, Mudir of Koani). Children between ages six and nine start attending the schools, with no particular admission period within the year.

In most cases, these schools admitted more boys than girls. They would allow the girls to attend until they reached the age of nine. After that, they had to stay at home and learn more about household duties; families prepared their daughters to become wives within a few years of leaving school (see Turki 1987: 57). The curriculum in the Qur'ānic schools was based on teaching the Qur'ān and ḥadith. Some schools taught subjects like tawḥid, fiqh, and translation of the Qur'ān (tafsir).

Parents considered it a massive success to see their children educated, and families with educated members received respect from the community. To be considered an educated person (ʿālim), one had to not only attend one of these schools but also complete (hitimu) the thirty chapters of the Qur'ān (ZNA AB 1/182, Muhamed Abeid El-Haj, Mudir of Koani). This practice led to the huge demand for Qur'ānic schools,

[36] Mohamed Shamte is a retired teacher from Pemba who is now working at Zanzibar Stone Town Heritage Society.

and they became widespread throughout the islands of Zanzibar. There is a lack of records to show the number of these schools in existence during the nineteenth century and even the early twentieth century. However, according to the Director of Education in 1925, "there is one in practically every village and a number in the town and the total must run into hundreds" (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1926, p.10).

A census report from the Education Department in 1940 (produced in cooperation with the local administration) reveals that significant numbers of children in Zanzibar attended Qur'ānic schools rather than government schools. Furthermore, the report recorded that the number of Qur'ānic schools reached 876, with an enrolment of 6,231 boys and girls (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1942, p.2). The 1942 records showed that these numbers had increased to 918 schools attended by 6,770 pupils across Zanzibar (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1943, p.1).

### 4.2.2 History of Secular Education

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Zanzibar, like many other parts of Africa, was experiencing European influence on its politics. As a part of this, several mission societies introduced their activities to the islands, namely the French Roman Catholic Order of the Holy Ghost (full name La Congregation du Saint Esprit et de l'Âme Coeur de Marie, later known as Holy Ghost Fathers), the Anglican Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), and the Society of Friends (Friends Industrial Mission). The former two operated mainly on Zanzibar Island, while the third worked on Pemba Island. Evangelism was the main aim of these groups, but at the same time they offered education, work skills and shelter to former slaves. Among these activities, introducing secular education to Zanzibar was important as they wanted to produce educated people capable of filling the lower colonial administration posts (Turki 1987: 96).

According to Loimeier (2009), a French mission, namely: La Congregation du Saint Esprit et de l'Âme Coeur de Marie was the first to open a non-Islamic educational institution in Zanzibar at their mission station (Loimeier 2009: 217). The idea of opening the mission station and subsequently opening schools in Zanzibar was promoted by the Bishop of St. Denis, of Reunion (who went by the name Armand Maupoint), who sent Abbé Fava, the vicar General, to collect information about Zanzibar (Turki 1987: 96–97). Fava provided a positive account of Zanzibar, and this was what resulted in the missionary station being established there. Most of the mission's attention was on the mainland, but Zanzibar was seen as a jumping-off point for the continent.

The Roman Catholic mission opened two schools in 1862 to accommodate freed slaves within the mission station, namely The Holy Ghost Boys' School and the Holy Ghost Girls' School (Turki 1987: 97; Loimeier 2009: 217). The schools flourished, attracting the minds of a great number of former slaves. In 1866, the schools had a total of 130 students, including girls, who lived in the two hostel buildings in Stone Town (Turki 1987: 112; Loimeier 2009: 217). The schools offered a secular curriculum to

all communities. In addition, they instructed Africans, especially the ex-slaves, in religious education. They had a special section for Indians. The schools were run by somewhat unprofessional educators (Turki 1987: 97).

Several months after the opening of these schools, the Holy Ghost Fathers took over the Roman Catholic Mission's direction in Zanzibar from Reunion's church. The Church of Reunion had insufficient human resources and financial means to continue its work in Zanzibar. Hence, from June 1863, leadership of the mission centre and schools were taken over by Father Horner from the Holy Ghost Fathers (Turki 1987: 97–98). Horner adopted various approaches to expand mission activities and school services. Under his leadership, the school continued to run and taught reading, writing (in French), arithmetic, singing and religious education. However, in 1864, Horner closed the Indian section, which had previously taught Indian children French, as it was irrelevant to their evangelisation efforts (Turki 1987: 98).

Despite Horner's efforts to improve the mission, the vast majority of Zanzibar's population did not support the missionary activities, and the mission realised that their schools (and their many other activities in Zanzibar) were not receiving positive feedback from the locals. This was due to the strong influence of Islam in the area; the African and Arab Muslim population prohibited their children from attending any mission activities, including schools. With all these obstacles, the only residents of Zanzibar the mission attracted were former slaves and their descendants. As a result, Horner moved his main mission activities from Zanzibar to Bagamoyo to prevent children who were already part of the mission activities from being influenced by the Islamic philosophy that dominated Zanzibar (Turki 1987: 98).

In 1864, the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) established their first boys' school mission in Shangani, Zanzibar to educate freed slaves. However, unlike the first two schools of the Holy Ghost Fathers, the UMCA school had several qualified members of staff who joined the mission, such as Bishop Frank Weston (employed there 1907–1924) and Canon Godfrey Dale (1889–1925). A few years later, in 1871, the UMCA opened a girls' school in Mbweni, St. Mary UMCA Girls' School, with the similar intention of offering shelter and education to the former slave children. The mission societies opened many other schools in Zanzibar as well, and by 1913, there were ten such schools (ZNA AB 1/224, Resident Pearce Report 1917).

Although the mission groups had found success with their educational activities in Zanzibar, one prevalent and discouraging feature was that their student population consisted almost entirely of children from the mainland or African boys and girls rescued from slavery. The African and Arab Muslim population of Zanzibar showed no sign of accepting these schools; the Islamic teaching satisfied the sizeable Muslim population. However, some wanted to send their children to secular education institutions without any Christian influences (Ali Mohamed Shoka,[37] 27 September 2019).

[37] Ali Mohamed Shoka is a retired political leader. He worked in the revolution government for more than twenty years, serving as a minister of various ministries in Zanzibar.

Among the Indian population, only Goans were accepting of the educational facilities offered by the mission groups. It is important to note that most of the Goans were Catholic even before moving to East Africa. As such, it is not surprising that some of them approved of the work of the Catholic Holy Ghost Mission in East Africa and sent their children to St. Joseph Convent School, which was opened in 1895. Other Indian populations, consisting of different Muslim and Hindu sects, still struggled to find an educational institution that suited their religious interests. It was from this juncture that efforts began to develop schools for Indian children.

In the early 1900s, the British administration increased their interest in schools run by the Zanzibar government. In 1904, for the first time, the British provided Rs. 45,000 to support the cost of establishing elementary or primary classes in three districts of Zanzibar (PRO CO 822/1606, Committee of Education 1959, p.2). From this provision, Sayyed Ali bin Hamoud opened the first government-run central school in 1905, providing accommodation for its students in one of the palace buildings. At first, the sons of the Sultans' relatives and leading Arabs attended the school. This school was the beginning of what later became known as the Town Boy's School in Darajani. In 1907, the government appointed the first director of education and opened a few schools in various districts of Zanzibar. There were no trained teachers and hardly any with an education beyond that of the Qur'ānic school (PRO CO 822/1606, Committee of Education 1959, p.1).

The Education Department's establishment intensified efforts to expand secular education in Zanzibar by seeking support from the mission groups, who had plenty of local experience with education. Among the department's primary concerns was the lack of trained teachers, whereas by that time, the UMCA had managed to employ well-trained staff in its schools; skilled men (such as Bishop Frank Weston), including the European team, supervised the UMCA high school. In 1909, the department established official cooperation links with the UMCA, which resulted in Bishop Frank Weston working with various committees related to education in Zanzibar from 1910 through the 1920s (Loimeier 2009: 218).

While the Education Department thought that this kind of cooperation would help solve the initial challenges they faced, the wider population of Zanzibar did not support it. This especially applied to the Arab and African Muslims, who for the most part did not trust the government to have good intentions in offering secular education. Their opposition was not because they did not want to see their children attending the schools, but because they did not trust the cooperation between the government and the mission groups. They were suspicious, seeing these schools as an extension of the mission schools (interview with Ali Mohamed Shoka, 27 September 2019). As a result, most Muslim parents refused to send their children to government schools (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1935, p.4).

Aside from that, within the minds of Arab and African parents, early instruction in the Qur'ān was still of supreme importance. They continued to see it as part of their religious duty to ensure that their children complete the Qur'ān by the age of ten. This meant that their children could not attend primary education at all, or could only

start after completing the thirty chapters of the Qur'ān (Mohamed Shamte, 15 August 2019).

The use of Swahili as a medium of instruction in government schools intensified conflicts between the Arabs and the British administration. The Arabs questioned the reasons behind colonial schools' use of Swahili, interpreting this choice as a strategy to keep them at the same level and standard as the Africans; the Arabs believed that there were differences between them and the Africans in terms language and social status (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1937, p.2).

Given the above challenges, government schools in their early years faced a lack of public support. It is important to note that the government established their schools to provide education for Arab and African children. A small number of Indian children did attend these schools, especially the Government Central School in the city, but the colonial government discouraged the enrolment of Indian children in government schools (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1930, p.5). This situation also contributed to the Indians developing their own educational facilities.

Aside from the Africans, Arabs and Indians, there was a small population of Europeans in Zanzibar. The archival records show that there were no educational facilities for Europeans. Most European children did not stay in Zanzibar after the age of seven (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1925, p.2), instead returning to Europe or various schools on the mainland. A very small number studied at St. Joseph Convent School. There was also a small private kindergarten school run by a European woman, Mrs Johnson, with about six pupils in the 1920s; this closed in 1927 when Mrs Johnson became headmistress of the Arab Girls' School (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1927, p.5). The kindergarten was reopened in the 1950s by Mrs Bennett, and the school had 17 pupils by 1954 (ZNA BA 5/24, Annual Report 1955, p.15) and 29 by 1960 (ZNA BA 5/29, Report for the Triennium 1961, p.18).

## 4.3 The Formation of Indian Schools

This section will discuss the historical background leading to the establishment the Indian schools in Zanzibar and examine the denominational and non-denominational schools set up by each Indian community there. This section is a key part of this chapter; it looks at the development of various Indian schools and uncovers the powerful differences in religion and sect that ultimately led the various communities to have separate schools.

### 4.3.1 Background for the Establishment of Indian Schools

Before 1890, there were no secular schools for Indian children in Zanzibar. The only way for them to gain a secular education was to travel to India, which was impossible for the most impoverished Indian families, or attend the mission schools, which was not acceptable for Muslim and Hindu families. This difficulty led the Indians to

demand a secular school for their children in Zanzibar. The idea of Indian-specific schools started before the British protectorate was established in 1890; the effort began in 1881 when the Indian community leaders approached the British administrator of Zanzibar, John Kirk and asked him to follow up with the foreign office about this matter. The written evidence shows that the Indian communities were ready to donate 200,000 rupees for the foundation of Indian schools (Loimeier 2009: 224; Turki 1987: 203).

Concurrently, Tharia Topan, the wealthy Khōja Ismāʿīlī merchant, submitted a separate proposal to John Kirk whereby he would personally provide a sum of £18,000 to finance an Indian school under the condition that the British government would also contribute a yearly sum of money (Hollingsworth 1960: 156). It should be noted that these Indians were still British subjects who had found opportunities in Zanzibar and other East African cities. As British subjects, they had great expectations that the British would take some responsibility for their children's education in Zanzibar. To convince the foreign office, Kirk reported that Indian children in Zanzibar "are not afforded any opportunity to learn anything save simply to read and write the vernacular whilst in India liberal education is given ... I am therefore anxious ... to aid in sowing the seeds of education in Zanzibar" (Kirk quoted in Mangat 1969: 133). However, these efforts received no positive response from the British foreign office.

This lack of action did not stop the Indian population from demanding education facilities for their children. Nearly a decade later, in July 1890, Euan Smith, the Consul-General of Zanzibar, held and chaired a meeting in Zanzibar with leaders from several Indian communities to discuss the topic. As previous proposals had not given them what they wanted, and (most likely) because their request required financial backing, the Indian groups agreed to collect money to finance their own schools. They gathered between 50,000 and 56,000 rupees at the meeting, with other donations appearing later (Hollingsworth 1960: 156). This collection helped establish the first Indian school in Zanzibar, named the Sir Euan Smith Madrasa (SESM).

The Sir Euan Smith Madrasa was a non-denominational school that theoretically accepted all Indian children in Zanzibar regardless of their religious group. However, there was a concern in the communities over religious teachings, with each sect wanting to ensure that their children were taught only their sect ideology and that it should be taught by teachers elected by the community itself. This made most Indian communities want their own community schools, and as a result, several Indian communities opened their own denominational schools in the early 1900s.

The Khōja Ismāʿīlī were the first to do this, establishing their school for girls in 1905 and their school for boys in 1907, followed by the Bohora community, who established a mixed school in 1909 (Loimeier 2009: 223; Turki 1987: 212). The community school of the Shīʿa Ithnāʿshara followed in 1912; along with the older non-denominational school, there were now five in total. The success of these early schools motivated other communities to open their own, and by the 1940s, there were more than eighteen Indian schools in Zanzibar (ZNA AB 1/224, Resident Pearce Report 1917, p.6). However, because the Education Department did not include all Indian

schools in their annual reports – tending to exclude the small schools and evening schools offering religious instruction – information about the other schools is not easy to find in departmental reports. This is because some of these community schools remained private Indian schools paid for by fees and donations from community members. All registered Indian schools were founded in Zanzibar Town (ZNA AB 1/224, Resident Pearce Report 1917, p.6).

After the protectorate was established in 1890, it took time for the British authorities to start taking serious action with regard to Zanzibar's education system and establish its Education Department, which came in 1907. As such, for more than a decade after the Indians first began to establish their own schools, the government did not control Indian schools and nobody except the Indians knew how their schools operated (Ali Mohamed Shoka, 27 September 2019). In 1908, the Education Department documented their first inspection of Indian schools. Rivers-Smith, the Director of Education, inspected some of these schools, and his report was not positive. He commented that the schools' methods of instruction, examination procedures, and inspection processes were unsatisfactory. His report also noted problems with the school buildings, identifying them as unsuitable, and claimed that hygiene conditions were inadequate. To improve the situation, Rivers-Smith recommended that it would be crucial to create some consistency between these different schools in order to make general inspections practical (Turki 1987: 206). The government devised various means to gained more control of the Indian schools. One such approach was launching the system of grant-in-aid.

The grant-in-aid system was a scheme established by the colonial government to support Indian schools. The plan aimed to bring about improvements in the quality of teaching in the schools that benefited from it. It was first applied in 1916 at the SESM school, where it covered the school's annual deficit. In 1924, the grant system was opened to other private Indian schools. Through this scheme, the government controlled the Indian schools, especially in terms of their curriculum, teaching methods and teachers' qualifications. To receive the funds, the curriculum offered in the Indian schools needed to meet the Education Department's general requirements. The department also instructed the Indian schools to hire qualified teachers who met the department's standards. As a result, the schools found themselves abandoning their original curriculums and using the one proposed by the department. Through this scheme, some Indian schools, such as the SESM, ended up under government control in the 1950s.

Several factors convinced Indians to establish their own separate schools. Firstly, the Indian population of Zanzibar was not uniform. Different Indian communities practised various religious teachings, and each had its own ideology. While teaching religion was very important to almost all Indian communities, families did not want their children to become confused by being taught different religious beliefs at home and at school, thus the need for separate schools that included their own community's religious doctrine in the curriculum (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1938, p.19). In general, they wanted to ensure that their community's teachers would teach their reli-

gious beliefs to their children – although the Hindu community was an exception, not teaching religion in their schools (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1938, p.19).

Secondly, most Indian communities organised themselves well in terms of administration, and they were the wealthiest communities in Zanzibar (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1932, p.26). These communities included people such as Jairam Sewji, Tharia Topan, and many others who were the richest and most powerful men in Zanzibar at various points in time. Because of these men's wealth, most of them launched social projects for their communities, particularly related to education, establishing their own schools paid for out of their own pockets. However, it is interesting to note that while most of these communities were eager to have their own schools and even donated money for their development, maintaining the schools was always a challenge, as will be discussed later.

The need to extend education facilities to girls increased the number of Indian schools in Zanzibar. Girls' education was a challenge in Zanzibar, not only for the Indians but also for Africans and Arabs. Other than the mission societies, which did have girls' facilities, there were no schools for girls even from the government side. The parents of Zanzibar, especially Arab and African Muslims, contributed to this problem, as they deeply resented any efforts to send their daughters to school. The lack of girls' facilities continued until 1927 and 1930 when the government opened schools for Arab and African girls in Zanzibar to give girls access to education (ZNA BA 5/29, Report for the Triennium 1958–1960, p.3).

When the Indians opened their first school, the SESM, in 1891, it offered educational facilities to Indian boys only. This arrangement raised many questions from Indian communities. Unlike the Arab and African parents, who resisted education for their girls, Indian parents supported girls' education, which prompted the establishment of several different girls' schools (ZNA AB 1/224, Resident Pearce Report 1917, p.10). The Khōja Ismā'īlī were the first to establish a girls' school for Indians in Zanzibar, in 1905. Four years later, the Bohora opened their community school in 1909, which admitted Bohora boys and girls. By the 1940s, there were eight Indian girls' schools and a few mixed-gender Indian schools. In most Indian schools, the language of instruction was Gujarati, especially in the lower grades. This language decision might have been meant to dissuade non-Indian children from joining these schools, as per the Indian communities' wishes and government's decisions. The communities also used the Gujarati language to keep their culture alive.

### 4.3.2 Denominational and Non-Denominational Indian Schools

*Non-Denominational schools*

The Sir Euan Smith Madrasa (SESM)

The Sir Euan Smith Madrasa (SESM) was the first Indian school in Zanzibar and East Africa in general (Turki 1987: 204). It was established in 1891 and financed by the Indians themselves. Interest from Indians in having their own schools can therefore be seen to have begun a long time ago. Written records show that the Indians asked John Kirk to establish proper education for their children in Zanzibar through various proposals. They promised to donate large amounts of money for the school's development and pressured the British government into taking this matter seriously in Zanzibar. However, such initial efforts did not yield much success. In 1890, Euan Smith, the third Consul-General in Zanzibar, convinced the Indian leaders to get their cooperation in establishing an independent school that the Indians would run themselves. Euan Smith presided over a meeting of Indians of all sects, and a fund of between Rs. 50,000 and 56,000 was collected to start a non-denominational Indian school. Immediately Indians spent around Rs. 10,000 of the total amount raised on expenses for the school; they also invested around Rs. 45,000 and used the interest to run the school (ZNA AB 1/468, Memorandum of Director of Education, 1934, p.13).

The Indians agreed to name the school the Sir Euan Smith Madrasa (SESM) as a sign of respect to him for his efforts and his support of Indian education in Zanzibar. The school's administration was managed by a committee elected from all Indian communities, while the Consul-General was the school's president. The school opened in January 1891 with 200 boys from various Indian communities (Hollingsworth 1960: 156). The first headmaster was Gowherali Nurdin Hakin (Jawhar ʿAlī Nūr ad-Dīn Ḥakīm) (The Gazette, 19 August 1896). However, according to Euan Smith, most of the students came from the Khōja Ismāʿīlī community (PRO FO 84/2026, a letter from Euan Smith to Lord Salisbury, 1 January 1891). This was probably because the Khōja Ismāʿīlī were a majority among the Indian population in Zanzibar, and because other communities, such as Hindus, still sent their children to India for their education (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1943, p.2).

The Sir Euan Smith Madrasa (SESM) operated six days a week, offering morning sessions only. Classes began at 8:00 am and continued until 12:30 with a 25-minute recess at 10:30, except for the youngest class (kindergarten), which ran from 8:00 am until 12:00 with a one-hour break in the middle (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1938, p.19). The school also had an evening club that offered indoor games and reading facilities (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1932, p.26).

To finance the school, parents paid small fees that could vary and changed over time. In 1922, the fees were Rs. 12 per annum for kindergarten and Rs. 60 for grades I to VI. For grade VII, Rs. 72 was charged (ZNA AB 1/468, Memorandum of Director of Education, 1934, p.13). These fees covered 32 per cent of the school's expenditure.

At the discretion of the management committee, up to 15 per cent of pupils were admitted free of charge if their parents could not afford the school fees (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1933, p.14). In the 1930s, the school committee changed the fee structure. From then on, yearly fees were Rs. 18 for kindergarten level I, Rs. 25 for kindergarten level II, Rs. 36 for grade I, Rs. 44.40 for grade II, Rs. 48 for grade III, Rs. 55.20 for grade IV, Rs. 90 for grade V, and Rs. 108 for grade VI (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1937). However, after World War II, the school committee increased the proportion of pupils who were educated free of charge to 25 per cent, as the general standard of prosperity among small Indian traders had declined due to the war. In 1952, the school increased its fees throughout all levels; for example, fees became Sh. 100[38] for grades I to VI, and Sh. 120 per annum for grades VII and VIII. The school still permitted the total or partial reduction of the fees in extreme cases (ZNA BA 5/15, Annual Report 1952, p.19).

The school only offered secular subjects such as English, hygiene, arithmetic, geography, and history. Gujarati was the language of instruction. The parents at home arranged for religious teaching outside of school hours (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1929, p.27). The school did well in the early years after its formation, before the Indians started their own community schools (ZNA AB 1/468, Memorandum of Director of Education, 1934, p.13). However, the opening of the community schools reduced school's attendance, which had adverse financial consequences. In 1916, the school committee applied for and received an unconditional grant of Rs. 1,000 per year to combat the situation. Funding continued in a somewhat sporadic manner until 1922, when the government took over the school's financial and general control (ZNA BA 5/3. Annual Report 1930, p.5).

The government agreed to pay the estimated and approved deficit every year to ensure the school's survival. The government made this arrangement before the advisory council on education and designed the general grant conditions for community schools. One of the main reasons for the special grant arrangement with the SESM committee was that the government only wanted Arabs and Africans in the central government school, to which Indians had been admitted between 1919 and 1922. After 1922, the government sent all Indians pupils from the central government school to the SESM (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1930, p.5).

In terms of academic performance, the school did well. From 1917 to 1927, average attendance was good, with rates of 93.9 per cent. (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1927, p.5). Over time, the school's student population ranged from around 400 to around 800. By 1926, there were 406 boys; in 1933, 470 boys, in 1941, 553 boys; in 1942, 651 boys; and by 1944, 739 boys. There were six primary and two secondary grades in this school, with two or even three classes per year group if there were enough pupils to justify it. Grants covered between 60 and 70 per cent of the school's total running costs, with other revenue coming from fees and interest from investments. According

[38] "Sh." stands for shillings. Zanzibar changed its currency from rupees to shillings in 1936 after the state was incorporated into the East African Currency Board.

to the figures for 1933, the school received a government grant of Rs. 30,000 and collected fees totalling Rs. 14,863 (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1935). The SESM had immense support from the government compared to other Indian schools because it was the leading Indian boys' school and admitted pupils from all Indian communities. As a result, it was financially stable.

Despite the school's success in terms of revenue, it was a challenge for the school to find accommodation. The school committee hosted the school in various buildings in Stone Town. Some of these buildings were seen as unsuitable for a school. From 1926, the school held classes for the lower grade in one section of the former central government school building. From 1928, the school used a building vacated by the Arab girls' school to offer some of its classes (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1928, p.5), and from the early 1930s, it conducted courses for the middle grades in the customs building. All along, the school was looking for new buildings to accommodate the elementary and intermediate classes together.

In the 1930s, the school committee found a site to establish a new building for the school. The estimated budget was £7,500, which was partly provided by grants and partly raised by public subscriptions (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1938, p.21). The school later gained new premises again, in late 1949, next to the fire station on Creek Road. On 1 January 1950, the government finally took complete control of the school under Principal Roland Lewis (ZNA AH 43/1, The Magazine of the Government Boys Secondary School, September 1949, p.6). The school's name was then changed after the 1964 revolution, becoming known as the Haile Selassie School (Afro-Shirazi Party 1974: 131; see Loimeier 2009: 227).

Aside from the SESM, there were other small non-denominational Indian schools as well, but they did not receive government grants as they were private schools. The government did not include their information in the annual reports from the Education Department. For this study, such constraints made it difficult to find detailed information about these private schools, but they included:

### Gnan Verdhak Gujarati School

This school opened in the 1910s and was open to all Indian boys. According to Resident Pearce, the school applied for government grants in 1916 and had to fulfil government requirements in terms of the curriculum, sanitation, and hours of attendance. It seems that these regulations were not well received, and it consequently remained a private school. It had 88 pupils in 1917 (ZNA AB 1/224, Resident Pearce Report 1917, p. 6).

### Devji Master School

This school was registered in the 1910s and was apparently open to all Indian boys (ZNA AB 1/224, Resident Pearce Report 1917, pp. 2–3), although some sources suggest that the school catered for Hindu boys only (Loimeier 2009: 229). By 1917, the

school had 61 boys enrolled (ZNA AB 1/224, Resident Pearce Report 1917, pp. 2–3), and it had 40 students in 1925 (Loimeier 2009: 229).

### The Indian National School

According to oral sources, the Indian National School was established by members of the Indian National Association in 1923 to compete with the SESM. It catered to Indian boys only (interview with Ali Mohamed Shoka, 27 September 2019). Due to political influences, the school initially drew many students away from the SESM. However, it did not survive long; archival records show that the school closed in 1925 because of financial difficulties (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1925, p.4).

## *Denominational Schools*

### The Khōja Ismāʿīlī Denominational Schools

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Khōja Ismāʿīlīs were the most financially vibrant among the Indian population of Zanzibar, and their people had overtaken all other Indian communities in Zanzibar combined. They had their own administration system with its own internal laws and customs that protected the community's interests. The Khōja Ismāʿīlī community possessed a very liberal attitude towards the education of its children.

From very early on, the most prominent men from the Khōja Ismāʿīlī community were eager to establish schools for their children in Zanzibar. Individuals like Tharia Topan went to great efforts to develop Indian educational facilities; he was even ready to spend his own funds. The Ismāʿīlī community leaders, especially Sultan Muḥammad Shah (Aga Khan III, 1885–1957), who had a passion for educating his community, also contributed towards the establishment of Ismāʿīlī educational facilities. He is said to have shown his intense love for education and disseminated learning opportunities among his followers (Hassanali Jaffer Hameer,[39] 12 June 1937), insisting that his followers should reject illiteracy and establish schools for their children.

To fulfil educational objectives in Zanzibar, the Khōja Ismāʿīlīs formed a board of education that played a crucial role in the development of community facilities (ZNA AB 1/224, Rivers-Smith 1913, p.14). The board had eight members nominated by the Aga Khan council (Loimeier 2009: 228). They worked closely with the Education Department; however, frequent personnel changes within the board sometimes created misunderstandings between the community and the department (ZNA AB 1/468, Memorandum of Director of Education, 1934, p.2).

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[39] The Speech delivered by Hassanali Jaffer Hameer, the secretary of the Ismāʿīlīs Provincial Council, 12 June, 1937, at the Aga Khan club, Zanzibar.

The Khōja Ismāʿīlīs provided equal educational opportunities for their boys and girls (Gregory 1993: 114). It was common practice for the Ismāʿīlī community to collect money from wealthy people so that poorer parents could send their children to the community school free of charge (interview with Mohamed Shamte, 15 August 2019). The Ismāʿīlīs had several schools in Zanzibar. Until 1924, the schools were financed entirely from community resources and annual grants from the Aga Khan.

The Aga Khan III established the first Khōja Ismāʿīlī school in Zanzibar in 1905, during his visit there; the school was called the Shīʿa Imami Ismāʿīlī Kanyashala (Ruthven 2011: 192). Several years later, its name changed to Aga Khan Girls' School (Shīʿa Imam Ismāʿīlī Aga Khan Girls' School) (Loimeier 2009: 227; ZNA AB 1/224, Resident Pearce Report 1917, p.2). The school was intended for the community's girls and offered secular education at elementary and middle levels. In morning sessions, the school provided the usual academic subjects such as mathematics, geography, arts, history, and Gujarati, which was the instruction language. Being a girls' school, pupils also had to learn domestic science subjects such as needlework, as well as dancing and singing. Later, in the 1930s, the school committee added cooking to the curriculum and provided a kitchen where Indian dishes were taught. The school reserved domestic science subjects for afternoon sessions (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1945, p.4).

The school operated inside the ladies' side of the Jamaʿat Khana in the Kiponda area of Zanzibar Town. However, the Education Department criticised the premises and deemed them unfit for the girls' school (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1931). The school premises were one of the reasons that prevented the school from receiving grants from the government until 1931, when the school obtained a new building in Mkunazini. The building was at the centre of Zanzibar Town and cost Rs. 20,000 for the construction and approximately Rs. 30,000 for decoration and equipment acquisition. The Education Department believed the new school premises to be a satisfactory venue and suitable for the girls' school. It had well-ventilated rooms, modern lavatories and a secure water supply (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1930, p.26).

The school was financed by the Aga Khan but also received funds from wealthy Ismāʿīlīs. The education services provided were free (ZNA AB 1/468, Report from Aga Khan to the Secretary of the Colonial Office, 1934). In 1931, it qualified for government funding (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1930, p.23) and received Rs. 1,048 to buy more equipment. In 1934, the government increased the grant to Rs. 1,906 due to the school's vastly improved conditions (ZNA AB 1/468, Memorandum of Director of Education, 1934, p.4). The school had 179 girls in 1914, 160 in 1917, 254 in 1925, 278 in 1931, 310 in 1932, 273 in 1939, and 263 in 1944 (Loimeier 2009: 227–228; ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1932, p.22; ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1945, p.4).

Like other Indian grant-aided schools, the Aga Khan Girls' School was inspected every year, in this case by the superintendent of female education and the Indian woman's education officer (ZNA BA 5/15, Annual Report 1952, p.6). They sent copies of the inspection reports to the Education Department and the Khōja Ismāʿīlī community's board of education. The Education Department lauded the board for its efforts to process inspection reports (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1933, p.23). The

Khōja Ismāʿīlī community was keen to further the availability of education for their girls, and in 1954, the Aga Khan opened a secondary school for girls called Aga Khan Girls' Secondary School to offer classes IX to X. The school opened in 1954 with 12 students in class IX (ZNA BA 5/24, Annual Report 1955, p.16).

Despite its success, the Aga Khan Girls' School faced several challenges according to the annual reports. Firstly, the school lacked qualified teachers. In 1932, for example, there was not a single trained teacher on the staff list; one member had attended lectures at an Indian training college, but that was all. Secondly, teaching domestic subjects was not deemed satisfactory by the local school authority. This matter created a clash with school inspectors, as these subjects were seen as essential for girls (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1932, p.22). Eventually, however, the Khōja Ismāʿīlī education board resolved the problem by incorporating the subjects into the school curriculum in the late 1930s.

In addition to the girls' school, the Khōja Ismāʿīlī community had a boys' school. It was initially called the Shīʿa Imami Ismāʿīlī School and was established by the Aga Khan in 1907. This school was also run by the Ismāʿīlī education board. Like the girls' school, it changed its name to the Aga Khan Boys School and offered free education to the boys of the Khōja Ismāʿīlī community. The school initially elementary education until grade IV, after which the boys went to the Sir Euan Smith Madrasa school for grades V to VII. Later, in the 1930s, the school taught up to grade VIII (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1939, p.12). In 1945, the Aga Khan school extended to cover full secondary education, teaching classes from IX to XII. It also prepared its students for the Cambridge School Certificate Examinations (ZNA BA 5/15, Annual Report 1949, p.17).

The Aga Khan Boys' School offered academic subjects in accordance with the syllabus of the Bombay Presidency schools (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1926, p.5). It also emphasised physical exercise and gymnastics. In the 1940s, the school offered commercial subjects in the senior classes and trained the boys in shorthand, typewriting and bookkeeping (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1943, p.2). Among the key figures in the school's history was S. Mohammed Chowdhary (also spelt Chaudhuri), who served as the school's principal for twelve years (from 1942). The Khōja Ismāʿīlīs remembered him for the reforms he introduced at the school, especially the staff improvements that had taken place during his time. Under his watch, the school's standards reached those of Senior Cambridge examinations (The Zanzibar Times 18 September 1953, p.3). The Senior Cambridge examinations were General Certificate of Education examinations held also in India, Pakistan, and several Asian countries.

Predominantly, the school catered for the boys of the Khōja Ismāʿīlī community. However, it also admitted non-Khōja Ismāʿīlī children, especially for secondary education, as the community wanted to make sure they extended the generosity of the Aga Khan to other Indian groups (The Zanzibar Times, 18 September 1953, p.3). Oral evidence suggests that most Indian Muslim children from Pemba who qualified for secondary education joined the Aga Khan Boys School (Mohamed Shamte, 15 August 2019).

While the Khōja Ismāʿīlī community was happy to enrol non-Khōja Ismāʿīlī children, they did not want to merge their efforts with any other Indian schools. When the British education authorities and some members of Indian communities came up with the idea of merging the Indian schools with the SESM, the Ismāʿīlī community rejected the proposal. Among the critical points was the question of religious teaching; they did not want their children to go to a school with religious convictions. Also, the Khōja Ismāʿīlī schools offered free education, while at the SESM, fees were required, except in extreme cases of poverty (ZNA AB 1/468, Report from Aga Khan to the Secretary of the Colonial Office, 1934, p.4).

Like the girls' school, the boys' school was financed by the Aga Khan. The school also collected contributions from wealthy Khōja Ismāʿīlī members, and in 1925 received a grant from the government. According to the terms agreed upon, this funding was not to be continued for longer than five years unless the community changed the school premises. This stipulation forced the Khōja Ismāʿīlī educational board to meet in 1926 to discuss the possibility of finding a site for a school building (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1927, p.5). In 1929, they purchased a piece of land, and in 1931, they started constructing a new building for their school. Including new equipment, the costs of this endeavour came to around Rs. 100,000 (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Reports 1930–1932).

In terms of academic achievement, the school was comparable with the SESM, the non-denominational Indian school (ZNA AB 1/468, Report from Aga Khan to the Secretary of the Colonial Office, p.3). On several occasions, the school's secondary class secured a 100 per cent pass rate in senior and junior examinations of the College of Preceptors in London and Cambridge's Primary Examination. The inspection reports from the acting director and the education officers included remarks on the school's high academic standards (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1942, p.3). Undoubtedly, the school was one of the most famous and active in delivering education to its pupils.

While the Ismāʿīlī community was keen to receive grants from the government for their schools, there were a lot of complaints from them regarding how the government offered the funding in comparison to other Indian schools, especially the SESM. The Khōja Ismāʿīlīs furnished their boys' school with a roster of qualified staff and provided education up to the level of Cambridge Certificate classes, in stark contrast to the SESM, which only provided education up to the fourth English grade. According to Aga Khan, the SESM's annual expenditure worked out at an average of Rs. 105 per pupil, while the Aga Khan Boys School's was around Rs. 60. Yet, the school was comparable with the SESM in terms of academic achievement (ZNA AB 1/468, Report from the Aga Khan to the Colonial Office Secretary, 1934, p.3).

The Khōja Ismāʿīlīs criticised the government grant system, asserting that it treated them unfairly. For both Aga Khan schools, the grant covered only 20 to 25 per cent of their budget in the 1930s, while the SESM's grant covered 60 to 70 per cent. Considering that the Ismāʿīlīs were the largest single group of Indians (their children alone amounted to 3,246 pupils, compared to around 5,862 children from all other Indian communities combined at the SESM), this did not seem equal. Furthermore, the

community claimed that ever since their schools received the grant, expenditure had increased. For example, the Aga Khan Boys School's expenditures were Rs. 19,450 in 1925 but increased to Rs. 22,063 in 1926. This increase was due to compliance with the requirements for obtaining funds; for the school to receive financial support, it was necessary to meet several conditions, such as employing qualified teachers and improving the learning equipment. Similarly, the girls' school's costs also increased once it came under the grant system (ZNA AB 1/468, Report from the Aga Khan to the Secretary of the Colonial Office, 1934, p.3).

Because of this situation, the community felt it would be reasonable if the two Aga Khan schools' grants were at least equal to the SESM grant. Additionally, the Ismāʿīlīs requested that the government extend their grant beyond primary classes, as both of the Ismāʿīlī schools provided secondary levels and these also required financial support (ZNA AB 1/468, Report from the Aga Khan to the Secretary of the Colonial Office, 1934, p.3).

The Education Department rejected their pleas. The government admitted that the Ismāʿīlī schools deserved support but felt that it should not go beyond the financial capacity of the government. Hendry, the director of the Education Department, also suggested that in order to improve the community school's finances, the Ismāʿīlī parents needed to pay for their children's education. If they paid school fees (as the SESM required), the average cost per pupil of around Rs. 1,930 would probably amount to just Rs. 49. This difference could cover other significant school costs, such as teachers' salaries. However, the community rejected this proposal (ZNA AB 1/46, Report by the Advisory Committee on Education, p.4).

Towards the late 1950s, the Ismāʿīlī community merged the Aga Khan schools, allowing boys and girls to study together in the same classes. Until the end of British rule in 1963, the school survived and remained as educational institution for the Ismāʿīlī community of Zanzibar. Following the revolution of Zanzibar in 1964, the Aga Khan school was nationalised and become known as Kidutani school (The Zanzibar Gazette, 16 January 1965, p.27).

## The Bohora Ismāʿīlī Denominational Schools

The Bohoras were a significant group among the Muslim Indians in Zanzibar due to their numbers and economic roles. The census records of 1934 report the total number of Indians in Zanzibar as 14,242, of which 1,861 were Bohora (ZNA AB 1/46, Report by the Advisory Committee on Education, p.2), making them almost 13 per cent of Zanzibar's Indian population. The success of the SESM and the Aga Khan schools encouraged the Bohoras to establish a community school for their own children. Comparatively, the Bohora community was not as economically vibrant as the Khōja Ismāʿīlīs were thanks to the influence of the Aga Khan. However, this did not stop them from establishing a school of their own – they simply required parents to contribute through fees. Among the key figures in the history of the Bohora education committee was Khambalia, who worked as a secretary of the committee in the 1940s.

Table 2: Student Numbers at the Madrasa al-Mohammadieh

| Year | Boys | Girls | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1909 | 85 | 65 | 150 |
| 1914 | 85 | 65 | 150 |
| 1917 | 135 | 86 | 221 |
| 1925 | 167 | 93 | 260 |
| 1927 | 160 | 117 | 277 |
| 1928 | 171 | 106 | 277 |
| 1930 | 194 | 123 | 317 |
| 1932 | 196 | 139 | 335 |
| 1934 | 206 | 125 | 331 |
| 1935 | 209 | 120 | 329 |
| 1936 | 213 | 118 | 331 |
| 1937 | 204 | 130 | 334 |
| 1938 | 201 | 142 | 343 |
| 1939 | 206 | 105 | 311 |
| 1944 | 225 | 150 | 375 |
| 1945 | N/A | N/A | 383 |
| 1947 | N/A | N/A | 364 |
| 1952 | 188 | 126 | 314 |
| 1960 | 153 | 151 | 304 |

N/A means data were not available in the specified years.
Source: Annual Education Reports ZNA BA 5/3, AB 5/8, BA5/15 and BA 5/29.

The Education Department described him as an energetic person and a responsible leader of the Bohora community (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1942, p.3).

The Bohora community opened their first school in 1909. It was called the Madrasat al-Mohammadieh and was headed by a Bohora Imam (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1927). This was a mixed-gender school comprised of a boys' department and a girls' department, both under one headmaster. The school opened with a student population of 85 boys and 65 girls (ZNA BA 1/224, Report from Rivers-Smith to John Sinclair, 1913, pp.11–12) and offered elementary education that did not go

beyond grade V. The older boys who passed the fifth grade in the Bohora school were sent to grade VI at the SESM (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1930, p.28).

The school started with four classes taught in the Arabic and Gujarati languages and two classes in which English supplemented the former languages (ZNA BA 1/224, Report from Rivers-Smith to John H. Sinclair, 1913, p.11–12). In 1932, the number of year groups increased to fourteen: five for girls and eight for boys, plus a mixed infant class for religious instruction. Besides the languages, other subjects taught at the school were religion, geography, bookkeeping, and arithmetic. Alongside the academic subjects, the girls also studied domestic science subjects, although until 1931 the only domestic subject taught was needlework (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1932, p.20). In 1927, the school received a new headmaster from India, a graduate with some practical teaching experience. His work changed the school's reputation and helped it qualify for a grant in 1929 (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Reports 1927–1930).

At first, the school was on Darajani Street (Loimeier 2009: 228). Later, as the number of pupils and teachers increased, the building there became too small. In 1930, the Education Department reported that the school was using the Universities' Mission high school building after making some improvements to the building, particularly in terms of drainage.

Like other community schools, the Madrasa al-Mohammadieh suffered from a general lack of funds (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1933, p.24). The archival records show that the school failed to find a building of its own for a long time. The Education Department offered a school building to the community as they could not raise enough money to construct a new building themselves. The community's financial difficulties impacted on the school's academic results, as it became impossible to hire trained and experienced teachers (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1936, p.6). To improve the school's financial situation, the government offered it grants in 1929.

From this table, it is clear that the school had good enrolment figures. The number of students increased nearly every year, yet, there was a gap between the number of boys and girls enrolled each year, with more boys joining than girls. It is not clear whether the Bohora community had more boys than girls in these years or whether awareness of girls' education was less than that of boys. However, in 1960, their numbers were virtually equal, which signifies that the school was doing well at enrolling a gender-balanced student population. Like other Indian schools, it was nationalised by the new government after the 1964 revolution, and it became known as the Hamamni School (The Zanzibar Gazette, 16 January 1965, p.27).

The Bohora had another school called the Bohora Continuation School, a private school in Sokomuhogo Street, Zanzibar Town (Mohamed Shamte, 15 August 2019). They also had a small private kindergarten headed by a woman called Mrs Pandya. This had 68 pupils in 1954 (ZNA BA 5/24 Annual Report 1955: 15) and 78 in 1960 (ZNA BA 5/29, Report for the Triennium 1961, p.18).

### Khōja Shīʿa Ithnāʿshara Denominational Schools

The Khōja Shīʿa Ithnāʿshara community was a group of Khōja Ismāʿīlī who had split off from the Aga Khan group and become Ithnāʿshara (Loimeier 2009: 228). Until the revolution, they were the second-largest Muslim Indian community in Zanzibar, with a population estimated to be around 2,173 in 1934 out of a total population of 14,242 Indians (ZNA AB 1/46, Report by the Advisory Committee on Education, p.2). Like many other Indian communities, they also had their own community educational facilities that offered secular, non-secular or mixed education depending on the school. The Khōja Shīʿa Ithnāʿshara community's education welfare was in the hands of the Ithnāʿshara Education Society, which opened a new office in Malindi, Zanzibar Town, in 1952. The Shīʿa Ithnāʿshara community in Zanzibar established this education board of their own to promote the educational, social and cultural activities of their community (ZNA AK 26/123. Ithnāʿashari Education Society).

The community had several schools; these ranged from pre-elementary to elementary and included both separate boys' and girls' schools and mixed schools. They also had secular and non-secular schools, and some of their schools started offering non-secular subjects, despite later becoming non-religious education centres.

Among the earliest examples was the Shīʿa Ithnāʿshara Kuwatul-Islam Madrasa. This school was established in 1912 to offer religious education to the children of the community and started as a small school with 85 boys and 25 girls (Loimeier 2009: 229). In addition to the Qurʾān class, the school offered language classes; it had four courses in the Gujarati language. It operated in a small building that was criticised by the Education Department as unsuitable for a school (Loimeier 2009: 229). The school offered free education to its pupils; financially, it survived by collecting some rent from properties owned by the school, which amounted to roughly Rs. 80 per month in 1913. Since this amount was less than the school's expenditure, the school received money from the community's monthly subscription fund to support the school (ZNA BA 1/224, Report from Rivers-Smith to John H. Sinclair 1913, pp.12–13). According to Loimeier, the school changed its curriculum in 1935 and started offering secular subjects in cooperation with the SEMS (Loimeier 2009: 229). Subsequently, in 1949, the school became part of a grant-aided scheme, and in later years it merged with the Hujjatul Islam School (Loimeier 2009: 229).

In 1917, the non-Khōja Shīʿa Ithnāʿshara community opened a small school for boys called the Hujjatul Islam School, which was supervised by (non-Khōja) Shīʿa Ithnāʿshara Hujjatul Islam jamaʿat. It offered religious and secular education. This school had few pupils, starting with 18 in 1917 (Loimeier 2009: 229). In later years, the number of students reached 60 in 1950, 92 in 1951, 30 in 1952, 26 in 1955, and 74 in 1961. This school offered education only up to grade III, and in some years not even that. It also ran a small kindergarten that had 22 children in 1953. The school was a private, unaided school and had too few teaching staff for the number of students admitted (ZNA BA 5/15 and BA 5/24, Annual Reports 1953and 1955).

Table 3: Student Numbers at the Khōja Datubhai Hemani Ithnāʿshara Girls' School

| Year | Girls |
|---|---|
| 1937 | 136 |
| 1938 | 115 |
| 1939 | 102 |
| 1942 | 104 |
| 1944 | 98 |
| 1945 | 94 |
| 1947 | 133 |
| 1948 | 108 |
| 1949 | 129 |
| 1950 | 106 |
| 1951 | 135 |

Source: Annual Education Reports ZNA BA 5/3, BA 5/8, BA 5/15, BA 5/29.

Another Khōja Shīʿa Ithnāʿshara community school was the Khōja Datubhai Hemani Ithnāʿshara Girls' School, established in 1920. An Indian merchant called Datu Hemani contributed financially to the school. Before he died in 1920, he gave his estate's trustees free rein to use any of his assets to fund a girls' school. The conditions were that the girls had to learn the Qur'ān and domestic science subjects at the school, and that tuition had to be free other than an initial admission fee (ZNA AB 1/15, The Ithnashara Girl's School). The school offered education up to grade VII, and in 1944, teaching was extended to cover grade VIII. Even though it was a secular school, religious instruction received special attention from the managing committee and was given priority (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1943, p.3). The school was on Ukutani Mkunazini Street in Zanzibar Town. It had suitable premises that were sufficient for the number of their pupils.

Even though there is significant missing data regarding student attendance for the first 15 years after its establishment, as per the table above, the school had a moderate amount of students after that. The number of attendees decreased in the period between 1939 and 1945, although it did improve afterwards. The community changed the school's management and installed a new committee in 1942 under Secretary Jaffer A. Rahim (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1942, p.3).

The Education Department reported several times that the school was not doing well in terms of teaching. Most of the teachers showed no interest in following the recommendations from the inspection reports, and in 1949, the director of education wrote to the school's headmistress J. B. Balsara (Bulsara) to say that he would not be able to approve an increase in the school's grant if the quality of teaching did not improve (ZNA AD1/129[40]). In particular, the school suffered from a lack of trained and qualified teachers capable of teaching higher year groups. As a result, some subjects, such as English, were behind at this school compared to other grant-aided Indian schools (ZNA AD1/129[41]). However, the school survived throughout the British colonial period and up to the 1964 revolution, when it was nationalised and renamed the Ukutani School (The Zanzibar Gazette, 16 January 1965, p.27). In 1925, the Ithnāʿshara community opened another school called the Hoorbhai Kanyashala Girls' School. This was a private school financed by Hoorbhai Waqf (Loimeier 2009: 229–230).

Another Khōja Shīʿa Ithnāʿshara school was the Dharamsi Gangji Shīʿa Ithnāʿshara School. This was established in 1959 by al-Ḥājj Hussein Dharamsi Gangji (Bapa) in memory of his late father al-Ḥājj Dharamsi Gangji, an influential Indian man from Kutch who practised Shīʿa Ithnāʿshara traditions.[42] Al-Ḥājj Dharamsi Gangji moved to Zanzibar from Kutch in 1899 and invested in farming in Zanzibar and Pemba. Even before his death in 1956, he was eager to support his community's educational activities; upon his death, his son developed the school and opened it up to the Khōja Shīʿa Ithnāʿshara community in 1959. The school was located in Kiponda in Zanzibar Town, towards the back of the Khōja Shīʿa Ithnāʿshara mosque. It offered secondary education to Khōja Shīʿa Ithnāʿshara boys and girls. It additionally provided English and vocational classes for girls in the afternoon.[43] After the 1964 revolution, administration of this school was also nationalised and it was renamed the Kiponda Secondary School.

The Faize Ithnāʿshara School was another school established by the Khōja Shīʿa Ithnāʿshara community. This was a religious school led by the Faize Ithnāʿshara society. The Faize Ithnāʿshara society was an organisation established to help the widows, orphans, sick and needy of the Ithnāʿshara community in Zanzibar. This school's story began when three men from India, Mulla Mohamed Jaffer, H. M. Rashid and Hassanali M. Kermali, arrived in Zanzibar in 1925. Their main goal was to open a night school at the jamaʿat to teach Islam. However, the jamaʿat was already running a nighttime religion class for adults and therefore could not implement their request. With

[40] Letter from the Director of Education to the Secretary, Ithnāʿshara Girls' School, 20 December 1951, Zanzibar.

[41] Letter from the Director of Education to the Secretary, Ithnāʿshara Girls' School, 20 December 1951, Zanzibar.

[42] KhojaPedia (2015): "Faize Ithna-Asheri Night School of Zanzibar" (School Faize) (https://khojapedia.com/wiki/index.php?title=Faize_Ithna-Asheri_Night_School_of_Zanzibar_(School_Faize)).

[43] KhojaPedia (2015): "Faize Ithna-Asheri Night School of Zanzibar" (School Faize) (https://khojapedia.com/wiki/index.php?title=Faize_Ithna-Asheri_Night_School_of_Zanzibar_(School_Faize)).

the help of Al-Hajj Remtualla Alarakhia Tejani, they instead opened a night school in 1928 at the premises known as "Takim's Godown", owned by the Rashid Natha family. As the number of students increased, the teachers demanded more space to accommodate their students. Their community gave them the old Imambara, which was used for ladies only during the month of Ramadan, for the night school.[44] In 1960, the Faize Ithnāʿshara School changed premises and began operating at the Dharamsi Gangji Shīʿa Ithnāʿshara School as a religious night school for Ithnāʿshara children. Some Ithnāʿshara merchants, such as Hussein A. Rahim and Mahomed E. Jivraj, both merchants from Malindi, Zanzibar sponsored the school (ZNA AK26/123).

## The Memon Denominational Schools

The Memons were a small group of Sunni Ḥanafī Indians that migrated from Gujarat. They also established their own community schools, which faced severe financial difficulties and sometimes even closed temporarily.

The first recorded Memon school offered elementary education to the boys of their community. The school offered secular and non-secular subjects. However, owing to a lack of funds, the school was closed in September 1924, and its 70 pupils were transferred to the SESM (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1925, p.4). From that point on, the Memon community sent their boys to the SESM.

Later, in 1940, the Memon community established another school, accommodating both boys and girls. To honour their founders, it was called the Kutchi Sonara Haji Ismail and Haji Ahmed Hindi Sunni Madrasa (Turki 1987: 250). This school was opened on 20 April 1940 by Prince Abdulla. The history of this school is linked to the story of al-Ḥājj Ismāʿīl al-Arakh and his brother al-Ḥājj Aḥmed al-Arakh, who moved to Zanzibar from Kutch in the 1860s (Loimeier 2009: 229). The brothers became leaders in the gold and silversmith trade in Zanzibar. They both died in the 1930s, but they had a dream of extending their wealth to the Sunni Indian community. The brothers had sons who felt it was essential to establish a monument for the Sunni Indian community of Zanzibar in the form of an educational institution (The Zanzibar Voice, 26 April 1940, p.6a). Consequently, their sons invited Pereira to construct a modern building on the Mkunazini at the cost of forty thousand shillings. They offered the building to the Hindi Muslim Sunni jamaʿat of Zanzibar, in memory of their late fathers, to be used for imparting religious education. The institute had two large rooms and two smaller rooms (The Zanzibar Voice, 26 April 1940, p.6a)

In the morning, the school offered secular and non-secular subjects for girls of the Memon community. It taught up to grade VII. In 1944, 50 girls studied there (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1945, p.4), reaching 51 in 1945 (ZNA BA 5/15, Annual Report 1946, p.4). From 1945, the girls' section of the school received grants from the government. Boys also studied at the school, with their classes taking place in the afternoon. They received religious instruction, unlike at the SESM (Turki 1987:

[44] Hassan A.M. Jaffer (2007): "Alhaj Mulla Asgher M M Jaffer" (http://www.dewani.ca/msingi/mmj.htm).

250; Loimeier 2009: 230). The school had 150 students in the 1940s and 1950s; its directors were M. A. Kureshi and M. M. Patel (Turki 1987: 250; Loimeier 2009: 230). Following the political changes in Zanzibar in 1964, the school was nationalised like the others and received a new name, the Kajificheni School (The Zanzibar Gazette, 16 January 1965, p.27).

*Hindu Denominational Schools*

Various Hindu communities in Zanzibar, including the Bhatias and Lohanas, joined together to establish schools for their children. Among the first known examples was a small school for boys called the Devji Master School, established in 1917. This was a privately funded school, making it difficult to find information in the annual report from the Education Department. The school enrolled 40 boys in 1925 (Loimeier 2009: 229).

Later, in 1923, a girls' school was opened called the Hindu Free Girls' School. There are two explanations as to who established the school. According to Jhaveri, Muljibhai Suchak established it in memory of his wife, Velabhai. Muljibhai was a Hindu from Porbandar who landed in Dar es Salaam in 1893 before moving to Zanzibar between 1894 and 95, where he worked on a clove farm belonging to one of the Sultan's wives. He then involved himself in the buying and marketing of cloves and the importation of textiles. His wife was interested in girls' education, and upon his wife's death, Muljibhai established a school for girls (Jhaveri 2017: 6). According to another explanation, the school was built by Mulla Waha Suchaka, apparently a son of Muljibhai Suchak, to give Hindu girls a basic primary education (Turki 1987: 243).

The school offered academic and domestic science subjects up to grade IV in the Gujarati language. In contrast to other Indian community schools, this school provided no religious instruction (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1932, p.26). It was one of the best performing Indian schools (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1926, p.5). Nevertheless, it had problems with hygiene infrastructure (though this had improved by 1928) and lacked qualified staff. The latter issue remained unresolved for a long time (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Reports 1927 and 1928). In 1927, the school qualified for a grant from the government after its managers completed the government's requested structural changes, especially regarding the school building and staff qualification levels.

The school started with 50 students in 1923, and had 94 in 1925, 114 in 1928, 110 in 1929, 129 in 1930, 104 in 1931, 187 in 1933, 132 in 1934, 120 in 1937, 133 in 1938, 163 in 1939, and 310 in 1945.[45] These figures showed that the school was progressing well in terms of the number of students in attendance. The archives and oral sources confirmed that the school enrolled non-Hindu girls; since there was no religious in-

[45] ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report for the Education Department for the years 1924 to 1933; ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report for the Education Department for the years 1934 to 1945.

struction, some parents from other Indian communities sent their girls there to be educated (Ali Mohamed Shoka, 27 September 2019).

The school's management did not like to enrol non-Hindu girls at their school, so they sometimes doubled the tuition fees for the non-Hindu pupils (ZNA BA 5/15, Annual Report 1951, p.14). In 1951, a report written by the director of education stated that two parents of non-Hindu students went to confront the headmistress regarding the school fees while he was on the school premises. They complained that it was not fair to increase the costs for them in the middle of the year, as it would greatly inconvenience them and potentially cause their children's education to suffer (ZNA BA 5/15, Annual Report 1951, p.14). In response to this incident, the school's management defended their decision to safeguard the interests of their community's children and encourage non-Hindu girls to go to their own communal schools. The school merged with the Arya Girls' School (Arya Kanyavidyalaya School) in 1946 and formed a new school (ZNA BA 5/15, Annual Report 1947, p.9).

Another Hindu school was the Arya Samaj Girls' School, also known as the Arya Kanyavidyalaya. The school's origins are connected with the Arya Samaj movement, which started in India in 1875 and later entered South Africa and East African countries, including Zanzibar (interview with Ali Mohamed Shoka, 27 September 2019). The movement provided social and educational services to poor Hindus and worked to discourage Hindus from converting to Christianity (Jones and Ryan 2007: 11). The Arya Samaj movement's activities in Zanzibar started in 1907, and they took charge of the spiritual, cultural and educational activities available to Hindus in Zanzibar. They built this girls' school in 1925, along with a library for the Hindus.

From 1946, the Arya Kanyavidyalaya School and the Hindu Free Girls' School merged and formed the Hindu Free Kanjavidyalaya Girls' School, which was also grant-aided. Its highest class was grade VIII. The school was very successful and attracted a large number of Hindu and non-Hindu pupils, with a total of 433 girls in 1950, 463 in 1951, 488 in 1952, 524 in 1953, 522 in 1954, and 612 in 1960.[46] The school operated until 1964, when the new revolutionary government nationalised it. It was renamed the Forodha Mchanga School (The Zanzibar Gazette, 16 January 1965, p.27).

The Hindu society had another school called the Union Secondary School, which was opened by Manilalbhai. Manilalbhai was a son of Muljibhai Suchak, who had established the Hindu Free Girls' School. After the death of his father, Manilalbhai became a leading member of the Hindu community – and, like his father, he wanted to help his community by establishing a secondary school for the benefit of Zanzibar students who had failed to secure a place at the government schools (Jhaveri 2017: 6). The school was private, enrolled boys and girls, and operated under the Hindu Education Board. It primarily admitted Hindu children, but also enrolled non-Hindus, including Arabs and a few Africans from wealthy families (Webber 2013: 109). In the

[46] ZNA BA 5/15, Annual Reports on the Education Department for the years 1947 to 1950; ZNA BA 5/25, Annual Report on the Education Department for the year 1955; ZNA BA 5/29, Report for the Triennium 1961.

1960s, the school had 178 students, of whom 141 were boys and 37 were girls (ZNA BA 5/29, Report for Triennium 1961).

*Education Facilities for Goans*

When the earliest Goan families moved to Zanzibar in the nineteenth century, they faced some difficulties with sending their children to school. The majority of them sent their wives and children back to Goa when their children reached school age, which continued even after the Indian communities opened a non-denomination school, the SESM. Due, in part, to the language of instruction, it was not possible for Goans to send their children to the SESM.

The first Goan education facilities came in 1895, when the Catholic mission opened St. Joseph's Convent School. The school was run by the Society of the Holy Ghost and the Sisters of the Sacred Heart (ZNA BA 5/15, Annual Report 1949, p.4). The Goans were Catholics even before they moved to Zanzibar, and as a result, they had no problem accepting this mission school, in contrast with the majority of Zanzibar's population. The school was located in Shangani and was intended primarily for Goan children of both sexes. However, it was also attended by some Indians who had no communal school and a few Europeans. The school started with eight children, most of them Goans (Turki 1987: 114). It admitted mainly Goans and Parsees. In the 1930s, the school also enrolled Seychellois (ZNA BA 6/7, Report of a Sub-Committee of the Zanzibar Advisory Council of Education, 1935). The school also enrolled Hindus, but only with special approval from the education director; there were regulations that aimed to ensure that Hindus did not overcrowd the classrooms, since they had their own community schools. The language of instruction was English for all subjects except religion, which was taught in Konkani (ZNA AB1/4 Report of the Advisory Council on Education, 1933).

At first, the school taught up to grade VI. In 1933, the school opened its secondary-level classes and started offering education up to grade VIII, equivalent to grade XII at the other schools. The school also prepared students for the Cambridge School Certificate Examination (ZNA BA 5/15, Annual Report 1949, p.16). The curriculum included arithmetic, drawing, history, geography, hygiene, physical training and music, plus needlework and cooking for the girls. The convent school was renowned in the 1940s and 1950s renowned for the quality of the girls' needlework, especially for the fancy needlework and embroidery of the senior girls. In the 1940s, the school introduced French to the syllabus, and there was a wide range of subsidiary subjects, including shorthand and bookkeeping (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1945, p.5).

The Catholic mission required boys of twelve to leave the mixed convent school and find another one. However, they could not join most Indian schools, including the non-denominational SESM, as they had a different curriculum and language of instruction. As a result, most of them travelled back to Goa to continue their education, although some children from Goan families joined other Indian schools. This system was common practice until 1935, when the school opened a branch for boys

called St. Joseph's Boys' School, which offered educational opportunities for Goan boys after they reached twelve years old. This branch made it possible for Goan parents to give their boys a full education without sending them to India (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1936).

In the early 1930s, the convent school had a fixed fee of Rs. 2 per month for each child. However, reductions were granted at the discretion of the Father in charge. According to the figures from 1931, fees covered around 15 per cent of the expenditure (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1932, p.22). In a 1938 report, the fee structure was reported to have changed at each level. The fee was Sh. 4.50 per month for grades I to III, Sh. 7.50 for grade IV, and Sh. 10.00 for grade V and VI (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1938, p.19). There were different fees for secondary classes. Supplementary to the fees, the school received government funds starting in 1930, enabling the mission to improve the school buildings and equipment and change the curriculum as suggested by the Education Department (Turki 1987: 114).

The school started with eight pupils in 1895 and had 50 in 1913, 117 in 1926, and 72 in 1928 (Loimeier 2009: 217). In terms of gender, there were 57 boys and 106 girls in 1931, 68 boys and 120 girls in 1933, 72 boys and 146 girls in 1934, 73 boys and 139 girls in 1935, 75 boys and 124 girls in 1937, 81 boys and 116 girls in 1938, 80 boys and 124 girls in 1939, 154 boys and 225 girls in 1948, 157 boys and 192 girls in 1952, and 251 boys and 270 girls in 1960.[47] These figures show that many girls enrolled in the school before it opened its doors for boys from the age of twelve to continue their study there. In all likelihood, many boys still travelled to India for their education, especially among wealthy families.

Unlike other Indian schools, which employed Indian teachers only, most teachers here were European. In 1931, the school had six European teachers, one Goan teacher, and a Goan trainee teacher. Of the six Europeans, five were religious, of whom four were trained, experienced teachers. The Goan teacher was a former student of the convent school who had trained as a teacher at the government girls' school for a short period. In 1932, two additional European teachers joined the school, both of whom were trained teachers (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1933, p.21–22). The school had great success until 1964 when the new Zanzibar government nationalised it along with the rest of the Indian schools. Its new name was the Tumekuja School (The Zanzibar Gazette, 16 January 1965, p.27).

To conclude, in examining the denominational and non-denominational schools established by each Indian community in Zanzibar, one cannot ignore the role of religion. The Indians' spiritual diversity played a significant role in the founding and continuation of many of their schools. The government used various means to control these schools, introducing a grant-in-aid scheme and annual inspections. The govern-

[47] ZNA BA 5/3 Annual Reports on the Education Department for the years 1931 to 1933; ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Reports on the Education Department for the years 1934 to 1939; ZNA BA 5/15, Annual Reports on the Education Department for the Year 1948; BA 5/25, Annual Report on the Education Department for the year 1955; BA 5/29, Report for the Triennium 1958–1960.

ment even succeeded in establishing a centralised curriculum, setting time allocations for each subject and setting standards of qualification for teachers.

Consequently, apart from religious teaching, which was different in Indian schools, the same things were taught as at other schools. Furthermore, in some schools, the government took over administration and appointed principals of their choosing. Nevertheless, the Indians' need to maintain their own religious beliefs drove them to preserve their own schools. In other words, religious diversity played a significant role in pushing the Indian communities of Zanzibar to found and maintain their various schools between 1880 and 1963.

## 4.4 Teaching Staff at Indian Schools

Among the most significant factors in the schools' success or failure was the teaching staff. A lot depended on the physical and mental capability and adaptability of the teachers. Records show that several Indian schools failed due to this, while others became successful. This section reveals information about the Indian schools' teaching staff, shining a light on the successes and challenges these schools faced.

When the Indians established secular schools in Zanzibar in 1890, there were no trained teachers and hardly any with an education beyond that provided by the Qur'ānic schools (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1937, p.2). This situation forced the Indians to run their earlier schools under extreme difficulties in terms of staff. The Indian communities requested that the government help by importing teachers from India, England and Egypt (ZNA AB 1/231, Report of the Education Commission, 1921). However, to begin with, the British authorities were not seriously committed to supporting education services. This did not change until the early 1900s, when they opened a Education Department in Zanzibar, which later helped Indian schools. The lack of support made them turn to India and Pakistan for assistance. From the very early years after they began to establish schools, Indian communities imported many teachers from India. They were born in India and had an Indian education (Abdul Sheriff, 21 September 2019).

In the beginning, Indian schools recruited teachers at random. Those looking for staff would travel to India or ask people from India to provide qualified candidates to teach at their school. The educational authorities of India were not involved in confirming the applicants' qualifications. As most of the schools offered primary education, teachers for elementary classes were preferred. The qualifications for recruitment were a secondary school education and possession of teacher's certificates. In some cases, a graduate degree was also required. Fluent knowledge of Gujarati was the most essential qualification in terms of language, but it was also desirable to have teachers who were fluent in English and those with handcraft skills (ZNA AB 1/195, Correspondence from Hugh Welber to the Chief Secretary, 30 June 1956, Zanzibar).

These hoped-for qualifications were far from the reality. In fact, most schools hired teachers who didn't meet them at all. There were rumours that schools recruited

some because they had familial or social connections to school committee members. Some applicants also lied about their qualifications. As a result, schools were full of untrained and unqualified teachers (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1929, p.29).

In 1928, the top three Indian schools, namely the SESM, the Aga Khan Boys' School, and the Madrasat al-Mohammadieh were visited by Robert Benson Ewbank, who was aiming to find a solution for low qualifications among teachers. Ewbank was a British colonial civil servant in Bombay. He held various positions in British India's government, including Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, government representative in East Africa, and General Secretary to Bombay's government. As such, he had extensive experience of working with Indians. His recommendation to the Indian schools was that when securing new teachers from India, appointments should be made based on the advice of that country's educational authorities (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1928, p.3). This recommendation helped Indian schools to reduce the number of fraudulent candidates they employed, but it did not improve the qualifications of those they did hire.

The working conditions offered to teachers in Indian schools varied, not only within schools but also between schools. In most cases, schools allowed teachers recruited from India access to first- or second-class travel, sometimes with close family members included, such as wives, husbands and children. Also, the schools offered housing to the imported teachers unless they confirmed that they would find a place to live themselves. Contractual terms ranged from three to five years, and were renewed at the end of each term. However, it was possible to end or not renew a contract (interview with Mohamed Shamte, 15 August 2019).

As well as importing teachers, schools also recruited teachers from within the existing Indian population of Zanzibar, especially after a teacher training school was opened in 1923 (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1933, p.3). The government established this school, which was run by a European principal, to prepare teachers for the government schools, which also lacked qualified teachers. The government sponsored Africans and Arabs to join the courses (ZNA AB 1/231, Report of the Education Commission 1921, p.7). A few Indians attended as well, even though the school was not free for them; they paid a monthly fee of five rupees and the cost of books and materials.

Some Indian schools, through their committees, granted bursaries for applicants to the training school. A student teacher would have to sign an agreement to teach for a certain period once they had finished their studies. To give an example, in 1930, out of twelve students who completed their training there, only two students, both awarded first-class grades, were Indians. One became a teacher at the SESM, and the other went to the Madrasat al-Mohammadieh. In the same year, ten new students joined the school; two of them were Indians from the SESM who had received grants from the school committee (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1930, p.38).

In general, most of the teachers recruited for the Indian schools were underqualified. In the annual report of 1928, the data collected from the three large Indian schools, i.e. the SESM, the Aga Khan Boys' School and the Madrasat al-Moham-

madieh, specified that they had 43 teachers in total, including headmasters. Of these staff, three had degrees, nine had matriculated in India, seven had some form of secondary education, and eight had Indian vernacular school final certificates or equivalent. Eleven staff members had a lower standard of education than the vernacular final certification; the remaining five had only ever been engaged in religious and Arabic instruction. Of the 43, only six had specific teacher training, one from a secondary teachers' college in Bombay, the second from the training school in Zanzibar, the third from vernacular school teaching. Of the remaining three, two had three years' training and one had one years' training in Bombay (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1928, p.4).

Given the figures above, this problem inevitably led to poor teaching. According toHendry, director of education in 1921, many of the schools' teachers were incompetent, as they had not finished the courses they had started. As a result, children were taught incorrectly from the first day of the teachers' contracts (ZNA AB 1/231, Report of the Education Commission, 1921, p.1). The large schools' situation was not exceptional – it was often reported to be the same or worse in smaller Indian schools. The Education Department regularly criticised the suboptimal teaching situation and tried to encourage them to improve teaching standards by improving the staff's qualifications. The government offered some training to the Indian schools' teachers, which helped boost their capabilities. For example, in 1932, a total of eleven Indian teachers were offered admittance to a course and received a competency certificate from the department (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1932, p.25).

The level of teachers' qualifications was improved by the establishment of the teacher training school and the short training courses for teachers. In 1932, for example, records from the three top Indian schools show that the schools had 44 teachers in total, of which only 13 were trained; the remaining 31 were untrained. In 1933, the same schools' records showed that there were 44 teachers, of whom 15 were trained and 29 were untrained. In 1934, of the same 44 teachers, 19 were trained, and 25 were untrained (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1935: 12). These figures indicated that more than half of the teachers in these schools were unqualified, which was a challenge for the colonial government and the Indians, but also demonstrated that the situation was improving.

Indians decided to establish their own college in East Africa, which aimed to produce qualified teachers for their schools in the region. In 1950, they opened a teacher's college in Nairobi called the Inter-territorial Training Centre for Primary Indian School Teachers (Loimeier 2009: 240). Some Indian schools in Zanzibar sent their teachers to Nairobi to attend it. Sheriff, who studied at one of the Indian schools, remarked that "by the time we reached higher standards, the young Zanzibaris [of Indian origin] were returning from Nairobi to teach in the Indian schools. They were Bohora, Ithnāʿshara and even Goans" (Abdul Sheriff, 21 September 2019). The Goans used to teach mathematics and English, and the Hindus were good at sciences and bookkeeping (Mohamed Bhaloo, 19 September 2019). Most of them taught in higher primary school classes where subjects were taught in English rather than Gujarati; as most of the newly trained teachers were born in East Africa and had studied there,

their knowledge of Gujarati was minimal, so it was more practical for them to teach in English (Abdul Sheriff, 21 September 2019).

Additionally, the Indian schools recruited a few Europeans and Africans, especially starting in the 1940s. In a verbal interview, Bhaloo, an alumnus of the Aga Khan boys' School, explained, "I remember we used to have mixed teachers; some were Indians and some were Europeans. We had Scottish teachers who were good at the English language. My principal was Mr Pascal, who was from Scotland. We had a few Christian African teachers, but only one or two. I don't think they were from Zanzibar, but maybe from mainland Tanganyika, Kenya, or even Uganda" (Mohamed Bhaloo 19 September 2019).

The shortage of qualified teachers was driven mostly by the schools' limited financial means. They wanted to recruit skilled staff, but they were not in a financial position to do so. After all, qualified staff required security of tenure, adequate salary scales, and attractive remuneration packages. To maintain good education standards, good teachers were imperative, and to keep good teachers, schools needed to offer them good salaries (Mohamed Bhaloo 19 September 2019).

Instead, managers employed some teachers without consistent or firm agreements. Payment depended more on the state of the school's finances than the teacher's capabilities. Due to these conditions, compensation varied from one school to another, which led to dissatisfaction among the teachers. This in turn led to strikes at some of the Indian schools. In 1930, for example, there was reportedly a strike at the SESM due to the teaching staff's unequal pay (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1931, p.23). The teachers went on strike for a few days until the school's managing committee convinced them to return to work, promising to establish an inquiry commission that would look into the teachers' allegations.

The commission found that the teachers' specific grievances were, in some instances, exaggerated and misrepresented. The primary source of discord was the lack of clearly defined conditions of service. The committee found that it was impossible to grant any raises due to a lack of money – and that in some instances, the salaries were actually higher than the staff members' qualifications justified (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1930, p.29).

Towards the end of the strike, the Education Department formed a commission to enquire about the possibility of starting a support scheme for Indian schools. The government wanted to support Indian schools in order to improve the education of Indian children, as Indians made up six per cent of the population of Zanzibar. The project would define terms of service by introducing salary grades and registering all the teachers concerned. The hope was that if the schools adopted such a scheme, it would be beneficial for both the teachers and the managers and would resolve the staff's uncertainty and discontent (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1930, p.29).

In 1932, the aforementioned commission suggested that an endowment assurance scheme for teachers would be better suited to local needs than a pension scheme. As a result, they recommended that teachers contribute five per cent of their salaries towards the support premium payment and that a school committee should add to

it equally. However, the committee doubted whether financial conditions would allow Indian schools to cope with the extra expenditure required to adopt this scheme (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1933, p.10–11).

The British government approved the scheme and informed the schools' managers that the government would include the extra expenditure in the financial support given to the grant-aided Indian schools. The government planned to spend 17 per cent of its education budget on supporting Indian schools (ZNA BA 5/8). In 1933, however, none of the Indian schools adopted the scheme for several reasons. In the SESM school, for example, the managing committee reported that the project would not be acceptable for their teachers and that they were considering an alternative involving the purchase of Bombay Post Office cash certificates on behalf of their staff (ZNA BA 5/3, Annual Report 1933, p.13). Consequently, the scheme did not amount to anything.

Subsequently, in December 1936, the government introduced a new staff salary scheme for the grant-aided Indian schools. This went into action on 1 January 1937 (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1936, p.15). Under this scheme, the government would pay one third of the salaries of approved and registered teachers, with the condition that for the first three years, the school should not receive less annually than the amount it received in grants in 1936. It should be noted that the amount of grant for each school was subject to change depending on many factors, but mainly the school inspection reports. If the school failed to resolve the main issues raised in the last annual report, the Education Department would usually reduce the amount of the grant or discontinue it until the school improved the situation. The purpose of introducing a new staff salary scheme was to give all schools a fair chance to improve staffing without fear of reduced grants during the period of reorganisation (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1938, p.7). By applying this scheme, the government hoped that the Indian grant-aided schools would recruit better-qualified staff.

Under this new government scheme, teachers were divided into several different grades that would earn different salaries. Grade I consisted of trained or untrained graduates with five years of teaching experience; these would receive between Sh. 292 to 405. Grade II included a) trained non-graduates with two years at a college or university, b) untrained non-graduates whose teaching was deemed satisfactory, c) untrained non-graduates who had completed two years at a university or college and whose teaching was deemed satisfactory, and d) men trained in the local government teacher training school (on completion of the probationary period). All of these were to receive between Sh. 150 and 217, with further increments of Sh. 15 a month to potentially be given after three-year intervals, up to a maximum of Sh. 292.

Grade III included vernacular trained teachers (with one, two or three years of training), with a salary of Sh. 112 to 150; further increments of six shillings a month could be given at three-year intervals up to a maximum of Sh. 180 per month. It was possible for the headmasters of fully developed middle schools to exceed the Sh. 405 maximum through annual increments of Sh. 22 a month, up to a higher maximum of Sh. 480 (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1938, pp.20–21).

The establishment of the salary scheme helped improve the teachers' salaries in a few Indian schools, but the majority of schools did not adopt the system. In 1937, the SESM staff were paid according to these scales, excepting one or two cases where an agreement existed that meant adopting the new scales would put teachers at a disadvantage (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1938, p.21). However, in other Indian schools, salaries were far lower than the scales listed above, and there is no evidence of any attempt to rectify this.

The education report of 1938 shows that many teachers had salary scales that did not match the official guidelines. Some had fixed salaries, but many had no written agreements of any kind. It was impossible to classify these schools' salaries on any logical basis (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1938, p.21). Approximately 80 per cent of the teachers were on fixed monthly salaries ranging from Sh. 15 to Sh. 187, while the remaining 20 per cent received over Sh. 100 per month. Overall, the average monthly wage was around Sh. 56 (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1938, p.26). As of 1942, only the SESM attracted the best staff (ZNA BA 5/8, Annual Report 1942, p.4).

Due to the shortage of trained teaching staff, the reports from school inspections commented that most Indian schools did not follow the syllabus in full. They considered some topics to be too complex for their teachers to teach, so each school selected specific syllabus topics to teach according to their teachers' ability (ZNA AD1/130, Inspection Reports on Hindu Girls Free school).

## 4.5 Conclusion

The data presented in this chapter came from archives, verbal interviews, and both published and unpublished research texts, which combined to provide a historical picture of the development of the Indian education system in Zanzibar between 1880 and 1963. Indians in Zanzibar had long felt the need to establish their own educational facilities. There were several factors behind this, including religious motives, the Indian communities' strong financial situation, and the wishes of parents and community leaders, who were keen to see their children acquire secular and non-secular education at their own community schools. The support of the British authorities in Zanzibar was a factor as well. As this chapter emphasises, the religious factor was particularly significant for the development and maintenance of Indian schools in Zanzibar. There were several varieties of Indian school; some offered secular subjects, others provided non-secular education, and some offered both.

Many of these schools started in small dwelling houses and religious buildings that were part of the Indian communities – signifying their commitment. Examining these schools aids in understanding the struggles the Indian communities endured to maintain their cultural, religious and social values while living as minority populations far from their original homes. In addition, through these schools, the undeniable fact becomes clear that the diversity of the Indian communities was high, even when they moved to foreign lands like Zanzibar. In most cases, the divisions were along the lines

of religion and sect. Parents felt strongly about not wanting their children to be associated with, or even in contact with, children of other denominations. In addition to religious teachings that varied from one school to another, the schools taught children the Indian languages, history and even geography of India, so that children did not abandon the beliefs and traditions of their elders who originally came from India.

Furthermore, the British authorities had a significant role in developing these schools. They were committed to making sure Indian schools continued to operate, even when they were in difficult financial situations, by providing funds, school buildings, and even staff training. These commitments influenced changes in the schools' direction, especially with regard to the curriculum. The government convinced the schools to establish a standard curriculum, except for religious subjects, which were left in the communities' hands.

Although the schools faced many challenges from an early stage, such as unsuitable school buildings, poor teaching methods, lack of funds and a shortage of qualified teaching staff, these schools changed the Indian communities' educational history in Zanzibar. They therefore stand as a mark of achievement for the Indian communities in Zanzibar and made a positive contribution to the development of the educated elites in the region who later challenged the British authorities and demanded independence. Chapter five explores the role of the intellectual Indian elites in the economy of Zanzibar during the British colonial period.

# 5 The British Economic Legislation and Indian Interests, 1890–1938

## 5.1 Introduction

In 1890, Zanzibar became a British protectorate, which gave the British authority to maintain economic control of the islands. However, even before the official colonisation of Zanzibar, the British were aware that the Indians had held important positions in the economy of Zanzibar, and East Africa in general, since the early nineteenth century. Indians' interests in Zanzibar had always been supported and protected by the Sultan's governments. Indians performed various roles, such as wholesale and retail trade and providing banking services to the planters and Afro-Arab traders. Indian moneylenders supplied a significant portion of even European traders' capital (Churchill, quoted in Government of India 1935: 1216). Clove production, which was the leading sector of the Zanzibar economy, was in the hands of the Indians. The two islands supplied 80 per cent of the international clove market (Government of India 1935: 1216) and were, therefore, chief exporters of cloves the world over. They provided capital to the clove planters, who were mainly Arabs and Africans, and controlled local and export clove markets.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the economy of Zanzibar depended on two major sectors, cloves and the slave trade. In the 1870s, the British, with the help of the Omani Sultans in East Africa, abolished the slave trade; two decades later, in 1897, they abolished slavery altogether. Although the government of Zanzibar provided finan-

cial compensation to slave owners and ensured they kept control of their plantations, the transition impacted on the local economy, especially among landowners who depended on slaves for production. As a result, most planters suffered from accumulated debts, which jeopardised the clove sector. Through mortgages, the growers, mainly Arabs, took on a considerable amount of loan debt from moneylenders, mostly Indians, to pay for production costs. They often failed to repay the debt.

Even before 1890 (when Zanzibar became a British protectorate), the British were aware that most planters were in extensive debt. The mortgages made many Arab landowners financially dependent on the Indians (Historical Section of Foreign Office 1920: 44). Britain was concerned that ownership of Zanzibar's land was shifting from the Arab agricultural class to the Indian merchant class, who were not as invested or interested in agriculture.

Soon after colonisation, the British set out to preserve the position of the agriculturalists (who were mainly Arabs) and put some measures in place to maintain the Arab planters' economic status. The Indians criticised these steps, claiming that they interfered with their financial position and trade interests. The Indians declared a strike against the British protectorate government.

This chapter will review the various laws passed by the Legislative Council (LegCo) of Zanzibar in the 1930s to save the Arab agricultural class. Specifically, the chapter will answer the following research question: what were the Indians' main objections to the laws introduced in Zanzibar in the 1930s regarding cloves and banking? This chapter argues that the laws aimed to drive Indians away from Zanzibar's plantation economy, which had been under their control for quite some time.

Various historians, such as Lofchie (1965), Bennett (1978), El Sheikh (1986), Thakur (2007), Zinat Bader (1991), Tominaga (1993), Cooper (1977) and Sheriff (2001), have written about the economic policies of the Zanzibar government in the years 1890 to 1938. The literature has significantly contributed to discussion regarding the reasons why the British government introduced measures that were detrimental to the Indian community and beneficial to the Arab community – see Tominaga (1993), Bennett (1978) and Lofchie (1965). Furthermore, the literature shows how the British policies rescued the Arab planters from debt and bankruptcy (see Bader 1991). Thakur (2007) mentions the ways in which these policies hurt the Indians and generally describes the Indian struggle against the government of Zanzibar.

However, despite significant contributions from various studies, no research has reviewed the clove decrees of the 1930s and shown precisely what the Indians rejected in those decrees. This chapter analyses the clove laws established by the British government in Zanzibar in the 1930s and discusses the main objections of the Indians. It will also review the clove laws' impact and examine the Indian community's struggles against them. This chapter has three sections. The first provides background information on the economic situation of Zanzibar, particularly the position of the Arabs between 1890 and 1920s. The second part will address the various British laws affecting the clove industry in Zanzibar in the 1930s and their impact on Indians. The third section will examine Indian resistance against the clove legislation.

## 5.2 The Economy of Zanzibar and Arab Debt and Bankruptcy, 1890 to 1920s

This section will review the economic background and the rise of Arab debt. The British government claimed that this debt was a primary factor behind their measures favouring Arabs over Indians in Zanzibar. This section is essential to understand the role of the Indians in Zanzibar's economy, especially in the clove industry. Arab debt accumulation and bankruptcy will also be discussed. This section will help the reader to understand the steps the government was willing to take to protect clove growers, who were mostly Arabs, while not being prepared to take such action on behalf of other groups living in Zanzibar, particularly Indians.

In November 1890, Zanzibar was declared a British protectorate, with a constitutional policy of identifying Zanzibar as an Arab state (Mlahangwa and Temu 1991: 153) that became the basis for further laws and policies. While addressing the parliament in July 1890, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Robert Cecil, justified the British colonisation of the islands by commenting on the commercial benefits of Zanzibar, especially its enterprising population and fertile soil. He stressed that British control of Zanzibar would allow the British to control the living slave trade as well (House of Lords Debate (HLD), 10 July 1890, Vol. 346, cc. 1261). Given Cecil's expectations, there was no doubt that the British would establish a protectorate over Zanzibar to exploit the islands.

The literature indicates that the protectorate government was interested in controlling Zanzibar's clove trade, which was primarily dependent on land. They wanted to preserve and protect the landowning class, which consisted mainly of Arabs. The fact that the Arabs were also the ruling class in Zanzibar contributed to the British choosing them to be part of their economic mission in the region. The British offered the clove planters support in the form of laws protecting their interests. Mlahangwa and Temu point out that it was only natural for the colonial government to support this group in order to guarantee production and sustain the colonial structure (Mlahangwa and Temu 1991: 153). The government of Zanzibar preserved the Arab planters' position despite being aware of their complicated economic situation.

The Arab landowning class had been suffering from debt even before British rule. The literature shows that most of them had taken extensive loans from the moneylenders (primarily Indian) in order to establish their plantations. The moneylending services are said to have already existed in Zanzibar when clove planting first began in the 1830s (Tominaga 1993: 229). As early as the 1840s, there were indications that some Arab growers were already indebted to Indians. Atkins Hamerton, who arrived in Zanzibar in 1841, noted that "the Arab clove plantations were already in many cases mortgaged to Indians, who cultivated them in order to repay themselves the sum lent out on mortgage" and that "as long as they got sufficient cloves from their plantations to handover to the Indian money lender, they appeared to care little how matters are carried on" (Atkins Hamerton quoted in Hollingsworth 1960: 111).

The moneylenders acted as informal credit suppliers. They made money from speculation, interest and mortgages rather than production (Depelchin 1991: 31). Under British rule, the moneylenders continued to offer their services despite the existence of a formal banking sector, e.g. the local Indian Jetha Lila Bank, the Standard Bank of South Africa, and the British National Bank of India. As the credit offered to planters by the formal sector had higher interest rates, most traders and agriculturalists used traditional credit suppliers (Tominaga 1993: 229). There were three mortgage types offered by Indians in Zanzibar: mortgage by conditional sale or bai' khiyār,[48] usufructuary mortgage,[49] and English mortgage[50] (Tominaga 1993: 230).

In addition to the above, it's important to note that the Arab planters relied on slave labour on their clove plantations in Zanzibar and Pemba. The clove business demanded colossal labour forces for cultivation and harvesting. The slave trade contributed hugely to the development of the clove trade in Zanzibar (Sheriff 1987; Goswami 2011: 239–241; Bennett 1978:25–7). Throughout the nineteenth century, clove planters employed an enormous number of slaves in clove production. Although slavery and the slave trade were essential to Arabs and to Zanzibar's economy, the British detested this sector. Before making Zanzibar a protectorate, the British declared a campaign against slavery and put in a lot of effort to abolish the slave trade in East Africa. Between the 1820s and 1873, the British signed three treaties to end the slave trade, despite facing tough resistance from the Afro-Arab slave traders and the Sultan of Zanzibar. The British ended the slave trade in Zanzibar before officially colonising the area (see Goswami 2011: 270; Sheriff 1987).

In the first six years of British rule, there was pressure from the British parliament to end slavery in Zanzibar, as many members of parliament did not want to see it continued. At one point, parliament reportedly decided to reduce the salary of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Joseph Chamberlain, to punish him for not taking action to end slavery (House of Commons Debate (HCD), 19 January 1897, Vol. 45, cc.113). However, the Arab planters in Zanzibar were of a different opinion; they feared the effects of the abolition of slavery on the agricultural communities and Zan-

[48] Bai' khiyār is an Arabic term for a conditional sale. For example, in a bai' khiyār, a person might sell his land to a moneylender for 100 rupees – when the land was worth 150 rupees – on the condition that the original owner would have the first right to repurchase the property when the moneylender put it up for sale after a specific period. The borrower would continue to live on the land and pay rent, which was effectively interest on the loan. Most people who made this arrangement had the intention of repaying their debts (McMahon 2013: 102). Legally, bai' khiyār was a sale and not a mortgage. It was used by some lenders to evade taxes.

[49] In a usufructuary mortgage, the landowner borrows a sum of money; in exchange, he transfers to the moneylender all rights to its use and the resulting income until he repays the entire sum borrowed. The owner keeps the title deed and thus the unconditional possibility of recovering said rights once his financial circumstances permitted (Bell and Hatlebakk 2017: 2).

[50] The English mortgage was a form of mortgage used in Zanzibar whereby a mortgage taker would commit to fully repay by a specific date. Absolute ownership of the property would then go to the mortgage taker.

zibar's plantation economy in general, as slavery was an important economic pillar of Zanzibar's plantation economy.

As discussed earlier, the agricultural class was already in a vulnerable position (Ferguson 1991: 36). Arab landowners were suffering from economic instability due to the dependency on loans, and that was while using slave labour for their plantations – what would happen if they had to pay for their labour force? There was widespread fear that the end of slavery would lead to the clove plantations' failure and that the government would lose its most important source of revenue (Loimeier 2009: 159). Thus, the colonial government in Zanzibar was worried about how they could best end slavery without disturbing the plantation economy or the agricultural class.

British officials living in Zanzibar held a variety of views on the subject. Arthur Hardinge (the Consul-General of Zanzibar) and Lloyd Matthews defended the current situation and proposed a gradual liberation of slaves (HCD, 19 January 1897, Vol. 45, cc.117) to allow enough time to learn about the process's impact at every step. Hardinge's views conflicted with those of John Kirk, Gerald Portal and Charles Bean Euan Smith, who all advocated for an immediate end. Kirk, for instance, did not believe there would be any difficulty in keeping slaves on their former masters' farms. To him, the important thing was to take proper precautions that would encourage them to stay with good masters (HCD, 19 January 1897, Vol. 45, cc.117).

After intense pressure from the British parliament, Zanzibar's government abolished slavery in 1897. Alongside this, the government introduced measures to ensure that the transition from slavery to a capitalist system would not interfere with property relations. The government offered financial compensation to the slave owners for the loss of their slaves (Ferguson 1991: 36), despite some members of the British parliament strongly opposing the idea of compensating slave owners (HCD, 19 January 1897, Vol. 45, cc.118). Immediately after slavery ended, the predictions made by some government officials and clove planters became a reality. The shamba (farm) owners reported difficulties with finding a regular labour supply for their plantations. This lack of labourers disturbed clove production; as Mathews wrote in 1901, "the plantations of these islands were fully cultivated and profitable prior to the decree [to end slavery]. Now, many of them are out of cultivation for want of labour, others are worked at loss, and labour is getting scarcer every day ... I cannot blind my eyes to the fact that it [the Decree of 1897] has not been of benefit to these islands up to the present" (Lloyd Mathews, quoted in Depelchin 1991: 25).

The lack of labourers prompted a wide range of responses. Some landowners imported labourers from the mainland; others tried to reduce the cost of running their farms, e.g. by hiring seasonal workers instead of permanent ones. Many landowners switched from clove cultivation to coconut farming, as the latter required fewer workers, especially for the harvests (Depelchin 1991: 28). Besides the fact that there was no longer a cheap slave labour force, most of them did not have any experience of negotiating salary levels with employees. In fact, many farmers did not have enough money to pay salaries even if workers were available. This lack of funds led farmers, especially Arab farmers, to request mortgage loans from Indian moneylenders to cover

production costs on their farms. As a result, the agricultural class's dependence on Indian moneylenders grew even greater, and their future livelihoods seemed to be at even greater risk. Most of them could only maintain ownership of their land and their plantation with their loans from Indians, i.e. they had largely surrendered their properties to Indian bankers (ZNA BA 12/7, Zanzibar Protectorate 1929, p.78).

The Arab way of life was said to contribute to their economic instability. Hollingsworth claims that most of them did not know how to save money, explaining that it was common to see Arab farmers spend most of their income after collecting their profits from selling crops. He commented that "his [the Arab's] love of lavish, indeed ostentatious, hospitality ... often led quickly to financial embarrassment. As there were no cheap credit facilities available in Zanzibar, he had to go to Indian money lenders, who often demanded a high interest rate" (Hollingsworth 1960: 111). Also, even after taking out loans, they did not have a mechanism to repay their debts in instalments. Instead, they would often wait until the next clove season harvest to repay the loans. If the next season was not profitable enough for them to pay off their debts, they would sell part of their farms or mortgage their property to Indian moneylenders (Tominaga 1993: 229). Consequently, the pawning of clove trees and land increased, with some farmers losing everything (Loimeier 2018: 159). Menon reported that by 1922, 323 Indians owned 1,300 plantations with 152,490 clove trees (Menon 1934: 5).

Living their lives in fear of bankruptcy angered the Arab producers. Many were afraid that their children would not have any property to inherit when they died and would instead take on their debts to the Indians. It seems that most of the big landowners wished to see the government rescue them before they faced financial embarrassment. Salīm b, al-Kindī Āl Saʿīd, a spokesperson for the Arab clove producers, claimed that "we are in a state of economic war and that unless the Government lose no time and make some sacrifice of its interests in order to revive agriculture and unless she interferes to settle the matter between the creditors and the debtors ... the day is not far off when all the shambas will pass into the hands of non-agriculturalists" (Salīm b. al-Kindī Āl Saʿīd quoted in Bennett 1978: 210).

The Arab agriculturalists' demands were in line with the plans and expectations of Zanzibar's government. In response, the government initiated various projects and passed laws to grant financial freedom to the growers, even though these strategies increasingly affected Indian moneylenders and traders in Zanzibar. As part of this effort, the government introduced the Pawnbrokers' Decree of 1905 and the Moneylenders' Decree of 1909 to restrict informal lending from Indian moneylenders, and subsequently established the Harvesting Loan Institution at the Department of Agriculture in 1915 (Tominaga 1993: 238). However, these interventions were not as successful as expected.

In 1922, the government attempted to rescue the Arabs by forming the Agriculture Commission, chaired by M.R.H. Crofton (Crofton 1953: 159). The commission's task was to study the source of the decline of the clove industry and the issue of Arab debt. The commission published its report in 1923, making eleven principal recommendations. Of these, seven targeted the clove industry and the Arab planters'

debt (Crofton 1953: 160). The commission reported that the clove industry's main problem was the Arab landowners' physical absence, as most of them lived in Zanzibar Town. Many of them did not take care of their older clove trees, which therefore failed to produce enough cloves. The farmers were also unable to replant poorly performing plantations – planters would replace dead trees, but not old ones (Ferguson 1989: 29).

Consequently, the commission argued that the sector needed revitalisation for production to increase (Ferguson 1989: 29). Most of the productive land in Zanzibar and Pemba was used for clove production, so improving the land was the only way to improve clove production (ZNA BA 3/11, Report on Agriculture 1923, p.3; Ferguson 1989: 29). The Crofton Commission suggested that to boost the agricultural sector, the government needed to reduce taxation, rescue the planters from moneylenders, and introduce conditions that would lead to growers earning a profit. The commission viewed Indian moneylenders, in general, as a threat to agriculture, mainly due to their debt repayment system (Ferguson 1989: 29).

Furthermore, the commission recommended that the government urgently provide credit facilities via a cooperative organisation to solve the current problem of Arab debt. It was proposed that the government should hire an expert for advice on establishing partnerships (Crofton 1953: 160). The commission also proposed a Land Alienation Decree that would "define an agricultural class and prevent the passage of land (without special permission) to non-agricultural communities" (Menon 1934: 4).

Following the Agriculture Commission report, the government developed a bonus scheme in 1923. The scheme was designed to encourage landowners to take care of their lands, as the main problem mentioned by the commission was the negligence of landowners. As such, the government established nurseries that freely distributed clove seeds (ZNA BA 3/11, Report on Agriculture 1923). The plan gave cash bonuses to landowners who planted new seeds and grew their clove trees under approved conditions (ZNA BA 3/11, Report on Agriculture 1923). The amount of compensation awarded would depend on the number of clove trees replanted. From 1923 to 1927, the scheme paid one rupee for each tree that reached one year of age, four rupees on reaching the age of three, and a final eight rupees upon reaching six years (ZNA BA 3/20, Law Commission 1935, p.7). By 1925, the scheme had offered 80,000 seedlings to the farmers from Unguja and Pemba (ZNA BA 3/16, Department of Agriculture 1931). The project also provided financial advances to landowners during the harvest periods to pay for labour costs (Mlahangwa and Temu 1991: 157). This plan aimed to restore the confidence of clove growers and allow them regain control over the clove industry without relying on Indian resources. However, the government claimed that the project was a huge burden on them, so they terminated it in 1926. Subsequently, the planters returned to their reliance on Indian moneylenders (Bader 1991: 179).

The issue of clove farm debt was a thorn in the Zanzibar government's side, and it struggled to find a lasting solution that would end the crisis. In 1926, the British appointed G.D. Kirsopp to examine the problem. Kirsopp had been working in East African countries and had good knowledge of East African trade. He published his report titled "Memorandum on Certain Aspects of the Zanzibar Clove Industry"

in 1926. Kirsopp acknowledged the negligence of Arab farmers led to the breakup of estates. Furthermore, he found that while Arab plantations were declining, rural African producers were slowly becoming more successful without government support (Mlahangwa and Temu 1991: 155–56).

Following the Agriculture Commission and Kirsopp's recommendations, the government of Zanzibar, via the Department of Agriculture, formed the Zanzibar and Pemba Clove Growers' Association (ZPCGA) in 1927. This association was established to unite plantation owners and help control production costs (especially labour wage rates) and the sale of crops, finance farmers with pre-harvest loans, and preserve the cloves' grade by storing them in community warehouses (Menon 1934: 9). When the department established the ZPCGA, they expected it to attract as many as 9,000 clove planters before the end of the year. However, that, too, turned out to be unattainable. The association lost its influence over many small clove growers due to a lack of state authority (Menon 1934: 9). It failed several times to address the clove growers' complaints, such as high clove duty (Tominaga 1993: 238). As a result, even after its introduction, some individual growers took loans from Indian moneylenders. The evidence suggests a vast demand for loans from Arab planters, and even after taking these loans, most of them failed to return the money, which resulted in most of them losing their land through failing to repay mortgages.

The economic downturn continued to plague landowners for a long time, and the government experimented with various methods to fix it. Each attempt failed to solve the problem. By the end of the 1920s, the Great Depression hit, which greatly affected global trade including the clove trade. The depression led to lower clove prices on the world market and increased the number of mortgages (Loimeier 2018: 159). In 1928–29, the average price per frasila[51] of cloves was 24 rupees; by 1929–1930, it had decreased to 15 rupees, and by 1931–1932, it had decreased further to six rupees per frasila (Menon 1934: 16). The colonial government in Zanzibar blamed Indian traders for falling clove prices. It should be remembered that Zanzibar's clove export trade had been in the hands of Indian traders even before British colonisation. The government accused the Indians of trading cloves speculatively, claiming this had led to the falling price of cloves on the world market.

As a result of the depression, some farmers lost all their trees and farms, often leading to creditors taking over their properties as repayment (Cooper 1980: 142). In the annual report of 1929, the colonial government of Zanzibar reported that Arabs continued to mortgage their plantations, "which they executed in favour of Indian moneylenders for advances made at high rates of interest. The Arabs are entirely unable to meet the claims, and without assistance, they have no prospect of being able to extricate themselves from their difficulties ... many of them are tempted to listen to the counsels of despair. Their position is, in truth, a hard one" (ZNA BA 12/7, Zanzibar Protectorate 1929, p.71).

[51] A frasila is equivalent to 35 lbs; this was the local measure of weight for cloves in Zanzibar.

According to the law governing mortgage contracts between Arabs and Indians, should the sale of the specific security mentioned in the deed fail to cover the full amount of the creditor's claim, the creditors were able to sell any kind of property owned by the debtor, except for his bed and cooking utensils, until the very last of the debt was repaid. As a result, many plantations were put up for auction by court order (ZNA BA 12/7, Zanzibar Protectorate 1929, p.71). Data provided by the registrar's office shows that between 1923 and 1933, 805,676 clove trees fell into the hands of Indians in Pemba. For Unguja, the number is unknown, as – unlike in Pemba – no records were kept of trees in deeds of conveyance until 1931. However, it is estimated that, in the same period, agricultural assets of an estimated value of Rs. 2,164,288 fell into the hands of the Indians in Zanzibar (ZNA BA 3/20, Law Commission 1935, p.4). By the late 1920s, the challenges faced by clove growers had still not been overcome, and many were still living a life of commercial speculation. Arab economic instability was a great challenge for the government of Zanzibar, which continued to support farmers, not yet giving up hope.

## 5.3 British Economic Measures in Zanzibar and Indian Interests in the 1930s

In the 1930s, the British protectorate government made further efforts to alleviate the Arabs' suffering. This time, the steps were more severe and were actively detrimental to the Indians. This section analyses the various methods and strategies adopted by the colonial government to protect the clove farmers. In addition, this section reviews the relevant laws passed in the 1930s, which raised many complaints from Indians living in Zanzibar. This section is of great importance to this chapter, as it guides the reader through the Indians' fundamental grievances against various British colonial laws in Zanzibar.

In 1931, the government employed C. F. Strickland to study the Arab debt problem. In his 1932 report, Strickland testified that the transfer of land into Indian hands was increasing, and the increasing humiliation of the growers was likely to become more rapid (ZNA AB 3/48, Zanzibar Government 1934, p.2). However, the burden of debt was not heavy and could be repaid. Strickland recommended that the government give the planters more significant financial assistance, which would enable them to repay their debt and thus free them from their dependence on Indian moneylenders (Mlahagwa and Temu 1991: 156). Strickland stated that the current ZPCGA lacked the authority to manage its professional responsibilities, as there was no legislation to supervise the association. He suggested strengthening the association by giving it appropriate status and a constitution that would genuinely represent the clove growers' interests. He further advised that the government's function should be "to create but not to conduct the association" (Strickland quoted in Menon 1934: 9).

After receiving Strickland's report, the British government, through the Secretary of State for the Colonies, appointed Alan Pim to look into and report on the govern-

ment of Zanzibar's financial capacity and the economic feasibility of implementing changes in the clove sector. Pim's ideas, however, contradicted Strickland's recommendations for the ZPCGA. Pim did not believe Strickland's proposal would empower the association and warned that:

> The association will, in any case, be met with criticism and opposition from strong local vested interests, and it is not advisable to supply them with very legitimate grounds for criticism and antagonism. Such a measure is not even advisable in the interests of the association itself. It will enjoy substantial advantages in being placed in a position to make free advances for harvesting and on the security of stored cloves, and should depend on its own ability to convince the growers of its usefulness for extending its operations.
>
> (Alan Pim quoted in Menon 1934: 10)

Pim agreed that there was a need to change the ZPCGA, but not through enacting more stringent laws. He believed that if the association worked properly, it would attract people without forcing them to do so by law.

Significant changes occurred in the clove industry following a report from C.A. Bartlett and J.A. Last. The government hired these two officers in 1933 to report on the declining clove industry. They wrote an eye-opening statement about the extent of farmers' debts to Indians – although, as they themselves acknowledged, they only collected information from 5,342 out of an estimated 18,000 clove plantation owners. Bartlett and Last reported that these 5,342 plantation owners owed Rs. 3,860,000, of which Rs. 2,034,000 and Rs. 963,000 were due on mortgages and fictitious sales[52] of their plantations respectively. The remaining Rs. 863,000 was owed to various other sources of debt. In addition to these liabilities, Rs. 6,257,000 were listed as assets owned by the farm owners. These figures indicate that each farm owner had debts of approximately Rs. 552, either as a mortgage or a fictitious sale of their plantation, as well as approximately Rs. 15,880 in additional debts, making for an average aggregate debt of Rs. 71,080 per head (ZNA BA 3/20, Law Commission 1935, p.2).

Bartlett and Last reported that "it is probable that not less than half the agricultural property of these islands has passed into the hands the moneylending classes and that at least half the remainder is encumbered to them, most of it heavily" (Bartlett and Last quoted in ZNA BA 3/20, Law Commission 1935, p.4). The report shocked the government and the landowners. It showed that the debt level was terrible for many farmers, and it required immediate action. However, Bartlett and Last, and the Zanzibar government, failed to consider that there were Indians within the protectorate

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[52] Fictitious sale, also known as bai' khiyār, was a kind of disguised mortgage that became more prevalent after the government increased the licence fee for moneylenders in 1929. This was a form of absolute sale on the condition that the property be returned when repayment was received. Because this transaction was legally a sale and not a mortgage, a lender could avoid paying the fee needed to obtain a licence for moneylending (see Tominaga 1993: 231).

who held properties as bona fide investors and agriculturists. Even if such properties passed into Indian hands, it did not mean those receiving the land were necessarily part of the moneylending classes.

As a result of this report, the government declared immediate and severe measures to address the situation. In its Legislative Council (LegCo) meeting of June 1934, the Attorney General of the colony, A.N. Doorly, admitted that Bartlett and Last's report shocked them. Even if the figures were questionable, it gave an understanding the magnitude of the problem, and he felt that if they did not address it soon, it would only get worse: "If the Arab and African landowner is expropriated, then he will be become either a tenant where once he was a landowner. This is an Arab state; it is a duty of the protecting government to assist the protected people. It is impossible for us to stand by and take the risk of the expropriation of the His Highness's people" (Doorly quoted in Bennett 1978: 210). Soon after, the British Resident came up with a series of decrees that frustrated many Indians. These were:

1. The Alienation of Land (Restriction Land Evidence) Decree, 1934.
2. The Moneylenders' (Amendment) Decree, 1934.
3. The Clove Growers' Association Decree, 1934.
4. The Clove Exporters' Decree, 1934.
5. The Adulteration of Produce Decree, 1934.
6. The Agricultural Produce Export Decree, 1934.

The way in which the government introduced these decrees gave the impression that it had decided on them without considering public opinion. The Resident submitted the six bills at the LegCo on 16 June 1934, and they were in the statute book by the end of the month. This meant they were discussed for just twelve days in total, an average of two days for each bill (Menon 1934: 1; Pant in Government of India 1935: 1214). The government's rush to implement these decrees saddened the Indians, who asked for more time to study them properly. Some members of the British parliament had similar concerns. Robert Hamilton asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether it was truly essential for the legislation to proceed without providing sufficient time for the Indian community in Zanzibar to study the decrees, as the laws would affect them significantly (House of Commons Debate (HCD), 27 June 1934, c1108). It became clear that the government was eager to use the decrees in the new clove season, which began on 1 July (HCD, 27 June 1934, c1108). The following are the six relevant decrees and the Indian objections to them:

### 5.3.1 The Alienation of Land (Restriction Land Evidence) Decree, 1934

Its main provisions have been summarised by Menon as follows:

> It provides that every transaction (other than a lease of land for a year or less) affecting the land of an Arab or an African shall be by a registered instrument (clause 3). The alienation of land belonging to an Arab or an African to a person who is not an Arab or an African will be of no effect unless it is sanctioned by the British Resident (clause 4). By clause 6, the forms in which an Arab or an African may mortgage his land are restricted to three:
>
> (a) a usufructuary mortgage with possession given to the mortgagee for a term not exceeding 20 years, after which the mortgage debt is extinguished and the property returns to its owner;
>
> (b) a mortgage without possession with a condition that, on the mortgagor's failure to observe the terms of the mortgage, the mortgagee may apply to an authorised officer to be put in possession on such terms as to the period of possession (provided that it does not exceed 20 years) and the amount of principal and interest as the authorised officer deems fit; and
>
> (c) in any other form approved by the British Resident. Under a usufructuary mortgage, the mortgagor does not bind himself personally to repay the mortgage money (clause 7). The period for which an Arab or an African may lease his land is limited to 20 years (clause 9). If the value of the property does not exceed Rs. 1,500, there is no appeal from the decision of an authorised officer (clause 13), nor are legal practitioners entitled to appear (clause 14). The registration of any document which contravenes the provisions of this Decree is prohibited (clause 17). In the case of what may be called "fictitious sales," oral evidence may be tendered to vary the forms of the document and to show the real nature of the transaction (clause 18). A moratorium is provided for a period of one year, during which no decree or order of a court for the sale of the land of an Arab or African can be executed (clause 19).
>
> (Menon 1934: 2; see also ZNA BA 13/22, Zanzibar Protectorate 1934)

Despite the Attorney General's remarks in the LegCo regarding the "political necessity" of this decree, the evidence suggests that its purpose was primarily economic. The government wanted to relieve the debt of agriculturists and prevent future mortgages. Indians objected to the decree and claimed that it accelerated colonial racism. They claimed that there was no need for this decree in the first place and argued that if the law aimed to protect the interests of the people of Zanzibar, that should also include them. More than 80 per cent of Indians in Zanzibar were permanent residents, and most of those were born to parents who had settled in Zanzibar generations ago. Hence, they argued, they deserved the same rights as the Africans and Arabs. This

decree would, for example, allow an African who had recently moved to Zanzibar from the mainland, or an Arab from Muscat, to have the right to own land, but not Indians born in Zanzibar (Menon 1934: 4).

Furthermore, the Indians criticised the government's statement that land had been moving from the hands of Arabs and Africans to Indians "at an alarming rate", as it relied on Bartlett and Last's report, which was unreliable. The Indians objected to the view that the estimated debt was too much for the average owner to bear and that it was beyond the value of his property (ZNA BA 3/20, Law Commission 1935, p.4). Additionally, Indians pointed out that the decree would destroy their investment in Zanzibar – Indians had invested eighty million Rupees in Unguja and Pemba. If the law were to prohibit them from bidding for and buying the assets mortgaged to them, they would gain nothing and lose a large portion of their capital (Menon 1934: 4).

In addition, the Indians criticised the moratorium on payment of unresolved Arab debt owed to Indians; this suspension was announced on 7 July 1934 and was to remain in force for twelve months (Thakur 2007: 1233). They claimed that Arab debts were not as large as described and that there was no need for a moratorium (Menon 1934: 3). Everything happened so quickly that the Indians did not have enough time to prepare themselves for the change. The decree went into effect in July, right as the clove season started, when the landowner class were picking their cloves for sale and the moneylenders were awaiting the repayment of their money from the clove planters. If those in debt were given the option of not paying their lenders immediately after harvest, when they had the money, they would not be expected to pay anything until the next harvest (Pant 1935: 1214). Furthermore, even before the end of the twelve months, the government extended the moratorium period (see The Samachar, 17 January 1936, p.8).

### 5.3.2 The Moneylenders' (Amendment) Decree of 1934

This amendment allowed the court to reassess transactions in which goods were sold on credit to an Arab or an African. If the court found the amendments unfair or unreasonable, relief would be granted based on justice. The government decided to change the existing law due to reported cases of traders, mainly Indians, who combined the sale of goods on credit with the advancement of money to the customers. It was therefore difficult to prove that such people were moneylenders under the law (Menon 1934: 6–7). The government presented a bill to change section 15, subsection one of the moneylender decree. Changes were as follows:

> The powers conferred upon the court by subsection one of section 15 shall be applicable to and exercisable in respect of the following transactions:
>
> (a) any transaction entered into whereby any person for a consideration, other than the payment of money payable at the time of or subsequent to the expiration of the period fixed for delivery bind himself to deliver to another at any future time cloves, coconuts or other agricultural produce; and

(b) any transaction whereby goods are sold on credit to an Arab or an African whether money is lent in addition thereto or not, shall be deemed to be a money-lending transaction within the meaning and for the purposes of this Decree. (Menon 1934: 7)

The decree dealt with the licensing of moneylenders. This decree did not oblige a merchant who sold goods on credit to an Arab or an African to take out a moneylender's license. Section 15 enabled the court to reopen such transactions and grant relief to Arabs or Africans. The Indians' concerns over the decree were based on the racial nature of the legislation. The law mentioned Africans and Arabs and did not consider that more than 14,242 Indians also lived in Zanzibar (ZNA BA 34/5, Population Analysis by Race for the Years 1921, 1931 and 1948). The amendment did not regard them as potential customers, and the courts had been empowered to favour the Arabs and Africans in their complaints against Indians, so there was a strong possibility that the courts would deprive Indians of their rights.

### 5.3.3 The Clove Legislation

Subsequently, the government of Zanzibar came up with clove legislation that included four more new decrees: the Clove Growers' Association Decree, 1934; the Clove Exporters' Decree, 1934; the Agricultural Produce Export Decree, 1934; and the Adulteration of Produce Decree, 1934. The government claimed that the need to stabilise clove prices and reduce middlemen were the main reasons behind these decrees (Menon 1934: 10). The government believed that the decrease in clove prices was mainly due to the speculative methods adopted by Indian exporters.

To address the four decrees individually:

#### *The Clove Growers' Association Decree, 1934*

This decree governed the formation of a new association called the Clove Growers' Association (CGA) to replace the Zanzibar and Pemba Clove Growers' Association (ZPCGA) created in 1927. The government abolished the old association, which had been criticised for its lack of power to manage its responsibilities. In justifying this decree, the acting treasurer, H. Allen, explained a need to form a new clove association that would represent clove growers' interests. The majority of clove growers had little capital, were highly disorganised and had little knowledge of how to deal with credit (Bennett 1978: 211). The CGA's board members were appointed by the British Resident (Menon 1934: 7). The association was empowered to deal with agricultural production in general, including its export. Its operations were to be funded by a levy on all cloves exported from Zanzibar and Pemba.

Although the decree did not prohibit Indians from the export trade, it did make the situation very difficult for them, as they now had to compete with the CGA, which benefited from many incentives and government support. Indians objected to

the decree and argued that it was highly unfair. For example, clause 13 of the decree offered the CGA an exemption to any fee required by law regarding any of its undertakings, while clause 9 stated that the association was not liable to pay stamp duty or registration fees regarding trades passing between itself and its clients. However, despite the CGA enjoying a duty exemption, all other exporters were required to pay a tax of seven annas per frasila (i.e. 35 lbs) of cloves exported from Zanzibar and Pemba. This amount, alongside the export duty, would all go to the association fund. Clause 9 suggested that clove sellers, who were mostly Indian, would be forced to contribute to the association, their rival in the clove business. Moreover, if the association could not make a profit from its reserve funds, or any loss or deficiency resulted from its transactions, the government would discharge the association from its liabilities (Menon 1934: 7).

The Indians argued that the decree was formulated to eliminate them from the clove industry and called it a "one man's show" (ZNA AB 3/48, Zanzibar Government 1934, p.9; Menon 1934: 13). The Clove Growers' Association Decree armed the CGA with powers, privileges and protection. It attacked, trampled and crushed the Indian traders and overthrew them from their position in the clove trade (Menon 1934: 10).

The Indians were also concerned about the association's administrators, especially its board. The Secretary of the CGA board was "C. A. Bartlett, formerly a partner of Messrs. Grazebrook-Bartlett & Co., which used to compete, not too successfully, with Indian exporters in the clove trade" (Menon 1934: 8). It angered the Indians that Bartlett led the clove association when he himself had previously failed to compete with Indian traders. They were outraged by his statements and false estimates about the level of farmer debt, which had pushed the government to develop these laws in the first place. Moreover, there was not a single clove grower in the CGA, nor was the body of clove growers directly or indirectly represented on the management board (Pandit in Government of India 1935: 1215; Menon 1934: 9). The Indians strongly criticised the leadership of the CGA, claiming that interested parties had brought the CGA into existence to assist European traders and not the clove growers (Ranga in Government of India 1935: 1236).

### *The Clove Exporters' Decree, 1934*

The Clove Exporters' Decree of 1934 stated that no person should export cloves unless he owned an export license issued by the licensing authority, the CGA (clause 3). Every applicant for an exporter's license had to specify his principal place of business and a warehouse (godown) he possessed to store cloves intended for export. Every godown used or intended to be used by an exporter to keep cloves for export had to be licensed by the licensing authority (clause 4). The law set the fee for the export license as not exceeding Rs. 5,000 per annum, with the godown licenses being free of charge. Exporters were required to keep books of accounts showing specifics of their transactions. The CGA board was empowered to enter godowns, call for registers, and take

copies held by the clove exporter (clause 13, ZNA BA 13/22, Zanzibar Protectorate 1934, p.1622).

The government introduced this decree to control Indian traders, as the government blamed them for causing the decline in clove prices. While announcing it, the acting treasurer made the following remarks: "The industry has suffered severely in the past from the activities of a number of exporters who have dealt with the trade from an entirely speculative point of view, and to eliminate such speculative elements, the imposition of export control through the licensing of exporters is considered essential" (The Samachar, 25 May 1937, p.2a). The decree promoted the power of the CGA as the principal clove exporter on the islands.

The Indians were mainly concerned with the power the decree handed to the British Resident, who became empowered to restrict the number of exporter's licenses. The CGA's board of management, which the Indians did not approve of, was given the power to grant or refuse the permits for clove storage, and had the authority to inspect godowns and call for individual registers kept by the traders. This law meant that through a British Resident, the CGA could reduce the number of Indian traders to whatever extent they wanted by denying them licenses. The Indians also objected to government being in a position to determine the license fee despite not representing the clove growers (The Government of India 1935: 1235).

*The Agricultural Produce Export Decree, 1934*

The Agricultural Produce Export Decree introduced a grading system for exports. It prohibited the export of agricultural produce from Zanzibar until it had been passed either inspection (in the case of copra) or, for cloves, grading and branding (ZNA BA 13/22, Zanzibar Protectorate 1934, pp.1607–1608). The decree developed a system of grading cloves, which, among other things, allowed government inspectors to enter premises to examine produce and remove it if necessary. Failure to comply would lead to court proceedings.

The Indians had no objection to grading in principle, as they were traders – they knew the value of grading. However, they contended that clove grading was essentially automatic, as it was driven by the requirements of the markets. Each clove market had a different quality preference. For example, the Indian market – the primary clove buyer – required the highest quality cloves for their spice trade. The Dutch East Indies needed medium quality cloves for their cigarette industries. For Europe and America, even the lowest quality would satisfy their demands, since they only need the cloves' oil content (Menon 1934: 8). The Indians consequently claimed that nothing more was needed except the prohibition that already existed against the export of cloves containing more than 16 per cent moisture.

*The Adulteration of Produce Decree, 1934*

This decree was designed to prevent the adulteration of the agricultural produce. It provided grading and export regulations for produce, including cloves (ZNA BA 13/22, Zanzibar Protectorate 1934, p.1608). Compared to the five previous decrees, the Indians did not have any specific concerns regarding this one. Still, they linked it to the other laws, stating that this decree similarly aimed to fulfil the colonial government's goal of removing Indians from Zanzibar's economy.

## 5.4 The Aftermath of the Decrees

There was a large amount of tension in Zanzibar's LegCo following the decrees' introduction. The council had fifteen members, of whom nine were officials while six were unofficial members. Of the latter, three were Arab members, two were Indians, and one was European. Certain members who usually supported the government's position reportedly took a different stance towards the decrees. European unofficial member B.H. Wiggins, a British citizen who had been living in Zanzibar for more than 28 years, blamed British Resident Richard Sims Donkin Rankine for the decrees. Wiggins claimed that Rankine, who had come into power in 1929, had been (whether intentionally or unintentionally) effecting anti-Indian policies ever since his arrival in Zanzibar (Bennett 1978: 211). Wiggins also criticised the fact that such essential bills were passed so hastily without allowing any of the unofficial members of the LegCo – especially the two Indian members – to put forward their views, and without requesting their cooperation in resolving the relevant issues (Bennett 1978: 212). He further blamed the Resident for relying on weak statistics of Strickland report about Arab debt in Zanzibar as the basis for these bills (Tominaga 1993: 240). He especially criticised the CGA bill, calling it "the Clove Grabbers' Association" and stating that it would only make Zanzibar worse (Bennett 1978: 212).

The two Indian members, Khimji Khatau Sualy and Ahmad A.M. Lakha, were shocked by the bills. Sualy commented that "no hint was given to the unofficial members that such legislation was contemplated" (Sualy quoted in Menon 1934: 2) even though the government knew the bills would affect their community's interests. Sualy asked the British Resident, "[W]ould there ever have been such legislation if the creditors had been British?" (Sualy quoted in Bennett 1978: 212). As far as he was concerned, the bills were a government plan to deprive the Indians of their rights, steal their economic position from them, and expel them from Zanzibar. Ahmed Lakha, the other Indian member, stated that he was not satisfied with the government's rushing of the bills. He said, "The Government had a couple of years to think it over and did not allow the public more than 12 days to consider them" (Lakha quoted in Menon 1934: 2).

In Britain, the Secretary of State for the Colonies was on several occasions forced to respond to questions raised in the House of Commons by members of parliament

who wished to know the opinions of the Indians in Zanzibar regarding these bills. Some members, such as Robert Hamilton, advised the British Resident to hold a conference with all parties interested in the bills (HCD, 14 November 1934, c1944). The Secretary of State for the Colonies insisted that there was no more time for discussion and that the Indians' complaints had no solid foundation (HCD, 14 November 1934, c1944). Colonel Josiah Wedgwood questioned the Secretary of State for the Colonies on whether the Zanzibar CGA would harm British business. If it did, would he continue to protect such laws? (HCD, 13 March 1935, c369). However, the government continued to maintain its position.

In India, members of the Legislative Assembly were deeply concerned about their brothers' welfare in Zanzibar. Members like Girja Shankar Bajpai, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Maulana Shaukat Ali, N. G. Ranga and others were angry about the decrees. They asked the government of Zanzibar and the Secretary of State of the Colonies to reconsider the decrees (Government of India 1935: 1211–1240). As Ranga proclaimed, "[I]t is this government which almost dares for its own purpose [to introduce the decrees] ... and how can the interest of the Indian traders be safe in the hands of a Government like this?" (Ranga in Government of India 1935: 1235). Pant, another member of the assembly, questioned the government's claim that the decrees were intended to benefit indigenous people. If that was the case, why had the CGA, which had been given the monopoly over the clove trade, been place in the hands of Europeans? "I would ask the ... secretary to kindly enlighten us as to how many of these people are clove growers, to enlighten us as how many of these are the native inhabitants of Zanzibar itself and how this monopoly of the Zanzibar Clove Growers' Association is to work hereafter?" (Pant in Government of India 1935: 1238).

Among the Indian community in Zanzibar, panic broke out. Menon was sent to Zanzibar by the government of India in August 1934 to enquire about the decrees and report on their impact on Indian interests. He wrote that the Indian community was in a state of panic, partly due to how the laws were introduced and partly due to the decrees' effects (Menon 1934: 3). It appeared that propaganda was being spread by the clove planters that worked against Indians' interests. Whether intentionally or due to not fully understanding the laws, some had begun to take steps to confiscate the Indians' land and properties, claiming that the government had forbidden the Indians to own land. Due to the decrees, some people declared that the millennium had arrived (referring to the time of redemption), that their debts had been cancelled, and that property already sold could be returned to them. Just one month after the decrees' publication, some Indians in Pemba reported acts of trespassing committed by the Arabs and Africans on land that belonged to or was mortgaged to Indians. Menon stated: "I was informed of a case in which natives [perhaps Africans or Arabs] forcibly attempted to take possession of the land that had been in an Indian's hands for 22 years" (Menon 1934: 6). Indians reported numerous cases of complaints to the Chakechake Resident Magistrate about their debtors. The defendants said that they no longer had to pay any kind of debt to the Indians because the government had cancelled their debts (see The Samachar, 15 July 1937, p.6). Following the introduction of these laws,

the Indians generally found themselves in a difficult situation. Although they continued to do business, many complained about the complex environment of doing business with CGA. Moreover, they grumbled that the CGA was acting vindictively, even lowering their cloves' grades and paying them less money while the Arabs were receiving better service (see The Samachar, 15 July 1937, p.7).

### 5.4.1 Indian Resistance to the Economic Legislation of 1934

The Indians announced a passive resistance movement against the new laws. Passive resistance refers to actions of nonviolent protest or resistance to authority. The main feature of this type of resistance is the actors' choice to abstain from a violent response even in the face of intense violence.[53] Passive resistance had been widely used by groups who lacked formal authority, just as the Indians did in Zanzibar, and has commonly been called the "weapon of the weak".[54] This section will review various actions taken by Indians in Zanzibar to express their dissatisfaction with the decrees.

The Indians' opposition to and struggles against the British clove decrees started in the LegCo almost as soon as the British Resident presented the bills. Just a few days after the Attorney General and British Resident introduced the bills to the members in 1934, the two Indian members started to express their opinions. They rejected the justifications provided by the Attorney General and Rankine, and described the bills as biased. Furthermore, they complained that the bills would cause a great deal of suffering to the Indian community of Zanzibar (The Samachar, 25 July 1937, p.8a). However, as noted above, the government did not listen to them and approved the laws in July 1934.

Soon after the decrees' introduction, the Indian National Association (INA) took the lead in combating them, expressing their objections as early as the six bills' first reading. They submitted a request to the government to postpone the bills, insisting that the association needed more time to study and understand them, but their request was denied. The government proceeded to implement the bills in under two weeks. Following the government's rejection of their request, the INA sent their complaints via cable to the Colonial Office, expressing their dissatisfaction with the situation and asking for help. The cable message sent on 24 June 1934 read:

> The local government have published the draft of bills that they propose passing into law on the 28th instantly. These bills are most revolutionary, racial, and un-British in character and are calculated to prevent Indians from acquiring land and to deprive them of their ancient rights in dealing in the only important

[53] International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (2018): "Passive Resistance" (https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/applied-and-social-sciences-magazines/passive-resistance).

[54] The philosophy of passive resistance has played a vital role in the history of India. It gained particular prominence there in the twentieth century during the political struggle for independence. Gandhi called passive resistance by the name "Satyagraha". He believed that passive resistance was an essential weapon of the weak in their struggle (see Govinden and Hiralal 2013; Sharp 1979).

> local industry, i.e. cloves, thus threatening the very existence of the whole community numbering 15,000. (The Hindustan Times, 25 June 1934)

The INA asked the British government, through the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Philip Cunliffe-Lister, to intervene and allow them more time to discuss the bills at the LegCo. Three days later, while responding to questions in the House of Commons, Cunliffe-Lister explained that there was no way the colonial government could tolerate any delay of these measures. The new clove season was due to start in Zanzibar on 1 July, and the proposed legislation needed to be in force by that date (HCD, 27 June 1934, Vol. 291, c. 1108). From this response, it was clear to the Indians and their association that they could not rely on help from the Resident or the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

With no support, the INA decided to send their grievances to the government of India, asking them to intervene and support the interests of Indians in Zanzibar. Meanwhile, they also communicated their objections to the Bombay traders and requested their support on the matter. In response to their complaints, a meeting about the new decrees was organised in July 1934 by 29 commercial associations of Bombay. The main meeting agenda was to push the Indian government to negotiate with the Zanzibar government and safeguard Indian interests (Thakur 2007: 1235). Those at the meeting also wanted to know whether the Indian government had been aware of the bills before the British Resident had presented them in Zanzibar's Legislative Council – because there were rumours that the Indian government had been informed beforehand and did not oppose them. In response, the Secretary of the Department of Education, Health and Lands rejected these rumours in the Legislative Assembly on 19 July 1934. He explained that India's government had no knowledge of the bills and had not received any information from the government of Zanzibar outlining plans for the decrees. If they had received advance notice, they would have recommended postponing the laws. As postponement was no longer possible, he assured the Indians in Zanzibar that "the Government of India will do whatever lies in their power to safeguard legitimate Indian interests" (International Labour Office (ILO) Indian Branch 1934: 81).

Less than a month after making this promise, the government of India instructed K. P. S. Menon to go to Zanzibar to inquire into and report on the impact of these laws on Indian interests. Menon arrived in Zanzibar on 20 August 1934 and interviewed government officials and INA officers in Unguja and Pemba. In his report, Menon accepted "that the Indians in Zanzibar had grounds to complain; because the legislation was sprung upon them and that they were practically confronted with a fait accompli" (Menon 1934: 2–3). Menon concluded that he felt "constrained to remark that the cumulative effect of the legislation discussed above is the squeezing out of the native of India from the regions in which he has established himself under every security of public faith" (Menon 1934: 14). The Zanzibar government strongly contested Menon's report and remarked that "the measures taken are designed to place the clove industry on a proper footing and promote the general good of the public, including

the Indians, whose prosperity is inseparably bound to the general prosperity of the protectorate" (ZNA AB 3/48, Zanzibar Government 1934, p.9).

Menon's report strengthened Indian resistance inside and outside of Zanzibar. In Zanzibar, the INA organised several mass meetings to express to their community how unfair the decrees were, based on Menon's report. These were held in the Chaksi Chawl building[55] and the Royal Cinema Theatre in Zanzibar Town, and the Chake Chake Cinema Hall in Pemba (see The Samachar, 17 January 1936, p.8a; The Samachar, 20 June 1937, p.1). The INA's leaders chaired most of the meetings, and guests gave speeches to motivate the general Indian public not to give up their fight against the economic demands they were facing.

In addition to the continuous mass meetings, the Indians' voices and wishes were heard through mass media, mainly newspapers such as the Zanzibar Voice (in both English and Gujarati) and the Samachar (also in both English and Gujarati) – these two newspapers were the mouthpiece of the INA. Al-Falaq (in English and Arabic) and the Official Gazette (in English) covered some of the Indians' struggles as well. These newspapers, each published weekly, played a crucial role in the Indians' efforts. They amplified the Indians' voices, gave them feedback, and carried advertisements for various Indian public meetings.

In India, Menon's report aroused anger from members of the Legislative Assembly, who wished to know what the government was going to do about it. Pandit Govind proposed a motion to the Assembly and requested that the house members stand up for Indians' interests. Many members, including N.M. Joshi, N.G. Ranga, Girja Shankar Bajpai and Maulana Shaukat Ali supported his motion (see Government of India 1935: 1211–1240). However, there was concern from members who wanted to make sure that whatever measures the government of India took would have no adverse effect on the other populations of Zanzibar, referring to the Arabs and the Africans (Ali in Government of India 1935: 1226). Following a lengthy discussion in September 1935, the Indian Legislative Assembly recommended that the government of India take all necessary steps to protect the interests of Indians living in Zanzibar (Governmnet of India 1935: 1240).

The Indian community in Zanzibar, and perhaps the public in India, expected to see India implement the recommendations. This did not happen, however. The Indian government did not have the power to oversee the decisions; India's government was a subordinate government that depended on the British government's cooperation, especially when dealing with the interests of Indians abroad (Joshi in Government of India 1935: 1232). The process would probably have been easier if the British government had accepted the Indians' grievances, but the British government did not consider the Indian community in Zanzibar to have any real reason for complaint (HCD, 21 July 1937, Vol. 326, cc2196–7). Even after India's government sent

[55] The Chaksi Chawl building was one of the large buildings constructed by the Indians that offered cheap, basic accommodation to labourers. It was located on Hamamni Street in Zanzibar Town. It had a sizeable open space where INA held its meetings with the Indian community in Zanzibar.

the Menon report, the Secretary of State for the Colonies rejected it, as in their view it was based on Indians' misapprehensions (Bajpai in Government of India 1935: 1224). It should be noted that the government of India sent Menon within two months of the establishment of the clove decrees. The Secretary of the State for the Colonies considered this too early to report on the impacts. As long as the British government was not convinced that the Indians' grievances were genuine, no support could be expected from India's government.

Even before the government of India hired Menon to do his investigation, Samuel Burnside Boyd McElderry, British Resident, formed a commission on 2 August 1934, C. E. Law, Chief Justice, as its chairman. The Indian community was represented by in this commission by Tayabali Rajabali. The commission was appointed "to inquire into and report upon the problem of agricultural debt in the protectorate; and having due regard to the interests of creditors to make recommendations for the relief of debtors where such relief appears necessary on the grounds of public policy (ZNA BA 3/20, Law Commission 1935, p.1). The commission commented that they were "not concerned with the legislation of 1934 such as the Clove Growers' Association Decree, the Clove Exporters' Decree, the Agricultural Produce Export Decree, and the Adulteration of Produce Decree, all of which we regard as matters of public policy primarily affecting the prosperity of the protectorate as a whole and not directly concerning the rights of individuals" (ZNA BA 3/20, Law Commission 1935, pp.5–6). Still, they acknowledged that there were challenges caused by it in delaying the debt repayment and advised the government to lift the moratorium as soon as possible (ZNA BA 3/20, Law Commission 1935, p.6). Nevertheless, the government refused to follow the recommendations.

Following numerous complaints, the Zanzibar government appointed a commission in April 1936 under the chairmanship of B. H. Binder to examine the impact of the decrees on current interests and the islands' future welfare. Surprisingly, Binder observed that Indian traders were still leading in the clove business in Zanzibar from 1934 to 1936, even after these decrees were introduced (Bennett 1978: 213). As a result, he recommended further postponement of the debt repayments. He also called for reforms in the CGA to give it more power to buy cloves directly from the growers and sell them directly to customers or merchants overseas (see The Samachar, 20 June 1937, pp.5–6).

The Indians rejected the report and claimed that it was a game organised by the government to fit with the Resident's plans and wishes (see The Samachar, 20 June 1937, pp.5–6). Even the statement that the Indians were still leading in the clove trade was, they believed, a fiction concocted by the Resident to try and soothe the anger of the Indians and have the world at large concede that the Indians had no reason to complain. Binder's recommendation was bad news for Indians, as its implementation would damage their interests even further. As a result of his proposal, on 10 June 1937, the government introduced the Clove Purchase and Exportation Decree. This new bill gave the CGA a monopoly over the clove business, as it granted the exclusive right to buy cloves from farmers and sell them abroad (HCD, 24 June 1937, Vol. 325,

cc1394; Bennett 1978: 213). Under clause 4 of the decree, the CGA was granted a clove license for one year from 1 August 1937 – the annual fee paid by the CGA for such a permit was Sh. 80,000 (see The Samachar, 25 July 1937: 4). While presenting the bill to members of the LegCo, S. B. B. McElderry, a British Acting Resident, stated the following:

> Honourable Members of the Legislative Council ... if this scheme proves successful, and if at the same time the chronic state of agricultural indebtedness which has been the curse of the protectorate for many years can be permanently cured, then all those who make their living in the protectorate whether as agriculturalists, merchants, shopkeepers or professional men will derive permanent and lasting benefit. Any far-reaching reform which disturbs existing relationships into business must, for a time, inevitably affect adversely some of the individuals who have made their living under the old conditions ...
>
> (The Samachar, 25 July 1937, p.9)

The Indians objected to the new bill and provided three reasons for their opposition. First, the bill established a state monopoly in the form of the CGA and would ultimately eliminate Indian traders from this trade. Second, Binder's recommendations in the report were simply the words of the British Resident. For example, on page 27 of Binder's report, it is stated: "The present policy of the board of the association is gradually to secure complete control of the clove industry. They hope to increase the association's proportion of purchases and sales until it will ultimately be able to acquire the whole of each year's crop directly from the growers and sell directly to the customers or merchants overseas" (Binder quoted in The Samachar, 20 June 1937, p.6). This statement implies that the introduction of the Clove Purchase and Exportation Decree in 1937 was not based on the results of Binder's research or what he saw, but on the Resident's desire to control the clove economy. Third, the arrangement for maintaining exporters and internal buyers of cloves as sub-agents of the CGA would not, they felt, have the desired effect, and was likely to lead to discrimination and bitterness between (on the one hand) the various classes of people engaged in the clove trade and (on the other) the CGA (The Samachar, 20 June 1937, p.6).

In contrast to the experience of 1934, where other LegCo members backed the Indians' complaints, this time there was no support from other members of LegCo. The unofficial European member at this point in time, J. MacLeod, was against the Indian opposition. Addressing the Indians' claims, MacLeod commented that he did not see the CGA as an entity that would monopolise trade. As he saw it, the industry was regulated to varying degrees through cooperation with those involved in the industry or by government regulations. He trusted the central workings of the CGA, as it was already well established and being run efficiently, economically and legally. As such, he asked the Indian community to accept the decree (The Samachar, 25 July 1937, p.9).

The Indians, through the INA, opposed the new decree just as it had the six laws of 1934. In their bitterness, they advised the Indian government to grow cloves in

India so they could stop importing them from Zanzibar in the future. In response, Indian Legislative Assembly member G.S. Bajpai stated that the Imperial Council of Agriculturalist Research had appointed an officer to inquire into the possibility of clove growing in India. His report, however, indicated that the production of cloves in India was negligible and would continue to be so. He mentioned that many cloves had been produced in Travancore around the 1850s, but that this could not be sustained, suggesting that clove growing in India was impracticable (Bajpai in Government of India 1935: 1211–1240).

The Indians then called for a Hartal (strike) on 21 June 1937. This idea was proposed by Abdulla Hassan Gangji, seconded by Mahomed Ali Siwji Haji, and supported by Ebji Siwji Patel and Nassor Jai Mohamed Lalj. The Hartal was called in order to reveal the Indians' sense of profound grief to the Zanzibar government and the Colonial Office. The Hartal involved a total shutdown of the workplaces, including shops, and was observed throughout the two islands. Even Indian representatives Tayab Ali H.M. Karimjee and Gulamhusen walked out of the LegCo to support the Hartal (The Samachar, 27 June 1937, p.8). The same afternoon at 4 pm, Indians gathered at Chake Chake to demonstrate their willingness to undergo sacrifices in order to fight the measures tooth and nail. At the mass meeting held at the Chake Chake Cinema Hall well-known Pemba advocate C.M. Patel took the chair on the motion of Gulamhusen, supported by Shambu Inamdar (see The Samachar, 1 August 1937, p.11).

Even before the 1937 bill was introduced, the INA sent a delegation with a memorandum to the new Acting British Resident. The delegation which was led by Gulam Ali Kaderbhai, the Vice President of the association, got to meet a Resident. They commented that throughout the interview, the Resident was seen to be very sympathetic and attentive to their concerns. Unfortunately, before they reached any conclusion on the bills, the meeting was called to an end because the Resident had to attend an Executive Council meeting. The Indians hoped that, since The Resident had shown deep consideration when it came to the discussions over other controversial bills, they could expect to be called on again for further discussion. But, by surprise, the new bill for the Clove Decree 1937 was introduced at the LegCo (see The Samachar, 20 June 1937, p.8). To display his opposition to the bill, Tayab Ali H.A. Karimjee, an Indian member of the LegCo, left the council meeting on Thursday, 15 July 1937 and registered his unwillingness to participate in the bill's discussion (The Samachar, 18 July 1937, p.2b). A few minutes before he left the council meeting, Karimjee addressed the LegCo and expressed Indians' views on this new decree and the previous ones. Karimjee explained that the Indian community believed there was still a possibility of resolving this conflict without causing further harm to both sides. He advised the government to make preliminary efforts to organise roundtable meetings with all parties affected by the crisis. Together, they could discuss the pros and cons of the various decrees that the Indians were complaining about, because the effects of this crisis were enormous on both sides (the government and business community) and would affect the clove trade in general, the sector that was the mainstay of Zanzibar's economy (The Samachar, 18 July 1937, p.2b).

Following his speech and his call of withdrawal from the council meeting, the Indian audience in the gallery – which included Gulam Ali Kaderbhai, the Vice President of the INA, who was following the meeting – supported Karimjee (The Samachar, 18 July 1937, p.3); a mass meeting was held by the INA the same afternoon at 4 pm on the Chaksi Chawl (The Samachar, 18 July 1937, p.3).

Those at the mass meeting opposed the government's adamant attitude. They declared that if this bill passed into law in its present form, the Indian community would see it as its duty to fight for the restoration of trade and settlement rights in the protectorate using all peaceful, legitimate and constitutional means. As no relief was offered, the meeting declared three resolutions: first, to announce a clove strike; second, to request that the clove importers of India stop the importation of cloves from Zanzibar; and third, to ask the Indian government to impose an embargo on the importation of cloves to India (The Samachar, 1 July 1937, p.7). The three resolutions would become effective from 1 August 1937 if the government approved the Clove Purchase and Exportation Decree of 1937 without changes. The government proceeded and published the decree in August 1937, and thus the three Indian resolutions went into effect.

### 5.4.2 The Zanzibar Clove Strike of 1937–1938

The INA declared a clove strike from 1 August 1937, the date the decree went into effect. The clove strike involved the following terms:

a) No Indian will apply directly or indirectly for a license to become a buying agent of the CGA;

b) no Indian will directly or indirectly engaged in the clove export trade;

c) barring the clerical staff of the CGA, no Indian will directly or indirectly accept an appointment in the CGA in any other capacity or on any terms;

d) no Indian will serve as a member on the Advisory Committee set up under the said Clove Decree.

(The Samachar 18 July 1937, p.5)

The INA clarified that their strike was against the government of Zanzibar, and that they were not planning to harm the people of Zanzibar, including Arabs and Africans. On 16 August 1937, just two weeks after the clove strike began, the government attempted to distract the Indian strikers by assuring them that they would consider involving Indians in the CGA's leadership (Thakur 2007: 1237). However, the INA rejected the offer and remained on strike (see The Samachar, 25 August 1937, p.13). The association requested again that its members not go back to the clove industry. They said that no one should agree to act for the CGA as a broker, as a clerk, or in any other capacity, as that would only hinder the strike efforts. The association closely monitored the Indians to ensure they did not work with the CGA. They even kept an

eye on the villages; the archival records indicate that the INA sent its men to Mkokotoni following allegations that an Indian trader applied for a CGA agent's license (The Samachar, 22 August 1937, p.6). The association placed people everywhere and in every port of Zanzibar to ensure that no Indian was engaged with or employed by the CGA.

### 5.4.3 The Clove Boycott of 1937–1938

Alongside the strike, the INA called for a complete clove boycott. The association appealed to Indian clove importers to stop importing cloves to India, and the Indian merchants in Zanzibar agreed that not one clove bud from Zanzibar should reach India. The association submitted its request to Congress, the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, the Chamber of Commerce, and other public institutions of India, asking them to take immediate appropriate steps to help obtain speedy compensation for the community's grievances (see The Samachar, 12 September 1937, p.8).

In response, a meeting of representatives from the Indian Merchant Chamber, with Congress President Jawaharlal Nehru present, was held in Bombay on 13 August 1937. Nehru clarified Congress's stance and assured the Indians of Zanzibar that they would support any and all efforts (Thakur 2007: 1237). Specifically, Congress assured the INA and Indians of Zanzibar that importation of Zanzibar's cloves to India would stop. If necessary, picketing would be carried out against all clove sales and importation in India (see The Samachar, 12 September 1937, p.8). A few days after giving this assurance, Nehru met with Indians in Burma and Malaya and encouraged them to stop importing Zanzibari cloves (Thackeray 2017: 393).

Furthermore, the Congress Working Committee (CWC), in its meeting at Wardha between 14 and 17 August 1937, announced an embargo on the importation of cloves in India. The CWC requested that people stop using cloves until the government of Zanzibar annulled the decrees (Thakur 2007: 1238). The committee also asserted that the Indian government should strike back against Zanzibar (Kuracina 2010: 66). The CWC appointed a Clove Boycott Committee chaired by Sardar V. Patel; the committee's president was Subhash Chandra Bose and its secretary was S. K. Patil (Ojha 2015; The Samachar, 28 November 1937, p.6). The clove traders of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras approved this move. They decided not to import cloves until the government of Zanzibar reached an agreement with the Indian community (Kuracina 2010: 66).

Interestingly, even the dock workers in India supported the struggle of the Indian traders in Zanzibar. They refused to unload ships carrying cloves, whether from Zanzibar or elsewhere (Ojha 2015). Congress volunteers ran campaigns at the dock to discourage workers employed by merchants from carrying cloves. Ojha reported that some traders tried to secretly import cloves, but dock workers refused to unload them (Ojha 2015).

The Clove Boycott Committee made sure that no Indian trader from India or Zanzibar was involved in the clove trade. The shipment of cloves to foreign ports by Indian dealers was also regarded as offensive as such attempts had the potential to

weaken the boycott (The Samachar, 28 November 1937, p.6). The committee was highly observant and was always aware of shipments and the dealers to whom they were consigned. If necessary, the committee would send a warning to the both the dealers and the foreign clove consumers. While most traders accepted this, a few refused to follow the boycotts. Nearly two months after the sanctions were introduced, suspicion developed among the Indian clove dealers in Zanzibar that some traders were still exporting cloves to India. There was a case reported to the committee of a Bombay dealer negotiating a shipment of cloves to Java and Java to India, and the committee came down hard on this attempt (The Samachar, 28 November 1937, p.6).

## 5.5 The End of the Clove Decree Crisis in Zanzibar in 1938

The clove boycott had a severe impact on Zanzibar's trade economy. Five months after the Indians declared a sanction on the clove industry, both the government of Zanzibar and the Indian traders in Zanzibar felt the boycott's impact. It should be remembered that India was the principal buyer of Zanzibar's cloves. From 1922 to 1932, India's market had bought about 38 per cent of Zanzibar's total clove export (Kirsopp and Bartlett 1933: 6). As a result of the boycott, clove revenue dropped, as the cloves could not be channelled to India anymore. The Secretary of State for the Colonies confirmed that "owing to the reduction in exports, there has been a shortfall in the revenue derived from the export duty on cloves, which is estimated at £30,000 for 1937" (HCD, 22 December 1937, Vol. 330, c. 1956).

As for the Indians, Bader reported that Indian merchants recorded daily losses of up to Rs. 15,000 (Bader 1991: 182). As a result of the boycott, some Indian merchants shifted their attention from the clove trade to the copra trade, the second most important industry in Zanzibar. Furthermore, in rural areas, fear began developing of a counter-boycott against Indian shopkeepers organised by Arab and African clove farmers who supported the CGA's policies. It was reported that some Arabs prevented workers from going to Indian estates (Glassman 2011: 45–46; Bader 1991: 182; Bennett 1978: 214). The financial consequences for both parties were so severe that the parties involved arranged for a settlement of the boycott.

The settlement began to take shape early in 1938, when John Hathorn Hall, a new British Resident who had come into power in October 1937 (a few months after the boycott was declared), publicly admitted that the Indian community's grievances with regard to the clove trade restrictions were genuine. Hall explained that he had been trying in earnest to find a way out of the present situation. In his speech to the public, Hall asked the Indians to think about the boycott's impact. Consequences included heavily increased taxation, depressed internal clove prices, a revised debt settlement scheme with repayments spread over many years, poverty, discontent, and commercial and economic stagnation, all of which the Indian community could not escape. Most importantly, he told the Indians that they were deceiving themselves into thinking that the war they had declared would not harm the Arabs and Africans but would

only break the government – and that if the government suffered, the people of the protectorate would suffer as well, including the Indians. Hall stated, "[G]entlemen, you and the Arabs and the Africans will really suffer from this boycott. You will not only suffer yourself but also involve the Arabs and the Africans in suffering" (al-Falaq, 19 February 1938: No. 288). Hence, he invited the Indians "to take the most unselfish view of the position" (al-Falaq, 19 February 1938: No. 288) and accept his proposal. The Resident remarked that the door was open for any negotiations on clove legislation and requested that all points about the scheme that appeared on the surface as problems be thrashed out through negotiations. He further opined that any differences or misunderstandings could be eradicated if goodwill was manifested from both sides in the form of friendly discussions and presentations (The Samachar, 13 March 1938, pp.6–7).

Hall introduced a proposal to modify the existing decrees. The Secretary of State for the Colonies approved Hall's plan. The main concessions that the government were ready to offer were that:

a) The government would allow middlemen to take part in internal dealings in the clove trade, as had been the case in the past. The prices to be paid by licensed dealers to producers were not to be prescribed by law but would be a matter to arrange between the parties concerned, and dealers would be free to store the produce as long as they wished (The Samachar, 13 March 1938, p.6). This covered one of the main issues the Indians had with the Clove Purchase and Exportation Decree of August 1937, i.e. that their status as "middlemen" was compromised.

b) The CGA was not to export cloves. However, it would still have the right to require each exporter to include a certain per cent of cloves bought from the association's shops for shipments abroad, which would be 50 per cent for the 1938–1939 period (Bennett 1978: 214–215). However, the government proposed that initially, producers who were indebted to the government would be prohibited from selling their cloves to any other purchaser than the CGA, and the association would still advance loans to them for cultivation, harvesting, and the purchase of growing crops just as before (see The Samachar, 13 March 1938, pp.6–7).

c) Two Indians were to be elected to work in the CGA and two others in the Price-Fixing Advisory Committee (Bennett 1978: 214–215; Hollingsworth 1960: 118).

The INA appointed a committee to go through the government proposal and carry out further negotiations. After a lengthy discussion that involved the government of Zanzibar, representatives from the Indian government, the INA, and the Congress Working Committee, the two sides reached an agreement. The boycott was lifted on 19 May 1938 (Kuracina 2010: 66). Soon after the agreement was reached, the pro-

posed scheme became a new law, which was passed in May 1938 and replaced the previous clove decrees.

Regarding debt, which was also a central concern of Indians, the government introduced the Debt Settlement Decree of 1938, taking on board the INA's suggestion. The courts were equipped with the power to review previous debt settlements and decide on a fair interest rate. The government would then pay off the creditors to the extent of the land's value. Repayment by debtors to the government was to be made in convenient instalments so that the land could be adequately maintained and the debtors would not be unable to take care of their families (Hollingsworth 1960: 119). Most impressively, as Bennett commented, "the actual total determined by the government was under £250,000, a modest enough sum the administration financed by crediting the harvest of 1937–38, a record crop, enabling the growers to themselves repay some of their debts" (Bennett 1978: 215). Furthermore, the government also restored the Indians' moneylending services (Bader 1991: 182).

## 5.6 Conclusion

Among the significant challenges facing the colonial government in Zanzibar in the early years of the regime was the accumulated debts of clove growers, who were mainly Arabs, and the unpredictable price of cloves. The government blamed the Indians for both of these problems, as they were the farmers' creditors and the main buyers and exporters of cloves in Zanzibar. The government therefore enacted various laws to remove Indians from their positions as lenders and clove traders. This chapter focused on the objections raised by the Indians following the introduction of multiple clove, land, and credit laws in the years 1934 to 1938. To that end, the chapter analysed several statuses enacted during this period and discussed Indian grievances against them. Indians complained that the bills aimed to deprive them of commercial opportunities in the Zanzibar economy. In line with this, the chapter also took a closer look at the passive resistance initiated by the Indians in an effort to regain their position as traders and lenders. Although they did not want to use active resistance, the Indians did manage to regain their position in the end.

Every cloud has a silver lining, and the Indian struggle against the economic decrees of the 1930s brought blessings to the history of Indian life in Zanzibar. In this struggle, we see the power of Indian unity not only within Zanzibar but even beyond. To combat the challenges resulting from these laws, the Indians found themselves ignoring the differences in their lives. This experience was perhaps the first and only time the Indians raised their voices as one community. Their troubles and grievances united them, despite the Indian population's diversity in Zanzibar.

Furthermore, through this battle, we see the connections and influence the Indian migrants had on the community they had left behind in India. The tremendous support they received indicated their diasporic situation in Zanzibar, belonging in two places. Still, they remained Indians even though they were born and raised abroad.

India and its people felt obliged to protect their interests regardless of the economic consequences. Also, even though the migrant Indians had moved to East Africa nearly a century ago before this conflict and 80 per cent of them were permanent residents of Zanzibar, they still saw India as their home. It was a place where their cries were heard and their rights were protected.

# 6 Indians in Zanzibar's Politics, 1940s–1963

## 6.1 Introduction

Zanzibar was and still is a place filled with people of many different backgrounds. Even before colonisation, the people of Zanzibar belonged to a wide variety of ethnic groups thanks to the vast array of migrants from the Middle East, India and Africa. After the advent of British rule in 1890, this racial diversity became an essential factor in the approach to social, economic and political activities. The "divide and rule" system was a British policy in many of its colonies, including Zanzibar – and since Zanzibari society was already racially divided, the British faced no difficulties in implementing this policy. Throughout the colonial period, the government categorised the people of Zanzibar along racial lines and treated them differently based on this. There were Africans, Shirazi, Indians, Comorians, Arabs and Europeans. Each group was granted different privileges depending on their race and the economic activities in which they were involved. However, there was considerable evidence of tolerance between the groups, especially in terms of religion and culture. Ethnic diversity greatly influenced the populace's economic activities and aspirations in other vital sectors, including education (see chapter four) and politics.

Before independence, ethnic sentiment greatly influenced Zanzibar politics. From the end of the Second World War until independence in 1963, the independence movement was influenced by racial associations, which later became political parties

still somewhat dominated by racial sentiments. Oral and written evidence confirms that each ethnic group formed its own association to handle their specific grievances. The Africans formed the African Association (AfA), the Shirazi formed the Shirazi Association (SA), the Arabs formed the Arab Association (AA), the Comorians formed the Comorian Association (CA), and the Indians formed the Indian National Association (INA) and Muslim Association (MA).

During the time of politics (zama za siasa),[56] most of the racial associations were transformed into political parties; for example, the African Association and Shirazi Association merged to form the Afro- Shirazi Party (ASP), while some members of the Arab Association formed the Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP). The Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party (ZPPP) was also developed by some Shirazi leaders who were unhappy with the way things were going in the ASP. There is no evidence indicating that the Indians transformed *their* associations into political parties; still, their associations did participate in political matters in Zanzibar and even took part in the first election in the late 1950s. This chapter aims to reconstruct the political history of Indians in Zanzibar between the 1940s and 1963.

The political history of Zanzibar leading up to independence in 1963 and the 1964 revolution has been widely documented by scholars in works such as Lofchie (1965), Bennett (1978), Clayton (1981) and Glassman (2011). These works have made a relevant contribution to a number of issues related to the political history of Zanzibar. The literature provides a broad discussion on the reasons behind the struggle for independence (and especially the 1964 revolution), the political situation in Zanzibar in the late years of British colonialism, and the contribution of various ethnic communities – mainly Africans and Arabs – to Zanzibar's independence. However, they did not discuss in detail the involvement of Indians in the independence movement.

This chapter discusses the role Indians played in Zanzibar's pre-independence politics. The chapter aims to open a new page of debate on writing the political history of Indians in Zanzibar from the 1940s to 1963. It argues that the Indians participated in Zanzibar's political activity during this period through their associations, newspapers, and various political parties. In service of this goal, the chapter will start with a discussion on the background of the racial associations in Zanzibar. It will then examine the Indian associations, followed by a discussion on the Indians' role in politics during the relevant period. This will be followed by the conclusion.

[56] The term "zama za siasa", translated as "a period of politics" or "time of politics", describes an intensification in political activities in Zanzibar and the push for independence. The period is often defined as 1957 to 12 January 1964 (the revolution), although some define it more broadly as the post-WWII era (see Lofchie 1963).

## 6.2 Background of the Racial Associations in Zanzibar

This section briefly describes the ethnic divisions in Zanzibar and how they developed after the advent of British colonialism. It furthermore discusses the background to the formation of various ethnic associations in Zanzibar in the 1900s and their contribution towards promoting the interests of their members.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Zanzibar was already famous as a trading centre. Travellers also knew it as a place where people of many different backgrounds lived, including Africans, Arabs, Indians, Comorians and Europeans. The British administration treated the various members of the Zanzibari population differently and established the concept of a "natural hierarchy of races" (Loimeier 2018: 160; Lofchie 1965: 73). Lofchie explains that from the end of the nineteenth century until the middle of the twentieth, Zanzibar's social and political systems were in a three-tiered pyramid. Africans, who were the majority compared to the rest of the population, were at the bottom. The Africans consisted of indigenous Shirazi (the aboriginal African population of Unguja and Pemba), and the immigrant Africans (Loimeier 2009: 31). These were mostly agricultural labourers and manual labourers, which were left without a voice in politics for a long time. In the middle, there were the Indians. They were better off than most Africans and worked mainly as clerks, business owners and shopkeepers. At the top of the pyramid were the Arabs. They owned land, and some of them had familial ties to the ruling class (Lofchie 1965: 73).

Although this model does give a general picture of the ethnic and class divisions, it would be misleading to rely solely on this, as it still has its flaws. To some extent, it fails to consider the reality of living conditions in Zanzibar. For example, some Africans, especially in Pemba, were farmers involved in commercial agriculture. Furthermore, among the Arabs, there were poor people as well – those who did not even own houses, let alone agricultural land (see chapter four). Loimeier cites the Hadhrami Arabs, but were poor. Many of them worked as porters in commercial streets (Loimeier 2009: 22). This phenomenon was evident among Indians as well. Even though most of the successful businessmen in Zanzibar were Indians, many of the Indians in Zanzibar – probably half of them – were poor (Sheriff 2001: 302). In other words, the "natural hierarchy of races" categorisation ignores the fact that these ethnic classes were constantly undergoing fundamental economic and social shifts (Sheriff 2001: 301). Despite this, religious belief, specifically Islam, remained a key point that the people of Zanzibar had in common. More than 95 per cent of the population were Muslims, although they were members of several different sects. Perhaps this religious factor contributed to making this multiracial community so culturally cohesive and religiously tolerant.

Zanzibar's ethnic diversity impacted on several fundamental sectors of Zanzibar, including politics. The political associations in Zanzibar were formed along racial lines because each racial group had its own challenges and needs tailored to their social or perhaps economic status. The government practice of framing the Zanzibari popu-

lation based on racial background partly contributed to this situation. The colonial government used a variety of administrative techniques to divide this multi-ethnic population. They encouraged people to form ethnic cooperative societies to eliminate the possibility of collaboration between them. This resulted in the Arab Cooperative Society, African Cooperative Society and Shirazi Cooperative Society (Ali Muhsin Barwani, 16 January 2004, interview by Ibrahim Noor).[57] Note also that the members of the executive bodies were nominated by the British Resident from lists provided by the racial associations (Lofchie 1965: 99).

The first association to be formed was the Arab Association, which was established in the nineteenth century to protect the interests of slave owners and the declining landowning class, many of whom were Arabs. The Arabs established this association to obtain their due compensation from the government and protection against the governments' laws. It was led by influential Arabs; its Executive Committee consisted of members of the wealthiest established Arab families such as Abdullah bin Sulayman al-Harithy (Lofchie 1965: 100). Al-Harithy was the first president of the association and was a direct descendant of the famous al-Harith family, who worked as governors of Zanzibar before the arrival of Sayyid Saʿīd bin Sulṭān. The establishment of the Arab Association opened the door for other ethnic groups to form associations to safeguard their own interests.

The second association to be formed was the Indian National Association (INA), which was established to protect the interests of the Indian merchant class in the 1910s. In addition, in the 1940s, the Indian Muslims formed another association called the Muslim Association (MA) to defend the interests of Indian Muslims in Zanzibar. (The INA and MA will be discussed in the next section.)

In the mid-1930s, Africans organised themselves through the African Sports Club (ASC), established in 1931/32, which became the basis for the later African Association (AfA) established in 1934 (Loimeier 2009: 31). The African Association was formed by the urban working population, most of whom were Africans of mainland origin, in response to the hardship of depression. The association had very close ties with the African Association in Tanganyika, and it was initially led by the Christian mission-educated elite, even though most of the African population in Zanzibar, even those of mainland origin, were Muslims (Sheriff 2001: 308).

In 1939, the Shirazi (Washirazi) formed an association called the Shirazi Association (SA), led by Sheikh Thabit bin Kombo bin Jecha al-Shirazy. This association had a stronghold in Pemba and southern Unguja (Loimeier 2009: 32). The Shirazi claimed to be descendants of Persian immigrants. They regarded the Africans as mainlanders who should not be given political consideration unless they had become naturalised. They felt that the Africans only came to Zanzibar for remunerative employment, and that they soon returned to their original homes, trying to keep a foot in both camps

[57] The interview is online: MzeeBarwani (2016): "10. Uchaguzi 1957 mpaka June 1961" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nNwtuppll4w&list=PLyEARyFUkrhrWFLzCdDzLAu759DLE50Bh&index=10, retrieved 10 March 2021).

and claim political rights in two places at once. It should be noted that it was customary for the colonial government to use the word "Africans" when referring to both Shirazi *and* those from the mainland, but the Shirazi resented it (Coutts 1956: 2–3).

Until the Second World War, the main task of these associations was to protect the economic interests of their respective ethnic groups and solve the primarily economic and social challenges faced by their communities. Their only involvement in political matters can be observed in the Legislative Council (LegCo), in which only the INA and the AA participated. The remaining associations, including the AfA, SA and CA, had no such involvement.

## 6.3 The Indian Associations

The documentary evidence shows that the Indians formed many associations, but two of them gained particular prominence in Zanzibari politics, namely the Indian National Association (INA) and the Muslim Association (MA). This section will outline a brief history of them both.

### 6.3.1 The Indian National Association (INA)

The Indian National Association (INA) was formed in 1914, absorbing the Indian Merchants Association (IMA), which had been founded in 1905/1909 (Glassman 2011: 43; Turki 1987: 39). Prominent Indian merchants formed the association to protect the interests of the Indian moneylenders, traders and urban landowners, and the general welfare of the Indian community in Zanzibar. Another reason was to protest policies they feared would reduce Indians to the status of ordinary Zanzibaris (Glassman 2011: 43). The association's main office was in Zanzibar Town, with branches in Pemba in Chake Chake and Wete. At the time of its establishment, the following members were elected office-bearers of the association: President, Tayabali Esmailjee Jeevanjee; Vice-President, Mohamed N. Jindani; Treasurer, Jaffer Hassin Manji; and Secretary, Mulji Mathuradas (Turki 1987: 39).

The association contributed to the provision of education to Indian communities living in Zanzibar, offering its intellectual and material assistance to ensure that the children of Indian families residing there received an education (see chapter four). In carrying out its functions, the association used the Zanzibar Voice newspaper to communicate its plans and policies to its members and the general public (Hamdani 1981; Sturmer 1998: 278). In the 1930s, the INA gained popularity in Zanzibar and even abroad after it initiated a passive resistance against the colonial government to protect the interests of Indian traders, especially moneylenders and clove traders. After decrees were implemented that negatively affected the interests of its members, especially bankers and clove traders, the INA – with the help of Indian institutions in various parts of the world, especially India – fought for the interests of its members (see chapter five).

The colonial government identified the INA as the representative of all Indians in Zanzibar. As such, it was in a position to speak authoritatively on all political, social and economic matters of the country on behalf of the Indians. As a result, it became involved in the political discourse. From the inception of the LegCo in 1926, the government appointed two participants from the INA to represent Indians in the LegCo. Between then and the 1950s, the government appointed more than nine representatives from the INA to serve terms: Khimji Khatau Sualy, Tayab Ali E. A. Karimjee, Ahmad A. M. Lakha, Yusuf Esmailjee Jivanji, Meghi Chaturbhuj, Fazal Nasser (in 1947), Abdullah Hashim Gangji (in 1948), Vaghjibhai Shankerbhai Patel (in 1950), and Anverali Hassan Virji (in 1953) (Zanzibar Delimitation Commissioner 1962; Menon 1934: 2; The Zanzibar Times, 11 December 1953, p.12). INA members were also appointed to serve in the Central Development Authority, the Education Advisory Council and the Immigration Control Board (see The Zanzibar Times, 3 July 1953).

In the late 1940s, the association suffered a massive blow when several of its members withdrew from the association. Throughout most of Zanzibar's contemporary history, Muslim and Hindu Indians cooperated in the INA. However, after Indian independence in 1947 and the partition of India and Pakistan, Zanzibar's Indian Muslims withdrew from the INA (Lofchie 1965: 178). Most of them, especially those of Pakistani origin, refused to recognise the association's activities and argued that it no longer represented them in Zanzibar; instead, it was an association for non-Muslim Indians of Indian descent (The Zanzibar Times, 3 July 1953). That said, the association still had a remnant of Muslims, especially the Ismāʿīlīs (Campbell 1962: 83). Some of them held leadership positions in the association, such as Gulamhusein Ismail, who was the association's president in the 1950s (ZNA BA77/1, Blood 1960, p.43).

Despite the aforementioned split within the INA, which affected the participation and effectiveness of Indians in national affairs negatively, the colonial government continued to support the association. Even after the massive withdrawal of Indian Muslims from the association, the government still involved it in several political discussions in Zanzibar, including the LegCo (Indian National Association, quoted in ZNA BA77/1, Blood 1960, p.39). This support may have been prompted by the presence of Muslims in the association (The Zanzibar Times, 7 March 1953). This situation led to several complaints from the MA, which in reality had more members than the INA.

In 1953, the MA sent a letter to the Resident complaining that the government was not involving them in political discussion. Instead, any issue that required Indian involvement was offered only to the INA. The Muslim Association also complained that the INA had lost its effectiveness, but the government was still supporting it despite knowing that it no longer legitimately represented all Zanzibari Indians. The Muslim Association criticised the fact that the nomination process for the LegCo members was carried out within the INA. Instead of finding a wide variety of candidates and spreading them out to the many different boards and committees, the associ-

ation had only a handful of its nominees covering multiple positions. As a result, one member might hold five or six appointments. The MA also criticised the association's procedures, claiming that it was not as active as it had been before. Even its offices were opened only when the government asked the association to send a panel of names, and closed when the task was completed (The Zanzibar Times, 7 March 1953).

The Muslim Association's complaints were supported by the Indian Commissioner for British East Africa, Mr K. S. Menon. Menon also believed that the INA had lost its representative character and could no longer represent all Indian communities in any real sense. Rather, they claimed, a few members of the association were controlling it for their own interests. They were responsible for proposing the names for any post needed by the government, and as a result, certain members held the same posts consecutively for several years. Menon opposed the government's procedures of obtaining candidates to join panels from the INA, saying that great injustice was being done to the Muslim communities (The Samachar 19 June 1955, p.7). Despite these complaints, the INA continued to exist as one of the key institutions representing Indians in Zanzibar. Its involvement was evident even in the time of politics, especially between 1957 and 1960.

### 6.3.2 The Muslim Association (MA)

After India gained independence in the 1940s, which was followed by the partition of India and Pakistan, a large group of Indian Muslims in Zanzibar withdrew from the INA and formed their own association called the Muslim Association (MA). This association had close ties to the Muslim League in Pakistan. It specifically represented the interests of Muslims of Indo-Pakistan origin. According to Coutts (1956), the MA was registered as a political association in 1947, but it existed as a welfare body before that date (Coutts 1956: 15). The association claimed to represent all Indian Muslims, who made up 75 per cent of the Indian population in Zanzibar (ZNA BA77/1, Blood 1960, p.44), except for the Ismāʿīlī community of the Aga Khan (Campbell 1962: 83). The association aimed to adopt all legitimate means of safeguarding and promoting the social, moral, economic, educational, religious and political interests of those it represented and to create good feelings between all Muslims of Indian origin. It was also established to settle disputes between members of any Muslim Indian community. This association used the Zanzibar Times, founded in 1945, to communicate its policies to the public, and opposed the policies of the INA. The Zanzibar Times was printed weekly in English and Gujarati and edited by Anwerali Ladhi. However, it was discontinued in the early 1950s due to financial difficulties (Sturmer 1998: 280).

The main association office in Zanzibar, where most of the association meetings were held, was in the Bohora jamaʿat Khana. In 1948, it opened an office in Pemba, at Chake Chake[58]. The office-bearers of the association for Zanzibar were as follows: Abass Adamji Walijee served as President, with Karim Tayabali and H. M. Kermali as

[58] Letter from the District Commissioner to the Muslim Association, Pemba, 4 February 1948.

the Vice Presidents. The Secretaries were Abdullah Alibhai Dalal and G. Kaderbhai Alibhai. H. E. Poonja and Mutawali Ali Mohamed were the Treasurers. In the Managing Committee, the members were Mohammed Jasserji, Ahmed Lakha, Sultan Fazal Bhaji, Yusuf Saleh Mohamed, Ahmedali Chakera, Jafferbai Mohammedali, Ebrahim Tayabali, M. H. Janoowalla, Master Qurbanhussein, Haji Osman, Sherali Ahmed, S. M. Choudhari, M. M. Patel. M. D. Kermali, Amed A. Datoo, Hussein Hassam Nasser, Karim Alarakhia, Hussien Nazerali, Ibrahim Ladha, Gulamhussein Mohamedali, Ismāʿīlī Sabjali Thawer, M. A. Qureshi, Ibrahim Jusab Tharia, Haji Yakub Ismail, and Ayub Ahmed Ayub (The Samachar, 4 March 1937, p.4b). In Pemba, the association's President was Rajabali Hirji, and Yusuf Ali Abdullah was the Vice President. The Secretaries were A. K. Haji and Haji T. Abdulla. The Treasurer was Taki K. Kheraj (ZNA AKP 16/2, Letter from Joint Secretaries of the Association to District Commissioner, Pemba, 3 November 1948). Although the MA had the support of more Indians than the INA (as most Indians in Zanzibar were Muslims), it did not receive full government support. Despite repeated attempts to persuade the government to give it a chance to join the LegCo and other executive committees, it was not able to hold any political post until 1957. The Muslim Association gained prominence in the 1957 election after its candidate won a seat in Unguja.

### 6.3.3 Efforts to Form an Asian Association in Zanzibar

As political tensions intensified in Zanzibar, the conflict between the INA and MA further disrupted the unity of Zanzibar's Indian community. In the mid-1950s, several attempts were made to unite the Indians and form an Asian Association (AsA). The Asian Association was expected to reconcile the interests and viewpoints of both the INA and MA. In 1956, both the Indian and Pakistani Commissioners advised their people in East Africa to forget India and Pakistan's politics and instead focus on the problems in their adopted homeland as one group (Campbell 1962: 83). The Indian Commissioner for British East Africa, K. S. Menon, also attempted to bring the two associations together. He advised them to arrive at a decision that would bring unity and harmony, thus being advantageous to the country and the community. However, he could not merge the two associations due to what was described as the "obstinate attitude" of certain members of the Indian National Association (The Samachar, 19 June 1955, p.7).

## 6.4 Indians in the *Zama za Siasa* From the 1950s to 1963

Calls for self-rule grew louder in Africa after India gained independence from Great Britain in the late 1940s. India's fight for freedom became a role model for other British colonies, including Zanzibar. Interest in seeking independence was seen in Zanzibar after the Second World War, with demands being made to the colonial government by some (mainly Arab) ethnic associations. The period from 1957 to 1963 is referred to as the time of politics (zama za siasa) in the colonial history of Zanzibar. This was a period when the ethnic associations were transformed into political parties and became actively involved in the politics of Zanzibar. This section will review the participation of Indians in this period of politics.

### 6.4.1 The Winds of Constitutional Change

The sentiments of the liberation movement began a long time earlier in Zanzibar, as they had in other parts of Africa, but they grew more powerful after WWII. In the mid-1940s, the British imperial government was preparing its colonial and protectorate areas for autonomy. The British emerged from the war in a dire financial situation compared to the pre-war period, as WWII had seriously affected the British economy, and this in turn impacted on Britain's political and economic policies. They lost a large part of the market for their products after the war and therefore decided to grant freedom to their colonies, intending that the colonies would remain economically close to Britain (Ayany 1970: 40). Meanwhile, the United Nations was formed in 1945. This organisation was a forum for international politics and contributed to the escalation of nationalism in various parts of the world, including African countries (Ayany 1970: 41).

In Zanzibar, several incidents occurred during this period that aroused a sense of political change and ultimately strengthened desires for independence. Babu argues that WWII itself influenced these feelings. Many Zanzibari youths were recruited into the British Army, going to war in Africa and Asia. After the war, they returned home knowing about the realities of imperialist violence: Their stories of meeting soldiers from other colonies (especially those from the then 'Gold Coast', now Ghana, on the battlefield of Burma) helped Zanzibar people become more aware of the possibility of solidarity and revolution (see Babu quoted in Wilson 2013: 12).

Another essential factor for political change was the economic collapse of Zanzibar, especially after WWII (Ayany 1970: 43). Soon after the war, specifically in 1946, the government introduced a ten-year development plan with which they hoped to improve the economic conditions of the people and the country at large. However, due to the impact of WWII, which had destroyed the price of cloves on the world market, the plan largely failed to achieve its goals. Meanwhile, the "sudden death disease" that attacked cloves from 1949 to 1954 was another blow to the Zanzibar economy. It was reported that the government could not even meet the costs for operating the LegCo. Thus, large budget cuts were made due to a lack of funds (Ayany 1970: 43).

However, these economic challenges provided an opportunity for some intellectuals and critics of the government – all those who were no longer happy with the colonial system. They stoked fears that the colonial government was using Zanzibar's economy to evade the effects of WWII (Ali Marumi, 26 May 2018).

Also, in 1948, there was a dispute over the representation of Indians in the Zanzibar LegCo following the MA's formation in 1947. The Indian Muslims who formed the MA demanded separate representation in Zanzibar's political bodies; they refused to be represented by the INA in such bodies, including the LegCo, feeling that the INA had lost its legitimacy (Ayany 1970: 43). In an attempt to solve the problem, the colonial authorities proposed in late 1948 that a popular election would replace governmental nomination as the method of electing Indian and Arab unofficial members. However, the African representatives would still be appointed (Glassman 2011: 123). The election was scheduled to be conducted on a communal basis; each community would elect only its own representatives (Lofchie 1965: 131). To make the Indian voters' list as representative as possible, the government intended to make eligible for the franchise all Zanzibar nationals and all resident aliens with a "British protected person" status. Since the existing Zanzibar citizenship law made no provision for dual nationality, the vast majority of Zanzibar's Indian community fell into the former category (Lofchie 1965: 132).

However, this plan was opposed by the Arabs, who were already demanding a common electoral voter roll. The Arabs were politically vibrant in Zanzibar, and by the late 1940s, their association was demanding constitutional changes. In 1948, they proposed that the LegCo representatives should be popularly elected from electoral voter rolls (Glassman 2011: 123). Furthermore, the association objected strongly to the inclusion of British protected persons on the voters' rolls. They wanted the franchise restricted to Zanzibar nationals to ensure only those permanently resident in the protectorate would be able to participate. Between 1949 and 1951, the Arab Association representatives conducted several meetings with government officials regarding this matter (Lofchie 1965: 132). Due to opposition, the proposed constitutional changes did not materialise. Still, they contributed to the increasing demand for political change. In particular, the legitimacy of selecting representatives in the executive bodies through racial associations was heavily questioned.

Moreover, in November 1954, there was a change of administration in Zanzibar, as a new Resident was appointed, Sir Henry Steven Porter. Exactly one year after his arrival, in October 1955, Porter announced a new constitutional reform. His reform also inflamed the political tension that already existed in Zanzibar (Ayany 1970: 45). Porter proposed that the number of unofficial members be increased from eight to twelve. Also, for the first time, three unofficial members of the LegCo would be nominated to work on the Executive Council.

The constitutional reform came at a time when the various ethnic associations in Zanzibar were already politically active and operating as political parties. Others had even changed their names, turning their racial associations into political parties, although ethnicity still largely continued to dominate their policies. The Zanzibar

Nationalist Party (ZNP), formed in December 1955, was the first of these parties. Its founder was Sheikh Ali Muhsin Barwani, and Abdul Rahman Babu was the general secretary. Although the party claimed to be non-racial and purely nationalistic organisation, it could not escape the fact that many of its leaders were Arabs, that most members of the Arab community supported it, and that it was formed from the Arab Association (Campbell 1962: 76). One of the party's main agenda points was to establish the self-governance and independence of Zanzibar. Although the party was affiliated with the Arab Association, and most of its members were of Arab descent, its leaders supported the "Africa for the Africans" campaign. It also demanded the introduction of a common roll election instead of a communal roll (Ayany 1970: 48). However, the ZNP claimed to be fighting for the political emancipation of all Zanzibaris irrespective of race.

The second political party to be formed in Zanzibar was the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP), which was formed in 1957 through the merger of the Shirazi Association (SA) and the African Association (AfA). The party, led by Abeid Amani Karume, was created to represent the interests of Africans and Shirazi and was a primary opponent of the ZNP. Another political party was the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party (ZPPP), which was formed in 1959 by a splinter group from the ASP led by Muhammed Shamte (Ayany 1970: 50–51). For several months before the break-up of the ASP, relations between the ASP leader and the leaders of the Shirazi Association were characterised by threats and openly hostile acts between the two camps. Muhammed Shamte, a Shirazi and a leader of the group which broke away from the ASP, stated that "he had always felt uneasy about Karume and his type of leadership" (Campbell 1962: 81). When Shamte removed himself from the ASP, he took with him Ameri Tajo, a Shirazi from South Unguja, and Ali Shariff, a Shirazi from North Pemba. The Indians, meanwhile treated their associations as quasi-political organisations, with the Indian Muslims (and Pakistanis) organising themselves through the Muslim Association and non-Muslims supporting the Indian National Association.

As political awareness increased, there was a huge desire for constitutional change, especially from the Arab Association and ZNP. This prompted the Arab members to boycott some LegCo sessions in the 1950s in an effort to force the government to bring about constitutional changes, especially in terms of how the LegCo unofficial members were chosen. After a long period of tension, the Resident announced that they had invited Sir Walter F. Coutts to study Zanzibar's constitutional issues and recommend a better way of choosing the members.

Coutts arrived in Zanzibar on 1 January 1956 and completed his report on 27 January (ZNA AK 12/2, Zanzibar Government 1958, pp.1–2). He collected suggestions from various institutions, organising several interviews with political parties and ethnic associations involved in Zanzibar's politics. The Indians, especially the INA, also provided their opinions, sending several memoranda to Coutts. Along with the memoranda, some Indians also participated in interviews with Coutts, such as Vaghjibhai Shankerbhai Patel and Gulamhusein Ismail, who were both members of

the LegCo. Others interviewed included Ibrahim Haji, B. R. Desai and Osman Abdul-Rahman from the Indian Association of Wete (Coutts 1956: 33).

In the memorandum they sent to Coutts, the INA did not support establishing a common roll election at that particular time. They suggested that perhaps that kind of election should be introduced after five years. This was because they felt that their interests would not be served if members of LegCo were to be elected by the common roll method; they feared that if communal representation did not continue, they would find themselves in a subordinate position (Coutts 1956: 4). The INA additionally proposed that the existing nomination system should be amended so that half of the members were nominated by political associations and half by the Sultan. Under this proposal, the political associations would be asked to submit two names that the government had to accept without question. To fill the remaining seats, the INA suggested that a panel of names should be forwarded to the government by the same associations, from which the Sultan would select the remaining members required (Coutts 1956:5).

The other associations also provided their opinions to Coutts, with the exceptions of the AA and MA. The Arab Association refused to cooperate with Coutts because of the political disagreement they had with the government (Coutts 1956:1). The Muslim Association also did not cooperate, demanding that the government respond to their several pending complaints (The Samachar, 19 June 1955, p.5). Following a report from Coutts, the colonial government called for an election in July 1957.

### 6.4.2 The July 1957 Election and its Aftermath

To a large extent, the July 1957 election carried out the recommendations of the Coutts report. As per the report, the franchise was given to any literate male subject of the Sultan who was at least 25 years old and had an income of 75 pounds. Thus, the government created an electorate of 39,833 people. The elections were for six unofficial members of the LegCo, while the Sultan would appoint the remaining six.

Political parties contested in the election, mainly the ZNP and ASP, which had been in operation for a few months. Indians also participated through the MA. While the ASP and ZNP fielded candidates in all six constituencies, the MA fielded a candidate in just one constituency in Stone Town (Mji Mkongwe, also called Majumba Mawe). Because most Indians lived in Stone Town, almost all the candidates for the Stone Town constituency were Indians, although they came from different political parties and associations. One candidate was Sher Mohammed Chowdhary (also spelt Choudhary) from the Muslim Association. He had been the Aga Khan Boys' School principal for twelve years, from 1942 to 1954 (see chapter four). Other candidates were Rutti (Ratti) Bulsara, a candidate from the ZNP, Anverali Hassan Virji, an independent candidate supported by the ASP, and Abdul-Qadir Mukri, an independent candidate (Lofchie 1965: 176). The Indian National Association did not field any candidates; instead, it endorsed the ASP's candidates (ZNA BA77/1, Blood 1960, p.2).

In the 1957 election, the ASP won five out of six contested seats and the Muslim Association won one seat (Lofchie 1965: 176). These results marked a significant victory for the ASP, which had only been formed a few months earlier, and were a blow to the ZNP, which was politically older than the ASP and had built up an expectation of winning and forming a government. At the same time, the MA's one-seat victory was huge considering that the MA had never had a single member in LegCo since its inception. The six elected members were Ameri Tajo, Abeid Karume, Daudi Mohamed, Muhammad Shamte and Ali Sharif Mussa, all from the ASP, and S. M. Chowdhary from the MA. To balance this group of five Africans and one Indian in the LegCo, the government appointed four Arabs and two Indians to serve as the remaining unofficial members (Bennett 1978: 257). The six nominated members were selected with an element of popular choice, however; they had to have one hundred supporters on the electoral roll before being considered for appointment by the Sultan (The Adal Insaf, 14 December 1957). Among the nominated Indian members was Vaghjibhai Shankerbhai Patel. Patel was a veteran politician from the INA who had been a member of the LegCo since 1950. He gained prominence in the LegCo after opposing the new planning decree in 1955 (see Bissell 2011: 304–305). He was one of the INA leaders who joined the ASP in later years (Babu 1991: 232).

After the 1957 elections, Zanzibar was never the same again. Politics became a hot-button issue for every family, and ethnic tensions ran high, exacerbated by the ASP's overwhelming victory. The Arab plantation owners (who generally supported the ZNP) evicted numerous African squatters (ASP supporters) in Unguja and Pemba in 1957. These events intensified racial divisions on the islands, particularly between Africans and Arabs (Hettiger 2010: 14). The African population boycotted Arab stores and some Indian stores in 1958 (Hettiger 2010: 14). As a result, the ASP established consumer cooperative shops in 1958, replacing the Arab shopkeepers, many of whom went bankrupt (Attorney General 1961: 17). Funerals and religious ceremonies were boycotted by rival political parties, mainly the ZNP and ASP. The boycott even extended to the buses, with certain buses bearing marks that indicated they belonged to one party or the other (ZNA AK 17/73, The Round Table Conferences, 1958, p.2). Women even pawned their clothing to earn the bus fare to attend political meetings. The two rival parties fostered a shocking degree of resentment towards each other among their supporters (Maalir 2006: 123).

Externally, this post-election crisis seemed to involve only Africans and Arabs, but internally, it also involved Indians, especially those who were traders. They used these circumstances to make profits, secretly providing financial help to both the ASP and the ZNP, which in turn also intensified the tension. According to Mrs Abdul Rahman Mohammed, wife of the Zanzibar Umma leader, some Indians gave money to both parties, always secretly, stating that they did not want the British to find out (Mrs Abdul Rahman Mohammed, interviewed by Honey, 16 January 1974, Dar-es-Salaam, quoted in Gregory 1981: 272). One of the researcher's respondents, Marumi, agreed with Mrs Mohammed's remarks. He commented that the Indian merchants were prominent ASP donors; they sponsored the ASP to show their opposition to and

dislike of Omani Arab landowners. They even financed the ASP cooperative shops, which contributed to the bankruptcy of small Arab traders (Ali Marumi, 26 May 2018).

The Indians were also involved in the bus dispute. Karume, the ASP leader, admitted at a roundtable conference in 1958 that the ASP did not own any buses involved in the boycott, even though they bore ASP logos. The buses, he said, "were owned by Indians, and only the drivers were Africans" (ZNA AK 17/73. The Round Table Conferences, 1958, p.2). He asserted that steps to end the situation needed to be taken slowly, as the bus owners were making profits out of the markings on their buses, and it would be difficult to make them forego this profit ZNA AK 17/ 73. The Round Table Conferences,1958: 2).

To calm the political situation, the government arranged a series of roundtable conferences headed by Civil Secretary Mr P.A. Robertson in 1958. The meetings involved all major political groups, including the ZNP, ASP, INA and MA. Among the participants were Abeid Amani Karume, Daudi Mahmoud, Mtoro Rehani, Borafia and Mzee from the ASP. Others were Gulam Husein Ismail and Manilal Mulji Walji from the INA. In addition, there were Kermali and Karim Tayabali from the MA; Miraji Shaaila, Ali Muhsin, Yahya Hassan, Maalim Yaid, Juma Alley, Rutti Bulsara, Haji Muhammed and A.H. Mohamed from the ZNP. With them, the rural district commissioner, Abdallah S. Kharusi, and his urban counterpart, Soud Ahmed, were also present (ZNA AK 17/73. The Round Table Conferences, 1958).

Among the themes discussed was how to conduct politics in a civilised manner that would respect the independence and rights of other ethnic groups in Zanzibar. The conference agreed to form an arbitration committee that would include members of multiple political groups. The committee members would be introduced to the audience at the beginning of each party's first big meeting. Gulamhussein Ismail, the president of the INA, even offered to transport the committee so they could attend meetings outside Zanzibar Town. However, many members rejected the offer, urging the government to bear the cost (ZNA AK 17/73, The Round Table Conferences, 1958, p.4). Regarding the boycott of buses, the meeting also ordered INA and MA officials to persuade their bus owners to refrain from putting any party logos on the buses, as it was contributing to the tension. Of course, the order was also given to the ASP and ZNP to do the same for their members, and hence the community communities and all parties agreed to implement the order (ZNA AK 17/73, The Round Table Conferences, 1958, p.4).

To improve Zanzibar's democracy, the government considered expanding the franchise to include women, as the first election did not give women the opportunity to vote. As such, in 1959, the government created a committee chaired by M.V. Smithyman, a British colonial social servant, to investigate and advise the government on whether women should be given the chance to vote and when. Its members were Mrs Samira Salim and Hilal Barwan from the ZNP, Abeid Karume from the ASP, and Mohamed Chowdhary from the MA (Ayany 1970: 63). The committee later concluded that women would be able to participate in elections based on the same qualifications

as men. Furthermore, in June 1959, the colonial government appointed four members of the LegCo as ministers for the first time. Among the appointed members were Ameir Tajo (ASP member), Vaghjibhai Shankerbhai Patel (INA member), Hilal Mohamed Barwani (ZNP member) and Mohamed Shamte (ASP member) (see Bissell 2011: 304–305). The government also promised to form a constitutional commission in 1960 to prepare the people and constitution for the complete independence of Zanzibar.

### 6.4.3 The Constitutional Commission of the Early 1960s

In 1960, the government hired Sir Hilary Blood to examine the constitutional situation of Zanzibar, as the most significant demand from the political parties was complete independence (Ayany 1970: 66). Blood's main task was to decide, to what extent the desires of the various people of Zanzibar could be met in a new planned constitution (ZNA BA77/1, Blood 1960, p.2). During his tenure in Zanzibar, Blood interviewed members of various ethnic and political groups, including LegCo members. The Indians participated through their associations. Indian participants from the INA included Tayabali Karimjee, Gulamhusein Ismail (president of INA and member of the Clove Exporter's Association), Vaghjibhai Shankerbhai Patel (who had also been a member of the LegCo since 1950) and Manilal Mulji Walji (INA); participants from the MA included M.D. Kermali, S.M. Chowdhary, Abbas Jivanji and Ahmed Lakha (ZNA BA77/1, Blood 1960, pp.27–31). Some Indians who were already members of the established political parties also participated, such as Rutti Bulsara, a member of the ZNP. Bulsara also wrote an article addressed to the commissioner in his newspaper, Adal Insaf, clarifying the ZNP's view on the Zanzibari constitution (ZNA BA77/1, Blood 1960, p.32).

Additionally, the INA and MA sent him memoranda addressing several issues. In their message to the Commissioner, the Indians insisted that the "majority of them [Indians] are Zanzibaris and subjects of the Highness, the Sultan for all intents and purposes" (Indian National Association memorandum as quoted by ZNA BA77/1, Blood 1960, p.39). Thus, they had the legal right to participate and provide their opinions on the current constitutional process. The Indians expressed their views and expectations on the new constitution of Zanzibar. They accepted the need for Zanzibari independence but did not want immediate freedom, believing that the country still needed to prepare enough elites to hold important positions. Thus, they proposed a transitional period, lasting a maximum of five years, to prepare the systems and human resources for independence (ZNA BA77/1, Blood 1960, pp.39–42). Aside from Indian associations, other political groups, such as the ZNP, ZPPP, ASP and SA, also participated.

After several weeks in Zanzibar, Blood submitted his report to the Zanzibari government in May 1960. The report contained several recommendations that guided the next election. One was that before the election was held, an independent speaker should be hired to preside over parliamentary activities (ZNA BA77/1, Blood 1960,

pp.14–16). Following this proposal, the government hired Keki Shavakshaw Madon as an independent speaker of the LegCo in 1961 (Ayany 1970: 71). Madon was a Parsee who formerly served as a LegCo reporter and clerk-stenographer to the Chief Secretary (The London Gazette, 29 August 1950, p.4384). He was the first and last Indian to work as a speaker during the time of politics. He had no affiliation with any political or ethnic association. After the recruitment of a speaker, the government announced January 1961 as the date for the next election (Ayany 1970: 73).

## 6.5 The Elections of 1961 and 1963

In 1961, two general elections were held in Zanzibar five months apart, the first in January and the second in June. Three main political parties participated in the election, namely the ASP, ZNP and ZPPP. This time, the Indian associations did not participate. Several factors are considered to have contributed to the non-participation of the Indian community, the biggest being the lack of solidarity among Indians in Zanzibar. They were divided into the INA and MA, with the two sides having different political views. The lack of a common Indian association had a profound effect on their participation in politics, especially during the time of politics, when ethnic politics had taken over. Thus, due to a lack of collective voice, the Indians failed to defend themselves even in matters that seemed to affect them. In line with that, the recent changes in the electoral system by the colonial government, which were mainly based on the advice of the Blood Commission, dashed any hopes of victory for Indian associations. The government introduced several changes before the 1961 elections, such as the extension of the franchise to women and a reduction of the age limit from 25 to 21. These changes increased the number of people entitled to registration on the voter roll from 39,833 people in 1957 to 94,310 in January 1961 (Commission of Inquiry in Zanzibar 1961: 4). These changes were not good news for the Indians, because their numbers were smaller than those of the Arabs and Africans. Indians made up only six per cent of the Zanzibari population, compared to Africans, who formed 75 per cent, and the Arabs at nearly 17 per cent (Lofchie 1965: 74). Although not aimed at any particular party or community, this increase in the number of voters inevitably provided a greater chance of victory to the ZNP and ASP. Perhaps the situation would have been different if the Indians had had only one candidate, especially in the constituencies where most of them lived, such as Stone Town (Ali Marumi, 26 May 2018).

Indians were also disappointed by the rejection of some of their proposals in the Blood Commission. Both the INA and MA sent memoranda requesting that the number of Stone Town constituencies be increased from one to four. Their suggestion was that out of the eleven seats for Unguja, four should be in Stone Town, two in the Ng'ambo area, and five in rural areas of Unguja. The Indians believed that Stone Town needed more seats because of its significant influence on the protectorate (ZNA BA77/1, Blood 1960, p.41). An increase in the number of Stone Town constituencies would provide a chance of victory to the Indian associations, whose members were

mostly residents of Stone Town. However, Blood recommended against it, commenting that "Stone Town does not appear to be greatly interested politically. In the rest of the protectorate, roughly speaking, one person in every three has registered as a voter. In the Stone Town it is one in every seven" (ZNA BA77/1, Blood 1960, p.15). This rejection may have contributed to a reduction in the desire to participate in elections.

The aftermath of the 1957 election may have contributed to these associations' non-participation as well. Zanzibar's post-election life had been marred by ethnic violence accompanied by boycotts of various kinds, especially against shops and buses. This had a profound effect on Indians as a commercial class. Although some chose to associate themselves with political parties and secretly run their businesses under the party's umbrella, most of them wanted to do business freely and benefit from customers from both major camps. Campbell argues that economic and commercial factors prevented Indians from getting into politics. They were a merchant class whose businesses generally required customers of all kinds (Campbell 1962: 83). The effects of the 1957 election taught them how to handle the matter in Zanzibar: "When one is engaged in trade, it is unwise to risk boycotts by an opposing political group" (Campbell 1962: 83).

Due to the aforementioned factors, the Indian associations did not field candidates in any constituency in the 1961 elections or the subsequent one. The non-participation of Indian associations did not mean that Indians did not participate; rather, those interested in politics had the opportunity to participate through political parties. In contrast to the previous elections, the 1961 elections signalled a dramatic change in the participation of Indians in politics. Many Indians who had been secretly collaborating with political parties now made their political positions explicit. The 1961 elections marked a new beginning for Indians with political interests, with several senior leaders from the Indian associations joining the political parties that existed at that time. Their choice was essentially to join either with the Arabs or with the Africans. There were some allegations that the associations even persuaded their members to ally with certain political parties (Ali Marumi, 26 May 2018).

According to Babu, during the 1961 elections, some INA leaders appeared in public to support the ASP (Babu 1991: 232). Association leaders such as Vaghjibhai Shankerbhai Patel supported the ASP in the 1961 election. Patel was the long-standing secretary of the INA, president of the Arya Samaj, and a LegCo member since 1950 (Gregory 1993: 115–116; Babu 1991: 232). He was an influential leader in the ASP and actively participated in the 1961 election campaigns. Patel was not only a politician but a wealthy man who financed the ASP's activities. Other than Patel, a number of Indian traders supported the ASP, prompted by enmity toward their former rivals in the Arab planter class (Issa 2009: 220). Gulamhusein Ismail, the president of the INA, also joined the ASP (Babu 1991:232). He was the father-in-law of Karume (through his wife, Fatma) and a prominent clove trader who led the Clove Exporter's Association (ZNA BA77/1, Blood 1960, p.27). In Pemba, I. G. Rawal, one of the wealthiest Indian merchants, also became a strong leader of the ASP, contributing significantly to the ASP on a financial level as well (Babu 1991: 232). Being wealthy businessmen, their

presence made a significant contribution to the ASP; Barwani confirmed that V. Patel, Gulamhussein Ismail and Rawal provided tremendous support and gave great strength to the ASP (Ali Muhsin Barwani interviewed by Ibrahim Noor, 16 January 2004).

Another significant leader from INA who joined the ASP was Rustam (Rostam) Sidhwa (Babu 1991: 232). Sidhwa was born in Bombay in 1898. He was a town council representative from the INA starting in the 1930s, then was appointed as chairman of the Zanzibar Township Council (1955–7). At one point he was a secretary of the Chamber of Commerce (Gregory 1993: 115–116). In both 1961 elections, Sidhwa was a candidate for the ASP in the Mwembeladu constituency, one of the most populous ASP constituencies in Unguja, just outside Stone Town. In both polls, Sidhwa won and became a member of the LegCo (Hinnells 2005: 293). Sidhwa was widely accepted in the ASP and was even one of the ASP representatives at the Zanzibar Independence Conference in London in 1962 (United Kingdom Colonial Office 1962: 9). Generally speaking, most INA politicians joined the ASP. Since Hindus and Ismāʿīlīs supported the association, the ASP also gained the support of most Hindus and Ismāʿīlīs and their newspaper, the Zanzibar Voice (Gregory 1993: 116).

The Zanzibar Nationalist Party, meanwhile, had the support of the Ithnāʿshara, the Samachar, the Muslim Association (Gregory 1993: 116) and the Goan community (Ali Muhsin Barwan interviewed by Ibrahim Noor, 16 January 2004). In addition, some individual Indians such as Ruti Bulsara (from the Parsi community) were drawn ideologically to the ZNP's multiracial (see Glassman 2011). Bulsara was related to Bomi and Jer Bulsara, the parents of Faruk Bulsara, who became famous as Freddie Mercury (Loimeier 2018: 161–162). Bulsara was already a member of the ZNP even before the 1961 elections, having been a ZNP candidate for the Stone Town constituency in the 1957 election. Ahmed Lemki had repeatedly called on young men to write political slogans promoting Bulsara as a candidate for the 1957 urban constituency (Hashil 2018: 17), but ultimately the MA candidate defeated him. At the end of 1957, Bulsara, along with other members of the ZNP, attended the Bandung conference to represent the party in support of the independence movement. There, Bulsara was one of those who gave speeches on behalf of the ZNP about the party's struggle for freedom and justice (The Adal Insaf, 21 December 1957).

Bulsara was the ZNP's publicity secretary. He had the art of speaking at party platform meetings and had excellent writing experience; he was a journalist and had established his own newspaper, The ʿAdal Inṣāf ("The Just and Fair"), in 1948 (Loimeier 2018: 161–162). The newspaper had supported the policies of ZNP since 1956, pleading frequently and very passionately for independence (Sturmer 1998: 283). In 1959, he was accused of anti-colonial propaganda and banned from publishing for 12 months (Loimeier 2018: 161–162). In the 1961 elections, Bulsara was a ZNP candidate for the Mkunazini constituency, which he won both times, becoming a member of the LegCo.

In the early 1960s, Bulsara became the Chairman of the Zanzibar Unity Group (ZUG), which was founded by Zanzibaris of diverse political affiliations to advance national independence. The group presented a united front against the "divide and

rule" policy of the colonial administration. In October 1962, as chairman of the ZUG, Bulsara sent a petition to the United Nations requesting immediate independence for Zanzibar. In his letter to the UN, Bulsara commented that it was wrong for freedom to be contingent upon the expediencies of party politics. The Zanzibar Unity Group maintained that freedom is a human right, not a political issue. Therefore, freedom should be separated from politics, as politics divide the people (UNOA A/AC.109/PET.93, Petition from Rutti Bulsara, Chairman of the Zanzibar Unity Group, to the United Nations, 21 March 1963).

Several other prominent Indians joined the ZNP as well, such as Amirali Abdul-Rasul Alarakhia from the MA. He was a famous Qur'ān reciter of "Sauti ya Unguja" (Voice of Unguja) at Raha Leo, which was launched around 1951 (Fazal 2015: 19). In addition, there were some Indians who did not hold leadership positions but were just reliable members of the ZNP. Barwani cites the example of Goans as active members of the ZNP. They participated in party meetings and did not hesitate to fund the party when needed (Ali Muhsin Barwani interviewed by Ibrahim Noor, 16 January 2004). However, many Indians, such as Ahmed Lakha, avoided taking sides and attended any meetings to which they were invited (Ahmed Lakha, interviewed by Honey, 15 January 1974, Dar es Salaam, quoted in Gregory 1981: 271–272).

In July 1963, the government called another election. This time, they increased the number of seats from twenty-two to thirty-one. Participating in the election were the ASP and an alliance of the ZNP and ZPPP; through these parties, four candidates of Indian origin competed. Of the four, three won, namely Amirali Abdul-Rasul Alarakhia from the ZNP (Shangani constituency), Mohamedali Fazel from the ZNP (Ziwani constituency, Pemba) and Rostam Sidhwa from the ASP (Mwembeladu constituency) (The Zanzibar Gazette 16 July 1963: 269). The ZNP-ZPPP alliance won the election overall with eighteen seats, whereas the ASP won thirteen seats. As a result, the ZNP-ZPPP coalition, led by Mohamed Shamte, was invited to form a government and led the country to independence on 10 December 1963. At the end of 1963, they created the cabinet, which included ten ministers. The new cabinet involved people of various backgrounds, including five Shirazis, two Arabs, two Comorians, and one Indian, who was called Amirali Abdul-Rasul Alarakhia (Loimeier 2009: 46).

## 6.6 Conclusion

This chapter focused on Indians' participation in Zanzibari politics between the 1940s and 1963. Its discussion was based on written and oral evidence indicating that Indians participated in Zanzibari politics through their associations, newspapers and political parties. The evidence made it clear that they were involved in the politics of Zanzibar, albeit not to the same extent as the Africans and Arabs. Still, the few who participated played a vital role in the politics of Zanzibar during this time period.

In this chapter, one can see that several factors limited the participation of Indians in politics, thus leading it to remain an unspoken history. Firstly, the Indians lacked

unity during the "zama za siasa" (time of politics), impacting on their involvement at a critical juncture. Secondly, for a long time, the Indians secretly participated in politics outside of their associations. They supported the political parties that existed during that time, but the information about their involvement remained the party's secret.

Through their associations, Indians participated in the LegCo from its formation in the 1920s until 1963, when the last election was held. As such, they were active participants in the county's political debates. In addition, Indians joined various political parties during the time of politics, and Indians stood as candidates in multiple elections and won. Moreover, some Indians were donors to political parties, especially the ASP, whose members were considered to be poor, which gave great financial strength to the ASP. After the 1963 election, the LegCo included three members of Indian descent who had been elected through the ASP and ZNP.

Furthermore, through the discussion of this chapter, we once again see how the religious diversity of Indians impacted their migration narratives in Zanzibar, this time in the realm of politics. The political history of Indians in Zanzibar has been greatly affected by the diversity of religion among the migrants, which was influenced by the Indo-Pakistan conflicts. From the above discussion, it seems pretty clear that, while this was not always the case, the migrant Indians of Zanzibar were often living in two places at the same time; while their bodies lived in Zanzibar, their minds belonged to India.

# 7 Conclusion

This study has examined the history of Indian migrants in Zanzibar with a focus on the social, political and economic history of Indians in Zanzibar in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, specifically from the 1870s to 1963. It is argued in this study that this history was affected by religious diversity, economic and social factors, and British colonial interests. Influenced by these factors, the Indian community in Zanzibar underwent several socio-political and economic changes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

This chapter presents a summary of the study and of the key findings of the dissertation, subsuming the general conclusions of the main themes raised in the previous chapters. The chapter also proposes possible areas of future research based on the findings and conclusion of this study.

This study addressed five key research objectives. First, it analysed the forces that contributed to the migration of Indians to Zanzibar from the 1800s to 1963. Second, it examined the religious diversity among Indian migrants in Zanzibar. Third, it explored the educational history of Indians in Zanzibar from the 1880s to 1963. Fourth, it investigated how the political transformations that occurred in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in Zanzibar affected the interests of Indians in the area and how Indians reacted to the changes between 1890 and 1940. Fifth, the study examined the role of Indians in Zanzibar's politics from the 1940s to 1963.

In working towards the above objectives, this research employed a qualitative approach centred on in-depth interviews and discursive analysis of archival documents available in the Zanzibar National Archive (ZNA) and digital archives. In addition, the study collected secondary information from libraries at the University of Göttingen and in Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar as well as online sources. The study used research-guiding questions to conduct semi-structured interviews with key informants. These informants fell into three categories. The first involved retired civil servants who worked in different departments of the colonial government before 1963. The second group of informants included descendants of the Indian migrants living in Zanzibar during the period under study. The third group consisted of ordinary people who had some knowledge or experience of Indian migration history. These groups provided a variety of information that contributed to the discussion of the main questions of this study.

This study is essential for several reasons. Firstly, it brings together social, political and economic aspects of Indian history in Zanzibar that have never been fully explored before. Historians have produced key works on the economic history of Indians[59] before the British colonial period in East Africa and Zanzibar specifically. However, a historical discussion of Indian socio-political and economic life during the British colonial period remains a significant gap in the history of Zanzibar. Thus, this dissertation brings to light a holistic history of Indian migrants in Zanzibar between the 1870s and 1963. Secondly, its findings contribute significantly to a growing body of literature on Indian historical migration experiences in Zanzibar and in East Africa in general. It also offers a basis for comparison between migration experiences of the Indians in Zanzibar (East Africa) and other places in Africa and/or different continents to which Indians migrated during the period under consideration. Third, it covers long-standing features of the presence of Indians in Zanzibar from the 1800s to 1963. Several features have been discussed in this dissertation that show what remained the same throughout the study period and what changed significantly over time. One important feature is the transformation of these migrants from seasonal to permanent residents of Zanzibar. In the early nineteenth century, the Indians, especially the Hindus, were "birds of passage". Most of those who travelled to Zanzibar were men who came without women, with the sole purpose of making money and returning home to spend their wealth. The situation changed over the years, and by the end of the nineteenth century, even the Hindus decided to relocate their families to Zanzibar and establish permanent residence on the islands. By the middle of the twentieth century, more than half of the Indians in Zanzibar were Zanzibaris and subjects of the Zanzibar Sultan. Along with accepting Zanzibar and recognising themselves as the subjects of the Sultan, most Indians, though not all, belonged to two places. They lived in Zanzibar but depended on resources from India such as educational resources, religious resources, business resources, and cultural ones. Even the political conflict in

[59] Sheriff (1987) *Slaves, Spices and Ivory in Zanzibar: Integration of an East African Commercial Empire into the World Economy, 1770–1873;* Goswami (2011) *The Call of the Sea: Kachchhi Traders in Muscat and Zanzibar, C. 1800–1880; and Oonk (2006b) South Asians in East Africa (1880–1920).*

the Indian subcontinent impacted the lives of Indians in Zanzibar in various ways (see chapter six).

The key findings of this study reveal that the history of Indian migration to Zanzibar during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was affected by religious, economic and social factors, and British political and economic interests. The Indians' religious diversity, for example, led to the development of different migration patterns. This was related to the migrants' differing religious beliefs. The Hindus, for example, believed in the "Samudrolanghana" or "Sagarollanghana", whereby it was an offence for a Hindu to cross the sea. As a result of this belief, only Hindu men could migrate to Zanzibar throughout the nineteenth century, while their women remained in India. Thus, the Hindu migration pattern was dominated by men to the exclusion of women, and they were consequently referred to as "birds of passage". This pattern profoundly impacted the Hindu men in social aspects such as social life, food, and their sexual relationships in Zanzibar.

On the other hand, Indian Muslims exhibited a family migration pattern; since it was not taboo for them to cross the sea as it was for Hindus, many of them invited their wives and children to live permanently in Zanzibar. Contrary to the typical Hindu practice of being "birds of passage", the Indian Muslims established trade contacts when they moved to Zanzibar and thus built permanent houses, or rented houses, in which to live with their wives and children. Alternatively, some Muslim Indians migrated without their wives and instead married African women as first or second wives, in turn accepting the offspring from such marriages as legitimate children. However, these children were more closely integrated into Swahili rather than Indian life, and were thus called "chotara", a scornful Swahili word that means "half-caste" or "half-breed". These children faced discrimination in various aspects of their lives, such as marriage arrangements. For instance, for most "chotara", a marriage with people of their own caste or sect would have been difficult or impossible.

As for Indian Christians (the Goans), multiple patterns were attested. Most young men would take their wives and start their family life together in Zanzibar; however, when their children reached school age, the family would be separated. Usually, the wives travelled to Goa with the children while the husbands continued to live and work in East Africa. In some cases, the whole family would move from Zanzibar to other places, typically Kenya, Goa or even the United Kingdom, for the sake of the children's education. Interestingly, most of these Goan families returned to Zanzibar for work after the children finished their studies abroad.

As made clear in chapter two, these different migration patterns affected many aspects of the communities' lives, including their socialisation with the other people of Zanzibar. In addition, religion influenced Indians to invest in different trades, as certain trades were not acceptable in their belief systems. For example, Hindus did not involve themselves in the animal trade as their Dharma forbade it. Similarly, since the handling and selling of ivory, rhinoceros horns and animal hides was considered to be impure, these items were avoided by Hindu traders. Those who were secretly involved in the forbidden items were required to repent when they returned to India to meet

their families. In the same vein, the Indian Muslims did not engage in the alcohol trade due to their faith. Consequently, most of them traded in cloves, ivory, cotton clothes and household utensils. The Goans, meanwhile, were Christians, but had been significantly influenced by Portuguese lifestyles; as well as involving themselves in the butchery and bakery trades, they were also known for selling wines and spirits.

Apart from the religious influences, this study has also uncovered multiple processes in India and Zanzibar that motivated Indians to move to Zanzibar between 1870 and 1963. These were discussed in chapter three as "push" and "pull" factors. Evidence from interviews with Indian families and archival documents confirms that factors such as environmental calamities, economic opportunities and British colonisation one both parts drove Indian migrants to move to Zanzibar. These push and pull factors convince us to dispel the notion that all Indians came as wealthy traders who already had capital before arriving in Zanzibar. Many Indians, probably more than half of those who moved to Zanzibar, were poor, having been affected by drought, disease and climate; they moved to Zanzibar and other East African cities as an attempt to improve their lives and those of the families they had left behind.

Documentary evidence shows that Indians were risk-takers; they were ready to take on apprenticeships in Indian companies abroad, even with small salaries of Rs. 200 to 2000 a year plus board and lodging. This attitude made them successful, and many were able to raise business capital in Zanzibar or other East African cities. Even some of the wealthiest Indians in Zanzibar in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had started out by migrating to Zanzibar as impoverished and illiterate youth. Indeed, most of them were employed for sanitation and gardening purposes. This is particularly true of Tharia Topan and Aldina Visram. Thanks to their risk-taking spirit, they later opened their own small businesses and consequently became wealthy traders, in turn recruiting more of their fellow Indians. Other Indians migrated to Zanzibar to work in the colonial government as soldiers – especially Sikhs, whom the government trusted more with the country's defence and security than Africans. Indians were also employed as doctors, teachers and clerks in various government offices. Others also came as barbers or even from Diu as fishermen.

This study also explored the historical development of the Indian education system in Zanzibar between the 1880s and 1963. Indians in Zanzibar established different denominational and non-denominational schools to provide secular and non-secular teaching to their children in Zanzibar. The first school to be opened by Indians was the Sir Euan Smith Madrasa (SESM) in 1890. It was a non-denominational school open to all Indian children in Zanzibar regardless of their religious group. However, due to a desire for their children to receive religious teaching, several Indian communities opened their own community schools in the early 1900s that also offered religious teachings defined by their sect ideology. The Khōjā Ismāʿīlīs were the first to establish their own community schools in 1905 (for girls) and 1907 (for boys), followed by the Bohora community, who established a mixed school in 1909. The success of these early schools motivated other communities to open their own schools, and by the 1940s, there were more than 18 Indian schools in Zanzibar. In addition to the re-

ligious teachings that differed from one school to another, the schools taught children the traditions, customs, languages, history and even geography of India, intending to educate the children not to abandon the traditions, beliefs and customs of their elders from India. Even the teachers were mostly hired from India to teach in these schools.

As these efforts continued, the colonial government came up with various strategies to intervene in the Indian school system, which at first was exclusively financed and administered by Indians. With the apparent goal of improving the quality of education provided by the schools, the government adopted various approaches that they believed would achieve this goal, and subsequently intervened directly in Indian educational institutions. This government intervention resulted in permanent changes to the Indian schools in terms of curriculum, learning environment, teaching methods, and qualifications of teachers. One method they employed was the introduction of a grant-aided scheme for Indian-owned schools. In order to secure the grant, the government drafted regulations that schools were required to meet. These rules dictated what should be taught and in what order, and who was qualified to teach. As a result of this government intervention, some schools in the late 1950s shifted away from Indian ownership and became government schools. For example, the SESM continued to enrol Indian children, but its budget, staff and curriculum were decided by the government rather than the Indian communities.

Another important theme explored in this study is the economic impact of British colonisation on the Indians, particularly those who were moneylenders and traders. Throughout the nineteenth century, the economy of Zanzibar, and East Africa in general, was primarily in Indian hands. They performed major roles such as wholesale and retail trade and provided banking services to planters and Afro-Arab traders while also supplying a significant amount of capital even to European traders. The Indians were able to play these roles with the support and protection of the Oman Sultanate, especially after Saʿīd bin Sulṭān moved his capital from Oman to Zanzibar in the 1840s. This began to change after the colonisation of Zanzibar by the British in 1890. Written evidence indicates that the protectorate government was interested in controlling Zanzibar's clove trade, which was primarily dependent on land. They wanted to preserve and protect the (mainly Arab) landowning class, who were heavily indebted to Indian bankers.

Between 1900 and 1937, the government introduced various laws that Indians objected to, as the laws did not take their economic status into account. Such laws included the Alienation of Land (Restriction Land Evidence) Decree, the Moneylenders' (Amendment) Decree, the Clove Growers' Association Decree and the Clove Exporters' Decree. The laws also extended to the Adulteration of Produce Decree and the Agricultural Produce Export Decree. The Indians opposed these laws and commented that the colonial government's desire was to uproot them from the economy and replace them with European traders. The laws' imposition provoked stiff resistance from Indians in Zanzibar. With the help of several agents abroad, mainly in India, the Indians of Zanzibar resisted the imposition of the various laws and methods that disturbed their economic status. They called public meetings, boycotts and strikes

against the clove business. These various forms of resistance signified that the Indians were not passive agents; they had influence, power and networks that the colonial government had failed to acknowledge before. As a result, the Indians won the struggle against the colonial government, with the government admitting in 1938 that the laws they had passed were not fair to the Zanzibari Indians and agreeing to restore the Indians' economic status. Another interesting feature of this particular period is the changing of the Indians' identity from that of multiple communities to a single community. To combat the challenges resulting from these laws, the Indians found themselves ignoring the differences in their lives. This experience was perhaps the first and only time the Indians raised their voices as one community.

Another important finding of this study relates to Indians' participation in the politics of Zanzibar between the 1940s and 1963. Indians were involved in Zanzibari politics through their associations, namely the Indian National Association (INA) and Muslim Association (MA), as well as through newspapers and various political parties. From the formation of the LegCo in the 1920s until the 1960s, Indians had participated as unofficial members. Furthermore, in the elections between 1957 and 1963, they stood as candidates representing their various associations and political parties and won several constituencies in Unguja and Pemba. Oral and written evidence has shown that Indian involvement in politics underwent a major change during the 1961 elections. The two Indian associations decided not to involve themselves in politics and elections and instead encouraged their members to support the existing political parties.

Following this, several Indian association leaders joined political parties, holding various posts in them. Some Indians, particularly the wealthy traders, even financed the political parties. Some INA leaders such as V.S. Patel and Gulamhusein Ismail appeared in public to support the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP). Several Indian traders, motivated by enmity and their old rivalry with the Arab planter class, supported the ASP. The Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP), meanwhile, had the support of the Ithnāʿashari, the Samachar, the Muslim Association and the Goan community. The presence of Indians in politics is a clear sign that they accepted Zanzibar as their home – but beyond that, it could also suggest that, despite their minority status, they had a significant influence on the political, economic and social history of Zanzibar between 1870 and 1963.

## 7.1 Suggestions for Further Research

Many issues were found to be interesting and of some relevance to this study, as they would add significant value to the historical understanding of Indian migration to Zanzibar. However, because of limitations of time and space, and due to the scope of this research project, the researcher was unable to cover all of them. The following topics could be considered for future research.

### 7.1.1 Indian Traders in Zanzibar Between the 1940s and 1963

Although this research initially intended to study the economic history of Indians in Zanzibar from 1890 to 1963, due to a lack of time, this study was limited to economic history from 1890 to 1939 only. Thus, there is a research gap on the economic history of Indians in Zanzibar, especially after the Second World War. The period between 1940 and 1963 is significant in the history of Zanzibar. This is because, during this period, Zanzibar experienced substantial changes in policy that affected the islands' history and the interests of Indians. For example, a few years before the end of WWII, the Indians resolved their conflict with the British government in Zanzibar, and the government introduced new laws and policies that acknowledged the economic position of Indians in Zanzibar's economy (see chapter five). It would be interesting to learn about the revival, continuation and shifting of Indian roles in the economy of Zanzibar after the end of their conflict with the colonial government. Additionally, there is a need for research that analyses the various policies and laws adopted between 1940 and 1963 in Zanzibar that directly or indirectly affected Indians in accordance with their economic activities.

### 7.1.2 A Holistic Study of the Indians after Independence

The history of Indians in Zanzibar after independence was achieved in 1963 is another important future research area. After this and the subsequent 1964 revolution, the lives of people in Zanzibar of various backgrounds changed dramatically. While many Indians and Arabs were affected by the violence of the revolution, and a great number of them relocated from Zanzibar, it would be interesting to know the story of those who remained there – especially after the nationalisation policies that followed later in the 1960s, which have been claimed by several Asians to have destroyed their commercial capital (Wahab 2011: 42–67).

While exploring the topics mentioned above is part of my future research agenda, I hope that this research will also spark the interest of other historians to explore the many dimensions of migrant histories in Zanzibar.

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This research examines the social, political and economic history of Indians in Zanzibar in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, specifically between 1870 and 1963. Based on evidence collected from oral interviews and written archival documents, this research work argues that the Indian migration history in Zanzibar during this period was impacted by their religious diversity, economic and social factors as well as the British colonial interest. This research analysis yielded a number of the following key findings: First, there were heterogeneous migration patterns among the Indian migrants in East Africa, influenced by various factors including religion, caste, and the historical contexts in which particular migrants arrived. Second, numerous different social, physical, economic and political processes in India and East Africa motivated Indians to leave their homeland and form a migration community in Zanzibar from 1800 to 1963. Third, the desire to pass on their religion, traditions and customs to their descendants was a significant motivation for Indians to open their own private schools in Zanzibar. Fourth, the change of administration in 1890 had a major impact on the Indians in Zanzibar, especially investors who had already invested heavily in the local economy. Finally, despite their minority status compared to other communities such as Africans and Arabs, Indians participated in the politics of Zanzibar that led towards independence.

Saada Wahab has completed her PhD at the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Göttingen, Germany. She has been working as a lecturer and researcher at the State University of Zanzibar, since 2011. Her regional interest is on Indian Ocean, especially the eastern coast of Africa, thematically concentrated on Maritime anthropology and history of the Swahili communities. She has conducted archival research and ethnographic fieldwork in Zanzibar. Wahab has a Master of Arts in History, acquired from the University of Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

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