

# Sayyid Khalid Bin Barghash, Britain and the throne of Zanzibar

## Sayyid Khalid Bin Barghash, Gran Bretaña y el trono de Zanzibar

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### ABSTRACT

Prince Khalid bin Barghash Al BuSa'idi was an Arabian prince and an offspring of Al-BuSa'idi family who ruled Muscat and Zanzibar. His father, second ruler of Zanzibar, exerted great effort with the British in order to crown his son as his heir, but his effort met with failure. In 1890 Zanzibar was declared a protectorate and the British influence became more dominating in interfering in the internal affairs, as well as in the throne inheritance issue. Supported by Zanzibar people and coastal inhabitants, Prince Khalid led two attempts to seize the throne, the first of which was in 1893, but the British believed that the coronation should serve the higher British interests, and that the inheritance of the throne would be purely a British matter. At the turn of the twentieth century, he defied the might of imperial Britain at the height of its power and succeeded in the second attempt in 1896 in capturing the ruling castle and declared himself as the Sultan of Zanzibar. The British asked him to abdicate, but he refused. Their sword, therefore, took control and finally settled the questions of internal affairs and the throne inheritance. The Anglo-Zanzibar war, and the bombardment of the ruling castle forced the British deposed Sultan to take shelter in the German Consulate. A British candidate was placed on the throne. Sayyid Khalid was transferred to German East Africa and was not allowed with his family members to come back to Zanzibar. He lived a homeless and a miserable life until he gave up his claims. He was, therefore, allowed to live in Mombasa until his death in 1927.

**Keywords:** Zanzibar, Khalid bin Barghash Al BuSa'idi, British Protectorate, Anglo-Zanzibar war.

### RESUMEN

El príncipe Khalid bin Barghash Al BuSa'idi era un príncipe árabe y un descendiente de la familia al-BuSa'idi, que gobernó Mascát y Zanzíbar. Su padre presionó a los británicos para coronar a su hijo como heredero, pero sus esfuerzos fueron infructuosos. En 1890, Zanzíbar fue declarada protectorado británico y la influencia británica interfirió en mayor medida en los asuntos internos, así como en la cuestión de la herencia del trono. Con el apoyo del pueblo de Zanzíbar y de los habitantes de la costa, el príncipe Khalid llevó a cabo dos intentos de ocupar el trono, el primero de los cuales en 1893, pero los británicos creían que la coronación debía servir a sus principales intereses, y la cuestión sucesoria debía ser un asunto puramente británico. A comienzos del siglo XX, desafió el poder imperial de Gran Bretaña y logró en el segundo intento, en 1896, capturar el palacio de Gobierno y declararse Sultán de Zanzíbar. Los británicos le pidieron que abdicara, pero él se negó. Entonces tomaron el control por la fuerza y, finalmente, manejaron los asuntos internos y la herencia del trono. La guerra entre Gran Bretaña y Zanzíbar y el bombardeo del palacio de Gobierno obligaron al sultán depuesto por los británicos a refugiarse en el consulado alemán. Un candidato británico fue puesto en el trono. El príncipe Khalid fue trasladado a África Oriental Alemana, y no se le permitió a él o a los miembros de su familia volver a Zanzíbar. Vivió una vida miserable y cruel hasta que renunció a sus reivindicaciones. Tras ello, se le permitió vivir en Mombasa hasta su muerte en 1927.

**Palabras clave:** Zanzibar, Khalid bin Barghash Al BuSa'idi, protectorado inglés, guerra entre Gran Bretaña y Zanzíbar.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In the mid-nineteenth century, Zanzibar, a Sultan's death turned out to be a matter of uprisings and revolts involving members of the Royal family, for no specific rules had settled the succession issue since the death of Sayyid Said bin Sultan (1806-1856). Thereafter, each of his children and grand-children proclaimed himself the legitimate successor. The normal Omani pattern thus was obvious: all male heirs were all equally eligible for succession.

The death of Sayyid Said led to the division of his authority between his two sons: Majid bin Said (1856-1870) was declared Sultan in Zanzibar while Thuwaini bin Said (1856-1866) took over in Oman. Once asked about the succession issue, Sayyid Barghash bin Said, the second Sultan of Zanzibar (1870-1888), said that the throne should go to the "longest sword". According to this relevant statement, and given the growing British domination on the Sultanate of Zanzibar, it rapidly became obvious that the British sword was the longest and sharpest<sup>1</sup>. Nonetheless, Royal family individuals aiming to hold sway continued to use all available methods to prove their claims. Some succeeded, some were exiled, some fought bitterly, and some succeeded and were then dethroned like Sayyid Khalid bin Barghash.

The following study is an attempt to shed light on the adventure of Sayyid Khalid bin Barghash, who is certainly one of the men who played a key role in the modern history of Zanzibar. He may be considered by some Zanzibar people as a brave prince who fought colonialism and who defied with courage and bravery the mighty imperial Britain at the height of its power at the turn of the twentieth century.

Although his defiance did not last for a long time, it nevertheless demonstrated, with no doubt, that, at the time, the real ruler of Zanzibar, as well as one third of the world, was Britain. It also revealed the firm will of the British to maintain their imperial hegemony even over thin and remote territories.

Considering these facts, we will present Sayyid Khalid bin Barghash's personality and the main episodes of his life, his father's endeavor to appoint him as the Crown-Prince, as well as his relations with his uncles the Sultans of Zanzibar. Moreover, the research will also survey the attitude of the British Government towards him and his efforts to claim and gain the throne of Zanzibar. We will highlight the British Officials use of The Anglo-French Declaration of 1862, as well as Sayyid Khalid's attempts to take over power and his successful 1896 capture of the Royal Palace and his self-proclamation as a Sultan. We will shed light on the British intervention and the subsequent Anglo-Zanzibar war, pointing to key facts which reflect the fierce reaction of the British government and his personal fate.

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<sup>1</sup> Benyan Saud TURKI. "Aṣ-ṣirā' 'ala as-sulṭa fi Salṭanat Zanġibar al-'arabiḥ fil 'uqūd al-'akhīra min al-qam at-tāsi' 'aṣhar al-milādī". Kuwait University: *Arab Journal for the Humanities* – No. 50 – 1995, p.60. Jamal Zakaria KASSEM, *Dawlatu l-Busūd fi Oman wa sharq Afriqia 1741 – 1970*. United Arab Emirates: Al Ain, Zayed Center for Heritage, 2000, p.236, 342. L. HOLLINGSWORTH, *Zanzibar Under The Foreign Office, 1890 – 1913*. London: Macmillan, 1953. p. 80. The word Sayyid has no religious meaning, but is a title of honor.

## 2. SHORT BIOGRAPHY

Sayyid Khalid bin Barghash bin Said Al-Busa'idi was the son of Sayyid Barghash, second ruler of Zanzibar (1870-1888) who was enthroned after the death of his brother Sayyid Majid bin Said (1856-1870). Sayyid Khalid bin Barghash, who proclaimed himself Sultan of Zanzibar in 1896, was born on Thul-Qa'dah 5<sup>th</sup>, 1291 AH (early 1875), nearly four years after his father's accession to the throne<sup>2</sup>. His mother was Sayyida Muzah bint Hamad bin Salim bin Said bin Imam Ahmed-Salim who was the brother of Sayyid Said bin Sultan. She was a granddaughter of the founder of Al-Busa'idi House and known for her strength of mind and will for power, or as the eminent historian Al-Mughairi said: "she was a woman of influence and authority"<sup>3</sup>, while most of Zanzibar Sultans' mothers were surreys or concubines whether they were Charkas or Ethiopians or of other origin, some were princesses, some were not<sup>4</sup>.

We don't know more about his childhood except few memories scattered here and there. Our knowledge about his marriage is also tiny. We don't know exactly when he got married. However, it is established that he had six sons: Barghash, Majed, Said, Ali, Ghalib and Kais<sup>5</sup>.

## 3. HIS FATHER SAYYID BARGHASH'S EFFORTS

Sayyid Barghash bin Said worked hard to pass the throne to his son Prince Khalid. However, the British Government did not fulfill the request of Sayyid Barghash. Available documents prove the continuous but useless efforts exerted by the father.

One of those efforts was the "will" delivered by Sayyid Barghash bin Said in 1881 to John Kirk, the British Consul in Zanzibar (1870-1886), who was his good and reliable friend<sup>6</sup>. Sayyid Barghash included in his "will" his hope that the British Government would guarantee the throne for his son Prince Khalid who was barely seven years old at that time. This "will" would remain valid till he matured. The British Consul was himself excited and mailed the "will's" content to London. However, a fast and categorical answer came from Gladstone, the British Prime Minister, who rejected the idea<sup>7</sup>. The British Government claimed that the refusal was a result of the

<sup>2</sup> Said bin Ali AL-MUGHAIIRI. *Juhainat Al-Ahbar fi Tareekh Zanjiyar*. Abdul Minim Amer (ed) Sultanate of Oman: Ministry of National Patrimony, 1979, p.275. TURKI, p.63.

<sup>3</sup> Sayyida Muzah died on 13 Shawal 1336 h 1918. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p. 231, 262. 275. Sayyida Salima bint Said bin SULTAN. *Muthakkarat Amira Arabiyyah* – Translated by Abdul Majid Al-Qaysi– Sultanate of Oman: Ministry of National Patrimony, 1983, p. 313.

<sup>4</sup> TURKI, p.69.

<sup>5</sup> AL-MUGHAIIRI, p. 275. I would like to thank Prince Khalid bin Ghaleb bin Khalid bin Barghash Al-Busa'idi whom I met in Kuwait in 2007 and who shed lights on many aspects.

<sup>6</sup> HOLLINGSWORTH, p. 13. *Great Britain. Public Record Office. Slave Trade. 1888 – 1892* (here after cited as F.O) F.O.84/1906. Euan-Smith to Marquis of Salisbury Zanzibar, March 27 1888. TURKI, p. 63.

<sup>7</sup> HOLLINGSWORTH, J.L. p. 13. *Great Britain. Public Record Office. Slave Trade. 1888-1892* (here after cited as F.O) F.O.84/1906. Euan-Smith... March 27, 1888. TURKI, p. 63.

incongruity of such a move with the spirit of the 1862 Anglo-French Declaration. The British Consul informed Sayyid Barghash bin Said of the content of the British answer. The constraints of the British policy, conscious that the declaration of his son as heir would challenge the commitment taken by both Britain and France to respect the independence of both Muscat and Zanzibar and the safety of their lands<sup>8</sup>.

The official British policy of non-interference as laid down in the Anglo-French Declaration of 1862 was used as a tool in the hands of the British officials for their own advantage. The British Officials, hoping to exert, in the future, a complete and exclusive control on the territory, and to choose a person who would best serve their interests. Britain was also concerned about its relations with other competitive European forces such as France and Germany. In reality from 1862 onwards the British had the upper hand in the affairs of Zanzibar and obtained a position of peculiar influence over it.

The British refusal to realize the dream of Sayyid Barghash bin Said through the enthroning of his son as Crown-Prince, their will to attenuate the German danger and cooperation with Germany to divide his possession in 1886, provoked a deterioration of his health state and ultimately his death in 1888<sup>9</sup>. The German and British governments mutually agreed on the appointment of Sayyid Khalifa bin Said (1888-1890) as the new Sultan of Zanzibar.

#### 4. PRINCE KHALID AND SAYYID KHALIFA

The designation of Sayyid Khalifa bin Said implied a disregard of the hopes and dreams of Sayyid Barghash bin Said in designating his son Prince Khalid as the legitimate heir. The Prince was fourteen years old when his father Sayyid Barghash bin Said died, and at his age he could rule if Britain consented, and it actually ignored this possibility<sup>10</sup>.

Prince Khalid bin Barghash was burying his father, and did not attend the crowning protocols. He did not intervene in government affairs and preferred to wait till he had better chances to overcome the authority<sup>11</sup>. During the entire term of his uncle's reign, Prince Khalid did not carry out any act that might affect the relation between the two men. Thus Prince Khalid maintained good terms with his uncle Sayyid Khalifa, and he even received from him a sum of 60.000 Riyals, and his mother and each of his sisters received an amount of 30.000 Riyals<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> TURKI, p. 63-64. Zao MARCH and G. KINGSWORTH, *An Introduction to the History of East Africa*. Cambridge University Press, 1966. p. 90. Norman BENNETT, *A History of the Arab State of Zanzibar*. London: Mathuen co.ltd, 1978, p.136.

<sup>9</sup> Jad Mohamed TAHA "Dawr Britaina wa Alamanya fi tafkik Saltanat Zanjibar" *Arab-African relations, a Historical Study for the negative effects of Colonization*, Cairo: Institute of Researches and Arab Studies, 1977, p. 118. Said Rajab HARAZ, *Sharq a Afriyia wal-Isti'mar Al-'Urubi*. Cairo: Arab Dar Annahda, 1968. p.318- TURKI, p. 64-65.

<sup>10</sup> F. O. 84/1906 no. 39. Euan-Smith... March 27, 1888. F. O. 84/1906. no. 60. Euan-Smith... April 8, 1888. TURKI, p. 65. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p. 266.

<sup>11</sup> F. O. 84/1906. no. 39. Euan-Smith... March 27, 1888. TURKI, p. 66. BENNETT, p. 136

<sup>12</sup> F. O. 84/1877. no. 311. Euan-Smith... Feb. 25, 1889. TURKI, p. 66. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p. 275

## 5. SAYYID ALI AND PRINCE KHALID

Sayyid Khalifa died in February 1890 at the age of 36. He died suddenly and many hoped to be crowned Sultan of Zanzibar. Among them was the now grown-up Prince Khalid who promised himself to seize the Zanzibar throne. However, the British Administration in Zanzibar had a different opinion. Euan-Smith the British Consul in Zanzibar, while discussing the subject, said that Prince Khalid "is still young". He further said that his requests, given the current situation, were to be ignored<sup>13</sup>.

On February 14<sup>th</sup>, 1890, the British Administration in Zanzibar approved the crowning of Sayyid Ali bin Said as Sultan of Zanzibar. By this, the British Administration proved that it controlled the designation of whom it considered would best serve its interests. No one of the Al-Busa'idi family members or influential Arab personalities rejected this choice overtly, including Prince Khalid who announced his support for his uncle Sayyid Ali and showed his will to cooperate with him<sup>14</sup>.

The silence of Prince Khalid was due to the absence of his mother, Sayyida Muzah, who was, at that time, in Al-Hejaz for pilgrimage rites<sup>15</sup>. Her influence and her status as the widow of a former Sultan, might enable her to gather for her son numerous partisans among the people of Zanzibar. Considering this situation, Sayyida Muzah's role was not surprising at all<sup>16</sup>. Also one of the causes that made Prince Khalid bin Barghash submit, was the unexpected death of Sayyid Khalifa. He was also well aware that the British Consul, was able to take control over the situation and arrange it according to British interests<sup>17</sup>.

The British Administration continued to observe the situation in Zanzibar. Hence the British Consul, wrote to Sayyid Ali bin Said inquiring about the Prince and asking him to take care of him in particular. The answer of Sayyid Ali to the British Consul Euan-Smith, was that "the Prince was taken care of very well"<sup>18</sup>.

The British Administration in Zanzibar took advantage of the weak situation of Sayyid Ali and convinced him that in order to have the crown, he should assign Britain several privileges, approve the British Protectorate on Zanzibar in 1890, appoint English employees. Britain also forced him to sign the agreement stipulating the abrogation of the slave trade, and appointed General Mathew First

<sup>13</sup> F.O. 84 / 1977. no 311 (secret). Euan-Smith... February 25, 1889. TURKI, p.70. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p.266. BENNETT, p.166

<sup>14</sup> F. O. 84/2059. no. 59(confi). Euan-Smith... Feb. 14, 1890. TURKI, p.70. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p.266.

<sup>15</sup> F. O. 84/2059. no. 59 (confi). Euan-Smith...Feb. 14, 1890.

<sup>16</sup> SULTAN, Sayyida Salima, p.255-286. SULTAN Bin Mohammed AL QASMI, *Taqsim al-imbraṭūriyya al-'uṭmaniyya* 1856-1862. United Arab Emirates: Dubai, Al Bian Foundation, 1989, p. 196. KASSEM, p.342.

<sup>17</sup> F. O. 84/2059. no. 59. Euan-Smith... Feb. 14, 1890. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p. 266. Genesta HAMILTON, *The Princes of Zinji, The Rulers of Zanzibar*. London: Hutchinson 1957, p.231.

<sup>18</sup> F. O. 84/2059. no. 63. Euan-Smith... Feb. 17, 1890

Minister in 1891. These and other compromises made Zanzibar people call their Sultan the British “Mamluk” (owned)<sup>19</sup>.

Sayyid Ali bin Said succeeded, before signing the protection agreement in 1890, to obtain the approval of Euan-Smith for his right to designate his successor provided that the British Government approved. However, the British Foreign Office, disregarding Euan-Smith’s approval, did not give its approval of this agreement and insisted on the notion that the British Government should retain full control over the throne in Zanzibar<sup>20</sup>.

On October 12<sup>th</sup>, 1892, Gerald Portal, the British Consul in Zanzibar, informed the British Government in London about the deterioration of the health of Sayyid Ali bin Said, showing that the main eager candidates were Prince Khalid bin Barghash, Hamed bin Thuwaini and Hamoud bin Mohamed. He suggested that the British Government should choose a heir for the throne as soon as possible<sup>21</sup>.

The three candidates had their own partisans among influential people. Still, the youngest of them was Prince Khalid bin Barghash who, being only eighteen years old, and to compensate this disadvantage, he claimed his right stressing the following facts: his father did his best to crown him as his successor; and he was the eldest son of any Sultan to inherit the throne of Zanzibar<sup>22</sup>.

Portal described Prince Khalid as an obstinate character, very arrogant, who “has the sternness of his Father but not his cleverness”. He also mentioned that the Prince was very aggressive towards European civilization. Portal also said that if he was able to crown himself as the Sultan of Zanzibar, Prince Khalid would have not stopped there, and would prefer to be known for his fierceness and aggressiveness. According to Portal, the fear lied in the fact that Prince Khalid would revive the “fright and influence of the previous era of Zanzibar’s Sultans”. The British Government did its best to exclude Prince Khalid bin Barghash from politics in Zanzibar<sup>23</sup>.

Prince Khalid was an Arab on both his father’s and mother’s sides; this fact itself was of great importance in Zanzibar, and the prevailing opinion among the people was that he would definitely be the chosen heir, especially since Prince Khalid used to sit next to Sayyid Ali in public occasions, which was an unmistakable political and social indication<sup>24</sup>.

Prince Hamoud bin Mohamed, the eldest of the ruling family, was also excluded. The British were inclined to appoint Prince Hamed bin Thuwaini whose father was the ruler of Muscat after its separation from Zanzibar, and whose wife was the daughter of Sayyid Barghash<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> BENNETT, p.175 .HOLLINGSWORTH, p.61. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p.264.

<sup>20</sup> F. O. 84/2062. no. 59. Euan-Smith... June 19, 1890. F. O. 84/2062. no. 1. Euan-Smith... June 19, 1890. BENNETT, p. 175. HOLLINGSWORTH, p.80.

<sup>21</sup> Foreign Office, General Correspondence, Africa (here after cited as F.O 107) F.O. 107/57. no. 2233. Portal to Earl of Rosebery. Zanzibar October 12, 1892.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p. 266. Hamilton, p.231. BENNETT, p.175.

<sup>23</sup> F.O. 107/57. no. 2233. Portal to Earl of Rosebery. Zanzibar October 12, 1892.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. F. O. 107/6. Telegram.no.13. F.O. to Rodd Feb 9, 1893.

Prince Hamed bin Thuwaini was also the wealthiest and most influential of the three candidates. Choosing him would clearly show who had control in the Zanzibar coronation issue. The chosen Sultan should nevertheless make further compromises, since Portal suggested to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that the approval of Prince Hamed bin Thuwaini's coronation would be subject to a cut in public expenditure through a reduction of the number of Castle employees, as well as many other conditions limiting the authority of the next ruler<sup>26</sup>.

## **6. PRINCE KHALID'S ATTEMPTS TO TAKE CONTROL OVER THE THRONE**

### **6.1 FIRST ATTEMPT: MARCH 5TH, 1893**

Rennell Rodd, the new British Agent and Consul-General, succeeded Gerald Portal in Zanzibar in January 1893. He had received specific instructions from the British Foreign Office regarding the possibility of a vacancy of the Throne. In early February, it was known that the Marine Admiral provided two warships that anchored near Zanzibar and received specific instructions to be ready to intervene in case of any uprising. When the warships "Philomel" and "Blansh" reached the port, procedures were taken to set a strongly equipped Marines battalion on the British Consulate shore, and it was ordered to guard the Customs Office in case of a sudden death of the Sultan<sup>27</sup>.

General Mathew, as First Minister, gave his orders to local forces to take control of the passages leading to the Sultan's Castle and to the British Consulate. At nine p.m. on March 5<sup>th</sup>, news reached Rennell Rodd that Sayyid Ali had died. Rennell Rodd, immediately went along with Captain R.N. Campbell, one of the senior marine British captains and Consulate's employees and a number of British mariners to the Sultan's Castle where they met General Mathew who was standing outside the main gate of the building<sup>28</sup>.

Prince Khalid bin Barghash had already arrived before them and was able to enter the Castle from the back gate which had been opened by a sister of the late Sultan. He was able to seize the upper floor while the gates of the lower were locked. Rodd, the British Agent and Consul-General, requested Prince Khalid to allow him to enter. After hesitating, the Prince agreed and gave his orders to allow only Rodd and Mathew to enter. However, as soon as the door was slightly open, the public invaded it including the Marines and directly went to the upper floor where Prince Khalid welcomed the General and the British Consul. Rennell Rodd told Prince Khalid that he had committed a stupid move by invading the Castle. Thereafter, Prince Khalid, who conformed to the advice of Zanzibar leaders who encouraged him to leave the Castle, was taken back to his residence under the guard

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p. 266.

<sup>27</sup> F. O. 107/6. no. 15. F. O. to Rodd. December 4, 1892.

<sup>28</sup> F.O.107/3 The Zanzibar Gazette, March 8,1893. "The death of Seyyid Ali Bin Said and the proclamation of Seyyid Hamed Bin Thuwaine as sultan of Zanzibar". Robert Nune LYNE, Zanzibar in Contemporary Times. London: Hurst and Blancket, 1905, p.196. HAMILTON, p.231.

of Marine soldiers, and Rodd informed him that he had to remain at home and not leave it till further orders<sup>29</sup>.

The revolutionary character of Prince Khalid vis-à-vis British orders and requests conducted to his exclusion from the throne. The British found what they were looking for in Hamed bin Thuwaini, and they quickly took promises from him before his appointment. He declared his loyalty to the Queen of Britain, guardian of Zanzibar, and then he signed the agreement. Arthur Hardinge, British Agent and Consul-General, described him as “a protected puppet Prince”. After British employees and persons in charge left the gathered people proceeded with the burial of Sayyid Ali Bin Said, and the new Sultan granted the late Sultan’s wife and children financial dues<sup>30</sup>.

Rodd said that the Prince’s control over the Castle aimed at forbidding the other competitor Hamed bin Thuwaini to invade the Castle which was his father’s. Rodd also mentioned in his report that what Prince Khalid did deserved was praise, for he prevented a fight between the Princes’ followers. Moreover, Rodd noted that what he did against the Prince was motivated by the latter’s hesitation to open the Castle’s doors. And he clearly stated that the Prince’s excuses, his submission to the new authority and his wish to cooperate secured his release and allowed the guardianship of his house. Sayyid Hamed bin Thuwaini made him sit next to him in public meetings, which was a sign of importance and honor desired by many<sup>31</sup>.

Many factors explain the failure of Prince Khalid in his attempt to take over power in Zanzibar such as: the sickness of Sayyid Ali and the expectation of his death at anytime. The Prince was not determined enough and his military force was weak. The Prince depended in particular on Zanzibar support of both Arabs and Swahilis, and not on the support of the British protective authority. This had the definite effect of excluding him from the throne<sup>32</sup>. John Kirk, the previous British Consul (1870-1886), said frankly that Englishmen had the right to choose any member of the Al-Busa’idi ruling family, whether from Muscat or Zanzibar, who best served their interests, for they were really those who have the “longest sword” and are the “electors and patrons to the throne”. Still, Prince Khalid was sure that he would have another chance, and he should grab it<sup>33</sup>.

## 6.2 SAYYID HAMOUD BIN MOHAMED AND PRINCE KHALID

It was a big shock when Sayyid Hamed bin Thuwaini got seriously ill early on August 25<sup>th</sup>, 1896, and he died suddenly the same day before noon. Hamed bin Thuwaini was the third Sultan of Zanzibar to die in only six years, and the people thought that the misfortune that accompanied these rulers was due to the transfer of effective control from

<sup>29</sup> F. O. 107/3. no. 73. Rodd to Earl of Rosebery. Zanzibar, March 6, 1893. LYNE, p.196. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p. 266. HAMILTON, p.231. BENNETT, p.176.

<sup>30</sup> Arthur H. HARDINGE, *A Diplomatist in the East*. London, 1928, p.98. BENNETT, p. 177. LYNE, p.197. HAMILTON, p.232.

<sup>31</sup> F. O. 107/3. no. 75. Rodd to the Earl of Rosebery. Zanzibar. March 8, 1893. LYNE, p.197.

<sup>32</sup> F. O. 107/3. no. 75. Rodd to the Earl of Rosebery. Zanzibar. March 8, 1893. LYNE, p.197. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p.266.

<sup>33</sup> F. O. 107/6. no. 15. F. O. to Rodd. December 4, 1893. BENNETT, p.175.



Zanzibar rulers to the British<sup>34</sup>. But that was not a matter of misfortune for the British Government in London and the British Administration in Zanzibar chose very carefully and voluntarily at least the last three Sultans among those who used to suffer from health or mental troubles. Is it a coincidence that the three suffered from health and mental diseases? None of them reached the throne before signing on a number of concessions which negatively affected the Sultanate's interests and its citizens, while serving the interests of the British<sup>35</sup>.

The Consul-General Arthur Hardinge, before he left Zanzibar, addressed on June 21<sup>st</sup>, 1896, a correspondence to Marquis of Salisbury in which he clarified his point of view regarding the throne's inheritance. He considered that the British Government had to acknowledge Hamoud Bin Mohamed as the heir of Sayyid Hamed bin Thuwaini. Hardinge mentioned clearly that Hamoud Bin Mohamed "(would) be easier to lead than Khalid bin Barghash the only possible rival"<sup>36</sup>. It was obvious that the Government of her Majesty should agree on supporting Sayyid Hamoud as the Sultan's heir, dismissing once again Prince Khalid bin Barghash<sup>37</sup>.

### 6.3 SECOND ATTEMPT: 1896

When informed of the serious illness of Sayyid Hamed bin Thuwaini, Basil Cave, acting as British Agent and Consul-General, asked Captain O'Callaghan, commanding the "Philomel" to prepare his men for any emergency. He also sent his instructions to the captains of the British ships. He also ordered his men to stay at the British Agency, to get in touch with them without delay, if necessary.

Cave was accompanied by Sir Lloyd Mathews, the First Minister, when he was informed of the sudden death of the Sultan. When the two men reached the castle, they had time to climb the main stairs and order the closing of all doors before Prince Khalid bin Barghash would enter the castle enclosure along with around fifty to sixty of his armed men who found the doors closed and invaded the castle through a window. Then the number of the Prince's followers increased steadily<sup>38</sup>.

Cave and Mathews found themselves isolated and were unable to convince Prince Khalid to leave the Castle and go home. Thus they decided to withdraw to the Customs House, where Captain O'Callaghan sent 140 to 160 of his men followed by 400 soldiers of the Zanzibar Government forces led by Captain Raikes.

The troops were divided into two forces, one led by a British officer under the order of the protected government, the other controlled by Prince Khalid who took

<sup>34</sup> F. O. 107/57 Telegram no. 85. Cave to the H. M. Principle Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Zanzibar. August 25, 1896. HOLLINGSWORTH, p. 119.

<sup>35</sup> HOLLINGSWORTH, p. 36, 79, 80, 119. TURKI, p.71.

<sup>36</sup> F. O. 107/57 no 74 confi. Telegraph. Hardinge to Marquis of Salisbury. Zanzibar. June 21, 1896. BENNETT, p.178. HOLLINGSWORTH, p. 119.

<sup>37</sup> F. O 107/57. Marquis of Salisbury to Cave. F.O. June 26, 1896. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p.272.

<sup>38</sup> LYNE, p. 179. F. O. 107/57. Telegram. no.85. Basil Cave to H.M. Principal Secretary of state for Foreign Affairs. Zanzibar. August 25, 1896. F. O. 107/54. no. 45 Cave to the Marquis of Salisbury. Zanzibar, August 26, 1896. LYNE, p. 197. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p. 270. HAMILTON, p. 237.

command of his force himself. Prince Khalid refused to listen to Mathews. Cave decided to stay in the Customs House, hoping to find a resolution for this unprecedented problem in Zanzibar<sup>39</sup>.

The private guards of the late Sultan decided to join Prince Khalid's force, which counted therefore 500 to 600 armed men, while armed men devoted to the Prince occupied the castle. They possessed a number of "Hotchkiss" and "Maxim" rifles, as well as a number of old cannons with reloadable muzzles and which obstructed the different entrances leading to the Castle.

Hundreds joined Prince Khalid<sup>40</sup>, whose quick occupation of the castle had been possible owing to the cooperation and the blessings of Zanzibar leaders who hoped to get rid of the British hegemony and started to feel the pressure exerted upon them via the British Authority. The British Government prohibited slavery for its own ends, provoking the loss of cheap labor for Arab and Swahili landowners, while Indians, as British citizens, were able to obtain many privileges and succeeded in obtaining many mortgaged lands on behalf of Arab and Swahili owners. The historian Al-Mughairi adds that Sayyid Hamed bin Thuwaini on his death bed sent for Prince Khalid asking him to take the throne swiftly after his death, and also demanding of Saleh Al-Anjizi to assist the Prince and follow his orders. It's worth noting that Saleh Al-Anjizi's name was Saleh bin Mashtagan Menjmeen, a Comorian who worked under the command of General Mathews, the head of the Zanzibar Government force before being the head of the military force of the Palace of the late Sultan Sayyid Hamed bin Thuwaini<sup>41</sup>. Sayyid Hamed, while sick, saw Prince Khalid and ordered him to take care of the Prophet's Birthday Festival. Al-Mughairi said that "this is an indication of the story's truthfulness," and proved the sympathy shown to Prince Khalid's demands by the late Sultan and the people of Zanzibar despite the British authority's wishes<sup>42</sup>.

Cave mentioned Prince Khalid's attempt, saying that the current position was more dangerous than the day Prince Khalid tried to take over the Sultanate on March 1893, for he did not have a big support base at that time. Even if the Sultan's guards joined him, they would not reach three hundred men. However, now, there were around 800 to 900 guards who were supportive of the Prince. It is possible to add around 1000 to 1500 supporters of the Prince, who had been able to gather them during the last three years<sup>43</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> F. O. 107/57. Telegram.no.85. Basil Cave to H.M. Principal Secretary of state for Foreign Affairs. Zanzibar. August 25, 1896. F. O. 107/54. no. 45 Cave to the Marquis of Salisbury. Zanzibar, August 26, 1896. LYNE, p.197.HAMILTON, p.237. BENNETT, p.178.

<sup>40</sup> F. O. 107/57. Telegram.no.85. Basil Cave to H.M. Principal Secretary of state for Foreign Affairs. Zanzibar. August 25, 1896. F. O. 107/54. Cave to the Marquis of Salisbury. Zanzibar, August 26, 1896. Ahmed Hamoud AL-MAAMIRY. Oman and East Africa. New Delhi: Lancers Books,1985, p.35. H. S. Newman, Banani, London, p.56. LYNE, p.197. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p.270. HAMILTON, p.237.

<sup>41</sup> AL-MUGHAIIRI, p. 273.,309.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.p.273.

<sup>43</sup> F. O. 107/57 Telegram no 86. Basil Cave to H M. Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Zanzibar, August 25, 1896. F. O. 107/57. Telegram. No. 88. Basil Cave to H. M. Principal Secretary of state for Foreign Affairs. Zanzibar August 25,1896. Benett, p. 178. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p. 271. Hamilton, p.237.

Cave considers that the British Marine force and Zanzibar Governmental forces led by the English officer General Raikes in the Customs House were not a force that could face the Castle unless assisted by ships firing guns. Next day, Cave mailed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs asking to allow the warships to fire at the Castle in case all attempts failed to reach a peaceful resolution, and three British warships were available in the port at that time<sup>44</sup>.

Cave indicates that, during the afternoon, Prince Khalid sent a delegate to the British Consul to announce his control over the Castle, and to ask the British whether they wished to nominate him as the heir of Sayyid Hamed. Cave answered that he cannot discuss with him the throne inheritance issue because he had taken over the Palace by force. That's why he asked him to be rational and go back to his residence, and send him a statement in which he clarified his demands. In return for his surrender, Cave promised him to telegraph the statement to the British Government for study<sup>45</sup>.

## 7. THE SULTAN SAYYID KHALID

Prince Khalid decided to refuse Cave advice to leave the Palace and promptly declared himself a Sultan and ordered his men to fire twenty-one shots over the coast from the ship of the late Sultan to salute his accession. At the same time, the Palace flag (the red flag) was raised again after it had been lowered during the burial of Sayyid Hamed bin Thuwaini. Foreign consuls were sent memorandums in which he informed them he was the new Sultan. The Sultan Sayyid Khalid tried, through the American representative in Zanzibar R. Dorsey Mohun, to send a telegram to Queen Victoria indicating his wish to maintain the friendship with the Government of her Majesty the Queen. Nevertheless, the office of Oriental Telegraph Company declined this telegraph on Cave's demand. Furthermore, Cave told the Sultan Sayyid Khalid that no Sultan had been previously appointed without the direct approval of the protective force, and in case he insisted on his stand, this meant that he was perpetrating an "open revolution" against the Government of her Majesty the Queen, and that such a fact would force him to ask Salisbury to reject all Prince Khalid's future requests. Cave was serious regarding what he mentioned to Sayyid Khalid, and further said: the coming days would prove what would bring him<sup>46</sup>.

Cave indicated that the flags of the British Consulate and other European consulates were turned down in mourning the late Sultan. He asked the Marquis of Salisbury, in case of the failure of peaceful ways, permission to use force in order to take over the Palace and arrest the Sultan. He asked the British Government's approval in London over this procedure which he described as "destructive" before

<sup>44</sup> F. O. 107/57 Telegram no 86. Basil Cave to H M. Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Zanzibar, August 25, 1896. F. O. 107/57. Telegram. No. 88. Basil Cave to H. M. Principal Secretary of state for Foreign Affairs. Zanzibar August 25, 1896.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p.270. BENNETT, p.178.

executing it. The military force was the only way to eliminate the declared sultan and his partisans, even though it would cost a lot<sup>47</sup>.

Nothing happened the first day and on August 25<sup>th</sup> the night passed quietly. The next day, the approval of Marquis Salisbury, allowing Cave to take any action he considered suitable in order to preserve Britain's interests, arrived. The Marine force was linked to the guardianship in the Customs House, while Sultan Sayyid Khalid's partisans were still taking over the palace. Their number increased from 2000 to 2500 men.

Cave was afraid that the people of Zanzibar and Sayyid Khalid's partisans would interpret the delay as a weakness on behalf of the British Administration, and that such a thing would strengthen their defiance to the "British Authority". Cave wait for a warship which would arrive on the 28<sup>th</sup> to start military actions, though he still thought that the presence of five British warships in Zanzibar would help to reach a peaceful resolution<sup>48</sup>. On the morning of the 26<sup>th</sup> celebrated the arrival of the armored warship "Saint Georges" and the cruiser "Raccoon" whose arrival was not expected. Cave and Rear-Admiral Rawson of the "Saint Georges", agreed upon the fact that force was the only way to confirm the authority of the Government of her Majesty the Queen<sup>49</sup>.

The force stationed on the shore was composed of 230 mariners and 120 marines soldiers and 700 of the local forces of Zanzibar Government led by Captain Raikes, along with five Maxim rifles and a 17 pounds cannon. The mariners took position, with three Maxim rifles and the 17 pounds cannon, in the Customs House, watching partisans of the Sultan Sayyid Khalid in the Palace yard. The local forces of Sultan Sayyid Khalid amounted to 2000 armed men. Around 700 soldiers of the private guards of the late Sultan stood in the yard with only nine guns to resist British forces<sup>50</sup>.

Sultan Sayyid Khalid sent two of his representatives to meet Cave and the Rear-Admiral Rawson, who insisted that Sultan Sayyid Khalid should follow their orders. One of the Arab notables, in touch with both Sultan Sayyid Khalid and the British Administration, tried to interfere too but to no avail<sup>51</sup>.

## 8. THE ANGLO-ZANZIBAR WAR

The "Thrush", "Philomel" and "Sparrow" were ordered to Zanzibar and anchored in the harbor within range of the Zanzibar Navy and the Sultan's steam corvette "Glasgow". The "Thrush" and "Sparrow" anchored 150 yards away from

<sup>47</sup> F. O. 107/57. Telegram. No. 88. Basil Cave to H. M. Principal Secretary of state for Foreign Affairs. Zanzibar August 25, 1896.

<sup>48</sup> F. O. 107/57. Marquis of Salisbury to Cave. F.O. June 26, 1896. F. O. AL-MUGHAIRI, p. 270. Hamilton, p. 238.

<sup>49</sup> F. O. 107/54. no. 244. Cave to the Marquis of Salisbury. Zanzibar. August 29, 1896. HAMILTON, p.238.

<sup>50</sup> F. O. 107/54.no. 244 Cave to the Marquis of Salisbury. Zanzibar. August 26, 1896. F. O. no. 90. Cave to H.M. Principle Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs Zanzibar August 26, 1896.

<sup>51</sup> F. O. 107/54. no. 244. Cave to the Marquis of Salisbury. Zanzibar. August 29, 1896. AL-MUGHAIRI, p.270.

the shore in front of the palace, while the cruiser “Raccoon” anchored before the old towers near the Customs House, and the “Saint Georges” and “Philomel” were a little distance away.

Cave informed the European Consuls about the timing of grenade fire and the procedures to be taken to ensure the safety of European residents. The leaders of the Indian community were informed alike. All women and children were asked to take refuge in the two warships anchoring away from the theatre of war or in an Indian-British navigation company steamship which was at anchor in the port. All traders’ ships were asked to leave the port in order to stay safe and away from the danger zone.

Fearing the movements of nationals in rural areas and apprehensive for the safety of men among the Christian missions, the British brought missionaries from areas located outside the city and kept them at the British Consulate. Fear and concern also pushed Cave to ask the Marquis of Salisbury, on August 26<sup>th</sup>, to send more forces, in particular 200 soldiers of the Indian squad located in Mombasa on one of the ships leaving Mombasa Port at night<sup>52</sup>.

On August 27<sup>th</sup>, at seven a.m., Rear-Admiral Rawson sent a warning informing Sultan Sayyid Khalid that the British warships would shell the Sultan’s Palace at nine a.m., and to avoid this he should lower his flag and surrender at the Customs House before that time. In exchange for their surrender and the delivery of their weapons, Sultan Sayyid Khalid and his partisans would be safe. Sultan Sayyid Khalid was categorical in refusing the surrender, showing that he preferred death rather than giving up the throne. He expressed his intention to fight and refused to leave the Palace. He and his followers raised the flag above the palace higher than before and his companions started to perform enthusiastic war dances<sup>53</sup>.

Around eight a.m., Sayyid Khalid sent an old Arab Shaykh (no mention of his name) for a last negotiation with Cave. The Arab Shaykh was among the supporters of Sayyid Khalid who believed that it was his right to accede to the throne of Zanzibar, and approved his occupation of his father’s palace. Cave informed the wise Shaykh that there was no time for discussion and there was no other choice than surrender or shelling at nine o’clock. The Shaykh answered: “Do it”<sup>54</sup>.

Warships “Raccoon”, “Sparrow” and “Thrush” fired at the palace and the cannons stationed in the yard at exactly nine a.m. The firing was precise and the first and second grenades disabled the biggest cannons of the Sultan’s supporters and killed all their operating men. The grenades were then directed towards the small building of the palace in which Sayyid Khalid was staying with most of his followers and partisans. A few moments afterwards, the building was set on fire while marines of the British squadron located inside the Customs House discharged

<sup>52</sup> F. O. 107/54. no. 244. Cave to the Marquis of Salisbury. Zanzibar. August 26, 1896. F. O. no. 90. Cave to H.M. Principal Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs Zanzibar August 26, 1896.

<sup>53</sup> F. O. 107/57 Telegram no. 92. Cave to H. M. Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Zanzibar. August 27, 1896. AL-Maamiry, p.36. LYNE, p.199. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p.271. HAMILTON, p.239.

<sup>54</sup> F. O. 107/57 Telegram no. 92. Cave to H. M. Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Zanzibar. August 27, 1896. LYNE, p.200.

Maxim cannons and other nine pound grenades in order to protect the forces rushing into the Palace's yard<sup>55</sup>.

The old Sultan's warship "Glasgow" tried to support the Sultan and his partisans by firing at the British warships and the Customs House, but this attempt was of limited effect because of the age of the ship. Rear-Admiral Rawson did not bother at the beginning about the participation of the Sultan's warship in the battle. However, the continuous bombarding of the ship which started to constitute a real danger over the British warships pushed him to respond to the firing source, so he ordered the firing of around six grenades across the water's surface. A few minutes later the Glasgow started to sink<sup>56</sup>.

Two steamboats owned by Arabs participated in firing at the British warships which, nevertheless, dealt with their attacks, sinking one and seizing the other whose crew were arrested. The British war force was able to end the battle at 10:20 a.m. August 27<sup>th</sup>, 1896. The ships continued their shelling of the Palace for almost twenty minutes, and the building was ruined and burnt, and later the magazines of the Palace blew up<sup>57</sup>. It was clear that the Battle of Zanzibar was over and the Anglo-Zanzibar war ended. The victory flag was lowered and all forms of resistance were destroyed. The British Administration gained control and breathed freely, and orders were given to stop firing, which had lasted for around forty minutes.

The fierce reaction of the British government reflects some key facts:

1<sup>st</sup>- The British Administration in Zanzibar feared Sayyid Khalid's claims to the throne especially after his success in capturing the Sultan's Palace and declaring himself Sultan of Zanzibar.

2<sup>nd</sup>- There is no comparison between Sayyid Khalid's force and British capabilities. The British wanted to remind Arabs and Swahilis that they would do absolutely anything to protect Britain's interests, even by using force eventually and chasing their Sultan outside Zanzibar territory.

3<sup>rd</sup>- The attempts of Sayyid Khalid and the Anglo-Zanzibar war proved his legitimate rights, and the support of his followers, but it also highlighted his lack of previous strategic planning and his inability to take maximum advantage of his many supporters and followers.

4<sup>th</sup>- The war reconfirmed that the throne inheritance issue was a pure British concern according to a strong British belief. This was the message Britain wanted to send against Sayyid Khalid's message that he had legitimate rights and that he would fight whatever the consequences.

5<sup>th</sup>- The amount of material and human losses on the British side was very scant while it provoked huge human losses on the Prince's side. In this respect, Al-Mughairi said: "If Englishmen had used patience while fighting,

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<sup>55</sup> F. O. 107/57 Telegram no. 92. Cave to H. M. Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Zanzibar. August 27, 1896. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p.271.

<sup>56</sup> LYNE, p.202. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p. 271. HAMILTON, p. 240.

<sup>57</sup> LYNE, p.202. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p. 272.

especially in Zanzibar... if they had surrounded it with soldiers, they wouldn't have had the need to fire cannons, destroy vestiges and put it on fire...<sup>58</sup>.

6<sup>th</sup>- The British Administration imposed huge material penalties over Sayyid Khalid, Arabs, Swahilis and Comorians alike.

The small Palace, including women's sections, was destroyed and became just debris. All the women kept in the buildings were saved by men before the shelling. However, the big building used as a public reception hall was shelled but unlike other buildings it was not totally destroyed. The material losses were huge, for the Palace contained precious objects. The human losses incurred by partisans of Sayyid Khalid amounted to 500 dead and injured, while on the other side, only one British soldier was seriously injured<sup>59</sup>.

Sayyid Khalid was unable to face British forces, rode his horse and left the burning palace accompanied by Saleh Al-Anjizi, the Comorian leader of the Palace soldiers. The Sultan had no choice but to take shelter in the German Consulate, and the German Consul told his British counterpart that he could not hand over Sayyid Khalid before receiving instructions from his Government<sup>60</sup>.

What a coincidence that the Germans who supported Princess Salima, daughter of Sayyid Said against her brother Sayyid Barghash, father of Seyyid Khalid, and the British Administration were now backing up and protecting the son of Barghash, chased away by the protective British force.

Sayyid Hamoud bin Mohamed was observing the situation in his residence and did not expect to be crowned. Lloyd Mathew brought him to the Customs House where Cave told him that the protective British force would proclaim him a Sultan provided that he approved and signed some terms. Sayyid Hamoud bin Mohamed signed these terms without hesitation. Most of the Arab chiefs, headed to Sayyid Hamoud bin Mohamed's house to congratulate him as the new Sultan chosen by the British Administration<sup>61</sup>. Thus the British Administration in Zanzibar succeeded in defeating Sultan Sayyid Khalid and enthroning Sayyid Hamoud bin Mohammed a pro-British candidate<sup>62</sup>.

Cave mentioned in his report that had Sayyid Khalid surrendered, he would have been exiled or imprisoned in Bombay<sup>63</sup>, a place had welcomed in the past a number of people of the Al-Busa' idi Family exiled by the British Administration, including Sayyid Barghash, father of Sayyid Khalid<sup>64</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> AL-MUGHAIIRI, p. 273.

<sup>59</sup> It has been noted that human losses reached 250 men among the soldiers of Sayyid Khalid. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p. 272-273.

<sup>60</sup> AL-MUGHAIIRI, p. 273.

<sup>61</sup> AL-MUGHAIIRI, p. 272.

<sup>62</sup> John LIFFE. "Tanzania Under German and British Rule", in Zamani Survey of East African History. B.A.Ogot (ed). London: Longman Group Ltd, 1974, p.301. AL-Maamiry, p.36. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p. 272.

<sup>63</sup> F. O. 107/57 Telegram. no. 92. Cave to H. M. Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Zanzibar August 27, 1896. BENNETT N, A History of the Arab State of Zanzibar, p.179.

<sup>64</sup> TURKI, p.83.

After his nomination by the British, the new Sultan declared amnesty for all those who cooperated with Sayyid Khalid provided they deliver their weapons. Among those, there were 450 soldiers of the Sultan with their weapons, in addition to 376 weapons and 40 guns<sup>65</sup>. Cave stated that a part of the collected weapons could be used by the honor guards, while the rest would be thrown in the sea to avoid their use in any hostile movement against Britain<sup>66</sup>.

Cave also suggested the punishment of six or seven Zanzibar notables who helped Sayyid Khalid, by confiscating their lands and banishing them outside Zanzibar, to Muscat or Aden. The money provided by the selling of the confiscated properties should be used to compensate the British citizens and the Indians whose trade had been affected by recent events<sup>67</sup>.

Finally, the British Administration in Zanzibar decided to punish twelve Zanzibar chiefs who placed their slaves and followers at the service of Sayyid Khalid and who were at the Palace when the attack occurred. The British Administration accused them of inciting Sayyid Khalid to claim the throne by force; they were also accused of disobeying the British Consulate's orders. Hence they were arrested, punished and forced to leave Zanzibar to Muscat or Aden or any other place<sup>68</sup>. The British Administration also imposed a collective penalty on the rest of Zanzibar's influential figures, amounting to 500.000 rupees. Then this amount was reduced to 250.000 rupees to be paid before their release, which forced the senior figures to buy their liberty with money, and those who were not able to settle the amount, mostly poor Swahilis and Comorians, were forced to leave Zanzibar. The material penalty was a punishment to dissuade everyone from engaging in such an action or even thinking about it<sup>69</sup>.

Sayyid Khalid was able to stay at the German Consulate since the German Consul refused to deliver him by virtue of the Criminals Exchange Agreement concluded between Britain and Germany which stipulates that the guilty refugee shall not be given up unless he has committed a political crime.

Cave was afraid that the stay of Sayyid Khalid in Zanzibar or any other East African zone, would result in some disadvantages for Britain:

1<sup>st</sup>- his presence would encourage and enable his supporters to arrange a plan for his return to his lost post as Sultan, given the short distance between Zanzibar and East Africa where the German influence was well established.

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<sup>65</sup> F.O.107/54. Cave to Marquis of Salisbury, August 26, 1896. F. O. 107/57 Telegram. no. 93. Cave to H. M. Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Zanzibar August 28. F.O.107/54 . no. 253. Cave to Marquis of Salisbury, Zanzibar. September 7, 1896.

<sup>66</sup> F. O. 107/57 Telegram. no. 92. Cave to H. M. Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Zanzibar August 27, 1896. F. O. 107/57 Telegram. no. 93. Cave to H. M. Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Zanzibar August 28.

<sup>67</sup> F. O. 107/57 Telegram. no. 97. Cave to H. M. Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Zanzibar. September 4, 1896. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p. 276.

<sup>68</sup> F. O. 107/55. no. 277. Cave to the Marquis of Salisbury Zanzibar October 10, 1896. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p. 276.

<sup>69</sup> F. O. 107/55. no. 277. Cave to the Marquis of Salisbury Zanzibar October 10, 1896. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p. 277.



2<sup>nd</sup>- even beaten, the deposed Sultan still enjoyed a huge popularity especially among Zanzibar notables, and even admiration on behalf of poor people, and this fact made his presence a potential danger.

3<sup>rd</sup>- there were people who thought that Sayyid Khalid almost won and effectively declared himself Sultan, and this gave people the impression that this was a first step and the next attempt might succeed.

4<sup>th</sup>- the British Consul was certain of the sympathy expressed for Sayyid Khalid, for he was able to intercept letters sent to him from Muscat, like those from Faissal bin Turkey Sultan of Muscat and his brother Mohamed Bin Turkey, the Prince's sister Sharifa daughter of Barghash, and Sleiman bin Abdul Rahim, an influential Arab<sup>70</sup>.

Cave urged the Marquis of Salisbury to complain before Berlin over Sayyid Khalid's stay in its Consulate. However, the German Government maintained its refusal to cooperate since the British-German period of special understanding, which started in 1886, was over and reciprocal mistrust and doubt increased between the two European powers, not to mention that many colonization conflicts in Africa and the Pacific Ocean increased their hostility. Cave was particularly concerned with the risk of fighting with German soldiers or mariners if Sayyid Khalid, taking shelter at the German Consulate, was arrested, as there were clear instructions from General Mathews to arrest him if he stepped outside the German Consulate building even with German guards.

On the other hand, after Sayyid Khalid took shelter in the German Consulate, Berlin realized that the presence of Sayyid Khalid, a Sultan deposed by the British, in East Africa would represent a source of annoyance to the Government of Zanzibar. Thus the German Government decided to allow him to reside in Dar El-Salam forty-five miles away<sup>71</sup>.

Sayyid Khalid was not the only one wanted by the British; Saleh Al-Anjizi leader of the Palace's soldiers was wanted too. He was the one who had escaped with him and he refused to follow the advice of Cave when he asked him to leave Sayyid Khalid. Al-Mughairi added that it was Saleh who took him to the German Embassy, and then to Dar El-Salam where he died, and " history holds this man [Saleh] as faithful and trustworthy "<sup>72</sup>.

So the British Consul tried to convince the German Consul that in case the deposed Sultan might be considered a political refugee, Saleh had no legal status. Nevertheless, the Germans refused to hand over either man, for Germany considered such an action insulting, and that caused the anger and resentment of the British Administration<sup>73</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> F. O. 107/57 Telegram. no. 99. Cave to H. M. Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Zanzibar September 6, 1896. F. O. 107/54. no. 254 Cave to the Marquis of Salisbury Zanzibar. September 9, 1896.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p. 273. Hamilton, p.241.

<sup>72</sup> AL-MUGHAIIRI, p.273.

<sup>73</sup> F. O. 107/57 Telegram. no. 104. Cave to H. M. Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Zanzibar 1896. AL-MUGHAIIRI, p. 273.

On October 2<sup>nd</sup> at ten a.m., the German warship “Seeadler” entered Zanzibar port and anchored before the German Consulate. The British captain Raikes was watching what was happening while his prisoner was being moved before his eyes. He informed Cave that he had no time and no chance to try to arrest him or even protest, for everything happened fast, in only twenty minutes. The “Seedaler” headed back to Dar El-Salam where Sayyid Khalid was given a residence hoisting the red flag of Zanzibar<sup>74</sup>.

The deposed Sultan of Zanzibar, Sayyid Khalid, stayed in German East Africa till the First World War. In 1914, he joined the Germans against the British. After three years, in 1917, the British forces arrested him and he was treated as a prisoner of war. Afterwards, he was exiled to Saint Helena Island till 1921. Then he was sent to the Seychelles. It was said that on the way to his exile, he passed through Zanzibar and wrote a letter addressed to its Sultan Sayyid Khalifa bin Hareb, asking him for mercy and pardon and describing the difficulties he faced and the sufferings he endured with his family members who were paying for a crime they did not commit, and hoping to settle down instead of being a homeless person. He said: “I am a white-headed man and I am tired of imprisonment. I ask to reside either in my farm in Dar El-Salam, or in Zanzibar under the reign of Sayyid Khalifa”. He also wrote a letter to the British Consul in Zanzibar with the same content. The Muslim Indians in Transvaal, in South Africa, addressed Sayyid Khalifa, reporting to him what they witnessed regarding his mistreatment in a way not suitable for a member of Al-Busa’idi family<sup>75</sup>. Unlike many sympathizers, Major F.B. Pearce wrote, in 1920, that Sayyid Khalid: “has now been deported to a salubrious and remote corner of the British Empire where it is to be hoped he will remain permanently”<sup>76</sup>.

In 1925, Sayyid Khalid committed himself to never ask again for the throne, and he was subsequently allowed to live in Mombasa where he spent the rest of his life very quietly till he died on Ramadan 13<sup>th</sup>, 1345 (1927)<sup>77</sup>. But even after his death, his aged mother and his wife were banned from entering Zanzibar<sup>78</sup>.

## 9. CONCLUSION

Prince Khalid grew up under the protection of his father Sayyid Barghash bin Said who did his best to make him his heir. But he failed in this task, given the British objection against interfering in the internal affairs of Zanzibar, as well as the throne inheritance issue. Prince Khalid was, in the British Government’s view, a liberated character who would not execute its orders and requests as expected. He

<sup>74</sup> F. O. 107/55. no. 274. Cave to the Marquis of Salisbury Zanzibar October 8, 1896.

<sup>75</sup> MUGHAIRI, p. 274. W. H. Ingrams. Zanzibar its History and its People. London: Frank Cass. 1967, p. 175. Al-Maamiry, p. 36.

<sup>76</sup> F.B.Pearce, Zanzibar The Island Metropolis of Eastern Africa, London: T.Fisher Unwin, 1920, p. 206.

<sup>77</sup> Salah Al-Akkad and Jamal Zakaria KASSEM, Zanzibar, Anglo-Egyptian Library; 1959, p. 221 – 222. Al-Maamiry, p. 36. AL-MUGHAIRI, p. 275. BENNETT, p. 179. HOLLINGSWORTH, p.130.

<sup>78</sup> SULTAN, Sayyida Salima, p. 39.

drew his strength from Zanzibar support and not from the British Government and its representatives. Hence, they looked for someone else.

In 1896, he succeeded in capturing the Palace and declared himself Sultan. However, the British military force confronted gathered Arab, Swahilis, Comorians and other supporters and defeated them by using force.

The British government's fierce reaction reflected their fear of Sayyid Khalid's claim to the throne and his legitimate rights. The British force and capabilities provoked huge human losses on Sayyid Khalid's side and imposed material penalties over his followers. The throne inheritance issue was a purely British concern.

The Anglo-Zanzibar war, the bombardment of the Sultan Palace by British warships and resulting heavy casualties pushed Sayyid Khalid, who ruled the country for only two days, from August 25<sup>th</sup> till August 27<sup>th</sup> and refused to abdicate, to take shelter in the German Consulate which protected him, and later moved him to German East Africa. A pro-British candidate was enthroned.

Sayyid Khalid demonstrated that he could defy the might of imperial Britain at the height of its power at the turn of the twentieth century. Although his defiance was ephemeral, it nonetheless demonstrated, beyond doubt, that the real rulers of Zanzibar and one third of the rest of the world were the British, and it also revealed the unwavering determination of Britain to preserve its imperial hegemony.

The deposed Sayyid Khalid never returned to his country. The British Government proved, by the ways and means used to end the throne inheritance issue, to fight and to chase away the Sultan, to detain his supporters and to confiscate their lands, that it was the most influential force, whose sword took control and finally settled the question. Many years after the events, the British officials did not forget, since the deposed Sultan Sayyid Khalid was captured and detained as prisoner of war and exiled to different places. The British attitude towards Sayyid Khalid expressed clearly the triumph of the power of force over the power of justice, and Sayyid Khalid may be remembered as a brave Prince who fought colonialism for his rights and his people and not as one whose only concern was to gain power at all costs.

The deposed Sultan Sayyid Khalid and his family suffered the hardship of exile and destitution. After he gave up his claims, the British allowed him, his old mother and his wife to live in Mombasa, where he stayed till his death in 1927.