



Curriculum Theologiae

Abolitionism and Legacies of Slavery in Eastern Africa: Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Ethiopia

Samuel A. Nyanhoga (editor)

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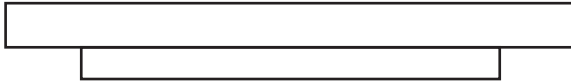
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ABOLITIONISM AND LEGACIES OF **SLAVERY** IN EASTERN AFRICA:

Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Ethiopia

Samuel A. Nyanhoga



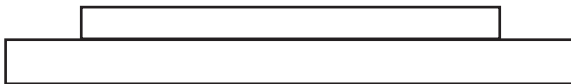


Abolitionism and Legacies of Slavery in Eastern Africa:

Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Ethiopia

Editor

Samuel A. Nyanchoga



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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVAITIONS

AD:	After the Birth of Christ (Anno domini-in Latin)
WWII:	World War Two
EPRDF:	Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary and Democratic Front
TPLF:	Tigry Peoples' Liberation Front
IBEAC:	Imperial British East Africa Company
CMS:	Church Missionary Society

List of Non-English Words

Abba: An Amharic word or referring to father; a form of title given to ordinary priest and sometimes to political leaders.

Afcala: An Amharic word referring to local merchants.

Abid or Abeed: The Northern Sudanese, mostly Arabs refer to South Sudanese, mostly the Dinka and the Nuer as slaves even when they may not have been enslaved. The term is now derogatorily used by the Arabs of North Sudan to refer to the South Sudanese slaves.

Bilad al-Sudan: The Lands of the Blacks," was the traditional term used by Arab geographers to indicate those regions of Sub-Saharan Africa stretching in a belt from the Red Sea in the East to the Atlantic Ocean in the West.

Baqt: An agreement defining the terms of peace on the frontier between Christian Nubia and the Islamic world for 600 years (652-1257 AD).

Dejasmach: An Amharic words referring to the commander of the gate, a politico-military title below *Ras*.

Dar al-Islam: The Land of the faithful.

Dar al-Harb: The Land of the enemy.

Dar al-'ahada or dar al-aman: The abode of pact or guarantee.

Derge: A term referring to the military government of Ethiopia. The military junta ruled Ethiopia from 1974 to 1991.

Engagee: Free labour or contract labour in French Madagascar.

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Fanompoana: A state-enforced and unremunerated labour system in Madagascar.

Fuqara’: Itinerant Sufi religious scholars.

Fiteha Neges: The law of the kings, the legal code of Ethiopia translated from the 13th century Arabic writings of Coptic documents based on biblical and Roman laws.

Goqqas: The dominant majority or non-slaves in Ethiopia.

Ghazwa: An Arabic word referring to the slave-raid Sudanese region.

Gabbar: An Amharic word referring to tribute paying peasant.

Gragn: An Amharic word referring to left-handed.

Hakim: An Amharic word referring to a doctor.

Ikvume: A Kinyarwanda word referring to a scorned person who was not considered part of the community.

Imanga: A traditional administrative center among the Bantu (Abaluya - Ababukusa) in Western Kenya that eventually evolved into an interior port for the Swahili and Arab slave traders in the 19th century. It eventually acquired the name Mumias named after an indigenous traditional chief.

Ise bugonzo: Refers to slave owner among the Nyamwezi of Tanzania.

Jambia: Refers to a dagger with a short curved blade, worn by freeborn men as an accessory to their clothing. Slaves were prohibited to adorn such.

Jareer: (‘Hard - or kinky-haired’) referring to peoples of slave origin.

Jilec (Soft haired): Slave owners comprising both coastal people of Middle Eastern descent and Somali nomads of the interior.

Jallaba: Itinerant petty traders from the north, referring to South Sudan.

Jnalkiya: A human property.

Jabarti: An Amharic words or phrases referring to Muslim long-distance merchants.

Kanzu or cassock: A native cloth for freed slaves: The freed slaves in Christian villages were not supposed to wear European clothing but a native Kanzu or Cassock, and a Kikoi or loin cloth rather than trousers.

Kilemba: Refers to a turban. This is a traditional head dress worn by Arabs and Muslims but in the era of slavery. Enslaved persons were forbidden to wear such, as mark of distinction from their masters.

Kijakazi: A girl slave.

Kofia: A Swahili word that means hat. It was worn by the freeborn in the era of slavery along the Swahili Coast

Libertos: "Freedman" (freed slave) in Portuguese East Africa.

Mfu A carcass of a dead slave in the Islamic community. It referred to slaves that were denied burial rites according to free Muslims.

Mitaayu (Kitokwa): Pate 19th century coastal town divided into settlements for the freeborn. Kitokwa was for the unfree and slaves.

Msese (basese): Among Kinyamwezi term for a slave, *basese* (plural)

Musenze: Freeman among the Baganda.

Muzaana: Refers to those who came through captivity or by extension through another person in the 19th century among the Hutu, Tutsi and the Abaganda.

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Mtumwa wa mtumwa: A slave of a slave.

Mtumwa mtumwaji: An agent. **Mtumwa wa shauri** was a councilor to the slaveholder.

Mtwana: An adult male slave.

Kitwana: A boy slave.

Mjakazi: An adult female slave

Mzalia: Those enslaved at birth.

Nvuma: A Baganda term meaning a female slave.

Naftegna: An Amharic word referring to gun-men. It is a name that was given to Emperor Menilek's warriors of the Northern origin, who later settled in the South.

Nagadras: An Amharic word referring to a Chief Government official in charge of collection of customs.

Omosomba: Refers to an enslaved person among the Western Bantu of Kenya such as the Abagusii and the Abaluya.

Ras: An Amharic word referring to the highest traditional title next to a King.

Lij: An Amharic word referring to a child. It is an honorific title generally reserved for sons of the royal family and of the upper nobility.

Suumba or somba: or abasumba: A common term among the Bantu speaking communities such as the Hutu or the Tutsi referring to the enslaved people.

Sudd: The great swamps of the Nile.

Saqiya: A wooden structure aimed at transforming the Nile water into an adjacent farmland. It was powered by animals.

Suria: A "little wife" in the household.

Siso: An Amharic words referring to one-third.

Abbreviations

Salatiya: The sultan's letter of permission to raid.

Tumbura: A spirit possession cult.

Tembo: Liquor. The free slaves were not supposed to sell or drink tembo.

Umuja: Refers to captured women captives or female slaves among the Abaganda and the Abanyarwanda ethnic communities.

Watumwa: A Swahili word referring to slaves along the Swahili Coast

Washenzi: A Swahili word referring to the unfree along the Swahili Coast

Watoro: A Swahili word referring to runaway slaves along the Swahili Coast

Waungwana: The freeborn along the Swahili Coast

Winda (loincloth): A dress for former male slaves along the Swahili Coast

Vibarua (s. kibarua), Labourers. They were meant to be paid per day.

Zara'ib: A heavily fortified thorn enclosure camp.

Watumwa wa nyumba: Domestic slaves of either gender.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction and Historiography of Slavery in Eastern Africa

Samuel A. Nyanchoga

The integration of the Eastern Africa to the international capitalist economy predates the era of slave trade. The coastal city states such as Mombasa, Kilwa, and Zanzibar became major slave trading centres with a complex network of trade and caravan routes going into the interior. Slaves from the hinterland were brought to the coast and were either absorbed into the local labour pool or exported to the Arab world and Asia. The Eastern African slaves were also absorbed to other regions of Africa, such as Ethiopia, Egypt, while others were taken to Arabia, the Persian Gulf, India, and to a lesser degree, to the Far East. As the slave market expanded from the mid-eighteenth century, the coast towns grew into commercial entrepôts of the Indian Ocean trade with slaves being the most lucrative commercial item.

In the abolitionism era, several legislations were passed to outlaw both local and international slave trade. The

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treaties enabled the British navy to search, arrest dhows carrying slaves, and free them to various stations that were set up along the Swahili coast and India. These led to the emergence of several post- slave settlements that have attracted the attention of several scholars as the slave trade and slavery continue to plague Africa.

Consequently several scholars such as Lovejoy (1983), Klein (1993), Bellagamba and Klein (2013) have taken a broader perspective on slavery in Africa. The value lies in their scholarly conceptualization of the institution of slavery, emancipation debate, indigenous slavery practices and their ramifications in Africa (Kopytoff & Susan, 1977). These authors, delves into the transformations of African societies due to slavery practices, as Inikori (1982), focus on the many ramifications of the slave trade on African people. Hodgkin (1997), covers the Atlantic slave trade history by drawing from valuable primary sources while Thornton (1998), captures the magnitude of the trans-Atlantic slave trade from an African perspective showing the roles that people of African origin played in the trade. Curtin's (1969), provides an overview of the Atlantic slave trade in Africa from a demographic point of view. There also are regional perspectives undertaken by other several scholars such as Cooper (1977, 1980, 1881, 2000), Harris (1977), Miers and Klein (1977), Campbell (2003), Becker (2015) and Rosii (2015, 2017) that cover, the conceptualisation, institutional and indigenous practices of slavery, abolition, emancipation and labour practises in post slavery societies. Greene's (1980), explores the lives of three prominent West African slave owners during the age of abolition in the 19th century. Greene argues that it is important to understand that the institution of indigenous slavery continues to influence social relations in West Africa today. Greene's research on slavery in West Africa draws on ethnographic and historical work beginning in the 1980s. Her work reveals how the

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past continues to influence the present in the ongoing discrimination toward those of slave descent in many areas of West Africa. In rural communities where residents are familiar with one another's ancestry for many generations, the stigma of slave descent often influences whom they can marry, where they may sit in a mosque, and is used to deny them leadership roles such as becoming an Imam.

Greene (2011) extrapolates that slavery in Africa existed for centuries before it was abolished in the late 19th century, yet little is known about how enslaved individuals, especially those who never left Africa, talked about their experiences. Greene explores slave narratives from southern Ghana that reveals the thoughts, emotions, and memories of those who experienced slavery and the slave trade. Greene considers how local norms and the circumstances behind the recording of the narratives influenced their content and impact.

Gwyn Campbell (2004) is a collection of essays dealing with the history and impact of the abolition of the slave trade and slavery in the Indian Ocean world. It examines the various abolitionist impulses, indigenous and European, in the Indian Ocean world during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It assesses their efficacy within a context of growing demand for labour, resulting from an expanding international economy and European colonization. The collection identifies indigenized form of slavery from the Somalia to the India. These forms of slavery continue unabated even with abolitionist movement of the mid-19th century. Bellagamba, Greene and Klein (2017a), explicate how slavery and slaving have had a profound impact on African cultures and institutions since time immemorial, while the legacy of slavery continues to haunt the continent in subtle and not-so-subtle forms including stigmatization

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of previous enslavement, exploitation and renewed forms of slavery.

Bellagamba and Klein (2017), examine European travel accounts, colonial documents, court cases, and missionary records, African folklore, oral traditions, songs and proverbs, life histories collected by missionaries and colonial officials, correspondence in Arabic, and consular and admiralty interviews with runaway slaves. Bellagamba and Klein (2013), explores the ways that memories of African slavery and the slave trade persist into the present, as well as the effect those memories have in shaping political, social, economic, and religious behaviour today. The authors examine the stigma of slavery; lamentations about slave raiders and the impact of slavery through the lens of tales told by children. The authors examine the techniques used by descendants of slave traders and slave owners to overcome their guilt. These include worshiping the spirits of those enslaved by their ancestors, while other shows how democratic politics has made it possible for descendants of slaves to liberate themselves from their inferior social status. The pathways to emancipation then included the military enlistment and education as an important pathway to social mobility, physical relocation but again this depended on the availability of land. The stigma of slave persists in Ghana and Guinea despite independence and democratic reforms. Rossi (2017), states that the focus is on the end or death of slavery as well as the reconfigurations in the 20th century and into the present societies. Slavery is not a unified reality but a fragmented phenomenon de-facto slavery, classificatory slavery, metaphorical slavery and extraverted slaves.

Lovejoy (2000), explains the history of African slavery from the fifteenth to the early twentieth centuries examining how indigenous African slavery developed within an international context. Lovejoy discusses the medieval Islamic

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slave trade and the Atlantic trade as well as the enslavement process and the marketing of slaves. The book corrects the accepted interpretation that African slavery was mild and resulted in the assimilation of slaves. Instead, slaves were used extensively in production, although the exploitation methods and the relationships to world markets differed from those in the Americas. Nevertheless, slavery in Africa, like slavery in the Americas, developed from its position on the periphery of capitalist Europe.

Lovejoy and Schwarz (2006), state that slavery concerns the larger landscape of the greater Atlantic world system in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The essays demonstrate that the meaning of “Sierra Leone” changed over time, initially designating the river only but subsequently a section of the upper Guinea coast and then the British colony after 1808. With the establishment of Freetown in the 1790s, Sierra Leone became a frontier of the African diaspora. The nascent British colony became an outpost in the fight against the slave trade and a place of settlement for freed African slaves.

The work of Burton (1876) puts the spotlight on the ambiguity of abolition laws because of the persistence of local slave trade even after the abolition laws were passed. In Kenya, the Digo of Shimba hills and Kamba raided their neighbours for slaves and supplied the ports of Wasini and Tanga with slaves for Pemba while others served as labourers in the Malindi grain economy. This form of slavery continued under the watchful eye of the colonial administration and was regulated by the Al Busaidi governors of the coastal towns of Mombasa. Slave labour was used for large scale grain production in Kilifi, Lamu and Malindi. Mombasa still remained a lay-station for slaves on transit to Zanzibar and Pemba clove plantation economies. The argument by Burton is evidently supported by Deplelchin (2004) that the

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exploitation of slaves continued under the watchful eye of the colonial administration. He estimates that there were about 200,000 slaves in Zanzibar and its environment in the period between 1873 and 1897. The transition from slave labour to free labour meant enormous loss to plantation owners who in turn supplied essential raw materials to industrial Europe. Therefore, the abolition of slavery at the East African coast took longer not only because of the resistance of plantation owners and traders but also because the economic structure at the coast that fed industrial Europe depended on this mode of production.

Abdul Sheriff (1987) traced the development of Zanzibar as a commercial intermediary between the African interior and capitalist world based on two major commodities; slaves and ivory. Slave labour was used in clove production in Zanzibar and grain production along the East African coast. This increased the demand for African slave labour along the East African coast in the first quarter of the 19th century. The identity politics and plasticity of identity of the post-slave societies is one of the discussed subjects in slavery studies. Rowland (2006) discussed the mutability of identity due to social conditions such as interaction and experience. The plasticity of identity of the freed slaves and that of their descendants was and has been reconstructed in order for them to fit in the prevailing socio-economic circumstances they found themselves in. Fair (2001) interrogated how culture and other social practices formed mutable identity. The freed slaves began to appropriate the lifestyles of their former slave masters as a measure of equality and belonging. This included living in stone houses, joining music societies and football clubs. Dress was used to actualise new identities in urban life. Freed slaves abandoned clothes associated with their former servile heritage. Initially, former slaves, particularly male, wore loincloths (*winda*) and were forbidden from wearing shoes. They began to adopt free

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dress as an element of social and economic autonomy. Men began to wear *Kilemba*, *Kofia*, *Kanzu*, waist scarf, *jambia* and a short jacket.

Kuczynski (1949) interrogated the ethnic shift among the slaves in the study of populations and colonial census records. He noted that formerly, the slave population came from various tribes such as the Yao, Makonde, Nyamwezi and Manyema. The Native Census Reports of 1921, 1924 and 1931 indicate that the number of freed slaves changing their ethnic identity kept on swelling particularly along coastal towns (Ingram, 1931). Most of them also converted into Islam and adopted Kiswahili language and Swahili culture such as dress, puberty rituals, religious brotherhoods, dance societies and marriage.

Geiger (1971) and White, (1983) studied the opportunities that were available for the post slave societies along the Swahili coast as the formerly slave men and women began to seek new opportunities associated with slave masters and shunned those that were formerly associated with servility. Moving from rural setting to urban areas of either Mombasa or Zanzibar was one way of shaking off the vestiges of slavery. Former slaves were able to move into unoccupied areas and establish *de facto* ownership by building homes, planting trees or annual cash crops. Mardad (2007), on the Great Lakes Region of East Africa, points out that European sources relating to slavery tend to be distorted by the alternating imperatives and concealment, or propaganda, and that from the colonial records, it would not be possible to know that the Buganda, the Nkore (Ankole) and the Bunyoro societies had been structured around slavery systems just a few decades previously. This is so because

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documents related to slavery are almost absent from the colonial archival documents after 1900 (Madard, 2007, p.3).

Beidelman (1982), on the CMS in Ukaguru, Tanzania, showed how the variety of employment opportunities increased over time but also how many of their employees were discontented with the conditions of their labour, especially their wages. Some of the first paid-roles were as catechists, evangelists, translators and servants but these wages remained stagnant while salaries for more 'secular' employment of teachers, clerks, artisans and drivers increased. MacGowan (2006) had similar findings in her account of the Sudan Interior Mission: workers were paid wages for domestic labour around the mission, but not for the 'higher work' of preaching. In other words, pay would only be given for work that the missionaries were not willing to do themselves. Thus, clergy work was only paid for in kind. From the African perspective, this seemed nonsensical, more so because Christians would often find themselves competing with Muslims for paid jobs. Moreover, the men who decided they could no longer tolerate doing spiritual labour for free, turned to Islam and often became prominent members of the Muslim community. MacGowan, therefore, debunked the missionary interpretation that theft in missions happened because Africans were incapable of understanding the meaning of private property. Missionaries generally expected Africans to serve them with deference and this was, equally, part of their Christian instruction.

Most importantly, Cooper's argument shows how the pursuit of social status and the pursuit of wealth were often at odds as converts would often choose unpaid religious work over paid domestic labour. Hunt (1999), considered the labour and social mobility of Christian adherents. In her study of the British Baptist Missionary Society in the Yakusu region of the today's Democratic Republic of Congo,

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she argues that the employment of male students in the household was essential to the domesticating processes in the mission. It was a well-respected career until the 1950s, partly because the punishments for work-related failures were so severe. Hunt examined how working as a domestic servant was necessary work experience for becoming a (male) nurse. Both roles necessitated physical and moral cleanliness to win the missionaries' trust. The career prospects that Hunt describes for young women, were quite different. Female domestic labour in the mission was generally working experience for becoming a wife. These workers accepted debasing tasks such as cleaning out chamber pots.

Jan-Georg (2006), looks at the history of slavery in Tanganyika since 1800 focusing on the Nyamwezi and the coast. In the physical locations, Georg argues that slavery became part of the social system and was integrated into society though among the Nyamwezi the slaves did not become full members of the household. They were regarded as affiliates to the household and could be sold in times of crisis such as famine. The situation was the same on the coast of Tanganyika in the 19th century. In the second half of the 19th century, the relationship began to change with the growth of the plantation economy. Slaves were increasingly being sold to Zanzibar and Pemba. During the anti-slavery campaigns, the German colonial government rather out rightly suppressing slavery, adopted the policy of obfuscation leading to the continuation of slave trade activities until the end of its colonial rule. Slavery was therefore recognized and maintained by the German colonial state. The process of emancipation was not because of strict government policy but through slaves fleeing from

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their masters and the inability of the colonial government to return them to their colonial masters.

Kollman (2005), delves into the role of the Spiritan missionaries and the establishment of sanctuaries for the freed slaves in Bagamoyo and Zanzibar in the last half of the 19th century. Kollman argues that Christianity was unpopular to the local population at the time and the only people available to be Christianised were the slaves because they had little or no options available to them. Hence the Spiritans created Christian villages for the slaves and isolated them from the local people. At the time, Christianity was viewed by the local people as the religion of the slaves because they were among the first converts. The author tries to unearth some of the problematic issues including the misrepresentation of what the missionaries did to the slaves. According to Kollman, the missionaries may or may not have freed the slaves. They may have kept the “freed” slaves in slave-like conditions in the fortified Christian villages of Bagamoyo and Zanzibar. Many of the slaves also failed to live to the expectation of the missionaries and deserted the villages raising doubt on evangelization and redemption of slaves. Other scholarship on mission stations, work and education come from Peel (2000) who demonstrate that the Yoruba responded mission stations as a place of learning. For many African Christians, the missionaries’ attitudes towards materialism and the changing world did make a difference. However Africans in contact with the mission did not necessarily share the views of missionaries’ who had an unintentional or indirect impact on worldly lifestyles. This is because they could hardly imagine how Christianity could succeed without material ‘improvement’. Missionaries helped sustain colonialism and capitalism through mundane

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and material practices, rather than having a colonial quality inherent in their religious worldview.

Morton (1990, 2008) among other issues explored the transformative opportunities for the freed slaves who gained education and eventually became active in local politics and in the civil service. To shake off the tag of slavery, some of the ex-slaves moved out of Freretown, they acquired property elsewhere and married into local communities such as the Giriama. However, there were also the Bombay Africans, who occupied the highest religious and secular positions in the mission stations and served as mission police wardens, teachers, carpenters, sailors, mechanics and farm overseers. There were also many contradictions in Freretown; harsh punishment, imprisonment, confinement, and flogging which was administered to those found guilty of drunkenness, carousing, wife beating and adultery. Many were also subjected to farm labour which was detested by Bombay Africans and freed slaves. Many of the runaway slaves seeking refuge in Freretown were also turned away so as not to contravene the local laws of the Sultan such as the practice of slavery within his jurisdiction. Freretown began to deteriorate as the freed slaves and Bombay Africans suffered physical abuse from the missionaries and the failure of the CMS and colonial administration to create a distinct community. Harris (1971), looks as the missionaries in the abolitionist movement. The CMS missions created sanctuaries for freed slaves at Nasik, Freretown and Rabai.

The settlements became the center for training teachers and missionaries for the various missions in East Africa. The benefits of western education prepared some of the freed slaves for ranks in the colonial administration such as clerks, stenographers and teachers. Others found occupations as preachers in some of the outward missions established by the Church Missionary Society. Marshall (2011), note that

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the conditions of the slaves in the Mazrui plantations in Gasi were quite brutal. This brutality however, seems not to have been restricted to the Gasi alone. It has been noted that all over the coast, slavery on plantations was quite brutal and this is what led to many slaves running away or becoming *Watoro* (runaways) this establishing their settlements at Koromio and Makoroboi in the Kenya north coast among other areas. The survival strategy, that the runaway slaves adopted, was the formation of alliances with other communities while others became slave traders themselves. The Gasi runaway slaves transformed themselves into troops in Mwele and Mwezangombe and were used to slave raid along the coastal hinterland. The subject of runaway slaves needs to be re-evaluated in the context of self-emancipation.

Nyanchoga et al., (2014), argues that acquisition of land by many of the ex-slaves became an easy ticket for identification as an indigenous population. In 1920 in Zanzibar, freed slaves had acquired land and identified themselves as Hadimu or Timbatu (Laura, 2001 p.38). Most of them accessed land that was not fertile or desired by the indigenous population hence there was no resistance. In Mombasa, the former slaves also accessed land in Gasi region. Many of those who acquired land in this region transformed their identity and began to call themselves the Digo. In the Fioni section of Gasi, however, many of the residents associated with slavery ancestry did not acquire the legal ownership of the land. A similar scenario is also replicated in Takaungu and Magaoni. The struggle for ownership of land is one of the most emotive subjects, and underlies many conflicts in the region. Mbotela (1956), argues that slaves were used as alternative means of transportation of commodities such as ivory from the hinterland of Africa to the coastal towns, including Zanzibar and Mombasa along the East African coast. Ivory and other commodities from Africa for export to Europe were for the manufacture

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of luxury goods to satisfy the needs of Europe's middle and upper classes that had been created by the industrial revolution. The Arab slave traders liked the trade because they made a profit from both the slaves and from ivory, and that the ivory carried by slaves through the caravan routes to the coast was not bought by the Arab traders, but instead, captured slaves were forced to hunt for it and to carry the tusks to the coast where they would be sold together with their loads.

Alpers (2005), Kiriama (2005), Shariff (1987), Cooper (1981), observe and correctly so, that, although historians of Africa are well aware of the forced migration of enslaved Africans to both the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean worlds, the overwhelming focus on slave trade studies is in the Atlantic world. The earlier concentration of slavery activities along the coastal region of East Africa could be a result of its proximity to the Indian Ocean which was the gateway to other parts of the world. Kibunja (2016), further argues that preservation and dissemination of cultural memory are sources of educational and skill-building activities, bringing people together and raising awareness of cultural history. It is therefore a fact that initiatives such as training in heritage-related skills for local communities translate into learning and self-development, a source of employment and sustainable livelihoods, which in turn create opportunities that facilitate avenues for communities to empower themselves, and more importantly, a source of pride and self-identity.

Scholars such as Cooper (1977, 1980, 1981) Morton (1990), Kusimba (2004), Kiriama (2005), (2009), Wynne-Jones and Walsh (2010), Marshal (2011, 2012), and Nyanhoga et al., (2014), have researched on the Swahili civilization and the proof of the Swahili being Africans. To some extent, some other research work has been devoted to the Mijikenda

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(Spears 1978; Githitho 2003), especially with regards to the Kaya sacred forests, possibly as a result of their close cultural and natural heritage values. This lack of attention to the history of slavery can be demonstrated by the following example; the Mazrui in Gasi under Mbaruk Bb. Rashid, from 1865 to 1896 participated fully in slave raids, sale and exploited labour in the vast Mazrui Gasi plantations. Mbaruk's activities, according to Morton (1990), led to mass movements by the populations in search of security and neglected farming activities along the coastal region. Despite such evidence, most researchers and scholars chose to conveniently refer to Mbaruk as a renegade and an Arab resistant fighter against the British hence downplaying his slavery activities.

Derek (2004), emphasized how the Kikuyu eagerly appropriated Christian knowledge in order to adapt to colonialism, which is why Kikuyu parents insisted that their children learn English at school. Yet in both the Kikuyu and Yoruba cases, missionary education was associated with elitism and the beginnings of an African middle class. Khamisi (2016), discusses the Arab slave trade, racism and abuse that the freed slaves went through in the mission stations. It also memorializes the Africans who died in the slave caravans and those who found freed on thereafter. The author writes from the perspective of being a slave descendant and therefore subjectively narrates how freed slaves encountered abuse in the mission station. He attempts to delineate how the mission stations tried to erase the identity of the freed slaves by focusing on Christianity and culture change. The author further discusses the history of Rabai and Freretown as a heritage that needs to be preserved, including the cemeteries that are fast disappearing because of increased population and urbanization. His focus is not only on the CMS stations but also the slaves who did not find their entry into the sanctuaries and this continue to be

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squatters in the present circumstances in huge landholdings of the Mazrui family at the Kenya coast. The book also provides a genealogy of the slave descendants. However, the book suffers from a paucity of primary sources, mission records, and colonial archival records. The book lacks an analytical approach and appears polemical and hence loses its historical nuance. The presentation style attempts to pontificate for recognition and propel reparations for the descendants of freed slaves. The subject and debate on pawnship had been contest within the Africa slavery studies.

In the Swahili coast and territories adjacent to it, there existed pawnship particularly in the 19th century between some of the African communities and Arab and Swahili traders. Pawnship existed among African societies prior to colonialism. Poor families pawned their children to wealth families for a certain period of time when they faced adversities such as famine. The pawned children provided labour in return for food and shelter; and eventually returned at the end of the famine period to their original families. For instance the Masaai and Agikuyu pawned their relatives during adverse conditions and famine, but it was not construed as slavery. Pawnship was a mutual insurance network and safety nets for poor families who loaned their children to wealth families in exchange for food. The wealth families also benefited from extracting labour off the pawned children. In pre- colonial north-eastern Tanzania pawnship was common in the precolonial era within the kinship network. The pawnee was used to repay a debt, compensation for injury, as collateral, in exchange for food. With advent of slave trade pre- colonial African chiefs manifested their authority by criminalising the pawnees who were often sold into slavery. The authority of chiefs superseded those of household heads and kin networks

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who often surrendered the pawned mostly criminals to chiefs who sold them into slavery.

Nevertheless, the practice changed with the entry of slave traders and pawnship assumed a different character that was not well conceived by the African families. For example the Mijikenda families along the Kenya coast and during the famine of the 1830s, and 1890s; they pawned their children to Muslim traders in exchange for food and hoped to redeem their children at a later date. However many of pawned children were sold by their custodians into slavery to the disdain of their parents. Pawn redemption proved difficult because families were poor resulting in the children being sold into slavery (Spear, 1978). By the 1860s the Mazrui and Busaidi families in Takaungu began to produce grain in large quantities around Takaungu. The Mijikenda families by then in very precarious situation; began to pawn their children in exchange for grains and indeed many of them were sold into slavery in Malindi, Somaliland and Zanzibar. Pawning and slave trading became indistinguishable as many of the pawned children ended being sold into slavery.

During the colonial era and particularly the famine of Mugunia (Njaa ya Magunia); upto about 20,000 Mijikenda children were pawned in wealth coastal families in exchange for food their families (Morton, 1990). Pawnship changed in meaning with the coming of new players and intermediaries. One most controversially discussed subject was the concept and practice of slavery among the African societies prior to European and Arab slavery. The precolonial conceptualisation of slavery or slave like conditions cannot be subjected to a twenty century criterion of slavery. The 1926 convention defines Slavery “as a status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised” (The 1926 Slavery Convention, 1926). In other words the convention cannot be

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applied retrospectively to either qualify or disqualify what constituted or did not constitute slavery in pre-colonial African societies. The definition of slavery was carefully crafted to avoid incriminating the European colonial practices in Africa that otherwise subjected Africans to slave like conditions. The definition of slavery was largely influenced by the cultural, ideological and social relations in the process of production, exchange and consumption.

African societies used terminologies that authoritatively defined what they understood at that particular historical conjecture as slavery. In the pre 19th century warfare between the Abanyarwanda and the Abaganda; the captured women captives were referred to as *umuja* or female slaves (Schoenbrun, 1997). The freeman in Baganda was called *Musenze* and had the right to change allegiance (Merdard, 2007). The terminology *Muzaana* became prevalent in the 19th century among the Hutu, Tutsi and Abaganda to refer to those who came through captivity or by extension through another person (Merdard, 2007). In the late 19th century terms such as *Nouma* in Baganda language meant female slave while *ikvume* in Kinyarwanda meant a scorned person and was not considered part of the community (Merdard, 2007). The term *suumba* or *somba* (slave) was also common among the Bantu speaking communities. The terminology *Abasumba* was common among the Burundi ethnic communities referring to the enslaved people (Merdard, 2007).

The western Bantu of Kenya such as the Abagusii and the Abaluya used the term *Omosomaba* to refer to enslaved person. *Omosomba* literally slaved for the master and had no freedom. The Nyamwezi terminology for a slave was *msese* or *basese* for more slaves. The slave owners were known as *ise bugonzo* (Deustsch, 2007). They extracted labour from their slaves and often used female slaves for sexual pleasures. The children born out of the union belonged to the slave

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owner. The concept of social death in reference to slaves was common in the pre-colonial Nyamwezi community. It meant that once sold into slavery; a slave severed social network links to his or her kin and remained the property of his master (Patterson, 1982).

From the ongoing historiographical review; there exist rich histories on the subject of slavery as conceived by various African communities. In view of this the subject of abolitionism in chapter Two interrogates the various methods and actors involved.

CHAPTER TWO

Abolitionism and Abolition Debate in Eastern Africa

Samuel A. Nyanchoga

The slave trade and slavery abolitionism debate in the British Parliament; in the public sphere and among the religious fraternity had far-reaching implications on its practice in the British colonies. The process of immediate or gradual abolitionism and emancipation of slaves in the colonies such as Kenya was influenced by several factors ranging from the economic, legal and political.

The Economic Argument

The debate in the House of Commons of the British Parliament on 22 April of 1833 laid a strong foundation for gradual abolition because immediate abolition would spell catastrophe to the British economy. The abolition of the slave trade and slavery drew the attention of the West Indies and other colonies proprietors' legal rights to slaves, British manufactures and the general public who

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were dependent on the slave economy. The debate in the House of Commons of April 1833 presented an economic case for the gradual abolition of slave trade and slavery. The Duke of Wellington presenting the public petition from Belfast (2400 petitioners) gave a graphic description of the importance of the trade to the British economy. He stated that in 1830, the revenue received from West Indies colonies dependent on slave labour was £7,800.000 and in 1832 it was between £5,000.000 and £ 6,000.000. The value of British exports from the West Indies colonies dependent on slave labour to other parts of the world was £12,000.000. In 1833 the value of British export to the West Indies colonies was £5,500.000. The shipping tonnage of goods produced in the West Indies colonies dependent on slave labour was 250.000 per year (The Debates in Parliament session, 1833). The Proprietors of the West Indies colonies personally claimed that their investments were worth £80 million (Brougham, 1929). Immediate abolition would, therefore, ruin the British economy, manufacturers, proprietors, government and public and in particular the British customs, docking companies for warehousing, ship owners, merchants in London, Liverpool, Bristol, Bath Spa, Manchester; the underwriters for the insurance; supplies of manufactured goods such as clothing, salted provisions, iron nails, iron hoops, hoes, paint, bill, hatchets, fallow, soap, candles, oil, stationery, salt and medicine (The Debates in Parliament session, 1833). The economic imperatives of abolitionism were in line with the 1823 resolutions adopted by the British legislature in the gradual amelioration of the conditions of the slave population in His Majesty's colonies. There was to be a progressive improvement in the conditions and rights of the slave population and at the same time ensure the safety of the colonies by addressing a fair and equitable compensation to the slave owners. Following the 1823 resolutions, the Order in Council of 1824 was issued to the colonies to prohibit

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Sunday labour, allow the slaves to own property, the right of the slave to obtain manumission against the consent of his master, abolition of the master sanctioning slave marriage and abolition of corporal punishment. However, not a single colonial legislature implemented this to the disdain of the mother country (The Debates in Parliament session, 1833). The gradual abolition to slavery continued to be justified in no uncertain terms but explicitly promoting the economic argument for its continuation. The remarks of Stanley in the House of Commons debate of 14th May in 1833 points to the argument of the destruction of the networks of slavery and rather than the fortress of slavery itself. The attack on the networks of the great fortress would ensure the fall of the fortress of slavery itself. About the published memoirs of Burkes the “negro code” Stanley pointed out that gradual abolition of slavery in the West Indies colonies would, therefore, go hand in hand with stopping slave trade in the Coast of Africa. This meant that stopping of the slave trade in Africa would gradually bring to end, the practice of slavery in the West Indies colonies that were heavily dependent on slave labour (The Debates in Parliament session, 1833).

Moral abolitionism

The moral argument for abolitionism was founded on deep religious feelings against the slave trade and slavery. This was mirrored in the petitions to the British parliament by the Quakers, the Methodist churches and protestant churches. In 1833 alone there were several petitions by the Baptist congregations with 186 petitions and 26287 signatures; independent congregations with 2015 petitions and 26080 signatures; protestant churches 235 petitions with 26776 signatures; society of friends or Quakers with 933 signatures and the Wesleyan Methodists with 1953 petitions and 229426 signatures agitating against slavery as a moral abhorrence (The Debates in Parliament session,

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1833). The Clapham Sect named after John Venn Clapham within the Church of England became actively involved in anti-slavery campaigns. Its founder members, including William Wilberforce, found his way into parliament and became vocal abolitionists. The founders of the Quakers such as George Fox in 1671 condemned slavery and its practitioners as reaping “unrighteous profits” from the “iniquitous practice of dealing in slaves” (Ragatz, 1929). The Methodist pioneer John Wesley condemned slaveholding as being inconsistent with natural justice’ (Ragatz, 1929). The Baptist James Dore wrote that Christianity was ‘a religion calculated to inspire universal benevolence, by teaching us that all mankind are our Brethren, that they stand in the same common relation to God, the universal parent’ (Dore, 2006). It is upon this religious current against slavery that Lord Grenville, the Prime Minister in the 1807 Act abolishing slave trade declared that: *The glorious system of the gospel destroys all narrow, national partiality; and makes us citizens of the world, by obliging us to profess universal benevolence; but more especially, we are bound, as Christians, to commiserate and assist to the utmost of our power all persons in distress, and captivity* (The Debates in Parliament session, 1833). The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society founded in 1838 raised petitions to the Westminster Parliament carrying signatures of British voters. In 1833 the Parliament voted to abolish slavery in the West Indies colonies; agreeing to compensate the slaveholders for the loss of their property to the sum of £20 million (The Debates in Parliament session, 1833). Thereafter, the abolitionist debate turned its spotlight to Africa; the Society for Missions to Africa founded in March of 1799 embarked on its principles of propagating the gospel and addressing the infamy of the slave trade and slavery in Africa. In 1812 the Society for Mission in Africa was renamed the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East. The entry of the

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CMS into Africa was Freetown in 1816 in Sierra Leone (CMS, 2005, pp 7-14)

Diplomatic abolitionism

Diplomatic abolitionism would be seen in creating international treaties and in the mobilization of naval ships to intercept slave traders and also in trying the captains of the involved ships. The Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818 adopted the measures of the reciprocal right to search the vessels on the great powers and also declared slave trade as piracy by International Law. In 1834 the abolition of apprenticeship was enforced in the West Indies (Anti-Slavery Reporter, 1874, p.7; 1884, p.224). In 1842, the Slave Trade Act of 1824 was amended to make it illegal for any British subjects 'whosoever residing' in the world to trade in slaves. On 1 November 1843 it was made illegal for any British subject to buy a slave, and the pawn system of debt slavery in the Gold Coast; on 28 February 1844 Honk Kong adopted 'the laws prohibitory of slavery' (Anti-Slavery Reporter, 1846, pp.1-3; 1874, p.7). The British leadership on the slave trade was not only about diplomatic treaties; It had a practical expression. From 1807 the British Navy enforced a ban on slave trading, which was later underpinned by the provisions of the Congress of Vienna of 1815, under which Britain was empowered by the other nations to suppress the international slave trade. Lord Palmerston (1785–1865), spoke in parliament against the horrors of the middle passage and the cruelty of the slavers. Palmerston noted:... *'this country does owe a great debt of reparation to Africa'*, and *'it will be some atonement to remember that if England was among the first to commit the sin, England also led the way in a generous and noble crusade'*(House of Commons Debates, 1847; Anti-Slavery Reporter, 1880, p.68) Palmerston tried to negotiate treaties with all foreign governments giving the mutual right of search of each other's ships for slaves but the mutuality

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was largely ineffective because only Britain had the navy to enforce the measure. France, Holland, Sweden and Spain all agreed to Britain's right of search but the United States of America and Portugal resisted (Ridley, 1970). The British Admiralty Courts tried seized slave traders and captains of ships. Later, there were Mixed Commission Courts with judges from Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands; sitting at Sierra Leone, Havana, the Cape of Good Hope, Rio, Surinam, Loanda and St Helena. However, much of the work of the courts was messed up by the stalling of reluctant partners from Portugal and Spain, while slaver traders circumvented the law by registering vessels under whichever flag that was not covered (Hartfield, 2017, pp.70-73). Between 1819 and 1846, 498 vessels were prosecuted before the Mixed Commission Courts in Sierra Leone, of which 473 were condemned. Over those years 63,436 slaves were set free by the Mixed Commission Courts in Sierra Leone ((Hartfield, 2017, pp.70-73). There were also several cruiser systems searching for slave traders in the high seas. This included the West African Squadron and the Royal Navy policing the slave trade along the East African Coast (Charles, 1888).

Abolitionism in British East Africa

As the abolition debate turned to the east coast of Africa, Britain instituted several treaties with the sultanate of Zanzibar against slavery. It would appear from the several treaties entered into, that the process of abolition was a gradual one, rather than immediate. The underlying reasons were tied to the economy, politics and legal plurality of the region.

In 1822 the Moresby Treaty between Britain and Muscat prohibited the export of slaves by Europeans in East Africa and established a British observer mission at Zanzibar. Britain also recognized Omani claims in East Africa, including the

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existence of slavery. The treaty of Muscat between the British and the Imam of Muscat forbade slavery within the Imam dominions but eventually, it became a dead letter because it was not enforceable (CMS Intelligencer, 1897). This was followed in 1845 by the British treaty with Oman (Zanzibar) that restricted the Slave trade to Oman's possessions in Arabia and East Africa. Britain was able to secure the right of search and seizure. It was under this treaty that the slaves who were rescued were taken to the CMS station at Nasik in India. The treaty allowed the sultanate to move slaves from one dominion to another such as from Lamu to Pemba and Zanzibar. The efficacy of the treaty was highlighted by Lord Arthur Hardinge in his dispatch to the colonial office indicating that it was abused by the slave traders. He noted that about 30,000 slaves were smuggled annually to Arabia and the Persian Gulf on the pretext that their movement was from one dominion to another (Lugard, 1896). In 1868 Captain Alan Gardner of Her Majesty cruisers stationed in the Indian Ocean further attested to the ineffectiveness of the decree:

..on the ground that the Sultan has authorized Her Majesty's cruisers to capture vessels belonging to his subjects carrying slaves within his waters, one dhow was captured. Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar accordingly gave her up to the Sultan, who, a few days later, caused her to be towed outside the Orestes and destroyed by fire. Of the cargo, however, 'the slaves were retained by the Sultan'. 'It is to be regretted that they could not be liberated... (Antislavery Report, 1866, pp. 58/9). In contravention of the 1807 treaty barring British subjects from engaging in slavery and 1845 treaty limiting movement of slaves only within the Sultan's dominion Captain Beding Field of Her Majesty "the Wasp" later also reported that:

...dhows, crammed with wretched negroes from Kilwa are paraded so that we may see them. Worse, men onshore openly boast of the number that is sent north every year, and of even selling slaves in Bombay. Because Indian merchants and clerks were working in

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Zanzibar that even the collector of customs on slaves, who receives two dollars ahead, is a British subject (Beding Field Report, 1968, p. 98). The infamy of the East African coast slave trade prompted Bartle Frere visit to visit Bombay, Indian in 1873 and his address to Indian Merchants would further demonstrate the extent of the violation of the treaty by the British subjects. He noted in his address of the growth of Indian interest on the east African coast due to slave trade where goods produced in India were exchanged for human cargo (Hartfield, 2017). The Anti-Slavery Reporter of 1871 also pointed out that Indians (The Kutchees) in Zanzibar who were British subjects and bound by the law engaged in the criminal act of trading, holding slaves, lending money and guns to slave traders (Anti-Slavery Report, 1871, p.169). The 1872 investigations by the select committee of the House of Commons revealed a gross violation of the treaty by the British nationals in Zanzibar. One case in point was that of H. A. Fraser and Co., Merchants partnered between Alexander Hugh Fraser; a British national and His Highness Seyyid Majid bin Saied, Sultan of Zanzibar for the production of sugar cane. The contract or partnership signed and sealed in 1864 by, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Lambart Playfair, the then Her Majesty's Political Agent and Consul at Zanzibar read as follows:

The articles of agreement entered into between His Highness Seyd Majid bin Saied, Sultan of Zanzibar, of the first part, and Hugh Alexander Fraser, representing the firm of H. A. Fraser and Co., Merchants, of the second part, this twenty-fifth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, of the Christian era. ° To wit: The parties above described, for themselves, heirs, and successors, agree to enter into partnership for the cultivation and manufacture of sugar in the island of Zanzibar, following terms. "Article III.— Messrs. H. A. Fraser and Co. agree to supply to the unskilled labourers provided by His Highness Seyd Majid, the usual allowance of food and clothing. "Article IV.—His Highness Seyd Majid agrees to supply 500 (five hundred) unskilled labourers, not including children, who shall receive no wages from Messrs. H. A. Fraser and Co.; and further, that if through any reason the number should fall short of 500 (five hundred), and if His Highness Seyd Majid, after being duly warned of the fact, should fail to complete the complement, it shall

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be competent to Messrs. H. A. Fraser and Co. to engage the number of labourers necessary to complete the complement, and debit the amount thus expended to His Highness Seyd Majid. "Article XI.— This agreement will hold good for twenty-one years, when it may be renewed by mutual consent. "I, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Lambert Playfair, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul and Political Agent at Zanzibar, do hereby certify that the preceding contract has been made with my cognisance, and that the Arabic version thereof is a correct translation, and that both the contracting parties understand the meaning thereof. "Given under my hand and seal of office, at Zanzibar, this twenty-fifth day of March, in the year of Christ, 1864."Signed, R. L. PLAYFAIR." [Seal of British Consulate.] (Fraser, 1872, pp.2/3).

It is noted that the term "slaves" is not used in the above contract, but the true status of the "labourers" is settled by two notes written by Lieutenant-Colonel Playfair to Fraser regarding contract obligation dated 25th February and April 13th 1864. In the former Playfair wrote, *"Regarding food and clothing, each slave will receive Kela of jowari, and 1 pice to purchase condiments per diem, and two pieces of cloth of 4 drabs each per annum"*. He continued to state that *"The slaves will be delighted to commute claims for subsistence if you will allow them two days for themselves —Friday and one other day."*

The partnership lasted for a few months and was dissolved by mutual consent. Fraser had to buy land, (Kokotni estate) to construct a factory for sugar cane extraction. The extract of the letter from Fraser to his partners in London dated 25th June 1864, showed the employment of slave labour. The extract read as follows:

"Dear Sirs,—Accompanying copies of correspondence Lieut.-Colonel Playfair will explain the circumstances under which we were compelled to cancel our contract with the Sultan. " We have consequently taken Kokotoni (estate) in hand, have a hundred men at work, clearing site for factory, building &c, and we hope

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to be able to organize sufficient gang labourers to work the estate, without the employment of slave labour." This hope unhappily proved fallacious. The free men were chiefly natives of the Comoro Islands, notorious for their idle and thievish proclivities, and they constantly absconded with their wages, which had to be paid them in advance, carrying with them their tools and any other "portable property" they could lay hands on; and it was not till after a long and ineffectual struggle, was at last compelled to follow the universal course and employ slave labour. To render such labour of any value, it was necessary that those employed should not be constantly changed, but remain settled on the estate. Keeping in view the terms of the contract drawn up by Lieut. Colonel Playfair, I not unnaturally concluded that, if I could legally employ slaves without pay for twenty-one years, and longer, allowing them barely sufficient sustenance and clothing to support nature, no objection could be taken to a more liberal and humane arrangement which might ultimately prove beneficial to both parties. With this view, I contracted for the labour I required in the following terms, with the Arab owners of the gangs of "hamals," or porters. "We, the undersigned, agree and bind ourselves to supply to Messrs. H. A. Fraser and Co. male and female able-bodied labourers, and we engage that the said labourers shall be at the sole disposal of Messrs. H. A. Fraser and Co. for the period of five years, after which time we bind ourselves to guarantee the freedom of all the said labourers who shall be slaves, on condition that Messrs. H. A. Fraser and Co. pay to us for every labourer one year's pay, at the rate of two dollars per month per labourer, on delivery, and half-a-dollar per month for the succeeding four years. The balance of wages, one dollar and a half per month, to be payable to the labourers, from whom we bind ourselves not to exact nor receive any portion of their pay on any pretext whatever. "For the first year, Messrs. H. A. Fraser and Co. shall clothe and maintain the labourers at their own expense, and for every succeeding year of this contract, they shall not be called on to make any disbursement on this account." We further undertake to supply vacancies caused by death or desertion, to the

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extent of ten per cent, per annum of the whole number of labourers supplied. (Signed.) "Zanzibar, 23rd May 1865. "Registered No. 2 of 1866. British Consulate, Zanzibar, "March 10th, 1866." Fee, 3s. Signed, G. EDWIN SEWARD, "Acting Political Agent, H.B.M. Consul." (Fraser, 1872, pp. 5/6). According to the statement issued by Lord Stanley, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in a letter dated 19th December 1867 stated:

that in accordance to the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, Lieutenant-Colonel Playfair's contract was a legal one, "and that British subjects entering into contracts with natives who may hold slaves in Zanzibar, will not infringe the law of this country;" the fact of being in partnership with such native being sufficient to legalize the contract. It necessarily follows that if it is legal to receive slaves under contract, from a native partner, by a British subject, to be employed for joint account in agricultural operations a few miles from the town of Zanzibar, the native partner being essentially "a sleeping" one, it must be equally legal to receive and similarly employ slaves in any number in any part of the Zanzibar dominions it is, moreover, declared to be legal for a British subject engaged such partnership, in case the number of slaves to be maintained by his native partner should, from any cause, fall below the full placement, and his native partner, on being duly warned of the fact should fail to make up the deficiency, to engage the necessary number of slaves himself to complete the complement at his partner's expense (Fraser, 1872, p. 7).

On 15th March of 1867 the Acting Consul General G. Edwin Seward to Lord Stanley of the Colonial Office and in part stated:

"His Highness Seyd Majid, the Sultan of Zanzibar, solicitation of Her Majesty's Consul, has freed 711 souls, under the condemned slave labour contract of an English planter (H. A. Fraser and Co)." Their freedom carries but one obligation, they must work for someone whom they list; but for someone. Their wages are their own, and their liberty and civil rights as free folk inalienable. "I have tried, and I trust I may succeed, to induce the Sultan to impose one other

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condition: That no slave freed under this act of grace shall ever possess a slave; a slave; for the freed man's ability work vicariously through his slave is destructive of all the invigorating influence that should spring from liberty (Fraser, 1872, No. 114).

On 14th June 1867, Lord Stanley wrote to the Acting Consul-General Seward.

Sir,—Her Majesty's Government have read with great satisfaction of your dispatch of the 15th March last, in which that the Sultan of Zanzibar has, at your instigation, slaves, who were working under contract with Messrs. H. A. Fraser and Co. "The question respecting the employment of firm having been thus happily settled, I have to instruct inform Messrs. Fraser that Her Majesty's Government will not adopt any proceedings against them, nor enforce any penalties they have incurred by the violation of the British laws for the prevention of the Slave Trade, provided that they will undertake on their part to abstain for the future from all similar offences. It will be your duty, however, while interfering as little as possible with any arrangements that may be made to prevent these newly emancipated negroes from leading a life of idleness, to see that their freedom is guaranteed to them and that they are not again reduced to slavery (Fraser, 1872, p. 11).

In August of 1867, Mr. Fraser while in England wrote to Stanley inquiring on the status of employing slave labour within the Sultan's dominions. He stated in his letter that there was no formal reply to him and also owing to difficulties of obtaining free labour in Zanzibar. The foreign office was to write to him on December 19th, 1867 stating:

Gentlemen,—Your letter of the 14th August last, requesting information on certain points connected with the employment, British subjects, of slave labour at Zanzibar, having, Stanley's direction, been referred for the consideration of the proper Law Officers of the Crown, I am now directed by his Lordship to make known to you the opinion of Her Majesty's government upon several of the points touched upon in your "As regards the contract agreed to in 1864 between your

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firm and the Sultan of Zanzibar, having for its object the cultivation of sugar plantations in that island, I am to the state to you that the contract in question is not, by the law of this country, an illegal or invalid contract and that the British subjects entering with natives who may hold slaves in Zanzibar similar in tenor with a contract of 1864 will not infringe the law of this country. In the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, as at present advised, there is nothing to prevent a British subject, out of Her Majesty's dominions, employing a slave as his servant or labourer, so long as such employment does not involve a dealing or trading in the purchase, sale, barter, or transfer, carrying away, removing, and of such slave (Fraser, 1872, p.13).

From the foregoing correspondence, it would appear that there were ambiguities and inconsistency in the British abolition law. The contract violated the slave trade act of 1824 and 1842 that barred British citizens or subjects from engaging in the slave trade. It further violated the treaty of 1807 between the sultanate of Zanzibar and Britain that also barred British subjects from engaging in the slave trade in the dominions of the sultan. The Frazer company also violated the "transfer and physical removal" clause by taking slaves from their master and settling them in a different location (Kokotoni Estate).

In June 5th 1873, the treaty signed by John Kirk and Seyyid Barghash, the Sultan of Zanzibar banned public slave markets, transport of slaves from the interior to the dominion of the Sultan. Article 1 of the treaty stated:

The provisions of the existing treaty having proved ineffective from preventing the export of slaves from the territories of the sultan of Zanzibar in Africa, Her Majesty the queen and his highness the sultan above named agree that from this date the export of slaves from the coast of the mainland of Africa, whether destined for transport from one part of the sultan's dominion to another or for conveyance to foreign parts, shall entirely cease (CMS, Intelligencer,

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1898, p.683). *The most important content of the treaty was the forbidding of the entry of raw slaves from the interior to the sultan's dominions and the movement of such slaves from one dominion to another. The supplementary treaty of 14 July 1875 allowed in the vessels of domestic slaves attending to their masters and of slaves employed in the navigation of the vessels so long as they were not detained against their will (Chronology of Measures against Slavery, n.d.). On January 5, 1876, a proclamation by Seyyid Barghash declared the abolition of slavery in Benadir and Kisimayu. The ban, however, was not enforced in Kisimayu until 1895 when the area came under British protectorate status. Another supplementary decree that was in April 1876 issued by Sultan stated: Be it known that we forbid the arrival of slave caravans from the interior, and the fitting out of slave caravans by our subjects, and have given orders to our governors according to and all slaves arriving at the coast will be confiscated (CMS Intelligencer, 1898, p. 683). The decree also forbade the movement of slaves from one region of the coast to another under the sultan:*

Be it known that we determined to stop and by this order also prohibit all conveyance of slaves by the land under any conditions and we have instructed our governors in the court to seize and imprison those found disobeying this order and to confiscate their slave's (CMS Intelligencer, 1898, p. 683). However, this particular treaty and its subsequent declarations aroused much debate as to its ambiguity, ineffectiveness than its accomplishment. The treaty ostensibly was a product of the pressure from the anti-slavery society campaign describing the East African slave trade within the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar "as the chief seat of the slave-trade on the East Coast". The Anglican missionary and Vicar of Leytonstone, the Reverend Horace Waller speaking on the same said: "Sultan of Zanzibar has a slave market there, which, to our shame be it said, is within a stone's throw of English men-of-war, French men-of-war, German merchant-ships, American men-of-war, all anchored there" (Hartfield, 2017, p. 254). It was with this momentum that Sir Henry

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Bartle Frere (1815–84).who had served in 1850 as first Chief Commissioner in Sindh, and Governor in Bombay until 1867; with a team of advisors and missionaries such as Rev Georg Percy Badger took up the Anti-Slavery Society's campaign to Zanzibar arriving on 12 January 1873. The Sultan of Zanzibar by then Barghash; justifying slavery and slave trade as a "time-honoured institution, sanctioned alike by the Mahomedan religion and ancient custom;" argued that its sudden and complete stoppage would affect the commercial prosperity of Zanzibar and stir rebellion from slave owners. Instead, he chose to hold on to the 1845 treaty that allowed slave trade and slavery in his dominions (Anti-Slavery Reporter, 1873, pp.128). En-route to England; Frere took his anti-slavery campaign to Muscat where he persuaded the Imam to put his name to a treaty against trading in slaves. It was with this additional leverage that Kirk persuades Barghash in Zanzibar to sign the treaty. The Foreign Office, on 16th June, of 1873 announced that the Sultan of Zanzibar had, on 5th June, signed the new treaty, and closed the slave-market (Anti-Slavery Reporter, 1873, pp.157&160). As soon as the public slave market was closed slave caravan routes shifted northwards to Lamu. 'Captain Elton, the first assistant to the Political Agency at Zanzibar, when on a mission to the mainland' (Hartfield, 2017, p.259) had 'found that the slave caravan route was fully organized, with stations for feeding and resting the victims in their land journey northwards.' And 'within one month (from December 21, 1873, to January 20, 1874) Captain Elton reported that as many as 4,096 slaves were being carried northwards by the land route (Anti-Slavery Reporter, 1874, pp. 64). The case as reported by Bishop Tucker of Mombasa in September 1898 to Chas Allen the Principal Secretary of British and Foreign Anti- Slavery Society in London would

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further point to the ambiguity and ineffectiveness of the said treaty and subsequent proclamations of 1873, 1875 and 1876.

The case before Judge Clifford H. Crawford, Provincial Court of Mombasa of *Heri Karibu vs Sheikh Uwe* dated April 1898 would further reveal of the violation of the law or decree. Heri Karibu was purchased for 8 dollars from Jomvu Mombasa by Sheikh Uwe and illegally imported into sultan dominion after the proclamation of a treaty of April 18; 1876 though the decree forbade the importation of raw slaves into the coastal areas. The official interpretation of the decree and view was that it forbade the arrival of slave caravans of Nyasa, Yao and other up-country people. It was easier to identify the slave caravans and dates of entry into the coast. The treaty in principle did not ban single purchases and imports of slaves (Letter of Bishop Tucker: Anti-Slavery Reporter, 1894, pp.173-176). Though the court ruled in favour of the complainant on account of illegal confinement and suckling of raw slaves from the interior to the coast, it dismissed other accounts upon which the case was build and therefore set precedence to future interpretation by the court. One example was that the treaty between John Kirk and Said Barghash of 1873 being interpreted by the court as a promise made by Said Barghash to her majesty government to make arrangements to prevent the export of slaves from the coast of the mainland and consequently the treaty being not a matter upon which judicial notice was entered (CMS Intelligencer, 1898, p. 689-690). The December of 1888 proclamation by the consul general in Zanzibar forbidding the making of contracts with owners for the hire of their slaves arose out because the slave owners were hiring out their slaves as porters and plantation workers especially where Arab owners had mortgaged their farms to Indians in Zanzibar, Pemba and Mombasa. To circumvent the law by hiring directly from the owners, the slaves were hired directly as if they were free labour but the master received a

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proportion of the wages on agreed terms (CMS Intelligencer, 1897, p. 87). Donald Mackenzie of the IBEAC noted that women slaves were used for some of the hardest work as porters and employed in large numbers in carrying stones on board Her Majesty warships (CMS Intelligencer, 1897, p. 88). *Women prisoners were chained together in gangs of about seven carrying water or carrying stones and followed by a policeman with a stick* (CMS Intelligencer, 1897, p. 88). Donald Mackenzie in the fact-finding mission under the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society noted that by 1895 about 3955 estates of Arabs were mortgaged to the Indians who received a total sum of 220,000 pounds and also used slave labour as hired free labour (CMS Intelligencer, 1997, p. 87). The House of Commons debate of March 1899 inconclusively debated the allegations raised by Sir R. Reid (Dumfries Burghs) that the Kenya Uganda railway was constructed through a system of organized employment of slaves from their masters by the government (Parliament of Common Debate, 1899, p.79). The Anti-Slavery Society report of 1893 led by among others Jos A Pease, Horace Walter and W.H. Wylde also revealed that most estates belonging to Arabs had been mortgaged to British Indian subjects and they depended on hired labour from slave masters. The mortality rate of the porters in British East Africa was about 30% an indication of the servile conditions they were subjected to (CMS,Intelligencer, 1897, p.87). In 1889, Zanzibar granted the British and Germans perpetual right of search and decreed that new slaves entering its dominion after November 1, 1889, shall be free, and provided for the emancipation of all slave children born after January 1 of 1890. According to Hardinge, the 20 Sept 1889 decree of Seyyid Khalifa was partially published while the article about freedom of children born after January 1, 1890, was suppressed. (CMS Intelligencer Feb1897:86) The letter from Sir Arthur Hardinge of 13 and 18 of June in1898 to Lord Salisbury of the Foreign Office London; revealed the

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following on the status of the decree on the emancipation of children born after January of 1889. He wrote:

*the engagement was kept secret and was never observed, and the local lawyers and officials contend that the law having never been promulgated could not be held binding. No notification was circulated in both English and Arabic (Anti-Slavery Reporter, 1880, pp158-164: Letter from Arthur Hardinge on Children). In his reply, Lord Salisbury noted: ...it is impossible at this time to go back upon an agreement of 1889... He further stated that there was a general belief that injury would be done to children by the enforcement of the law where children belonging to poor slave owners would become masterless, homeless and destitute. He noted further that effecting such a law now owing to famine in seyyied province would be disastrous and had postponed further. The mission station may also not mitigate and take in all the children declared free (Anti-Slavery Reporter, 1880, pp158-164: Letter from Lord Salisbury to Arthur Hardinge on Children). In 1st May in 1890, the IBEAC issued a proclamation notifying all natives belonging to the following tribes of the Wanyika, Wagriama, Waduruma, Wakauma, Wagalla, Wakamba, Wagibania, Wasani, Wakambi, Waribi, Warabai, Washimba, Wadigo, Wateita, Wakapomo were under the company's protection and that no man, woman or child belonging to any of them could be held as slaves and that any so held on application to the company would be liberated at once without compensation to owners (CMS, Intelligencer, 1897, p.84). This proclamation was by the IBEAC act signed by its secretary-general P.L. McDermott and its chairman of the court of directors, Sir A.B. Kemball. The interpretation of this proclamation was to institute a condition in which the force of law that no member of these tribes can be reduced to or held in servitude and that any member of these tribes discovered at the coast became *ipso facto* entitled to his freedom without right of compensation on the part of the master (CMS, Intelligencer, 1898, p.682).*

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The retrospective part of this proclamation is found in these statements of the act: *any member of these tribes discovered in servitude at the coast becomes ipso facto entitled to his freedom without right of compensation on the part of the master* (CMS, *Intelligencer*, 1898, p.682). The prospective part of the proclamation is found in the part company act that reads: *No member of such tribes can be reduced to servitude...* (CMS, *Intelligencer*, 1898, p.682). The effectiveness of this proclamation was put to light in the case of Heri Karibu (Complainant) Vs Sheikh Uwe (Defendant) in the Provincial Court of Mombasa. The details of the case were that Heri Karibu a fugitive slave girl aged fifteen a Mkamba by birth on 23rd December 1897 in Ndia Kuu in great distress ran to Mr. W.E. Parker of the CMS seeking protection. She noted that on 23rd evening her master had seized her near the shore and demanded four rupees. She narrated that her master was cruel and flogged her on several occasions. Further evidence indicated her master had early taken before the district court of the protectorate Mombasa and charged for not paying four rupees a month instead of working as a slave in her masters' house. In the early case, the slave girl was ordered to return to her master house or pay four rupees that she agreed to pay. The verdict of the court in the early case amounted to detention. In this particular case before the district officer in the district court of Mombasa acted contrary to British law as laid down by the Attorney General and exposed the British officer to the penalties in such case provided (CMS, *Intelligencer*, 1898, p.679). The Attorney General through Marquis of Salisbury of the Foreign Office communicated to Arthur Hardinge, Her Majesty Commissioner for the East Africa protectorate by telegraph dated June 27 of 1897: *It has been decided by the Attorney General that a British subject, no matter in what service or employment he may be engaged, ii breaking the British law and is exposing himself to the penalties if he takes part in restoring*

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to his master or otherwise depriving of his liberty any person on the sole ground that he is a fugitive slave. I have to inform you for your guidance that you should conform your conduct to the law thus laid down (CMS, *Intelligencer*, 1898, p.682). The case of *Kombo vs Saleh Bin Hussein* (August 1899) before the acting district officer of Mombasa (E. Llyod) sitting in the provincial court of Mombasa reveal the impunity of the local British personnel about the enforcement of the letter of the law. The girl named Kombo and her parents were presented by Rev. W.G. Hoewe of the Methodist Church Ribe (Rabai). The girl was caught by a former master in Mombasa and her parents went for her rescue and the three taken were into slavery. According to the evidence adduced was that three had early consented themselves into slavery with their master Saleh Bin Hussein because of the famine of 1989 in Rabai. They were to work for their master in return for food rations. The ruling of the court was that the three be rejoined with the master until such convenient time when they could be free after famine (*Anti_Slavery Report*, 1899; *Parliament House of Commons Debate*, 1899, p.79). According to the IBAC, there were several categories of slaves living and owned by the Arab master at the coast. Those living in mission stations redeemed by the payment of twenty-five dollars. These slaves were registered and receipt of payment made and register signed by the master to acknowledge the redemption and the slave received the freedom certificate. They lived under the protection of the mission stations and were free to work anywhere, the company did not interfere with them as they were not required to contribute towards their redemption. The slaves belonging to the Wagiriana, Waduruma and other tribes were given permit of residence and no payment was made in respect of their masters

The third category was Fulladoyo tribes harboured in the mission station. They were registered and payment of 15 dollars or 2.6 pounds was paid for the purchase of their

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freedom. On the completion of the payment of 15 dollars or 2.6 pounds; their masters signed the register and certificate of freedom were issued. These were the ones employed by the company as porters at the rate of five dollars a month with a daily ration of food (In August 1st in 1890 the sultan, Seyyid Ali of Zanzibar issued yet another proclamation prohibiting from that dating exchange, sale, purchase, traffic in domestic slavery, the liberation of slaves of owners dying without lawful children, of slaves who proved to have been mistreated by their masters, British subjects were prohibited from holding slaves; slaves were given the right to purchase their freedom from their masters but this clause was repealed on August 20th of 1890 and it read; “*if any who slave brings money to the Kadi to purchase his freedom, his master will not be forced to take the money*” (CMS, *Intelligencer*, 1897, p.84). The decree was not enforced. Donald Mackenzie; a special commissioner for the Anti- Slavery Society to the East Coast in 1898 noted that the yearly imports of slaves to the coast from the interior since 1895 was 6000 while Sir Llyod Mathews estimates were between 1000 to 1500 and 18 months later revised his figure to between 300 to 400. The importation of slaves was in defiance of the decree (CMS, *Intelligencer*, 1897, p.68). The mistreatment of slaves was common and indeed violated the moral sanctity of this proclamation: A few examples as reported by various colonial officials renders part of the clause inoperative: Donald Mackenzie of IBEAC in his visit to Chaki Chaki prison Zanzibar in 1898:

Here I found several prisoners male and female, heavily chained and fettered. I thought these men and women must be dreadful criminals or murderers. Or they must have committed similar crimes and are now awaiting their doom. I inquired of them all why they were there. The only real criminal was one who had stolen a little rice from his master. All others, I found, were wearing those ponderous chains and fetters because they had attempted to run away from their masters

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*and gain their freedom—a very eloquent commentary on the happiness of slaves!” (CMS, *Intelligencer*, 1897, p.88).*

Mr. O’Sullivan the British political agent in Pemba made this observation in 1898 on the mistreatment of slaves:

When a slave becomes incapacitated from work owing to disease or accident—old age is hardly ever the cause, for the average life of a slave is a short one—he is almost every instance, discarded by his owner, and has to eke out an existence as best as he can. It is pitiful to note the starved appearance and miserable condition of the disabled specimens of humanity who drag themselves to the towns on Friday in each week to solicit alms from the charitable.

In the punishment of their slaves the Arabs show little mercy; for offences even of trivial nature savage floggings are administered, while for a heinous crime, in Arab eyes, of running away from their owners, the wretched slave is treated with most ruthless severity, and in, some instances, are subjected to the most barbarous cruelty. This was exemplified in the case of a male slave whom I recently sent to Zanzibar. The man belonged to Ali-bin-Abdullah-el-Thenawi, the leading Arab and largest slave owner in Pemba and he attempted to effect his escape. For this master caused him to be flogged almost to death in the first instance.; he was afterwards taken right into the plantation and secured using iron anklets to a growing clove tree, of which the stem was placed between his legs. There he was left for over seven months, to serve as an object lesson, which should deter the other slaves from imitating his example. During all that period he received as food only one coconut per day. His master intended that the unfortunate man should die a lingering death from suffering and starvation; he was emaciated to the last degree when I discovered him and set him free, and it is marvellous that he had survived so long. The irons moreover had eaten completely through the flesh of his ankles to the bone, and altogether he was the pitiable object imaginable. It is satisfactory to know that in this instance, at all events, the owner has paid the penalty of his brutality. Ali-bin-Abdullah-el Thenawi has been sentenced by the Consular Court at Zanzibar to a term of seven years imprisonment; he has been fined 55 rupees and he is

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prohibited from ever returning to Pemba (CMS, Intelligencer, 1897, p.89). If the above treaties and proclamations had been fully enforced it meant: that all slaves brought to the coast against their will since 1873; all children of parents born after January 1 of 1890; all slaves by held in slavery by persons who had been freed from holding slaves since August of 1890; all slaves who had passed for inheritance other than from father to son; all slaves held by British subjects were held illegally and were to be freed. On the other hand, slaves now held lawfully were those introduced into the island before June 1873; or were brought to the Coast before April 1876, those born of lawfully held slaves parents before January 1st of 1890 and those who entered the dominions of the Sultan at their own will be free and technically held in slavery illegally.

According to Hardinge, the number of lawfully held slaves during the Seyyid Bargash reign between 1870-1888 was 62,000 (6,000 or 7,000 survivors and 55,000 born in slavery between June 1873 and January 1 1890). The population of Zanzibar by then was 300,000 and Pemba 100,000 and about two-thirds 266000 were slaves. However, Lieutenant C.S. Smith his H.M. Consul in Bilbao (Kilwa) with knowledge of Pemba and Zanzibar estimates that legally held slaves were under 9000 and actual population of slaves by 1897 was about 140,000 taking away 9000 of legally held slaves leaving 131,000 slaves held illegally (CMS, Intelligencer, 1897, p.85). Accordingly, then there were about 45,600 legally owned slaves according to Arthur Hardinge to be compensated. He had requested 200,000 pounds from the colonial office to compensate the owners at a rate of 40 dollars per slave. But Consul Smith put the number at 4,000 to 7,500. The coastal economy depended on illegal slaveholding making the decree inoperative (CMS, Intelligencer, 1897, p.85). The enforcement of the treaties and clauses depended on the sultan and his government who rendered them inoperative; the proclamation of January 15, 1876, was not enforced in Kismayu until July 1895 when Britain assumed protectorate

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status of the region. The overall implication was that the majority of slaves were held illegally and their owners did not qualify for compensation. Any attempt to forcibly free the slaves from their masters had several repercussions; possible Arab rebellion; lack of alternative livelihood for their liberated slaves. The gradual abolition process meant that slaves would possibly find alternative arrangements with their master. This had implications on the emancipation. The 1897 abolition of the legal status of slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba became a controversial piece of legislation drawing angry reaction from the abolitionist movement. The articles of the decree were published in the Zanzibar Gazette of April 7, 1897, by the Sultan. Lord Salisbury in his correspondence of January of 1897 to Arthur Hardinge; the Consul-General of Zanzibar outlined the parameters along which the British government wanted the decree published (CMS, *Intelligencer*, 1898, pp.722/3).

Article 1. From and after this 1st day of Zilkada all claims of whatever description made before any court or public authority in respect of alleged relations of master and the slave shall be referred to the District Court (Mehkemetel-Wilaya) within whose jurisdiction they may arise, and shall be cognizable by that Court alone.

Article 2. From this and after this one day of Zilkada the District Court shall decline to enforce any rights over the body, service, or property of any person on the ground that such person is a slave; but wherever any person shall claim that he was lawfully possessed of such rights by the decrees of our predecessors, before the publication of the present decree, and has now by the application of the said decree been deprived of them, and has suffered loss by such deprivation, then the Court, unless satisfied that the claim is unfounded, shall report to our First Minister that it deems the claimant entitled, in consideration of loss of such

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rights and damage resulting therefrom, to such pecuniary compensation as maybe a just and reasonable equivalent for their value and our First Minister shall then award to him such sum

Article 3. The compensation money thus awarded shall have not to be liable to be claimed in respect of any debt for which the person of the slave doe whom it was granted could not previously by law seized.

Article 4. any person whose right to freedom shall have been formally recognized under 2nd Article shall be liable to any tax, abatement, corvee, or payment instead of corvee, which Our government may at any rate time hereafter see fit to impose on the general body of its subjects, and shall be bound, on pain of being declared a vagrant, to show that he possesses a regular domicile and means of subsistence, and where such domicile is situated on land owned by any other person, to pay to the owner of such land rent which may take any other person, to pay to the owner of such land such rent (which may take the form of an equivalent in labour or produce) as may be agreed upon between them before the District Court.

Article 5. Concubines shall be regarded as inmates of the \harem in the same sense as wives and shall remain in their present relations unless they should demand their dissolution on the ground of cruelty has been proved to its satisfaction. A concubine not having borne children may be redeemed with the sanction of the court.

Article 6. Any person making any claim under any of such provisions of this Decree have the right to appeal from the decision of the District Court to ourselves, or to such judge

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or other public authority as we may from time to time see fit to delegate for purpose.

Written by his order by his slave, Salim-bin-Mohammed (signed) Hamoud-Bin-Mahomed-Said (CMS, Intelligencer, 1898, p.722). The decree divided the Island of Zanzibar into three districts with a district court presided over the Wali. The island of Pemba retained two district courts also presided by the Wali. The city of Zanzibar and its harbour were under his Majesty the sultan First Minister. The decree was not explicit in its jurisdiction but was presumably limited to Zanzibar and Pemba excluding the islands of Mombasa and Lamu where the status of legal slavery continued to be upheld.

By the time the decree was issued and according to the report of Arthur Hardinge and about the statistics given Sir Llyod Mathews the sultan Prime Minister; to the foreign office; there were about 140,000 slaves in the April of 1898 in Zanzibar and Pemba. In Zanzibar between April 1897 and April 1898; 269 had been freed by the courts, 698 by their masters and 200 others by other modes that were not clear; making a total of 1167. In Pemba 2,000 had been freed. The total number of freed slaves from the islands was 2,000 leaving 138,000 who had not obtained their freedom nor entered into voluntary contracts with their masters (CMS, Intelligencer, 1898, p.731). Given the number of 138,000 not set free, the decree may have been a dead letter. Borrowing from the Indian Act of April 7; 1843 abolishing slavery in British India stated that 'if the decree is made know and fully comprehended it will lead to immediate abolition but if its meaning is not made clear then it remains a dead letter' (CMS, Intelligencer, 1898, p.731). The decree was written and proclaimed in Arabic and not in Swahili. The majority of the slave population were illiterate in Arabic and therefore may not have fully comprehended its content. The decree at the initial stage was proclaimed by the sultan in the city

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of Zanzibar in the presence of his government agents. The Wali of each judicial district of Zanzibar and Pemba were to proclaim it in the presence of several headmen with slaves present.

Nevertheless O Suvillan, the vice-consul general based in Pemba; noted that the majority of slave population had no conception that they could claim and apply for their freedom given that they had not fully comprehended the decree. According to O Suvillan, the Walis did not regard it as their duty to enlighten the slaves on the status of slavery abolition ((CMS, *Intelligencer*, 1898, p.732). The process of registration of slaves by the masters to seek compensation may have been a deterrence. Majority of slave owners had not adhered to the decree of 1873 and hence held on to their slaves illegally and did wish to subject themselves to government scrutiny by applying for compensation. The other point was that if a slave applied for freedom and desired to remain with his master; the master was not entitled to any compensation hence many of the slave owners preferred to maintain the status quo (CMS, *Intelligencer*, 1898, p.734). Burt of the Friends Industrial Mission in Pemba in his letter of inquiry in 1898 to BS Cave the acting Consul-General in Zanzibar on the steps being taken for the slave to obtain legal freedom received the following response: Cave referred to Article 1 and 2 of the decree; “to obtain freedom” such persons must make an application to the district court. He stated that:

The object attained by the decree of the 1st of Zilkada was not the total abolition of slavery but its legal status. Slaves, therefore, thought entitled to obtain their freedom by applying for it under the decree, are not ipso facto free until such application has been made (CMS, Intelligencer, 1898, p.730). Farler the British commissioner based in Pemba in his report from Pemba of the status of the decree on the abolition of slavery noted that; for the slave to obtain his freedom had to go the Wali and show how he proposes to maintain himself. Indeed there was a small number of slaves were seeking freedom and

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according to O Suvillan independence came with responsibility that many were not willing to undertake (CMS, Intelligencer, 1898, p.733). The clause on concubinage; proved difficult to mitigate because of the cruelty against women while the article four of the clause laid the foundation for forced labour. Lord Salisbury dispatch to Hardinge in February, 1898 stated:

To secure the continuation of labour upon the estates and to prevent the ruin upon the Arab owners it may be found desirable to adopt measures which runaway shall be prohibited from leaving the island or from abandoning their families and occupations (Anti-Slavery Reporter, 1893, p.100).

Perhaps the stand was also informed by the economic imperatives that the abolition of slavery would ruin clove economy and jeopardize exports whose annual value by then stood at 120,000 pounds (Anti-Slavery Reporter, 1893, pp.317-318). This may have contributed to the entrenchment of forced labour rather total emancipation of the slave population. 1897 June 27 The foreign office correspondence to the British Protectorate reporting from the British Attorney General Marquis of Salisbury to Her Majesty Commissioner for the East African Protectorate Arthur Hardinge. The content of the correspondence in part stated that:

It has been decided by the Attorney General that a British subject no matter in what service or employment he may be engaged in breaking the British law and he is exposing himself to penalties if he takes part in restoring to his master or otherwise depriving of his liberty any person on the sole ground that he is a fugitive slave. I have to inform you for your guidance that you should conform your conduct to the law thus laid down (CMS, Intelligencer, 1898, p.679). The case of a girl Kombo vs Saleh Bin Hussein before the acting district officer of Mombasa (E Llyod) sitting in the provincial court of Mombasa. The girls and her parents were presented by Rev W.G. Hoewe of the Methodist Church Ribe (Rabai). The girl Kombo was caught by a former master in Mombasa and her parents went for her rescue and they also taken were into slavery. According to the evidence adduced

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was that three had early consented themselves into slavery with their master Saleh Bin Hussein because of the famine of 1989 in Rabai. They were to work for their master in return for food rations. The ruling of the court was that the three be rejoined with the master until such a convenient time when they could be free after the famine (Source Unknown)

The ambiguity of abolitionism Law

The problem of abolition law in British East Africa raises fundamental debate on the principle of the actuality of law and non- actuality of law; between rulemaking and actualization of the law. The use of legislations to coerce the will of men in this context did not necessarily prevent the encroachment of discretionary power (Friedrick-Philosophy of Law and State; Road to Serfdom, 1944; Constitution of Liverty, 1960; Law Legislation & Liberty, 1973). The British abolition law was applied in an environment of legal disability with no self- ruling capability. The sovereign status of the coastal strip was a property of the sultanate of Zanzibar; under international treaties of 1833 (-USA), 1862 (France)) and 1886 (Germany). The British only had protectorate status over the region under the 1895 colonial stock act agreement (Minute Read, 1914). Arthur Hardinge the Consul -General Zanzibar 1894-1900: noted in his dispatch to the colonial office in 1894 that “protected status does not amount to territorial control and hence endanger the implementation of abolition law”. He further noted in his dispatch to the colonial office “that the colonial administration recognizes native law -(Mohammedan law) which recognizes slavery. The slave cannot own or dispose of property; cannot give evidence in the court of law; cannot contract a marriage without the permission of the master..., This is the legal position of a slave in British African protectorate... a territory where Britain has no absolute control”. In July 1895 when Britain took control of the

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territory hitherto governed by the IBEAC, Arthur Hardinge held a meeting in Mombasa under the instructions of Lord Kimberly; the Foreign office colonial secretary and read in Arabic a speech that contained the following declaration: *The Mohammedan religion will remain the public and established creed in the sultan territory and all cases and lawsuits between natives will continue to be decided according to sharia law*(CMS, *Intelligencer*, 1899, p.675). Sir Lloyd Mathews speaking on behalf of the Sultan having been appointed the sultan Prime Minister said that *all affairs connected with faith of Islam will be conducted in honour and benefit of religion and all ancient customs will be allowed to continue* (CMS, *Intelligencer*, 1899, p. 675). The British occupation of the coastal strip may then be described in law as "*Lucum tenen*" or temporary sovereign status without the ability to effect substantive changes. In principle and law, the coastal strip was an extrajudicial territory. In that case, the application of abolition law was inhibited. It would also appear that some of the British colonial officials were pro-slavery and hence inhibited the abolition process. Rennel Rodd, Arthur Hardinge both served as consul general in Zanzibar in the 1890s and Lloyd William Mathews, the Sultan's First Minister in 1890. Rodd in his 1894 dispatch to Lord Rosebery the liberal foreign secretary argued that the abolition of slavery in Zanzibar and on the coastal zone of Kenya would, without concurrent abolition in German East Africa, drive Arab slave owners and their slaves into German territory. If that happened, the German territory would gain economically at the expense of the British possessions. He argued that abolition would cripple the economy of those parts of the British possessions which depended heavily on slave labour. Lord Rosebery instruction to Hardinge on May 1894 about slavery abolition that in countries such as Zanzibar, "where the institution of domestic slavery had grown up with and formed part of the social life of its inhabitants," the policy was to resort only

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to such measures for its abolition as, being gradual in their operation, ... without unnecessary interference." Hardinge in response also argued that abolition would cripple the agriculture of Zanzibar, which yielded two-thirds of the revenue of the State (Parliamentary Paper, 1895, 18, 24, 26). The legal plurality of the East African coast impeded the abolition of slavery. F. Lugard (1899) writing to the mission stations on the issue of runaway slaves stated:

I have already explained that a slave is property of the master and from that point of view of the Arab to steal or to harbour of the runaway slaves is identical to the theft of a horse or an ox in England... the Arab saw his slave appropriated by the missionary; given work, made to obey rules and told not to run away. Lugard about what he called the general perception of the Arab master...I buy the slaves with your money; your missionaries steal them and make them their own without purchase (Lugard, 1899- CMS/Z244/1) George Mackenzie of IBEA company in 1889 also argued that runaway slaves should be arrested taken to the Wali for their case to be determined. How the missionaries were carrying out the issue of runaway slaves was jeopardizing the success of the European enterprise in East Africa (Hardinge,-CMS/Z244/1,8,5) Shaykh Hagi Hassan of the southern Somali in his protest to the abolitionist activities in 1924 in southern Somaliland coast also added to the complexity of legal pluralism and the challenges associated with abolitionism:

.....According to our law, we can imprison slaves and make them work for us. We are true Muslims in the line of prophet Muhammed and all saints. The government has its own law and we have ours. We accept no law but our own law. Our law is the law of God and the prophet... (Campbell, 1935).

Further critical analysis of the British abolitionism indicates that it was hegemonic in nature because of the counter-reactions and rebellions from the local Arab hegemonies. The Arab rebellion of 1995 by Shei Salim Bin Hamid of Takaungu, Rashid bin Mbaruk of Gazi; Sultan

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Ahmed of Witu and Hamisi bin Kombo of Mtwapa was one such example where the local hegemonies tried to stamp their authority. Abolitionism was also enforced with a lot of ambivalence. There are now at Freretown about 400 free slaves received at various times from Her Majesty's Consul general in Zanzibar. All these are fed, clothed and lodged besides being taught intellectually and mechanically at the sole cost of the Mission as Government does not assist whatsoever (CMS 1874-1876 annual report pp42-43 The Times January 18, 1877).

Further evidence reveals that CMS missions stations at Rabai and Freretown also raised concern on the slow and sometimes not forthcoming support of the local colonial government about the expenses of maintaining the freed slaves rescued by His Majesty cruisers in the Indian Ocean waters. Sir Bartle Frere and Clement Hill, the secretary to Frere's mission urged support to be given to these mission stations at the rate of five Pounds per head. But the proposal was not acted upon (CMS 1874-1876,44)

About Germany East Africa; (Slavery was abolished in Zanzibar in 1897, Uganda in 1900, in the Kenya coast in 1907 in Mozambique in 1901 and Tanganyika in 1922 after it had become a mandate of the League of Nations under British Administration) (Tanzania National Archives, 1924) slavery and private trading in slaves remained legal until the end of German rule in East Africa in 1914 (Deutsch, 2006). In 1891 Reichstag debate to end slavery and slave trade in colonies, speech given by P. Kayser, the then Director of Colonial government; was that slavery 'as an institution was beneficial and that its abolition would trigger an economic upheaval and result in slaves refusing to work'(Deutsch, 2006, 100). On a similar note the then Colonial Governor of Germany East Africa, Von Soden in his speech of 1891 noted: *I have taken the view and made it known that slavery*

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will not be recognized as a legal institution and that no legal consequences can thus arise from it, but for the time being... we will tolerate the current state of slavery... I have instructed ...the district military commanders to steer clear of becoming involved in slave matters if possible, in order to avoid the impression... that slavery exists as a recognized legal institution (Deutsch, 2006, 109). The September 1891 colonial decree issued by Von Sodden, slaves who were sold to non-natives received a certificate of emancipation (Freibrief). The agreements were made in the presence of local district officers (Keiserliches Gu=ouvernement, 1911, pp. 329-31). In 1896, the German colonial governor, Von Bennisgen issued a decree to suppress the commercial and legal trading in slaves while allowing private trading in slaves. It meant that the local colonial administrators supervised the buying and selling of slaves by individuals and ascertained the legal validity of the transaction. The transaction was deemed valid if enslavement occurred under non-violent means after 1890, or by non-violent means after 1899 or by birth after 1905 (Deutsch, 2006, pp. 145, 147, 170, 173).

In each transaction, the government received a fee of 1.5 % of the sale price. Women slaves fetched 80-100 rupees and young men between 60-80 rupees (Deutsch, 2006, pp. 173). In 1901 the debate was stirred up by an article in the Dar-as-Salaam newspaper publication *Ostafrikanische Zeitung* intimating that the district office of Dar-es-salaam was validating the transfer of slaves between owners (Deutsch, 2006, pp. 114) The aftermath of this was the government decree of 1904 declaring children born of slaves after December 1905 be declared as free and finally in 1912 the Reichstag resolved that 1st January of 1920 was the abolition of slavery date in the German colony of Tanganyika (Deutsch, 2006, pp. 118/122). It could, therefore, appear that all colonial governors and local colonial administrators took a uniform stand that abolition of slavery was out of the question for

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economic and political reasons. By 1900 there were about 400,000 thousand slaves in German East Africa; by 1912 the government had issued 51632 certificates of freedom. The Germany colonial authority regulated the institution until the end of its rule in 1914 (Detsch, 2001; Miers & Klein, 1999). Under the Germany colonialism; it was not clear in law and policy on the abolitionism as the district officers were not required to return fugitive slaves to their rightful owners. With the development of the plantation economy; slaves were freely allowed to seek well paid up jobs with European employers without the consent of their former masters. Others did seek employment in sisal plantations, railway and caravan companies; peasants, artisans, domestic servants, concubines, sailors, and soldiers. The growth of labour recruitment companies in the late 19th and early 20th centuries targeted slaves who left their former master for lucrative jobs without legally being set free or on a rental basis (Kopnen, 1995, p.609).

The renting of slaves to work in plantation company (The Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Pflanzungs-gellesschief –DOAPG; Schutztruppe) was a common practice because free labour was not available nor was it attracted to it because of the oppressive working conditions (Deustch, 2006, p.210). In many instances, the owners received a share of their slave wages several months in advance to protect themselves against a possible loss of slaves as many did not return at the expiry of the contract. The pay for slaves was between 4 to 5 rupees and a similar amount was paid to the slave owners. At the end of the contract period, most of the slaves did not return to their owners. They settled in nearby plantations or in the land that previously was owned by insolvent companies or did seek private contract arrangement with plantation companies. The colonial administration could

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not return fugitive slaves to owners (Deutsch, 2006, pp. 212/213).

In Madagascar slavery transitioned to *Fanompoana*; a state-enforced and unremunerated labour system. The French conquered Madagascar in 1895 and abolished slavery in 1896. However legal abolition neither significantly enhanced the liberty of many slaves. The abolition history in Madagascar goes back to 1822 when the British signed a treaty with imperial Merina to end the export of slaves from the island. But domestic slavery continued. In 1825-26 the Merina rejected the British treaty and subjected the non-Merina people including the Bestsileo to slavery for agricultural and industrial work. Between 1820 and 1895 Madagascar imported about 400,000 slaves predominantly from Mozambique and Malawi into agricultural and plantation economy in Madagascar, Re-Union, Nosy-Be and Comoros (Campel, 1989). In 1863, the Imperial Merina ban on enslavement was a dead letter because it was not pronounced nor implemented. In 1877 to 1895 *fanompoana* was intensified due to emancipation measure of 1877. Forced labour was enforced as woodcutters, charcoal burners, spear makers, gun powder, carpenters, seamstress, tailors, were in great demand. When the French enforced abolition law; it led to Manalamba rebellion of 1895-1897. 1896 about 200,000 slaves were freed, given land, and placed under *fanompoana* system under the leaders of their caste. The forced labour schemes in Madagascar in the mid of the 19th century indicated the ambiguity of abolitionism. It appears the state failed to undermine the institution of slavery. The French planters in Madagascar continued to circumvent the anti-slavery legislation through hiring *engagé* or contract labour

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from the territory under the control of the ruler of Zanzibar, and in Portuguese East Africa (Nwulia, 1975, p.31).

The *engagés* were nominally free and employed for five years but the Africans were captured in the interior of Africa and brought to the coast to be entered into contracts.³ Lyons McLeod, who became the first British resident consul in Mozambique in 1856, provided an interesting description of the process. Each French vessel carried on board an official (delegate) to supervise the transaction. When slaves reached the deck of the vessel, an Arab interpreter would ask the labourers, in the presence of the official, if they engaged themselves voluntarily for five years. Then the interpreter would assure the official that “the slave is willing to become a Free Labourer at Réunion, in every instance.” McLeod (1860, pp. 304/5) reported that the official did not speak the native language, and did not understand the question the slave was being asked, or the answer he provided. Nevertheless “being assured by the Arab that the slave is willing to go to Réunion, the French delegate is satisfied, and if asked if the slaves are willing to leave Africa, he declares, on his *honour* that ‘he does not know anything of the contrary’ ” (McLeod, 1860). According to McLeod, French traders paid \$30-40 for each slave embarked in Portuguese ports. Of this sum, \$12-18 went to Portuguese officials for cooperating with the French (McLeod, 1860, p. 306). The great need of French planters and their readiness to pay high prices stimulated the traffic of slaves in East Africa.

The French government due to international anti-slavery pressure banned the *engagé* system in 1859, but it was not strongly enforced. The Merina Empire in Madagascar was also an important purchaser of slaves from Southeast Africa. The Merina Empire experienced economic prosperity in the 1860s and 1870s leading to an increase in demand for slaves (Campbell, 1986, p. 6). The Franco-Merina war of 1882-1885;

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impoverished the empire leading to its reliance on peasant unfree labour but the labourers reacted by fleeing in large numbers to the areas beyond Merina control (Campbell, 1986, pp. 165-192). The demand for slaves continued until the French takeover in 1895 (Campbell, 1986, pp. 12-20).

In Mauritius, the French set in motion the transition to apprenticeship and indentured labour from slavery. Slavery was seen as a lifelong servitude with no remuneration or inheritable property while apprenticeship was voluntary based on 3-5 year contract and the indentured labour possessed the right to remuneration and inheritable property. The ex-slaves did not get financial assistance but were declared apprentices to work for their old masters for a fixed term. The system continued up to the mid of the 19th century. Many of them were forced to continue working for their former masters to redeem the debts owed to their masters. In an attempt to abolish slavery those who were rescued from ships were placed under contract work with European settlers or Mauritian planters and then leased to the government for four days a year to perform public work

The slave trade in Mozambique under Portugal impacted on the societies of Mozambique and the recipient economies of Réunion, Madagascar, Mayotte, Nossi Bé and Zanzibar. By the end of the 19th century, the slave trade was outlawed by Portugal but despite the measures adopted to end slave trafficking in the Mozambique Channel, the practice was persistent. The measures by Portugal and by the Brussels Act of 1888 did not succeed in suppressing the slave trade in the Mozambique Channel. The slave trade by the Portuguese Crown remained vibrant throughout the nineteenth century with exports to the French colonies of the Western Indian Ocean, Zanzibar and Madagascar, and other northern markets under the Arab dominance. The Merina Empire in Madagascar constituted one of the largest regional markets

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for slaves due to an economy that was based on unfree labour in the late 19th century. Madagascar was recipients of a large number of slaves but also supplied the surplus to the French sugar islands in the Indian Ocean.

The Portuguese Crown enacted a series of measures against slavery; 1836 Royal Decree abolishing the slave trade throughout its empire, the 1842 Slave Trade Treaty with Great Britain, and the abolition of Slavery decree of 1875. Portugal did not have the necessary means to enforce the various decrees and treaties in Portuguese East Africa. Furthermore, administrators in Mozambique refused to attempt to implement such measures because the slave trade and slavery were so important to the colony's economy. The Portuguese Empire established a special court, the *Real Mesa Censoria*, that consequently banned publications advocating for the abolition of slavery (Marques, 2006, 12).

In 1869, the state of slavery was abolished in all Portuguese territories, although slaves remained *libertos* until 1878. In 1875 Portugal issued a decree aimed to free all *libertos* by 1878. The status of *libertos* was created in 1854, was defined as a "freedman" (freed slave) with the obligation to continue working without pay for a specific period.

The debate on abolitionism resulted into several interpretations on emancipation discussed in Chapter Three

CHAPTER THREE

Trajectories of Emancipation

Samuel A. Nyanhoga & Melvine C. Lilechi

The ambiguities in abolitionism highlighted in Chapter Two led to multiple trajectories of emancipation. These were redemptive, imperially decreed and self-declaratory.

Redemptive emancipation

Sitting visibly above the alter wall in the Church Missionary Society Church in Rabai constructed in 1887 are words of the gospel according to St John 3:36 “that when the Son sets you free you are free indeed”. These words were inscribed in 1899 when 1,800 freed slaves were given a certificate of freedom in the same church. For the freed slaves, emancipation was reimaged in the new-found status and new social makers such as the certificate of freedom, new names, bible teaching, prayer and hymns, an education,

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skills, new family and marriage. The freed slaves were drilled to internalize prayer ritual as a symbol of emancipation:

Thou who liv'st where angels dwell, beyond the stars and sky, look down in mercy, God of all, listen to our sad hearts ' cry; stolen from home, from kindred dear, this earth we tread alone, Great Heart of pity, melt, we pray, our captors, hearts of stone.

Behold these chains, this tortured flesh, have pity, save us, God!

I will deliver whom I love, this is Thine own glad word;

Burst Thou these give, these swollen tongues, these bloodstains cry to thee, in mercy hear, prayer-hearing One, give precious liberty.

There is a spot on Africa's shore where slaves they say are free.

Guide thou us wither, lead, oh! Lead, our eyes are unto thee;

Lead Thou us Lord, to that glad land where slaves find rest and peace; Where tyrants never can steal or slay, where slaves cruel scourging cease.

But hark! a sound across the main; is it, O God! to save? Yes, Joyful news, the cannon speaks, its voice bore on the wave; Hark! words of cheer, Up, slaves away, your fierce oppressors flee; Thank God, the slaves are rescued now redeemed by love, set free (CMS Cadbury Archives, The Gleaner, March 1885, p.32.)

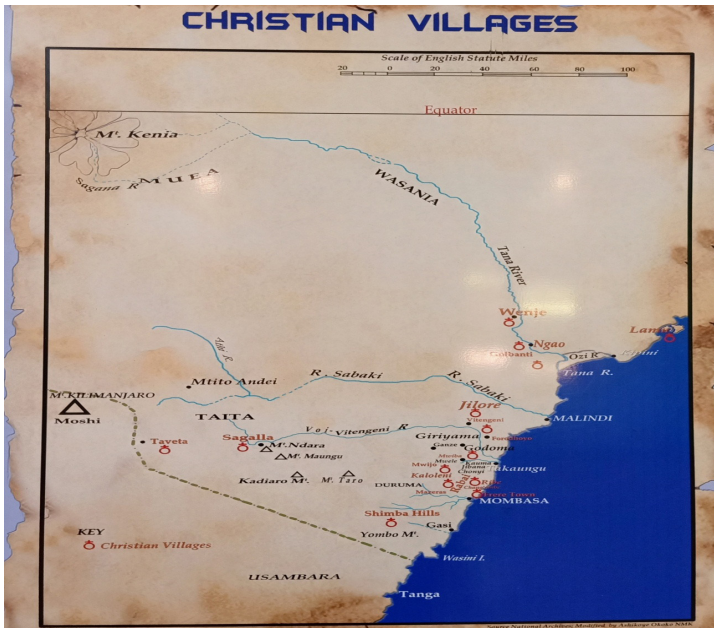
Referring to a testimony contained in the Congo Evangelistic Mission Report of 1924; Shambelo, the former slave and son of a chief expounded the notion of double redemption, declaring that his two most valued possessions were the document that granted him freedom from slavery and his Bible that declared him free from sin (The Congo Evangelist Mission Report). Christianity was a mutable ideology that involved codes of conduct;

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and physical makers that were continually renegotiated against the other who was considered backward, inferior, immoral and heathen. To enculturate the freed slaves there were several Christian villages established by the Methodist, CMS and the Roman Catholic Church along the Swahili coast. The Methodist missionaries established the Ribe Christian village in 1862, Thomas Wakefield was the pioneer missionary. It catered mostly for the freed slaves who were converted and some became evangelists. Among them was Mathew Sakala who was sent to Golbanti along Tana River to assist in the establishment of another Christian village. John Mgomba was sent to the Samburu station where he died in 1917. Stephen Chirere became a missionary and sent to Chonyi Methodist Mission in 1873 until 1885 when he died. The converts were taught the bible, secular education, masonry, dressmaking and cookery. Men always wore short pants while their women long dress. Mazeras Christian village was also established by the Methodist missionary, Charles New in 1873. The original church was burnt down and rebuilt by Thomas Mazers and renamed after him in 1883. The original name was Miyani Christian village. It became a center of religion and secular education. The early converts included John Mgomba, Thomas Mazeras, James Nodoro, Charles Tsuma and William Kumbe.

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Figure 3.1 Christian Villages



Source: National Museum of Kenya, Rabai Sketched by Ashikoye Okoko, accessed December 10, 2019.

The Methodist church established several other Christian villages along the Tana River with the assistance of freed slaves who had converted to Christianity. Golbanti Christian village was established in 1883 among the Galla along the Tana River. The early converts included Aba Shora, Jane Balafo, Arthur Huko, Martha Safo and Mathew Sakala. Similarly the Makere Christian village was established among the Pokomos in upper Tana River by Ogley Alma in 1887. Other missionaries were Bertha Wartenberg and Fran Missioni Bamberger. The African converts included Abae Hirbae, Galana Abiyo, Malibe Galano, Stephen Jilo, Galana Bitengele, Dhadhacha Jilo and Samuel Abae. These were mostly local converts. The Lamu Christian village was more of the logistical centre to the inland Christian villages.

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It covered four and a half acres consisting of a church and cemetery. The African converts were Amos Chadoro, Benjamin Ndumari and Stephen Buko. The Ngao Christian village was established in 1888 with Methodist missionaries such as Ferdinand Wultz, Christine Soniteachzen and Wilk Schmidt. The African converts included Christian Duo, Phillip Kagalla, Nathaniel Titila, Mungatana Dhumbari and Chadoro Tutu.

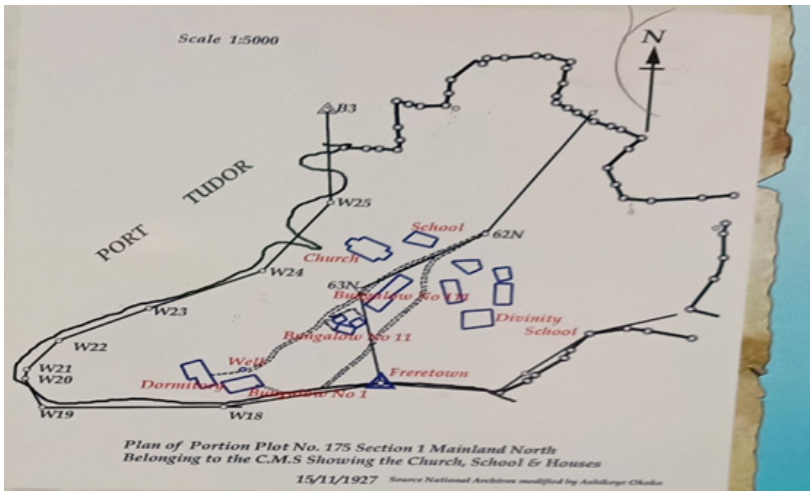
Apart from the Methodist missionaries; the CMS also established several Christian villages to provide refuge for the runaway and freed slaves. The Rabai Christian village that was about 1,000 hectares was established in 1846 by Ludwig Krapf and Johanne Rebmann. The village consisted of a church, residential places, school, clinic, market building and cemetery. Between 1875 and 1800 the village received freed slaves including the Bombay Africans. By 1888 it had a population of about 2000 inhabitants. By 1888 William Jones, a freed slave and trained in Nasik India was the pastor in charge while Rev William Salter Price was the superintendent of Freretown. In 1887 Bishop Parker took over from Bishop Hannington who was murdered on his journey to Uganda in 1885. In 1888, 933 runaway slaves received a certificate of freedom. Among the African freed slaves who became evangelist was Timothy Mapenzi. He was trained in Theology and then became a preacher and teacher in Rabai and Giriama land. Later he moved to Tanganyika where he was initially captured as a slave and built a church in Mwijo and Bagamoyo and became a crusader for abolitionism. Others were James Mkoba and Samuel Kuri Batholomew.

The Freretown Christian village was established by the CMS in 1875 and named after Battle Frere. Rev. William Salter Price became the superintendent of Village. The village housed the Bombay Africans who numbered 150 and freed slaves and runaway slaves from the surrounding

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Arab masters. It had about 450 residents by 1875. It was about 1,000 acres to the North of Mombasa with a church, school, cricket field, prison, farm and individual gardens. Between 1875 and 1895 about 923 freed slaves were settled in Freretown. The early and notable ones were Uledi and Francis Khamis. Other notable African freed slaves and converts included William Jones, James Deimler and his wife Catherine Elizabeth; and Ishmael Semler.

Figure 3.2 Free Town



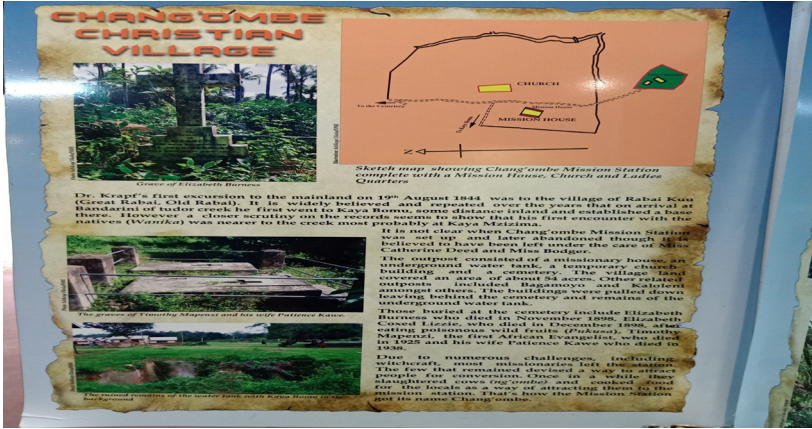
Freetown by 1927: Source National Museum of Kenya, Rabai Sketched by Ashikoye Okoko, accessed December 10, 2019.

Other Christian villages established the CMS along the Kenya coast were Chang'ombe, Sagalla, Jilore, Forodhoya or Fulladhoyo and Kaloleni. The Chang'ombe Christian village was established in 1844 but later abandoned because of witchcraft and insecurity occasioned by the Arab slave masters. It was under the care of Elizabeth Burnes and Elizabeth Coxie Lizzie who both died in 1898. The African

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included Timothy Mapenzi who died in 1925 and his wife Patience Kawe in 1938.

Figure 3.3 Changombe Village



Source: National Museums of Kenya, Rabai, accessed December 10, 2019.

The Sagalla Christian village was established by Rev. Joseph Alfred Wray in 1883. It was 25 acres and consisted of a church, school, dispensary, residential houses. The Jilore Christian village was established by Douglas Hooper in 1890. Later in 1891 Fred C. Burt and Lawrence Robertson took charge. The Christian village covered 1,500 acres consisting of a church, school, dispensary and cemetery. The local converts were Marko Menza, Johana Gonan. Others were Wilson Kajoro, Ishmael Thoya and Timothy Nguma who may have come in with missionaries as freed slaves to assist in the mission work. Forodhoya or Fulladhoyo was another Christian village established among the runaway slaves by Firaji Jeremiah and Abe Sidi (David Koi). Because it was harbouring runaway slaves, it became the target of Arab slave owners. It was here that Abe Sidi was beheaded

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by irate Arab slave owners for harbouring runaway slaves. The Kaloleni Christian village was established in 1894 by Florence Irene Deeds, Herbert Harris and Eleanor Bodger. The Kwale Christian village was established in 1898 at Simba Hills by George Burns. It had few converts because of the strong presence of Muslims. Among the converts were Ramtu, Maneno and Stephen Gude Zani.

The Christian villages along the coast from Zanzibar, Bagamoyo to Freetown Rabai and other outer stations kept strict control over the freed slaves. Nevertheless the liberated slaves abhorred restrictions on their behaviours and complained of not being paid when they did their expected work (Kollman, 2005). In some of the University Mission to Central Africa Christian villages of Magia, Mwembeni, Mkunazini, Kiungani in Zanzibar and Bagamoyo; the freed slaves continued to refer to one another as “Wajoli” (fellow slaves) an indication of the continued level of subjugation by the missionaries (Anderson, 1909). In Rabai and Freretown along the Kenya coast, the regulations or code of conduct were posted in conspicuous places for the freed slaves to adhere to. They were also read out to the freed slaves in an organized assembly every first Sunday of each month. The regulations were as follows: No one was supposed to take up residence in the settlement without permission from the authorities. All the visitors were to be reported to the authority. No traditional drumming or dancing was permitted without special permission and after 6 pm. Curfew was imposed as from 9 pm in which movement in and out of the settlement was prohibited. No one was allowed to go out of the settlement to Mombasa on a Sunday. No work was to be done on Sunday including buying and selling of any items. All residents were required to be polite to the visitors. No one living in the settlement was to sell *tembo* or liquor. No one was required to engage in caravan or work outside the settlement without permission

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from the authorities. There was to be severe punishment for drunkenness, wife-beating, theft, assault, adultery and bad language. The punishment included fines, manual work and imprisonment. Further to these, there were specific rules prescribed to the native preachers; as they were not required to cultivate the land, nor built their own houses but live in houses built for them by the native Christians. They were not supposed to wear European clothing but a native *Kanzu* or Cassock and a *Kikoi* or loin cloth rather than trousers. While serving as native preachers they were to be freely transferred to any other station other than Rabai and Freretown (Harris, 1987; CMS Minute book, 1/162; 1/633). The Christian villages represented a microcosmic environment of colonial society. The administrative structure was hierarchical with the European missionaries at the top and African liberated slaves at the bottom. The European missionaries formed the Executive Council to oversee the management of Freretown, Rabai and other Christian villages. The Christian villages were divided into districts of fifteen houses each and each district placed under African elders. The qualification for an African elder was to speak English, be a confirmed Christian with high moral and Christian values. African elders were to be the spiritual mentors to those in their districts. They explained to their district members; the existing by-laws and other policies. There was also the general police supervision to deal with crime and deviant behaviour including drunkenness, wife-beating, and loud noise among other acts of lawlessness (CMS logbook, June 1904). The elders of the districts formed the Advisory Committee to the Executive Council made of European missionaries. Among the first elders of the freed slaves who formed the Advisory Committee was Semler Ishmael Michael, David George for Freretown and William H. Jones for Rabai. Others were James Ainsworth, Caleb Mwabela, Clement Farrar, Silas Rigby and Priscilla Bai (CMS logbook, June 1904). The

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elders became the intermediaries between the inhabitants in the settlement and European missionaries; supervising law and order, deciding punishment for minor violations of the by-laws. Of the African elders, William Jones was described by other freed slaves as a stern ruler, who expelled those violating Christian teachings and bylaws of the settlement. Any serious violations of the bylaws, such as drunkenness had to be decided upon by the European superintendent together with the Executive Council. The Askaris enforced the community regulations and were under the immediate control of the Executive Council. The Askaris were drawn from the local inhabitants in the settlement but a majority of them were of the Nubian and Indian extraction on loan from the Imperial British East African Company (CMS logbook, June 1904). The restrictions and underpayment attracted numerous strikes and labour protests from the freed slaves. Some escaped from the Christian villages castigating what the missionaries called liberty. The liberated slaves formed social movements, workers welfare association for collective bargaining and demands for better pay on the ground that the whites missionaries underpaid them and at worst treated them as slaves. The Christian villages were indeed microcosmic of the colonial environment with segregated residential quarters, penal code, prison, underpaid African workers under the paternalistic behaviour of the white missionaries leading to many protests and shunning of Christianity.

In 1860 the Spiritans under the congregation of the Holy Ghost Fathers established missions in Bagamoyo and Zanzibar to ransom slaves in the Zanzibar market and sought to make them Catholics. In the words of Vincent Donovan; ‘...They bought slaves, they bought them left and right with all the money they could get their hands on. They bought them by hundred and by thousands and they Christianized all they bought... they forced Christianity

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on the unwilling (Kollman, 2005). The Christian church built at that moment was little prone to attract free people who saw Christianity tainted by such slaves, isolated from surrounding people by the creation of the Christian villages (Burke, 1998). In 1883 two men namely, Leon and Matelala escaped from the Christian village of Mhonda in Zanzibar established in 1877. They wrote letters to the French consul in Zanzibar castigating what the missionaries called liberty. Between 1877 and 1883 more than 20 slaves had escaped from Christian villages.

Alexander Le Roy; a Spiritan priest in Zanzibar since 1851 had this view about the emancipation of slaves; 'the liberated slaves were children (Les enfants) in orphanage homes (fortified villages)'. They had to be 'directed and allow no lapse in their habits of regularity and piety with regular prayers and sacraments'. The coastal Christian villages were the formation centres before setting them for the interior at new stations for evangelization. The Christianized slaves became a nucleus for the Christian evangelization of the interior (Kieran, 1971). The Christian villages set in the vicinity of Zanzibar and Bagamoyo by the Roman Catholic Holy Ghost Fathers from 1865 to 1896 included St. Joseph, Mhonda, Rombo Mandera, Taunanguo and Kondoa making a total of 52 Christian villages. The orphanage Christian village in Bagamoyo had about 500 children by 1880. The children were socialized into Christian mannerism and when they were of age they were married as Christian couples and became a serving example of Christianized African families and served as a nucleus for evangelization to the outer station (Kieran, 1971). The Christian villages comprised of residential quarters, storehouse, school, chapel infirmary and prison. The villages were fortified to prevent sneaking out at night. Nobody was allowed to go outside the village without permission. There were a penal code and offenders were jailed. Serious cases of the offence was referred to the

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civil authority. The common offences included poisoning, attempted murder, sorcery or consulting African medicine men or women. The missionary was the judge of last resort. Each village had a chief. The Christian villages worked in the mission station as artisans, bricklayers, gardeners, cash croppers and carpenters. The paternalistic behaviour of the missionaries led to many protests and shunning of Christianity. Many deserted the Christian villages in Zanzibar and Bagamoyo raising credibility questions on the Christianization trajectory of emancipation. In Bagamoyo, in 1905 the number of desertion reduced the number of Christian villagers from 684 to 500 in 1908 (Maxwell, 2013).

The Rabai, Freetown, Ribe, Jilore and Godoma Christian villages in Kenya presented a similar scenario as was the case with all other Christian villages in Zanzibar and Bagamoyo. The Christian trajectory of emancipation remained superficial and at times reinforced traces of European racial superiority and subjugation. The description of the freed slaves as obtuse and merely mimicking the white missionaries was a clear indication of this. The settlement for the freed slaves represented a micro colonial society that was racialized, tribalised, exploitative and not necessarily harmonious. In the Freretown, the settlement pattern was tribalized with each ethnic community having separate living quarters perhaps to maintain ethnic purity. According to William Salter Price the pioneer missionary in Freretown recounts that when the freed slaves arrived in the settlement, they had to be processed with the help of African assistants who knew Swahili. They had to be settled according to the ethnic language they spoke; Yoa, Makua, Swahili and Makonde. This was to ensure ethnic integration (Harris, 1978, p.30). The description of Freretown settlement by Captain Boys of

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HMS cruiser named “Pilomel” in his visit to the centre in 1876 also reveals the following:

On the 18th November of 1876, I anchored at the Mombasa to survey the approach to the harbour. The Mission is situated at the head of the harbour...forms quite a colony of itself numbering about 350. It is here the freed slaves are sent. On arrival, they are separated from the rest for a few days for hygiene. Then men are given materials to build a cottage for themselves. Only poles and mud are used and cottages are thatched with palm and other leaves dried. Then they select wives from the women generally and live in their new cottages which are built in rows called streets named after tribes. Thus each tribe is kept separate. The men have to work several hours each day and are paid by CMS four dollars or about sixteen shillings a month (CMS Annual Report, 1876, p.14).

The subjugation of the freed slaves is revealed in the 1881 Commission of Inquiry ordered by the Sultan of Zanzibar and John Kirk over the alleged mistreatment of freed slaves in Freetown who were deemed to be Subjects of the Sultan. The Commission was headed by Frederick Holmwood and Captain Mathew Byles. The Commission found out that the Superintendent of Freetown J.R. Streeter was culpable and violated the rights of freed slaves by flogging and imprisonment for crimes as lying, disturbing peace, intoxication and adultery: Bayles observed *It would scarcely be believed in England that at present date there could exist a mission station within 150 miles or twelve hours sail from Zanzibar where these young Christian women could be tied hands and body to a tree and so brutally flogged or that there could be found Englishmen who countenance such a thing* (Harris, 1978, p. 36; FO 541/49 No. 289).

The pattern of exclusion would be seen in the political, economic and cultural life in the Christian villages. Some of the most educated freed slaves took offence on the exclusion and the subordinate position they occupied in the Christian

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villages. One such example was that of Jacob Wainwright who served as the founder and head teacher of the CMS school in Rabai. In 1875 when John Hanford; the first English teacher was posted to Rabai arrived; he demoted Wainwright and criticized him of poor English before the students prompting him to resign from the mission school (Cadbury Archives, 1876, p. 104). In 1876 about 162 out of 180 members of the Baptism class in Freretown boycotted baptismal class protesting that their pay was being withheld due to absence from work (Cadbury Archives, 1876, p. 104). In 1881 the African teachers, catechists, interpreters and artisans went on strike and petitioned the Parent Committee of the CMS mistreatment. They refused to receive communion until their grievances were resolved (Cadbury Archives, 1876, p. 30).

In 1885 Bishop Hannington of the CMS East Africa in his visit to Freretown observed that Africa teachers were kept at bay dusting instead of teaching. In 1886 William Price of CMS in Freretown deplored the conditions under which African students and teachers were subjected to. He noted that African students were at times withdrawn from class to be cooks and donkey boys or cart pushers (Cadbury Archives, 1876, p. 388) Because of these conditions in Freretown most of the teachers resigned following the entry of Imperial British East African Company entry into the coast in 1888. The IBEAC offered higher salaries than what the African teachers received in the CMS settlement in Rabai and Freretown (Cadbury Archives, 1876, p. 312). In 1891 H.K. Binns of Freretown CMS settlement directed that Native Dress (loincloth), as opposed to trouser, be made compulsory to all mission African employees. On the same note, Bishop Alfred Tucker of the CMS East Africa forbade the wearing of shoes by Africans in Freretown and required all African teachers to adorn the Arab or Swahili *Kanzu*; a garment that they wore as slaves. Many of the African

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teachers quite the CMS settlement at Freretown and Rabai on account of this (KNA, CMS 1891, p.89; Bins to Baylis, 1895, p.131; Alfred Tucker, 1895). The mission education emphasized on conversion, religious teaching, attitude formation and little on non-religious subjects. The early mission schools that arose in Freetown, Rabai, Bagamoyo, and Zanzibar were the handmaid of the Church and essential for evangelistic role. The mission schools were the feeder of the church where it obtained its leaders, priests, deacons and Sunday school teachers (Dougall, 1932). The words of Curtin (1964) and Warren (1976) also extrapolate on the wider role of the mission education and the colonial enterprise. Apart from conversion, the aim was also to create a class of workers both for the “mission and empire”.

The mission schools in Freretown and Rabai started in 1875 while the Buxton School started in 1890 and the divinity school in 1894. The schools constituted the apex of the CMS education system in East Africa (Holmes, 1968). The missionaries saw these schools as a means of personal conversion and for that reason the curriculum was largely religious in which catechism and scripture were mostly taught (Stock 1901, pp. 246-257; Harris, 1984, p.46). The initial language policy was that teaching was to be done in English in mission schools in both Rabai and Freretown. However from late 1879, the policy changed with the medium of instruction changing from English to Swahili in that year. In 1894 the Divinity School that was training African catechists and pastors from among the freed slaves also resorted to the use of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction. The Divinity School thus reduced the English lessons to 45 minutes per week on grounds that Africans “needed no more” instructions in English for this would lead to competition from self advancement of the Africans (KNA CMS 1929; KNA/PC/NZA). The introduction of technical education aimed to satisfy the labour demands by the Europeans.

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Hence from 1890s variety of schemes and programmes on industrial training and agriculture were introduced in mission schools. These included carpentry, masonry, blacksmithing, gardening, agriculture, dress making, hair dressing, cookery and laundry (CMS 1877/1889/1893). The entry of the Imperial British East African Company into Kenya in 1888 demand for skilled artisans and potters fueled the demand for the industrial and technical training which the mission stations supplied. As the company extended its network into the interior there was an increases demand skilled workers such as clerks and interpreters. The Company through its director, William Mackenzie wrote to Rev. William Salter Price of Freretown in November 1888 requesting the mission to train some of its students as clerks, interpreter and literacy in English. The colonial government made similar request in 1902 (Sheffield, 1973, p.10).

The words of Sir Henry Johnston, a key figure in the “Scramble for Africa” also point to the synergy between mission education and colonial enterprise. He said that mission station and education was an important “essay in colonization” (Ayandele, 1966) He continued to argue that one of the missions’ most important contributions to the colonial regimes was their role in educating the native Africans. Mission schools provided a steady stream of educated Africans capable of filling the lower levels of the colonial administration and operated vocational and agricultural schools (Sheffield, 1973). The move towards technical education provided to African freed slaves in Christian villages was also influenced by the colonial policy on technical education whose aim was to produce labour to meet European labour demands. For example, the 1911 Nelson Frazer Commission on Education in the East Africa Protectorate focused on technical, vocational training and on forging closer government–missionary cooperation on education. Frazer recommendation that educational facilities

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for Africans was best provided by mission societies, on the grounds that African education of any kind, industrial or technical, was to impart morality and Christian instruction (Sifuna & Otiende, 2006). By 1912, industrial training in basic skills such as smiting, carpentry, agriculture and even typing was successfully underway in Freretown schools and consequently the mission station begun to benefit from government grants (KNA, MSS/54/63, 1912, p.12). The African freed slaves by design fitted within this motivation of evangelization project in the region. Though the freed slaves perceived education training and English language acquisition as a tool of social mobility, material benefits through employment that hitherto was inaccessible; the kind of education that was offered to them did not prepare them for leadership roles in the church and in the colonial service.

The failure of the CMS missionaries to offer instructions in English in Rabai and Freretown schools created an impression in Africans that the Europeans wanted to prevent equality with them. In 1900 the students in the Divinity School in Freretown went on strike over the Principal's refusal to offer them instruction in English. By 1906 the Divinity School had closed down due to lack of students and shortage of teachers. By 1914 there was a shortage of African clergy and teachers in Rabai and Freretown CMS settlement. William Jones Junior; a son of a CMS African pastor in the Rabai CMS settlement in a statement to the Education Commission of 1919 had this to say:

The Mission (CMS) having kept any useful English teaching from their schools have precluded any idea of our children advancement. I note from the general trend of events that English is necessary, nay essential, for one's welfare in this protectorate now and for all future time KNA CMS (1919). Other litanies of implied discrimination against freed slaves included the graphic and some comic description

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of the bible class /choir of Africans in Rabai in 1893/4 under Miss L. Hill.

The people are fond of hymns... Amusing things sometimes happen...I chose one to sing thinking he would be able to sing with me but besides making great effort to sing, he saw it fit to cough when I found it necessary to clear my voice. He thought it was part of the tune (CMS Annula Report, 1893/94. P. 41). The ambiguity of emancipation was manifested in the life of one Rev. William H. Jones of Rabai. He was born in 1842 and died in 1904. William Jones was rescued as a slave in the Indian Ocean and taken to the CMS mission at Nasik in western India. In 1864 was sent to Rabai to join Mr Rebmann in 1895, he has ordained a priest by Bishop Alfred Tucker and in 1896 ordained the Archdeacon (Strayer, 1978). Out of the income for missionary work he purchased land around Rabai, built houses and rented some of them to the Indian shopkeepers. He also sent his children to India for further education among them Lance Jones who later became an interpreter in the High Court of Colonial Kenya in Mombasa and Nairobi and thereafter worked as a journalist with Baraza and Mombasa Times (Elkanah-Oral Interview, 2018). Jones encountered racism and discrimination in career advancement within the mission work from the white missionaries. Jones notes about his superior Rev A.G. Smith in Rabai in 1895: *Smith worked very hard to put me down in Rabai as he thoroughly knew what influence I had among the people. He blocked me on every side. When people came to me for counsel, reprimanded them for having gone to the black man and ordered them to obey only the government officer (CMS, 1899/112).* With the establishment of the colonial protectorate, some of the Missionary doubled as assistant district commissioners and Smith was one of them for the Rabai area. Jones further resented Smith's suspicious inquisitiveness on how he acquired money to buy land and build his own house in Rabai. Smith had Jones investigated

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by the sub-commissioner of Mombasa and found guilty. From the records it is not clear whether Jones lost his land and house; apart from the unspecified fine that he was required to pay for his “conduct”(CMS, 1899/112).

Jones resented the unwillingness of the CMS to meet his salary demands. When he has ordained a priest in 1895 he was not given a salary increment. He noted that a salary of 47 Rupees by 1897 per month was equivalent to what a cook in European service earned. In 1897, the CMS also stopped an education allowance for his children studying in India. Consequently, Jones wrote a protest letter to the Parent Committee of the CMS in Salisbury London and noted:*I fought for Rabai. I fought for the slaves with their masters; I did all I could for mother CMS, and now after many years to be told that I have proved myself an unfaithful servant was unbearable, hence I resign* (CMS, 1899/112). In late 1898 Jones took up a government position and earned a salary of 150 Rupees; three times more than his mission wage. The resignation of Jones was a manifestation of the CMS unwillingness to offer the freed slaves opportunities for self-improvement and advancement. Others who resigned out of a similar predicament were James Deimler, Levi Mwangoma and Josia Rimba. By 1900 there were mass resignations of the African clergy from the mission stations of Rabai and Freretown. James Deimler also lamented: ‘If one is quiet and works patiently on, is it the cause of his being forgotten till he shouts and threatens to leave’ (CMS James Deimier, 1898).

The freed slaves working with the mission stations resented the whites missionaries attempts to frustrate their efforts of self- improvement in terms of clothing, housing, cultivation and salary. They also resented the white missionaries’ unwillingness to accord them the courtesy and dignity granted to other whites. More often, they were

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not regarded as co-workers but as agents of mission work without contribution to the formation of mission policy. Bishop W.E. Peel who took over leadership of mission activities in Equatorial East Africa in 1900 also lamented there was no real native Church Organization in the whole of the mission (CMS, 1900/31). The Refusal of the white missionaries to teach their native clergy and other students in the divinity school and schools within Rabai and Freretown in the English language became a source of discontent. For the African clergy, knowledge in English had monetary and social value as well as a symbol of modernity and means of mobility within the mission work and in the wider colonial establishment. Rev J.E. Hamshere of the Divinity School in Freretown 1900 allowed the teaching of English to forty-five minutes per week. He also refused to speak to his students in English language and preferred to respond to them in Kiswahili even when they addressed him in English. Some of the African workers at school such as Levi Mwangoma and Josiah Rimba protested at the lack of English instructions. Further, the African Workers Council (an organization for All the African workers in the Mission stations) was activated to press for their demands (CMS/1902/40). The consequence of this was the redeployment of Levi Mwangoma and Josiah Rimba from the Divinity School and a reprimand to Hamshere. There was no change in language policy.

The anger, protest and withdrawal of the African employees within the mission stations were occasioned by the insensitivity, cultural arrogance and paternalistic attitudes of the white missionaries. It would also be argued that the kind of curriculum offered to the African freed slaves was to prepare them for lower cadre positions in the wider colonial society to take the place among the white settlers who were occupying the country. They were to understand the work and methods of a white man and because of their

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“darkness and heathenism” not to aspire beyond what we’re meant to do (CMS/1909/122).

Imperially decreed emancipation

The emancipation was also understood in the context of colonial law and imperial decrees but it was not always justiciable. In June of 1899, Rev. W.G Howe, the superintendent of Ribe Methodist Free Church Mission still noted that government officers still summoned in the name of the Queen against British subjects to appear before the protectorate district courts and show reasons why they could not be liable to arrest for contempt of court for assisting the slaves to run away from their masters. Howe pointed out that in 1898 a member of the Ribe mission station was imprisoned for six months and died in prison for “stealing slaves from loyal Arab subjects (The Cadbury Archives, July 1899). It would, therefore, appear that imperially decreed pathway to emancipation was ambiguous. The colonial government was slow in funding the programmes for the settlement of freed slaves. For example, the settlement programme for freed slaves in Freretown and Rabai was indebted up to 3,500 pounds according to the CMS annual report of 1876 because of the inability of the government to honour its financial obligations to support the freed slaves. The mission centre in that year made an appeal to the colonial office for a subsidy of about 2,000 pounds and further indicated of its inability to receive more slaves unless the financial support from the government was forthcoming.

Early in the year Rev. Clement Hill of the CMS had also unsuccessfully made an appeal to the British Consulate in Zanzibar for a subsidy of 5s pound for every slave handed to the mission (Cardbury Archives, 1976, pp41/2). A report in the London Times of 18th January of 1877 provides further evidence to challenges the missionary were going through

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in Rabai and Freretown about the upkeep of the liberated slaves. *His mission was established a long time ago as of 1844 but up to the time of Sir Bartle Frere's visit in 1873 the progress made was not very great... There are now in the mission of Freretown Mombasa 400 freed slaves, received at various times from her Majesty's consul general at Zanzibar. All these are fed, clothed and lodged, besides being taught intellectually and mechanically at the sole cost of the mission, as the government does not assist whatsoever* (Times, Jan 18, 1877). This, therefore, appears to have been the state of the Freretown mission and the Rabai one when Price left in July of 1876 for London due to poor health. He was replaced by Rev. J.A. Lamb, Captain R.N. Russel and J. R. Streeter who was to deal with industrial activities for the freed slaves. The stewardship of Lamb was very short due to poor health. He was replaced by Reverent Alfred Menzies in 1877. Other missionaries were William Harris and Harry Kerry Bins.

In the year 1877, the mission reported that it had exhausted its financial reserves with only 30 pounds remaining in its local fund to cater for a population of about 450 liberated slaves in Freretown and 250 in Kisulutini (CMS Annula Report, 1976, p.43). The Mission centres had also to contend with runaway slaves seeking refuge from their brutal masters. By 1881 there was a considerable distaste of the Rabai and Freretown mission centres for harbouring fugitive slaves from the Arab and Swahili owners who were demanding their immediate ejection (CMS Annula Report, 1881, p. 30). The imminent attack on the mission centres was averted by Kirk the Consul- General Zanzibar who was compelled to make a trip to Mombasa to resolve the dispute by asking the mission to forcefully send the fugitive slaves to their owners (CMS Annual Report, 1881/3, p. 30). In the later years of the 1880s, there was fundamental development in the CMS efforts by providing a sanctuary to the liberated slaves. In 1885 the British colonial government

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agreed to make a grant of 5 pounds for all slaves received by the mission since July of 1884. This did not very much alter the financial precariousness of the mission centres. To ameliorate this condition, the mission centres very much strived to ensure that the settled slaves had their gardens for food supply. More often than not, crop failures due to the scarcity of rain exacerbated the food situation (CMS Annual Report, 1884/85, p.41).

In 1887 the colonial government established the office of Vice-Consul General in Mombasa to monitor the activities of the slave trade. Barley was posted as the Vice-Consul General and in that year he handed about 25 liberated slaves mostly children to the Freretown settlement (CMS Annual Report, 1884/85, p.44). In 1888 the Imperial British East Africa Company was given a royal charter with administrative responsibility stretching North and West of Freetown to Lake Victoria. The entry of IBEAC was a time of increased ferment against the CMS activities in Mombasa especially for harbouring the fugitive slaves. According to Price who again returned to Freretown in 1887; it was difficult to keep away runaway slaves from the mission land because it was an open wooded area. Price estimated there were about 2,000 inhabitants at Freetown and noted that it was difficult to determine the fugitive slaves from the liberated ones. The imminent attack on the Mission centres was averted when the IBEAC bought the freedom of about 950 fugitive slaves by compensating their Swahili and Arab owners (CMS Annual Report, 1888/89, p.40). The compensation paid by the IBEAC to Arab slave owners was £3,000 for 1,400 fugitive slaves (CMS Annual Report, 1888/89, p.36). The liberated slaves were to work as porters and reimburse the Company the money spent to buy their freedom. The compensation to the slave owners ranged from 15 to 25 dollars. The slaves were registered and upon receipt of payment; the slave owners were to sign the register to acknowledge the redemption

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and slaves were issued with the certificate of freedom. Those who were contracted by the IBEAC as porters were paid 5 dollars a month and for the first three months their pay was reimbursed to the company for the purchase of their freedom (Anti-Slavery Society, 1890, pp.179-180).

Bishop Alfred Tucker was to protest that freed slaves working as porters were subject to very harsh conditions similar to those they had when they were slaves. He noted that some were left to die on the caravan between the coast and the interior (Anti-Slavery Society, 1890, pp.179-180). Referring to other colonial authorities in the region; the German East Africa Colonial Authority conceived of an ambiguous “emancipation without abolition”(Deutsch, 2006). The institution of slavery was regulated from commercial slave trading to private slave trading until the end of the German rule. The Germany Colonial Administration simply issued dead letters or decrees that were neither pronounced nor published (Deutsch,2006). In Madagascar, the institution of slavery also transited to an equally controversial *Fampoana* system of irremunerated work that symbolized servility. It would therefore appear that imperially decreed emancipation was a colonial artifact. The colonial officials, as soon they issued abolition orders, washed themselves off slavery and assumed it never existed.

Self-Declaratory Emancipation

The law of contract derived from the English common law went back to the 12th century. It was based on the principle of *stare decisis* and hence borrowed from the Roman Common Law. The Law of Contract defined a contract as an agreement giving rise to obligations which were enforced or recognized by law. There was to be an agreement between two or more persons resulting in legal relations. The contract was to comply with statutory formalities. The agreement was to be

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supported by what was called ‘consideration’. The parties to the agreement were to have ‘legal capacity’ to the contract. The agreement was to be genuine and not affected by factors such as mistake, misrepresentation, fraud, undue influence and duress. The agreement was to be for the object which was not illegal or contrary to public policy. The contract had clear terms of termination either through expiration; breach, vitiation or misrepresentation (Allen & Overy, 2019). In the above context to describe runaway slaves as deserters (Morton, 1990) went contrary to the law of contract. The contract was to be mutual where both parties had a positive obligation. For one to be described as a deserter; there had to be at the beginning; positive obligation followed by a negative action. One could not be termed a deserter by running away from a negative or hostile environment associated with slavery; after all, they were coerced into slavery at the beginning. In the 19th century, slaves feeling their masters was common along the East African Coast; with some drifting into mission stations to seek protection while others established independent settlements. Still, others simply “melted” into growing urban areas along the East Africa Coast.

There were also several slave resistance along the East African Coast owing to the violence associated with it. Pemba and the sugar plantations near Pangani River in southern Tanzania experienced considerable flight of slaves to escape from the brutality of their Arab masters. The slaves numbering several thousands fled sugar estates in the Pangani valley in 1873 and established independent settlements. The attempts by their former owners to recapture them was defeated by the former slaves (Glassman, 1995). On the Mrima (northern) coast of Tanzania in the late nineteenth century, slaves fleeing their masters enlisted as trading-porters on upcountry caravans (Glassman, 1991). In the mainland plantation areas of the southern Kenyan coast

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slaves fled to the Christian mission stations. The fleeing slaves established a village called Koromio, although it was destroyed by Arab forces from Takaungu in 1852. Later, a much larger settlement at Fulladoyo was created in 1879. It was attacked by the Arab masters in 1883 and by 1890 had about 1,000 inhabitants. Other settlements established by the fleeing slaves included Jilore, Makongeni, Chakama, Yameza, and Mlangobaya around the Sabaki River. Jilore had a population of 300 in 1878 while Makongoni had 1,000 in 1890 (Glassman, 1995). To the North, around the Tana and Juba rivers, the fleeing slaves built heavily fortified villages. Other settlements were in Witu, and Jongeni in the hinterland between the Tana River and Lamu. The settlement of self-liberated slaves had structured developed a self-governing council of elders (Glassman, 1983). The Benadir southern Somali coast represented the farthest northern extension of coastal plantation slavery and, consequently, imported a great deal of slave labour through Zanzibar from the interior of Eastern Africa. Two settlements for self-liberated slaves were in the Goshia region up the Juba River and Avai in the swampy marshes of the Shabelle River behind the coast at Baraawe.

The different settlements in Goshaland had a total population of perhaps 25,000 to 30,000, all of whom were originally Bantu speaking peoples who had fled slavery at the coast from the mid. 19th c. They were led by a Yao ex-slave named Nassib Bunda and hence developed a federal system of governance in the last quarter of the 19th century and presented a formidable resistance to Italian occupation. Avai settlement consisted of six villages with a population of 3,000 by 1903 (Cassanelli, 1987). The fleeing slaves chose the path of self- emancipation though Morton (1980) and Cooper (1977) describes them as runaway slaves or deserters (Morton, 1990). According to the concept of plasticity of identity; identity is either imposed or self- cultivated.

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The self- perception of the fleeing slaves for instance the Fulladoyo and some of their leaders such as David Koi (Abe Sidi) is that they were not deserters but self- liberators or freedom seekers who forged several alliances as a survival strategy (Marshal, 2012).

For example H.K. Binns of the CMS described them as a group that sought alliance with CMS for protection against the irate slave owners (Binns, 1881). In 1883 when their settlement was destroyed by the irate Swahili and Arab slave owners and their leader David Koi beheaded; they took refuge in the CMS Christian village in Rabai though some integrated into the local Digo community and while others joined Rashid Mbaruk as military retainers (Morton, 1990). By and large, the runaway slaves must be understood in the context of self- emancipation rather than deserters.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Landscape of Slavery Heritage in Eastern Africa

Samuel A. Nyanchoga & Melvine C. Lilechi

To limit the landscape of slavery to the residues of slavery and slave trade is to abridge such a detailed subject that is ubiquitous today. The landscape of slavery encompasses the tangibility and intangibility of the heritage, the geographical concentration of slave and post slave population, the contested histories between the enslaved and slavers; the extraction of slave labour and persistent intergeneration structural inequalities and marginality (Armstrong, 2017). To understand how legacies of slavery continue to surge in contemporary times, it is imperative to interrogate its landscape at the Kenya coast. The abolition of slavery led to the transformation of slaves to squatters and landless population; a clear indication of the persistence of new forms of bondage and subjugation. The abolition law was not in entirety emancipatory as discussed in chapter Two. To the paraphrase, the words of Kevin Bales (2014), abolition is a legal definition but slavery is the state of being that may be persistent. After the abolition of slavery

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and slave trade internationally in the mid of 19th century, local slavery and slave trade continued in the Kenya colony particularly at the coast; by Arab and Indian traders to about 1934. The slaves were also used in the local plantation economy due to the under-capitalization of the colonial economy and the colonial administrative inability to stamp out the practice. The Kenya coastline was a property of the sultanate of Zanzibar; under international treaties of 1833 (USA-Benjamin Harrison), 1862 (France Napoleon III) and 1886 (Germany- Kaiser William I). The British colonial administration had protectorate status over the region under the 1895 colonial stock act agreement signed by the colonial secretary of state Joseph chamberlain on behalf of the British government and the Sultan of Zanzibar. This ten-mile coastal strip was neither a British colony nor dominion. The Ten Mile coastal strip was sovereign territory recognized internationally as per the treaties of 1833 (with the USA), 1862 (with France) and 1886 (with Germany). Britain was unable to change this status without creating international conflict with France and Germany that recognized the territorial sovereignty of the ten-mile coastal strip (CO/133/144). The Order in Council of June 1920, defined the Kenya British colony as the hinterland and protectorate as the ten-mile coastal strip and its highlands whose sovereignty was under the sultanate of Zanzibar (Sultan Said Majid). The British colonial government opted to pay an annual rent of £17,000 for administering the area. At independence in 1963, the coastal strip was supposed to be an autonomous region or revert to the sultanate of Zanzibar. It was after much deliberation between the British colonial government, sultanate of Zanzibar and incoming African government that compensation of £1, 0750,000 was paid to the sultanate of Zanzibar for forfeiting his claim to the coastal strip. Other conditions were that post-colonial government to respect and uphold land titles that were issued by the sultanate of

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Zanzibar to Arab landowners before 1895. It was after these conditions were accepted that the coastal strip then became part of the post-colonial Kenya territory.

The African Question

The Africans residing in the ten-mile coastal strip from the sea were the subjects of the Sultanate of Zanzibar. Slavery and the slave trade continued in the coastal strip up to about 1930; even after the sultanate issued a decree to end slavery and slave trade in 1907 (Hardinge, 1938). The practice continued because of the legal pluralism (British common law and sharia law) and the intricate nature of the colonial economy and its link to the international capitalist economy and the inability of colonial administration to end the practice.

When slavery and slave trade from the hinterland and at the coastal strip was gradually abolished (Zanzibar and Pemba, 1907; Tanganyika, 1927, and Kenya Coast 1930 and Lamu being the last at independence when slave masters freed the last group of slaves), Africans had no claim to the land and the inheritants simply remained squatters or landless. There were several Africans subjected to slavery along the coastline leading to the creation of post-slave settlements. From the onset, the African population at the coast remained alienated from land as a critical factor of production. The settlements were the first step in the gradual transformation of slaves to squatters and therefore set in an intricate process of patron and client relations between the former slave masters and the freed slaves. The settlements exhibit several historical trajectories. From developmental perspectives, they are heritage sites that may be exploited for touristic purposes and a revenue stream for the state. They may also represent history from below and the voices of the marginalized who may choose to remember or not

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depending on the prevailing circumstances. The history from above is that of the conspiracy to silence and deliberately omit the subject from the national narrative.

Due to power politics, Slave heritage is often deliberately underrepresented, at times misrepresented and often ignored because it is deemed to be peripheral to national history. Consequently, this has led to destruction and even disuse of important slave heritage sites at the Kenya coast. The slave physical landscape arena is also the source of strong social and political tensions between the descendants of former slaves; descendants of former slave masters; indigenous communities and commercial developers. The overall effect of slavery heritage and identity is the exclusion from legal statutes as citizens, and access to legal ownership of land. Though not publicly acknowledged, there is an existence of a social classificatory system based on one's association to the past slavery. One of the major landscapes of slavery are slave routes from the coast of Kenya to interior. The 19th century plantation economy in Malindi, Mabrui, Lamu and Gasi, was powered by slave labour (Cooper, 1977, Nyanchoga et al., 2014). The slaves were sourced from the mainland Kenya, and even outside Kenya in the inter-lacustrine region as far as the current Democratic Republic of Congo. Slave markets sprung up such as Mtsanganyiko in Kilifi, Shimoni and Vanga along the Kenya coast (Morton, 1990). There were several trade routes connecting the coast and interior of Kenya, and inter-lacustrine region. Slave route originated from the port town of Mombasa and penetrated inland into Mariakani, Kibwezi, Mtito Andei, Msongaleni, Nzau, and Kitui to Machakos (Jackson, 1930). The slave route stretched into the highlands of Kenya, western Kenya where there was an important port of call and relaxation centre Mumias that was by then the homestead of Nabongo Mumia of Wanga Kingdom. From Mumias, the caravan route stretched further inland to Lake

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Victoria and Buganda to the Kingdom. Mumias evolved from the 17th century Itohkoo or traditional administrative unit of the Abamuima and Wanga subtribe of the Luhya community. Between 17th and 18th it was the traditional center called *Imanga* under the leadership of Muima of Abamuima clan. With the arrival of Wanga clan it moved to Matungu between 1652 to 1814. With the arrival of Arab and Swahili slave and ivory traders in 1850s it acquired the name *Kwa Shiundu* after their leadership Nabongo Shiundu. It became a market and a relaxation centre, and strategic launching pad for slavery incursion into western Kenya, Lake Victoria shores, Karamoja and Sukland. Mumias lay at the centre of the caravan slave route that started at Mt. Mrima near Zanzibar, through Mt Kilimanjoro to Ngong hills and Lake Victoria. In 1882, the name changed to Mumia after Nabongo Mumia, and later Mumias and remained an important center for slave trading activities between the Nabongo Mumia and the Arab- Swahili traders between 1900 and 1906. From 1888 and with the advent of the British colonial penetration into the interior, Mumias became a collection centre and a centre for anti-slavery activities for the Imperial British East African Company. By 1894 it became the administrative center of colonial North Nyanza District (Murunga, 1990). The second caravan route started from Takaungu, near Kilifi into Silala Magogoni and Ganze, then across Petanguo into Bamba, and finally into either Mariakani or Kibwezi after which the caravan stretched northwards into the highlands of Kenya (Kibunja, 2002).

The third caravan route connected both Mombasa and Malindi coastal ports and went towards Taveta on the Kenya/Tanzania border, then northwestwards to the western side of the Rift Valley into the shores of Lake Victoria (Kavirondo region). From Taveta there was an alternate route towards Ngong hills in the rift valley and then towards the environs of Mount Kenya in central Kenya

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of the Agikuyu people. The route then penetrated further past Lake Baringo in the Kalenjin land to the Samburu region (Kiriyama, 2018). The fourth route became actively used during the anti-British slavery campaigns and aimed to avoid the Indian Ocean patrols. The slaves were taken through Taita, Tavetaland, Shimoni slave caves and finally to Zanzibar slave market (Sheriff, 1987). The interior caravan towns included settlements such as Machakos, Kitui, Kibwezi, Mariakani, Mtito Andei and Mumias. Of the inland market centres; Machakos was an important port of call for slave traders, its original name was Masaku named after Masaku wa Munyati, an Akamba chief who arrived in the area in 1816 from around Sultan Hamud. Chief Masaku engaged in slave trade and his homestead was a major transit point of the slave caravan route connecting to Sultan Hammud and Kilimanjaro mountain areas. Machakos was later to become the first administrative centre for the British colony in 1887 and by 1899 the capital was moved to Nairobi. Mtito Andei was also connected to interior slave caravan routes of Machakos, Kitui, Kibwezi and Mariakani. In the local Akamba language, Mtito Andei means a “place of vultures.” The local Akamba community recount that slave traders left sick and weak slaves in the open camps that they had established at Mtito Andei. If the slaves died, they had nobody to bury them and vultures would feast on the bodies (Kibunjia, 2002). The Ngong Hills township was another important camp for slave traders. It sits on the ridge along the Great Rift Valley, located southwest near Nairobi, in southern Kenya. The word “Ngong” is an anglicization of a Maasai phrase “enkong’u emuny” meaning rhinoceros spring, and this name derives from a spring located near Ngong Town. The Coastal port towns included Vanga, Shimoni, and Gasi in the Kenyan south coast and Takaungu,

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Mtsanganyiko, and Lamu in the Kenyan north coast (Kibunja, 2002; Kiriama, 2009b).

There were several plantations, slave markets and transit points to Zanzibar and to the Arab world. Some slaves were used in plantations that sprung up at the coast in the 19th century. Gasi for instance was a plantation for coconut production by the Mazrui dynasty in the Kenya south coast and is about 70 kilometres from Mombasa. The history of Gasi is multi-layered. It also served as a slave market known as Kidutani in the 1840s. It was also coconut production area. The Mazrui palace sits at the center of Gasi township and area was governed by Rashid Mbaruk until he was deposed by the British because of slave trade activities. By 1920 it had become a colonial administrative centre. Over the years, Gasi has infused myriad cultures and populations comprising of the Mijikenda, Wapemba, Wazanzibari, Wamakonde, Waluo, Wahehe, Bajuni, Washirazi, Wasini, Wafunzi, Waswahili and Wamakonde. According to Rajab Hassan Zubedi, an Assistant Chief of Gasi, Gasi infused several cultures, but those with alien and slave ancestry weaved into local Digo, and Swahili culture; changed names, married into local communities such as the Digo and managed to obtain national identity cards and birth certificates.

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Figure 4.1 Contemporary Gasi



Contemporary Gasi: Picture taken by the author, March 10, 2012

Adjacent to Gasi is Fioni; a settlement of seven hundred families in a seventy-acre piece of land. From the settlement, there are entangled testimonies some pointing to slavery and immigrant workers. Limbomboni, like these from many of the other families, has no vital government official documents such as an identity card and a land title deed. To avoid the stigma of slavery and exclusion Limbomboni identifies himself as an immigrant worker. Mushiri Kinyemi is another informant born to Mushiri Mwavesho and Mwanasiti Nganzi originally from Poma Mwanza in Tanzania. He narrates that his grandfather Mwavesho came to Gasi as a slave to build the Mazrui palace and dig wells. Kinyemi has no access to formal schooling, employment, identification papers and engages in roofing work at Gasi (Limbomboni, 2012). In Fioni settlement, there are several narratives some conveniently crafted to avoid the stigma of slave heritage. Most of the inhabitants of Fioni are Makonde, Nyamwezi and Nyasa. For example, Francis Malalange son of Jonde Malalange was originally from Mozambique. He gave contradictory testimonies. He stated that as a child he

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accompanied his parents who came as immigrant workers in sisal plantations in the 1930s and never returned to Mozambique. He gave another version that his grandfather was a victim of slave trade and worked in the coastal Mazrui plantation before the British colonialism (Malalange, OI, Gasi,2013). Such testimonies are rife in Fioni.

Figure 4.2 Fioni



Fioni: Picture taken by author in March, 2012.

Another important arena of slave heritage is Shimoni (hole) which is a small village on the south coast of Kenya. Shimoni refers to the existence of caves by the seashore formed as a result of natural forces. The caves expansively cover over seven kilometres; Fikirini village to shimoni. The caves were used at different stages in the past for different functions. Oral narratives indicate that captured slaves were confined in the caves to escape British abolitionist activities before shipment to the slave market in Zanzibar.

Figure 4.3 Section of Shimoni Caves

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Section of Shimoni slave caves: The slaves were chained to the cave walls to prevent escaping (picture taken by author in March 2012).

Vanga is on the extreme south coast of Kenya. There exist ruins of a former customs house next to the seashore. It was built by Arabs for slaving activities but later used by the British as a customs house and offices of anti-slave trade scouts. Vanga is the home of Shirazi Arab ancestry associated with slavery in Shimoni and Gasi. Many of them moved to Vanga to escape British abolitionist campaigns. However the Vanga narratives deny the existence of slavery ancestry in the area (Magnesi, 2013). The existence of the administrative quarters of the then Imperial British East African Company in Shimoni as from 1884 and a cemetery where some of British abolitionist soldiers were buried demonstrate local Arab participation in slavery. For example Captain Fredrick Eyre Lawrence killed in the nearby Mbogani area by irate Arab slave traders in 1895 is buried in the Shimoni.

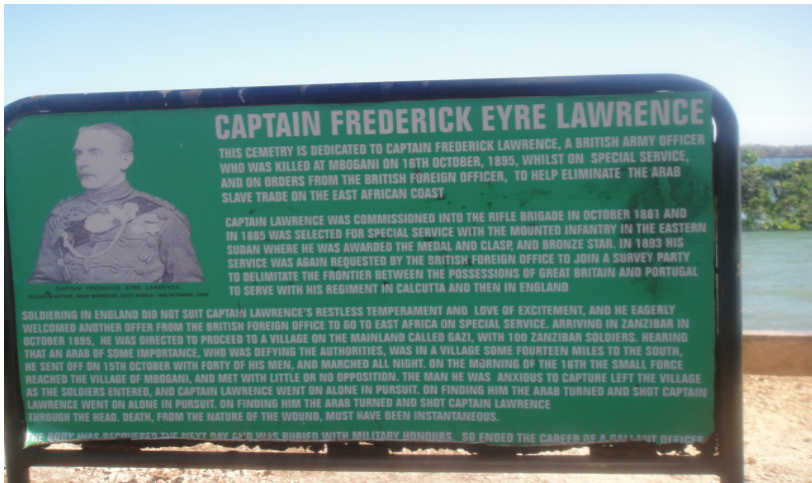
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Figure 4.4 Section of Vanga



Section of Vanga: picture taken by author in March 2012

Figure 4.5 Captain Fredrick Eyre Lawrence



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Figure 4.6 Captain Frederick Eyre Lawrence Burial place Shimoni



The Shimoni burial place of Captain Frederick Lawrence Eyre killed 1895, Picture taken by author, March 2012 in Shimoni colonial cemetery overlooking the Indian Ocean.

To the north coast was Witu; Watoro satellite villages and the sultanate of Witu under Sultan Achmed in 1860s. The population of Witu comprised of freeborn, slaves, runaway slaves, Oromo and the Boni. The sultanate of Witu was established in 1860s and grew as semi- autonomous sultanate from the sultanate of Zanzibar until late 18th century. The *Watoro* of Witu in 1870s comprised of five thousand people spread across semi- autonomous settlements from the sultanate of Witu. They were Balawa, Avatula, Katawa, Safareh and Staran. The villages were established between 1860 and 1883. They were strategically located along the Ozi River and Boni Forest; and offered strong resistance to Zanzibar and Lamu governor, Said bin Hamad's attempt to destroy the villages and enslave runaway slaves.

The most renown was Avatula bin Bahero of Somali extraction who established the Bawala settlement in 1860 and by 1890 was an autonomous settlement from the Witu

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sultanate (Ylvisaker, 1978). Lamu Town on Lamu Island is one of Kenya's oldest Swahili settlement established at around 1370. Prior to that it was a home to the Bajun of Bantu stock (Ylvisaker, 1978). Lamu was an important slave port under the Portuguese and Aram rule at the Kenya coast. After abolition of slavery in 1907 most slaves in Lamu remained with their masters under a system of de facto or de jure slavery. As the fortunes of their master began to decline, they gradually deserted them in search of better livelihoods. The system of de facto and de jure slavery continued in Lamu to 1964 when Kenya became independent (Curtin, 1983). Lamu maintained a social classificatory system as the free born (*Waungwana*) who distanced themselves from the ex-slaves and Africans who were called bumpkins or non free or (*Washenzi*).

The fundamental social divisions between free born and freed slaves' *persisted* in Lamu in the 19th and 20th century. Freeborn regarded the freed slaves as inferior distinguished in dress residence, education, language access to the mosque and descent. *Washenzi* wore clothing that left arms and upper body exposed in the case of men, arms and shoulders in the case of women. *Wa-Ungwana* men wore the woolen dress and turban denied to the *Washenzi*. Free women wore buibui, black cloak while *washenzi* women wore kanga or wrappers *Washenzi* were not allowed into the *Wa-Ungwana* section of town at night and during the day unless with permission or request from the master. They were regarded as inferior and impure by the *Wa-Ungwana* and beyond elevation by association with the freeborn. They were thought to have received their religious knowledge from the human spirits or Majini. The *Wa-Ungwana* monopolized the use of Arabic to prevent the *Washenzi* from the use of language at important religious ceremonies. They were not permitted their own mosque nor expected in the Friday mosque. When at the mosque they sat at the back on the

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left near toilets and upon death they were referred to as *Mfu* or carcass, denied perfumes, *talqin* ceremony (telling the corpse the words to tell the angels) and mourning period. Marriage was forbidden between the slaves and freeborn. Where the master had concubines and sired children, they took the status of the mother. They resided in a different ward of town known as Langoni. After emancipation, the ex-slaves struggled to create institutions of equal purpose such as maulidi ceremony and invoked Islam as egalitarian force. Secret marriages were used to break social barriers. Others moved away to Mombasa, Witu, but Langoni to date remains the epitome of poverty with mud houses because of its long ancestry to slavery ancestry.

Similarly, Pate is divided into two sections, Upper part (Mitaayu- mitaa ya Juu) and the Lower part (Kitokwa). People who reside in Mitaayu are supposed to be the descendants of the rulers of Pate (*Wa-ungwana*) while those who stay in Kitokwa are supposed to be descendants of the commoners. The Mitaayu people are therefore wealthy while the Kitokwa people are poor. The people of Kitokwa are proud of their ancestry as they claimed that they are the original inhabitants (indigenes) of Pate while the people of Mitaayu are newcomers. According to these people, the indigenes of Pate were the Pokomo.

Takaungu is another settlement near Kilifi at the Kenyan coast, established in 1697 with land acreage of ten thousand under the Mazrui family of the Omani Arabs. In the late 18th century, the integration of the East African coast into the developing world economy through trade; a demand was created for East African goods such as grains and slaves. This development meant that there was a need to have a much higher production of surplus goods to satisfy both the international and local markets. For the Mazrui family to effectively establish these plantations in Takaungu and to

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maximize their production to meet the need for the extra goods for export, they needed cheap labour; this came in the form of slaves. Slaves used in these plantations were obtained from as far as the current mainland Tanzania. When the use of slaves was abolished, there were about 5,000 slaves in this plantation. Currently, the Mazrui dynasty's land totals to about 9,100 acres. The land and residence Takaungu is inhabited by relatives of the former slaves as squatters and descendants of the Mazrui slave owners who include Ahmed Abdalla Mohammed, Khalfan Abdallah, Salim Al Amin, Mbaruk Abdalla Suleiman and Salim Bin Khamis.

The case of Takaungu points to many descendants of former slave families who remain landless and squatters in a land belonging to the once-powerful Mazrui family that ruled Mombasa in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. (In the civil case 185 of 1991 between the Mazrui land trust (Ahmed Abdalla Mohammed, Khalfan Abdallah, Salim Al Amin, and Mbaruk Abdalla Suleiman and Salim Bin Khamis) and the government of Kenya was ruled in 2012 in favour of the Mazrui family. Consequently, the 10,000 squatter families were compelled to vacate the 9100, 000-acre parcel of land in Takaungu belonging to the once-powerful Mazrui family that ruled Mombasa in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. In its ruling, the court declared that:

“All other lands vested in the said board of trustees for the Mazrui, by the Mazrui Lands Trust Act (Cap) 289) of the Laws of Kenya (now repealed) were also vested in the Mazrui, as lawful proprietors thereof, and to the exclusion of all other persons (Civil Case 185 of 1991).” According to historical records, the Trust laid claim to this land-based on a certificate of title No. 409 of April 4, 1914, when the Mazrui Land Trust Board was registered as proprietors of the land containing 9,100 acres. The court ruling declared the occupants of the said land illegal squatters and landless. Similarly, other absentee landlords own 77,000 acres of land on the coastal strip. Similarly, Gasi is another area where the Mazrui family own more than 3,000

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acres of land.

The cultural landscape of slavery continues to create multiple identities, a hierarchy of rights, privileges, dispossession and subjugation. The southern Somalia region that borders Kenya, was rife with slave imports along the ports of Marka, Brava, Kismayu and Mogadishu. It also served as transit point for the lucrative slave trade from the Zanzibar region to Arabia and the Persian Gulf, and to the southern Somali market. Slave owners, or *Jilec* (*soft haired*), comprised both coastal people of Middle Eastern descent and Somali nomads of the interior. The slaves *Jareer* ('hard- or kinky-haired'). comprised peoples of slave origin. The *Jareer* were farmers (*Habash*), some of non-slave, and indigenous to the Juba, Shabelle, river region, which they occupied and cultivated prior to the arrival in the region of Somali nomads and other groups. There was little or no intermarriage between the *Jilec* and the *Habash*, because nomadic groups viewed the *Habash* as inferior and as labourers. There was mutualistic economic interdependence, with the *Habash* exchanging maize, millet and other subsistence products for the nomads' meat, milk, oil and animal hides, or their knowledge of agriculture for nomadic techniques of metal weapon manufacture.

The *Bantu/Jareer* remained stigmatized and the society was divided between the *Jilec* (soft hair) as the superior and the *Jareer* (kinky hair) as the inferior class (Bestemann, 1999). The Bantu *Jareer* referred to as Bantu Somali have no affiliation with the Somalia lineage system or clan system; Rather they stand outside the lineage system. When adopted (Shegad) into the Somali clans, they constitute a separate lineage. Most of Bantu Somali possess affiliation into Somali clans with limited rights. This affiliation sometimes leads to exploitative relations or serfdom. The affiliated Bantu Somali pay compensation or blood money (*diya*). They

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constitute the commoners (boon) ;those descending from the slave ancestry. They do not possess equal rights with the nobility (bilis) of the Somali clan. They are not fairly compensated for injury or loss in the hands of their kinsmen nor are they allowed to marry into the clans of the Somali nobility (Bestemann, 1999. p.128).

Other terminologies associated with Bantu Somali include Gosha (people of the un-inhabited forest), Mushunguli (Mshungwaya-from Shungwaya), 'Dhal-Goleed' (the offspring of the un-inhabited bush) and so on. They constituted distinct groups like the Zigua, Zaramo, Magindo, Makua, Manyasa, and Yao (Menkkhaus, 1989). In the colonial era; the Italian occupation of southern Somalia reinforced the continued subjugation of the Bantu Somali. It is derivative of the Italian word 'Oggi' the equivalent of 'today' in English. *Oggi* (today) implies that the Bantu Somali think for the moment. Ooji, or Oji is a derogatory term often used to refer to the Juba and shabelle valley people in reference to someone who has been enslaved. During the time of Italian occupation, the emancipated Bantu Somali were conscripted into forced labour into the plantation economy in southern Somalia.

Others were recruited as porters in the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 to 1936. They were rarely recruited into the colonial military institution because of opposition from the Somali clans who were unwilling to serve alongside people whom they regarded as slaves (Cassanneli, 1998). When in 1922 British officials categorised the Somali *Jilec* alongside *Jareer* as 'black Africans', *Jilec* elders immediately protested:*The government officials who have visited our country know we are descendants from Arabia, and this we have already proved and we can prove we assure you we can not accept to be equaled and compared with those pagan tribes either with our consent or by force even if the [British]government orders this we*

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cannot comply with, but we prefer death than to be treated equally with these tribes for as the government knows well these tribes are inferior to us and according to our religion they were slaves who were used for trade during past years.

The colonial occupation impacted on the Bantu Jareer people more negatively than on other communities in the country. This has devastated the entire economic as well as all other social development factors of the community. These included the colonial appropriation of Bantu land, and the forceful exploitation of the Jareer labour to work on Italian concessionaires.

The Somali independence did not alter the servile status of the Bantu Somalia. They were disposed from the lucrative river lands by the state managed farms in Jubba valley. The land registration process by the post-independence government dominated by the mainstream Somali clans fraudulently deprived the Bantu Somali of their land. Consequently they became casual workers in the State managed farms as others moved into informal settlements in urban areas of Mogadishu, Kismayo (Menkhaus & Cravan, 1999). The Bantu Somali faced other forms of discrimination, limited educational opportunities and politically underrepresented in higher government circles including the national military and the police service.

The collapse of the Somali state in the 1990s affected the Somali Bantu riverline communities as rival military and militia groups took refuge in the Juba valley taking control of farms and grain reserves. It also resulted in looting, banditry and criminality. The famine of the 1991 to 1992 worsened the vulnerable position of the Bantu Somali creating massive refugees to neighboring countries (Horace, 1933). The Somali Bantu over the years have been marginalized and

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discriminated minorities due their association with slavery heritage.

Rabai mission station is located about 25 km west of Mombasa. The area is inhabited by, the Aravai, a sub-group of the Mijikenda (nine tribes) that claim origin from a place known as Singwaya (located near the current Kenya-Somali border). It is important to note that the land where the mission station was established was donated by the Rabai Council of Kaya Elders. The mission station lay on a slave trading route (caravan route), that stretched from Mombasa, Mariakani, Kibwezi, Sultan Hamud to Mt Elgon region and Uganda. The mission station served as a refuge for the freed slaves and hence it played a major role in the abolition of slave trade and slavery in the Western-Indian Ocean. The founder of the station was Dr. Krapf.

The people with slave heritage in Rabai are viewed by the communities around them as the other, or the people who came (*wazalia*) or as the 'new comers', the '*whenda Kudza*' by the original *Aravai*. They are also referred to as Wamisheni because they resided in and around the mission. Though some intermarried with the Mijikenda, they largely remained exclusive through language and dress. They took to caravan and civil service work instead of farming and this contributed to their distinctiveness as an alien group (Morton,1980).

The multi layered social landscape of Rabai collage multiple identities that sometimes display latent conflicts as its various inhabitants struggle to find their cultural, political and economic spaces. The indigenous Aravai argue that they were prevented by the missionaries and by the freed

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slaves from benefiting from education and welfare given by the CMS center (Edwin Daimler, OI, 12,2019).

These realities show that the ex- slaves had no local affiliation to the Rabai clans and therefore literally remained outsiders. The ex- slaves also referred to Rabai as bush people and uncivilized (Edwin Daimler, IO,12 2019). Despite efforts towards intermarriage and assimilation into the local communities, they still bury their dead on a cemetery situated about one kilometer from Rabai centre. Elsewhere being an 'outsider' had a valued attribute. In many Muslim empires, slave soldiers were preferred because they had no local connections and rival to the throne. Indeed, in Egypt and India, slave armies transformed themselves into ruling powers. The labour of an outsider could be transferred to "stronger, hierarchical and centralized societies" In India, Hindu societies often forced so-called 'tribals' into the *shudra* slave outcaste (petry, 1998, pp.283/4). Freetown was established by the CMS in 1873 as sanctuary for the freed slaves along the Swahili coast and India. Between 1874 and 1888 there about 3,000 freed slaves. Freretown continued to receive freed slaves until the end of the 19th century. There were two categories of freed slaves settled in Freretown.

Those who had been liberated in the Indian ocean by the naval forces and taken to Sharanpur and Nasik near Bombay in India and later transferred to Freretown (Chautan, 1995; Beachey, 1976). Despite having been taken to Christianity under CMS, Freretown maintained social classificatory system. The Bombay Africans were a product of CMS African Asylum in India. Dubbed by missionaries in East Africa as Bombay Africans or Bombays. Adopted to English, Hinduism and Marathi and took the names of missionaries and dropped African names. They took to British dress and various trades such as smiths, cooks, seamstresses, and domestics. In 1864 some were sent to Rabai

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to Rebmann –William Jones, George David and Ishamael Semler. The Mijikenda looked at the Bombays as relatives of slaves. Bombay Africans also because of the acculturation and mannerism, were superior to local ex slaves and to those of the Mijikenda community. In 1876, Freretown had 70 bombay Africans, and 342 freed local slaves. The Bombay Africans were mission police wardens teachers, carpenters, builders, sailors and overseers. They occupied the highest religious and secular positions in the CMS Mission. They received a salary and some such as George Davis, Tom Smith, and Ishmael Semler, purchased their land near the mission station They often regraded themselves closer to the European missionaries than the locally freed slaves. There were also the freed slaves known a Mateka mostly from Nyasa land who did manual work and who sometimes were mistreated by the Bombays leading to conflicts in the mission.

The transition from colonialism to independence, brought a complete turn of events. The African elite who took over the leadership of the new administration blocked the advancement of the former slaves or their descendants to senior ranks in the civil service questioning their citizenship status (that their historical roots were located outside of Kenya). Thus, both the Africanisation of the civil service and resettlement programme including accessibility to land did not favour them (Kiriama, 2011; Ballarin & Kiriama, 2013). The inhabitants of Frere town encountered many challenges among them the refusal by the government to be registered as Kenyan citizens, lack of access to employment and formal education. In the national census, they were grouped as “others” meaning they legally lacked linguistic and ethnic identity (Kenya Population & Housing Census Report, 2009. pp.34/35). The narratives of people like Frederick Uledi and Elkanah, the descendants of former freed slaves indicate that in post-colonial Kenya, they suffer stigma

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and exclusion because of their slave ancestry. Many lack identity cards and are not recognised as an ethnic group in Kenya. Those having political ambitions are reminded of their servile and alien status. For instance, Frederick Uledi who stood for an elective post as a councillor in 1979 claims that he was unsuccessful because many of the electorate referred to him as either a *Mgeni* (an alien, *Mtumwa* - slave or a Nyamwezi, an ethnic group in Tanzania where some of the Frere town ex-slaves came from) and therefore was unfit to represent the indigenous people as a councillor. In the 1960s and 1970s Felix Manasseh a former Railways Corporation clerk was jailed for four months and thereafter almost deported to Nyasaland (modern Malawi) because his ancestry was traced there (Kenya Population & Housing Census Report, 2009. pp.34/35). For instance, Edgar Manasseh who rose to become Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Finance and was also the first Commissioner-General of the Kenya Revenue Authority, was retired from the civil service on political grounds and because of his slavery ancestry (Elkana & Uledi, 17/03, 2010). The desire of the descendants of Frere town to be recognised as an ethnic group known as *Freretownians* has not been successful with the post-independence government. They also decry of being dispossessed of their heritage. In 1963, the Mombasa Municipal Council took over the management of Frere town facilities such as the social hall from the community.

The St. Emanuel church management was taken over by the Anglican Church of Kenya. The church was built by the freed slaves in Freretown in 1890. The *Freretownians* consider St. Emmanuel church as an important heritage site because it gave them identity as Christians and freed slaves (Elkana & Uledi, 12/3/2010). The inhabitants lament that with the increase in population, the 50 acres of land allocated to them in the new Frere town is not enough. They face difficulties when they want to buy land outside Frere town in places

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such as Kilifi because they are regarded as outsiders, aliens or slaves (Uledi Interview, 12/12/2019).

Figure 4.7 Section of Frere Town



Section of Freretown: Picture taken by author in May 2015.

There were several common terms used for slaves during the 19th and 20th centuries along the coast: *mtumwa* (slave) or *watumwa* (slaves) (Abdulaziz, 1973); *mjinga* (singular) or *wanjinga* (plural) referred to a person enslaved later in life; Those enslaved at birth were called *mzalia* (singular) or *wazalia* (plural). A *mzalia* was placed much higher on the social ladder of enslavement because it meant that the person was born on the coast and, by extension into a “civilized” society and raised as a Muslim. The *mzalia* or *wazalia* born into their owner’s household were privileged including inheriting land from their former owners. They became the *hadim* of their owners and took on the clan names (*nisba*) of their owners. They attained *heshima* (honour) through this connection (Cooper, 1980, pp.72/83). For the slaves born in the hinterland; they were called *mjinga* - “barbarian” or

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mshenzi (singular) or *washenzi* (plural) and considered to be of lower lower social status by the freeborn and the *wazalia*.

Some slaves held important positions within the households of their owners. For instance, a *mtumwa mtumwaji* was an agent and a *mtumwa wa shauri* was a councilor to the slaveholder. These were positions of power and respect relative to other positions of slavery. Other terminologies were used in respect to gender and occupation: *mtwana* was an adult male slave, whereas *kitwana* was a boy slave: *mjakazi* was an adult female slave, and *kijakazi* was a girl slave. There were also concubines (*suria*- singular and *Masuria*- plural). A *suria* was ideally treated as a “little wife” in the household and held a position of respect. The children of *masuria* were equally free and had equal rights to inheritance with the freeborn. However, the daughters of *asuria* could themselves be made into concubines. However, a *suria* who did not bear children was subjected to more harsh servile conditions (Abdulaziz, 1973; Romero, 1997). In several instances as noted by Macmahon (2013) in late-nineteenth-century Zanzibar, a concubine who bore a child to her owner could not be sold and was freed on the death of her owner. In addition, her child was treated as a legitimate heir to the slave owner. Thus in the social hierarchy of Zanzibar’s Sultans; Sultan Barghash bin said had been the son of a *suria* (Macmahon, 2013). The *watumwa wa nyumba* were domestic slaves of either gender while the *vibarua* (sing. *kibarua*),- the day laborers were hired out to British Indians or Europeans subjects whom the law prohibited from owning slaves (Case A/1/44 HHSCZ). The farm labourers were known as *watumwa wa shamba*.

There seems to have existed social classificatory amongst the slaves. Slaves of equal social status referred to each other as *njoli*. For instance the *vibarua* would describe each other as *njoli*, but a *kibarua* would not call a *mtumwa wa nyumba* a

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njoli because their positions were not socially equal. *Vibarua* usually lived in urban centers independent of their owners. They paid a daily or monthly wage to their owners, wherein *mtumwa wa nyumba* resided in rural setting doing agricultural work under overseers. The *mtumwa wa mtumwa*, a slave of a slave meant that the slaveholders had little benefit to offer slaves in terms of social status or even security. However, slaveholders could not guarantee security to their own slaves if they were enslaved (Newmann, 1969).

CHAPTER FIVE

Oral Testimonies of the Descendants of the Former Slaves at the Kenya Coast

Samuel A. Nyanchoga

Price Uledi's testimony focus on two monumental heritage that is central to the descendants of the former slaves in Freretown; the cemetery and St. Emmanuel Kengenlei church. Uledi says "we are angry that the management of the St. Emmanuel Church is not in our hands. It was built through sweat and hands of our forefathers and yet we have no say in its management. Our demands to have at least four slots in the management committee of the Church remained unheeded by the local Anglican church diocese of Mombasa that unilaterally took over the management of the church and the primary school". The church is gazetted as a historical monument, but for which people, asks Price Uledi Price Uledi further laments that the records of the church since 1945 are unavailable to them. They also decry of what is left of their cemetery. "The cemetery is where our forefathers are buried and the 162 small plots for our families laments Jimmy Kitao". Our neighbours refer to our cemetery in derogatory terms. Our

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neighbours refer to us as *nyinyi ni watumwa*, “you are just slaves”. “The cemetery is for the slaves”. Everybody in Kongoea knows that”.

Uledi also noted that accessing land for the increasing population of Freretownians has proven difficult. “We cannot get land in Kwale or even Kilifi because we have no means and above all, we are referred to as slaves and hence denied the opportunity to purchase more land by the locals.” Price Uledi recounts that in 1893 “we were about 423 souls, but now we are about one million and there is no space for expansion” as David Uledi and Freeman Kondo third-generation descendants of the former slaves in their mid-thirties and residents of Freretown decry the what they refer to as “the curse of slavery”.

Figure 5.1 Members of Freretown welfare committee inside St Emmanuel Church.



Members of Freretown welfare committee inside St. Emmanuel Church with author. Front row from left; John Choya, Price Uledi, Samuel Nyanchoga(author) David Uledi, Back row from left Jimmy Kitao and Freeman Kondo. Picture taken on 10 January 2020

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Interviewing the two next to *Makaburi* or the cemetery for the freed slaves and their descendants; they had this to say. “We have no access to gainful employment; we just hawk merchandise for survival. We were not lucky to acquire good education. Even here in the open market where we merchandise out goods, we are referred to as *watumwa* by the locals”. The testimony of Jimmy Kitau one of the descendants of the former slaves and a resident of Freretown in his reminiscence says, “the cemetery reminds us of two things, we can come here and connect with our forefathers and understand what they did for us. It signifies a struggle for freedom”. It is also a stark reality of oppression; “a monument of an oppressive history that continues to haunt us today. We are identified by our neighbours (freeborn) by the cemetery (*makaburi ya watumwa*). We continue to bury our dead here and hence other people refer to it as the cemetery for the slaves and their descendants”.

On the subject of recognition as the 43rd tribe of Kenya as Freretownians; Price Uledi and Jimmy Kitau argue that they were brought up as Freretownians and hence they should be recognized as Freretwonians in Kenya’s legal statutes and censorship records. “At the moment the community is not recognized as a distinct community like the “Wamakonde” and hence our identity is fast fading away” laments Jimmy Kitau.

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Figure 5.2 Picture taken inside the freed slaves' cemetery.



Freeman Kondo, David Uledi, Jimmy Kitao and Price Uledi inside the cemetery in Freretown for the freed slaves and their descendants. Picture taken by author January 10, 2020

Edwin Daimler born in 1946 in Rabai gives a vivid narration of his life as the third generation of slave descendants. Born to Lawrence and Loice Daimler in 1946; he was grandson to James Daimler. His entry into the priesthood in 1968 in the Anglican Church had many challenges because of his slave ancestry. His application through the local church administration mostly comprised of Arabai elders to the Mombasa diocese was received with a lot of ambivalence. The

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local church council of elders argued that his parents were not known to the local community. His father, a Mnyika and a slave descendant was by then working away in Magadi in the Post Office. It was through the intervention of Joel Kombo, a vicar of the local parish in Rabai in 1968 that his application was forwarded to the diocese of Mombasa for consideration. Upon recommendation from the diocese of Mombasa, Daimler was appointed as a cleaner in the Rabai parish in 1969. He recounts how he encountered ridicule and humiliation from parishioners and the local Arabai community. He says that there was a division between the “*Warabai*” (Arabai), “*Wanyaza*” (Malawi) and “*Wamisheni*” (those who resided in the mission).

Songs were composed by the Arabai community to ridicule slave descendants who found refuge in the mission, “*Wamisheni hatwalimi, hawagemi, mikono yao ni lewalewa. Wanasoma lakini hawana kobo la Maindi. Hawa ni watu wa moja, mbili mchana kutwa....*” (the “missioners” do not plough, do not tap wine, their hands are just by their side. They go to school but come back home with no tin of maize. They just shout one, two... the whole day and have nothing to show).

Daimler recounts, like many slave descendants, of the humiliation and scorn he experienced for lacking local clan identity among the Arabai community. Many of the slave descendants bought identity into Arabai community by giving a “bull”¹ to the elders. Some of the Arabai clans were *Chui* (leopard), *Kariakar* (weapons of war), *Mwamumba*,

¹ Edwin Daimler noted a bull could be given in form of money or several goats to the elders. It also depended on the ability of one seeking affiliation to the clan. The affiliation did not necessary cleanse one of the stigma of slavery. There were still whispers of so and so having bought affiliation into the clan. Whenever there were disagreements between the new affiliate and indigenous Arabai, the affiliate was always reminded of his origin.

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Mwandeje, Mwakamba and *Kavyo* among others. Daimler's father and grandfather early had bought their identity into *Kavyo* clan. Consequently, the family was given land and assimilated into the Arab community. Daimler says that he bought his identity into *Mamkamba* clan though his father did not approve of it. Daimler's father wanted him to belong to *Kavyo* clan. Clan identity enabled him to marry into the Arabai community. Despite the assimilation, Daimler laments that he carries with him an alien tag of being referred to as (*wazalia*) or as the 'newcomer', the '*whenda Kudza*' (those who came) and *Mateka*, (slave) Daimler currently resides in Bukini settlement for the descendants of the freed slaves. The settlement is about three acres with a population of about three thousand people. The story of Daimler is a microcosmic representation of many slave descendant families who reside here and have to constantly endure intergenerational legacies of slavery and the slave trade of the persistent inequality and a social classificatory system. Despite efforts towards intermarriage and assimilation into the local communities, they still bury their dead on a cemetery situated about one kilometre from Rabai centre (Daimler, OI, 2020). Also, there is also a tendency by people of slave descent to adopt *Aravai* identity when interacting with visitors or when they are in need of accessing government services such as birth certificates and identity cards.

Figure 5.3 Section of Bukini settlement in Rabai, Mombasa.



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Figure 5.4 Section of Bukini settlement in Rabai, Mombasa.



Section of Bukini settlement in Rabai, Mombasa, picture taken by author in December 10, 2019.

In Gasi in the south coast; one informant, Salim Mushiiri Kinyemi born to Mushiiri Mwavesho and Mwanasiti Nganzi from Mwanza, Tanzania recounts of how his grandparents came to Gasi as slaves to build the Mazrui palace and dig wells. Kinyemi recounts that his grandfather Mwavesho was a “slave catcher” and loader of slaves into dhows en route to Zanzibar. Mwavesho intimated to his son Salim Mushiri Kinyemi that Mbaruk engaged in slave trade and slaves were buried alive on the pillars of the palace to give strength to the building. Attempts to corroborate this information during my field research with further archaeological excavation was not successful because the palace is a protected site under the Monument and Antiquity Act of the Laws of Kenya. After the abolition of slavery, the family was given six acres of land in Magaoni village near Gasi (S. M. Kinyemi, Oral Interview, March 18, 2010). Kinyemi who resides in Gasi

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engages in menial work of roofing and local people refer to him as “*Mateka*”.

Mazrui palace in Gasi built in 1845

Figure 5.5 Pillars encased with life slaves to give the building potency.



Figure 5.6 Pillars encased with life slaves to give the building potency.



Picture taken by the author March 18, 2010. Local informants intimated the pillars were encased with life slaves to give the building potency.

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The narrative of Suleiman Athumani Bombori born in 1920 and a resident of Fioni describes the glaring poverty and sense of hopelessness of the residents. He says; “here in Fioni you will find a Mديو, Giriama, Kikuyu, Kalenjin, Makonde, Sukuma and Wanyaza”. “Some came as slaves and others as immigrant workers. What is common for all us here is poverty (Magnesi & Zubedi, Oral Interview, 7/03/2010). The narrative of Luvedas Daniel Magnesi appears contradictory. He recounts that he belongs to the Makonde community from Mozambique. He was born in the early 1930s at a place called Njubili in Mozambique. As a baby, he accompanied his parents who had been recruited by agents to come and work in the Kenyan sisal and sugar plantations. His parents died; the father in 1967 and the mother in 1970. Left an orphan, Magnesi married a Makonde wife in Kenya and started a family. Magnesi lives in Magaoni village, but despite having stayed in Kenya for all his life, he has no government identification papers. His children have now married into Digo families and others have converted either to Islam or to Christianity.

Another version as told by Magnesi is that of slave ancestry. He says that his grandfather by the name Magnesi was killed by Sogolo while resisting capture of his family members into slavery. He pointed to the nearby homestead of Said Sogolo whose grandparents were the slave agents of Rashid Mbaruk from Gasi. Said Sogolo refused to grant us an interview to corroborate the information (Magnesi & Zubedi, Oral Interview, 7/03/2010). The story of Daniel Magnesi collages multiple identities for basic survival. There are those like Magnesi who choose to remember and at times conveniently choose to forget and weave new identities to escape the stigma of slave ancestry. According to Rajan Hussein Zubedi, Assistant Chief of Gasi, the heritage and identity of the inhabitants of Gasi is fast fading as the inhabitants both victims and perpetrators of slavery

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choose to mirror different identities for survival. According to Zubedi, Gasi has infused several cultures, but those with alien and slave ancestry have weaved into local Digo and Swahili cultures; changed names, married into local communities such as the Digo; managed to obtain national identity cards through marriage into local women and having children registered under relatives such as brothers to their wives (Magnesi & Zubedi, Oral Interview, 7/03/2010). The entangled narratives are sometimes crafted to avoid the stigma of slave heritage. Some wear the mask of local ancestry such as Digo through marriage or even purchase of identity, courtesy of corrupt local administration.

Fioni settlement consists of seven hundred families covering approximately seventy acres. The Fioni narratives are contradictory. Some narratives indicate that some of the freed slaves were moved from Gasi to Fioni where they were given land ranging from 1 to 5 acres depending on one's ancestry. Those with slave ancestry and classified as aliens were allocated an acre of land or less by the local administration. Most of the inhabitants of Fioni are Makonde, Nyamwezi and Nyasa. They have no identification papers such as birth certificates and land titles deeds. They do not access formal schooling and employment hence they resort to fishing and masonry work for survival. Another informant from Fioni Mwana Juma Salim born in 1930 to Mwana Asha Juma and Salim said Malifonzo says that slavery is a very emotive subject and it is very difficult to identify exactly who came in as slave for fear of stigma.

Fredrick Uledi's from Freretown narrates that his parents were originally from Malawi while the parents to Charles Elkanah came from Northern Mozambique. They were captured as slaves and taken to Zanzibar. They were rescued and then brought to Frere town which had opened in 1840. John Uledi, father to Fredrick Uledi worked as a cook for

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the CMS missionaries. The original land was about 663 acres covering from old Nyali Bridge to Shanzu. The freed slaves engaged in farming. There was also the Church and School of Divinity which started in 1843 and officially opened in 1889. The freed slaves approximately numbered about 400 and the church was called St. Emmanuel Kengeleni- bell. The bell had several functions that included waking up the residents, signalling lunchtime, end of work, pronouncing a wedding or death and finally, warning the residents of the sighting of slave raiders.

Figure 5. 7 The Bell/Kengeleni



The Bell/Kengeleni picture taken by author in January 10, 2020

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The two recount that the inhabitants of Frere town have encountered many challenges such as refusal by the government to be registered as Kenyan citizens, lack of access to employment and formal education. In the national census, they are grouped as “others” meaning they are legally denied linguistic and ethnic identity (Kenya Population & Housing Report, 1999/2009, pp.34-35). Because of the influence of Christianity and education, some got employment in the civil service in the colonial period. For instance, James Juma Mbotela became the first African inspector of schools. He was educated at Alliance High School and Makerere University. Others were Hilton Muchira, educated at Alliance High School; John Charo who became Deputy Mayor of Mombasa; Edgar Manasseh a retired civil servant, Kennedy Rifai and Leonard Mambo Mbotela a veteran broadcaster (Elkana & Uledi, Interview, 17/03/2010). The narratives of people like Uledi and Elkanah indicate that in post-colonial Kenya, the descendants of Frere town have suffered stigma and exclusion because of their slave ancestry. Many lack identity cards and are not recognised as an ethnic group in Kenya. This has led to many of them being excluded from active politics. For instance, Frederick Uledi who stood for an elective post as a councillor in 1979 claims that he was unsuccessful because many of the electorates referred to him as either a *Mgeni* (an alien, *Mtumwa* - slave or a Nyamwezi, an ethnic group in Tanzania were some of the Frere town ex-slaves came from) and therefore, was unfit to represent them as a councillor. In the 1960s and 1970s, Felix Manasseh a former railways corporation clerk was jailed for four months and thereafter threatened with deportation to Nyasaland (modern Malawi) because his ancestry was traced there (Elkana & Uledi Interview, 17/03/2010). Some of the *Freretownians* claimed that even in cases where some of them have managed to climb the civil service ladder, their ancestry has been used

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to unfairly dismiss them from the service. For instance, my informant claimed that one of their famous sons, Edgar Manasseh (who rose to become Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Finance and was also the first Commissioner-General of the Kenya Revenue Authority), was retired from the civil service on political grounds and because of his slavery ancestry (Elkana & Uledi Interview, 17/03/2010). Furthermore, the descendants of the former slaves claim they have been deprived of their heritage.

In 1963, the Mombasa Municipal Council took over the management of Frere town including facilities such as the social hall from the community. St. Emanuel church has also been at the centre of an ownership tussle between the Anglican Church of Kenya and Frere town inhabitants. The *Freretownians* consider St. Emmanuel church as an important heritage site because it gave them identity as Christians and *Freretownians* (C. Elkana and F. Uledi, Oral Interview, March 17, 2010).

Similarly, the slave bell and cemetery are threatened by commercial developers who have encroached on these important heritage sites. The cemetery is an important historical site because it has details of the first freed slaves in the region. As the population increased, the 50 acres of land allocated to them in the new Frere town is not enough. They also face difficulties when they want to buy land outside Frere town in places such as Kilifi because they are regarded as outsiders, aliens or slaves.

The descendants of the freed slaves have not been accorded full citizenship status and identification documents such as national identity and birth certificates. For instance, the Makonde who originally are from Mozambique were granted Kenyan citizenship in 2016. Some of them trace their ancestry to slavery and some to immigrant workers

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brought into the colony in the 1930s to work in the sisal plantations at the coast. They numbered about 6,000 and were never recognized as Kenyans and therefore remained stateless. Deprived of the identification papers, the Makonde could not carry financial transactions nor operate formal businesses (UNHCR, 2016). In Frere town, the descendants of the former freed slaves encounter similar challenges. This is so in spite of the significant personal progress among some of their descendants. For instance, some of their renowned progenies include media personalities like Mambo Mbotela, Walter Mbotela, Francis Khamisi, the former Bahari Member of Parliament Joe Khamisi, and Banjo musician Joseph Ngala, and the former Mombasa Deputy Mayor John Mcharo (Mwakio, 2019). Uledi and Kitao narrate of the challenges that descendants face in Freetown. To obtain a national identity card, they had to state their mothers' tribes and the origin. This forced them to marry into local tribes for the sake of obtaining local affinity and making it easier for the children to get identity cards." Uledi, who revealed that he used to work as an assistant administrative officer with the defunct Mombasa Municipal Council, said they face discrimination and plea to the government to consider them as another ethnic tribe known as the "Frere townians" failed. Though they launched their petition to Kenya government for recognition as a distinct linguistic group, this petition was not recognized by the government. *"Our contribution to the national economy is there for all to see. We have been law-abiding citizens. We are not very different from the Makonde and Indians who got the nod for recognition as Kenyan tribes* (Mwakio, 2019)." On the same subject, civil society organizations such as HAKI Africa; National Human Rights Organization based in Mombasa, lay blame on the political elites for failure to heed the call and accord the descendants of former slaves their rights including compensation and citizenship (Mwakio, 2019). In Rabai conflict is between the

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indigenous *Aravai* and descendants of freed slaves; because the *Aravai* resent freed slaves and their descendants for benefiting from education and welfare given by the Church Missionary Society Center.

The descendants of the former slaves number about 3000 and reside in a three acre settlement known as Bukini. This is according to Edwin Deimler the village elder and grandson of James Deimler who was descendant of free slaves that settled in Rabai in the late 19th century. They too face similar challenges of access to land, formal employment, discrimination and national identity documents (Daimier, 10/12/2018). According to Section 15 of the Kenya Citizenship and Immigration Act 2011 provides that: *'A person who does not have an enforceable claim to the citizenship of any recognised State and has been living in Kenya for a continuous period since 12th December, 1963, shall be deemed to have been lawfully resident and may, on application, in the prescribed manner be eligible to be registered as a citizen of Kenya if that person — (a) has adequate knowledge of Kiswahili or a local dialect; (b) has not been convicted of an offence and sentenced to imprisonment for a term of three years or longer; (c) intends upon registration as a citizen to continue to permanently reside in Kenya or to maintain a close and continuing association with Kenya; and (d) the person understands the rights and duties of a citizen (Kenya Citizenship & Immigration Act, 2011, No 12 of 201).'*

The article 30 of the Kenya Constitution 2010 protects persons from being held in slavery or servitude or being required to perform forced labour. The failure to secure citizenships condemns one to servile conditions.

The Shirazi community of Vanga and Wasini islands are also tied to the slavery heritage (Randall, 1987) though the community deny involvement in slavery activities, Ibrahim Malaya from Gasi narrate that most of the Shirazi

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community resided in Gasi and Shimoni during the reign of Radhid Mbaruk of Gasi. They were actively involved in slave trade until the British anti- abolitionist movement took control of Gasi and Shimoni in 1895. Thereafter the Shirazi community moved to Vanga and Wasini islands living as defacto Kenya citizens (Mwatate, Malaya & Mwandarano, Interview, 17/07,2010). They currently refer to themselves as Swahili-Shirazi.

Extracts of oral interviews

Ibrahim Malaya of Gasi, 2/7/2010

I was born in Gasi in 1946. Old Gasi started in 1920. It was close to the ocean and people decided to move to the new Gasi in 1930 away from the high water tides. The original name was Kidutani during the time of Rashid Mbaruk. It was slave market. My parents were Nafu Njambia and Malaya Jumadari. My parents came to Gasi in 1937 from Pungwe near Shimoni. My mother is local Mdigo but father is Segeju originally from Tanga Tanzania. He had accompanied Arab Muslim traders as a handman and finally settled in Gasi. Gasi was under Sheik Rashid Mbaruk of the Mazrui family. There are so many tribes in Gasi today Giriama, Wanyaza, Wapajuni, Wakauma Wapemba, Wamakonde, Wazanzibari, Wanyamwezi. The people came as migrant workers and stayed on. There are descendants of the freed slaves who live in Fioni, Shiranga and Kinondo. They have no identity cards and formal employment. They do small-scale farming, fishing, masonry and mangrove farming. There is also the grandson of Sheik Rashid Mabruk, Hamisi Mohammed who

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now lives in Kisauni. He still owns 300 acres of the land here in Gasi and occasionally comes around to check on his land.

**Testimony of Frederick Uledi Freretown, Mombasa,
17/3/2010**

I was born in 1932 in Freretown to John Uledi who originally who originally came from Malawi. My father worked as a cook for the CMS missionaries in Freretown. My father and other freed slaves stayed at Kengenleni. The bell used to wake the freed slaves for work and also served as warning when the Arab slave traders were scouted near the vicinity of Freretown. Life in Freretown was not smooth sailing as my father recounted to me. There was conflict between the Bombay Africans and locally freed slaves. The Bombay Africans felt they were superiors to the locally freed slaves because of their skills and spoke English and Marathi languages. They also “fought” with the white missionaries because they did not want to do manual work and felted being discriminated against. There was also the problem of malaria and the missionaries decided to sell the Old Freretown of 663 acres to the Nyali Company Limited owned by Europeans and relocated all the freed slaves to 50acre land in New Freretown between 1928 and 1929. The new Freretown was called Bathseba. The freed slaves were never consulted.

Some of the Bombay Africans; fundi Jimmy Jones, Nyale and Juda moved out of the settlement and went into businesses of masonry, carpentry, building farming and butchery. At the New Frere town there were several tribes Wanyaza (Malawi), Yao, Nyamwezi, Makonde, Pale, Seychelles, Wanyaturu and Bombay Africans. We never

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allowed to speak our local languages by the missionaries. We only spoke English and Kiswahili.

I have spent my entire life in Frere town and seen many challenges. Problems began in 1890 as my father recounted. The famine of 1890 (Njaa ya Magunia) brought many Giriama, Digo Kamba and Kikuyu refugees to the Settlement for food from the missionaries. The missionaries sold the original land without consultation with the freed the slaves and their future development. In 1930 they moved the divinity school to Limuru and gave little attention to Frere town. I personally offered my candidature for an elective position as a local councilor in 1979 but was ridiculed as slave (Mtumwa) and never went far. We are not recognized as citizens of Kenya. The national population census was counted under a category names as others. The People here in Frere town have no identity cards, no formal employment because they are not recognized as Kenya citizens. We are forced to marry into local tribes so that our children may acquire national identification papers through local maternal affiliations. Some like Leonard Mambo married a local Akamba woman. Edgar Manesseh and Kennedy Rifai are married to local Abaluya women. Those among us who have succeeded in life are a minority like John Charo the former Deputy Mayor of Mombasa Municipality, James Juma Mbotela the first African Inspector of schools in 1963, Edgar Manesseh, Commissioner of Kenya Revenue Authority, Joe Hamisi the former Member of Parliament for Bahari Constituency and Leonard Mambo Mbotela, a journalist. But some of our people have been threatened with deportation. Felix Manasseh used to work with the East African Railways in the 1960s and 1970s as clerk. He was jailed for four months and during the trial his nationality was established that he was a Mnyaza from Malawi and was almost deported.

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Rajab Hassan Sibedi Assistant Chief of Gasi, 3/7/2010

I am the Assiatnt Chief of Gasi from 2001. The Gasi Sub Location has eight villages among them; Magoani, Vumbu, Fioni and Majikoko. Gasi is cosmopolitan with the Digo, Pemba, Makonde, Giriama, Nyasa and Nyamwezi population. Most of the Makonde people stay in Fioni. They came from Mozambique in the 1930s as migrant workers to work in the Ramisi sugar and sisal planation. There are also descendants of slaves here in Gasi. It is difficult to know who is of slave ancestry and who is a migrant worker. They have intermarried with local people and don't want to identify themselves as aliens or with slavery. The Makonde in Fioni were registered in 2000 and 2005. They were given alien numbers. The Shirazi were too registered in 2000 and 2005 in Shimoni, Vanga, Vunzi and have alien numbers. In the census registration of 2010, the Makonde in Fioni were classified as aliens. The new generation of Makonde have adopted Digo culture changed their names and it is difficult to trace them. The original Gasi plantation was 2000 acres but was sold off over years to commercial developpers cooperative societies. In 1922 Jaffrey Lalji bought the planation for coconut production. Later Msambweni Devolpment Company also bought the land. The company was owned by GEMA (Kikiyu, Embu, Meru Association from Central Kenya). Gasi town is about 52 acres now. The Mazrui family owns 11 acres of the land, 36 acres for town village, three acres for the cemetery but 13 acres are on accounted for. In Gasi, most of the ex-slaves and their descendants have now called themselves local Digo or Duruma

Athumani Mohammed Mwatate Kinondo-Gasi,7/6/2010

The original name for Gasi was Kudutani an old market for slaves. Rashid Mabrul of the Mazrui family used to come from. Takaungu to Kidutani with his boat, bought slaves and took them

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to Zanzibar during the reign of Said Bargash. There was a landing place for boats called Mwakole. Later Mbaruk invaded Gasi and built a garrison for slaves and a palace. This was in 1840s. From Gasi, he used to go to Simba Hills and Mwele with soldiers to capture slaves. Ali Sogolo from Kinondo village of Gasi was one of his notorious agents for capturing slaves. Ali Sogo killed my grandfather Solosi when he resisted members of his family to be sold into slavery by Mabaruk. But when the British invaded Gasi, Mabaruk fled but Ali Sogolo was captured and deported to Kisimayu where he died. Gasi means a place of work; but It was also a place of chaos (Ghasia) related to slavery and slave market.

Caroline Thairu, Gasi 10/6/2010

Marriage across families is restricted. People don't want their children to marry into families that are associated with slavery. The selling and sharing of the community land follow social structures. Those who are regarded as descendants of slaves get less. The population of Gasi number about 1500. But the Lari Family from pemba control most of the resources including the fishing because they have fishing gears. Those who are poor join in as fishermen.

Edwin Daimler, Rabai, 10/12/2019

I am third generation descendant of the freed slaves I was born in 1946 to Lawrence Daimler. At the age of twelve years, I joined Sunday School in Rabai Mission Center and thereafter developed an interest in priesthood. The local church council of elders from the Arabai clans refused me and called me "Mnyika person" (from Malawi or Nyaza land). The local Vicar Joel Kombo intervened and hired me as a cleaner and grass cutter in the church compound. My father was not known to the local people because he worked away from home in Magadi as a postman. I used to be ridiculed by the agemates because I did not have local

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clan affiliation. My age mates of the Arabai clan initiated me privately into the Mwamkamba clan. The story got to reach my father who was very angry. He admonished me and told me that we belonged to the Kavyo Clan because my father had already been initiated into the clan. After working in the church compound for some time I went for priesthood training from 1968 to 1970 at Mombasa Baptist school. When I came back to Rabai parish the local Rabai elders controlled the church meetings. At one time, I was confirming the children through baptism. It was required that each child needed a godmother or godfather. I once told one family to change their choice of the godfather for their son and was thoroughly humiliated. The would be godfather from the Arabai clan came to church and told me I am nothing but a slave who had no local affiliation. After serving the church for many years, I retired in 2006 and became a village committee elder in Bukini. Bukini is a settlement for the descendants of freed slaves. It is about three acres with a population of 3,000 people. We face many challenges of land for the expanding population, many of our children are no longer adherents. They are unemployed and some have gone into drugs.

CHAPTER SIX

The Ethiopian Monarchs and the Abolition of Slavery: A Historical Appraisal

Daniel Worku

The institution of slavery remained in Ethiopia until almost the first half of the 20th century and rendered the country one of the strong hold of slave states. Since the mid-19th century, successive Ethiopian monarchs had embarked on legal slave abolishing policies. However, the attempts proved futile and hence did not bring the intended revolutionary change. Although the early abolishing campaigns were fruitless, slavery steadily declined and was eventually abolished during the Italian Occupation and its aftermath. This article is interested in examining the rulers' anti-slavery edicts and the major challenges that hindered the abolishing process from legal, commercial, societal and other vantages. It will also sketch the historic road to the abolition and figure out the major

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factors that brought this inhuman merchandise and its unpopular institutions to its un-official end.

Slavery is an exploitative system which puts people under someone's overall control, by denying them their natural rights and freedom. It is designed to exploit a slave's sexuality, mental and labor capability. Slaves were relegated to the bottom of the social structure because they were regarded as chattels and outsiders or aliens to the slave owning society. War and violence were the major ways to acquire slaves; merchants instituted the slave trade, the most lucrative business to maintain the provision of slaves. Religious views, legal codes and customary laws were often presented to justify the correctness of the human merchandise (Lovejoy, 2000). Slavery is an antiquity practice. As elsewhere, in Ethiopia for several centuries, the institution of slavery and slave trade were part of the socio-economic, cultural and political life the society. These practices became a major source of income for kings, governors and merchants. While, slaves became an engine for the subsistence of the domestic economy and a main gesture of high social prestige (Abir, 1985). Despite slave trade and having slavery being practiced since time immemorial, the 19th century recorded an unprecedented scale of expansion in the Horn of African history. This expansion was associated with the absence of any legal restraints, the presence of well-organized caravan slave traders of the *Jabarti* and the *Afcala*, and more importantly the ever-increasing profitability and/or the very lucrative nature of the trade (Fernyhough, 2010).

Ethiopian Monarchs and their Abolition Attempt

Emperor Tewodros (r. 1855-1868)

Historians agree that Emperor Tewodros was the first Ethiopian ruler who issued a proclamation to end

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slave trade in Ethiopia. In fact, This ambition to end the slave trade in Ethiopia had started short before his actual coronation. Accordingly, In November 6, 1854 he banned exporting of slaves in his domain. After securing the throne, he reaffirmed his pledge to abolish the slave trade. An edict that made the slave trade an illegal business and incurred severe punishment for perpetrators. His pioneering effort to eradicate slave trafficking was aimed at gaining British's diplomatic alliance and Christian solidarity against the Muslim Ottomans to find a sea outlet. Furthermore, his reverence to *Fetha Negest* and his Christian faith compelled him to buy more slaves from Muslim merchants and baptize them (Pankhurst, 1990). From his letter, Crummey resonates that, Tewodros "has seen that the slave trade is repugnant to Christian morality, has abolished it, and has freed his own slaves" (Crummey, 1909). Apart from the political and religious causes, liberty and humanity drove the emperor to lead a crusade to crush the yoke of slavery. Because he personally hated slavery, he ordered the harsh punishment of the cutting off the right hand and left foot for those who got involved in merchandizing Christian slave. According to the missionary Waldmeier, Gondar Tewodros liberated hundreds of slaves and handed them over to the missionies by saying, "Teach these young boys arts and religion, and I shall send three more of such unfortunate creatures in order to make them happy, and I will pay all their expenses" (Pankhurst, 1990). In another memorable occasion, he emancipated all slaves who were lining up awaiting the sale in Basso, Gojjam slave market, and arranged a marriage ceremony for them (Bahru, 1855, pp. 34 & 197). The Emperor officially condemned the slave trade but not the institution of slavery. This is quite sensible because slavery was part and parcel of the Ethiopian society. The edict had only a partial effect because it still legalized the selling of slaves to Christians. The is also criticized for his inconsistent measures

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against slavery. For instance, in his Wallo campaign, he allowed his soldiers to retain the captured Wallo Oromo's as slaves in lieu of salary and also it was reported that 3000 children were sold annually at Matamma (Abdussamad, 1988). One of the major predicaments hindering the abolishing efforts of the Emperor was the source of slave areas; south west and southern Ethiopia were outside his actual domain of administration.

Furthermore, regional lords and their sense of regionalism greatly undermined the authority of the central government. Caravan merchants carried out slave raids and trade with the support of regional lords and made the task of the entire abolishing process very difficult and quite impossible. Hence, slave trade still persisted in regions like Gojjam Basso, Gallabat and Massawa. Due to the high demand of slaves in Egypt and Middle East, Egyptians penetrated the western borders of Ethiopia to raid women and children (Pankhurst, 1990). The wide range of political instabilities and the steady erosion of the Emperor's legitimacy divided his kingdom and shattered his ambition of modernizing the country. The dejected emperor finally lost the wheel of leadership and could not succeed to eradicate slave trade. As Perham concluded, "the increasing oppression and disorder of his reign [...] and with the degeneration of his rule, the edict was forgotten" (Perham, 1948).

Emperor Yohannes IV (r. 1871-1889)

Emperor Yohannes inherited a divided kingdom where regional lords held effective authority over their domain but unlike his predecessor, he was willing to rule with a loose federation. Yohannes was neither ambitious nor willing to eradicate slave trade. The incident that brought him to the effort of abolishing slave trade was the 1884 Hewett Treaty*. Until then, slaves were one of the vital tribute items paid by

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governors to the Emperor. For instance, *Negus* Menilek of Shoa agreed to provide 500 slaves annually as a tribute for the Emperor. To pay the due, Menilek forced his vassals in the southwest to offer large number of slaves as a tribute. In turn, the vassals launched a regular large scale slave raid to supply the needed demand. Additionally, Emperor Yohannes generated nearly 20,000 Egyptian pounds per year from allowing slave merchants to pass through borders of Ethiopia to Sudan (Whyt, 2014). The ill-fated Hewett Treaty bound the Emperor to abolish the slave trade in his dominions. It says, "he agreed, to the best of his ability, to prohibit and prevent the buying and selling, as well as the import or export of slaves, within his dominions, to protect all liberated slaves and to punish severely any attempt to molest them to reduce them to slavery" (Pankhurst, 1935). Henceforth, Yohannes has joined British's global crusade to eradicate the slave trade and carried out his duty accordingly. However, the complete suppression of the slave trade and emancipation of slaves remained on the paper. The subsequent political turmoil and the complex web of the trade made it very difficult to eradicate the slave trade from its source. Underground slave trade flourished more. Women and children were deceitfully exported through Massaw. The Dervish defeated *Negus* Tekla Haymainot of Gojjam and ended up in slaving around 8,000 slaves and continued their march into Gondar and captured many more slaves even the king's wife and daughter. War and instability escalated in the western frontiers and exacerbated the slave raid in the region. The Emperor finally died in 1889 without making any significant change (Pankhurst, 1935).

Emperor Menilek (also Menelik) (r. 1889-1913)

Menilek's stand towards slavery seemed very ambiguous. In the eyes of Harold Marcus, the eminent Ethiopian historian, Menelik was castigated as "Ethiopia's

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greatest slave entrepreneur” (Marcus, 1975). Others like Timoty Fernyhough regarded him as an ‘abolitionist’ who relentlessly worked to suppress the slave trade especially after he defeated the Italians at the Battle of Adwa and secured the territorial integrity of his country (Timoty, 1989). To corroborate this, although it might be contestable, McClean also divided Menilek’s territorial expansion which had immense contribution for slavery and slave trade into two periods; the first is from 1868 to 1889 and Menilek’s expansion concentrated the highland and slave reservoir areas of south and south western parts of Ethiopia to accumulate more wealth for his ascendance to the throne. He called this expansion ‘offensive’; and the second phase is after he became Emperor of Ethiopia, 1889 largely towards the borderlands of arid and lowland enclaves which he said ‘defensive’. It intended to defend his imperial throne and his country’s sovereignty (McClellan, 1980). While he was king of Shoa, Menilek had an overt ambition to become emperor of Ethiopia. He started his ambitious move by embarking on a large territorial expansion towards the south and “The primary reason why Menilek conquered the Gibe and Omotic kingdoms was to block trade routes from the southwest to the Red Sea and to force slaves, ivory and other products to pass through Shoa.[...] his control of Harar in 1887 reinforced his control in commercial outlets” (Timoty, 1989, p.111). Such sustainable flow of wealth could help him to buy European firearms, to reinforce his power and to secure his dream of imperial throne. His biographer, as Harold Marcus aptly described, “it was not until his resources had grown to considerably that Menilek could attempt to eradicate the [slave] trade”(Marcus, 1975). However, his ambitious move was not effectively implemented in relation to the internal and regional dynamics. In 1870s Egyptians annexed the sea outlets of Zeila and Berbera; and deeply penetrated to occupy Harar. They blocked Menilek’s line of communication and

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importation of fire arms. Emperor Menilek used the issue of slavery and Christian solidarity to bargain with Italy and England against the Muslims. So that, in February 1876 Menilek issued a decree against the slave trade which even restricts the participation of Christians. The decree also further provides a right for a slave to claim his freedom or to gain any legal protection and to return to their homeland. Additionally, it banned Muslim merchants from making slave transaction with a heavy penalty (Pankhurst, 1935, p.100). In his letter to the Anti-Slavery Society in England which was sent on December 14, 1878, he reported "... I have abolished the slave trade in my whole kingdom and in its borders, for I am a Christian" (Pankhurst, 1935, p.101).

On October 11, 1881 Menilek wrote an additional letter to the king of Italy and said, "I have already started on another work, the suppression of the slave trade from Kaffa and the preventing of slave merchants from crossing my country." (Pankhurst, 1935, p.102). Despite his claim and letters, the reality on the ground did not show the suppression of slave trade in Ethiopia. As Pankhurst quoted Gabrasellase, in 1876 campaign in the same year of the anti-slave trade edict was promulgated "[Menilek] permitted his men to take Gurages as slaves and he claimed that this was not cruelty, but 'a way of teaching these people law and order'" (Pankhurst, 1935, p.100). Such claim and European like justifications applied to people's in southern Ethiopia who were incorporated by Menilek. The incorporation paved the way for a large scale slave raid and for other brutal physical abuse. In 1882 in his chronicle, Gabrasellase proudly noted that Menilek sent 500 slaves as a present to his son-in-law *Ras Araya Sellase*. Such gifts continued for many years (Pankhurst, 1935, p.103) Similarly, in 1883 Capitan Hunter witnessed that "Oromos captured in Menilek's expeditions were being shipped from Zeila and Tajura [and]... on 1888 reported that slaves were

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constantly shipped through French territory near Tajura” (Pankhurst, 1935, p.104).

As we noticed, the edict against slave trade was primarily intended to seek European’s support in the name of abolition of slave trade than as a genuine endeavor to eliminate the trade. After he became Emperor of Ethiopia, in 1889 he again endorsed a proclamation to abolish slave trade and included in the Wechale Treaty Article 2. However, again the decree remained only to have a paper value. Menilek continued his southern expedition and many more peoples were enslaved. Many provincial governors notably *Abba Jiffar* of Jimma, *Ras Mikale* of Wallo and others were extensively involved in slave raid and trade. (Pankhurst, 1935, p.105). Territorial expansion produced multitude of captured slaves who were highly demanded by slave merchants. As the state frontier were enlarged and more people were absorbed, naturally more slaves would be procured. War and the high demand of tribute vastly and unprecedentedly fueled the slave raid and consolidated the network of slave trade. Regional lords embarked a new wave of extensive slave hunting to provide them as a tribute and to use their labor to extract gold. As a result, the state had now own great number of slaves and used them as servants and laborers in the palace as well as state farms (Abdussamad, 1996). The southern expansion of Menilek’s army procured thousands and hundred thousands of slaves. War and invasion always produced many captured slaves which attracted slave merchants. As Fernyhough outlined, Menilek’s southern march passed through three stages: “first a series of initial raids to demoralize resistance, then invasion and conquest followed and thirdly military occupation and the establishment of fortified garrison towns” (Timoty, 1989, p.115).

Undoubtedly, the first two procured many slaves and the human merchandise brought more wealth to the state.

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Moreover, regions which peacefully submitted like Jimma sent multitude of slaves annually as a form of tribute. The third stage is compatible with the later policy of the state for making the local people *gabbar* (serfs) to the state representative. The Battle of Adwa eliminated the external threat and asserted the Emperor's power over the newly incorporated peripheries; and in the turn of the century Menilek again made a serious proclamation to eradicate the slave trade in Ethiopia. Unlike previous edicts, at this time he seemed more genuine and aimed at bringing a change of policy from slave and ivory based economy to cash crops based economy. His commitment to end slavery looked unequivocal. Household slavery began to be replaced by serfdom. He closed the Rogge slave market in Shoa and similarly the slave trade in Wallo and Gojjam markets, too. Additionally, the notable slave markets of Ifag of Bagemder and Jiren of Jimma were closed in the first decade of the 20th century (Timoty, 1989, pp. 112& 113 & 127). On the contrary, Richard Pankhurst wrote as if nothing had changed despite the proclamations contained very harsh penalties.

In 1903 a bodily punishment and confiscation of property issued on those who were still persisting in selling Oromo's. In 1907, Menilek decreed (their)slave deals would become a slave to the person who catches him and brings him to the Emperor. However, even in such series of edicts and severest punishments, it failed to eliminate the trade. Slavery trade continued at full swing in Bonga, Konta, Kosha, Gimira, and many more Oromos also enslaved in the turn of 20th century (Pankhurst, 1935, p.106). The problem seemed deeply rooted to the society's entire life and it is beyond issuing anti-slavery edicts. We will see following why edicts alone could not solve the slavery problem in Ethiopia.

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Lij Iyasu (r. 1913-1916)

The power of central government and its prestige was declined after Menilek was hit-hard by a stroke. Power struggle and political instability fostered regional governors who manipulated the political loophole to revive the slave trade and to aggrandize their economic interest at the expense of tens of thousands of innocent people. Peoples especially from Maji, Gemira, Kaffa and Konta were the most preyed. According to *Nagadras Dasta's* estimation, in the mid-1920s the people of Maji declined from 45,000 to 3,000; the people of Gemira diminished from 9,000 to 2,000 and the people of Kaffa fell from 25,000 to 10,000. In a nutshell, at national level between 1898 and 1928 as much as 300,000 people were enslaved, left dead or deported (Timoty, 1989, p.151). To calm down the political chaos, *Lij Iyasu* was named the legitimate heir of Emperor Menilek. His political naivety and controversial practices added more fuel to the political instability and eventually ended his career very shortly. His brief years of reign dragged back the abolition process. He resurrected the slave trade by carrying out unpopular and devastating slave raid expeditions. Pankhurst putting in this way, "He conducted a series of razzings in 1912 in Jimma, Kaffa, Gimira and Anuak countries, capturing 40,000 slaves of both sexes. He was able to give away thousands in the form of gifts to his father, to a number of monasteries and churches. He even kept 10,000 to 12,000 slaves for himself (Pankhurst, 1935, p.107)."

The revival of the slave trade after Menilek was the indication of the increasing demand of servile labor both in Ethiopia and in the Middle East. Although the trade in large areas was conducted undercover, some of the closed market areas also re-opened in Wallo, Dessie, Jimma and others. The culture of counting slaves as a symbol of high social prestige that still persisted in central and northern

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Ethiopia, the insatiable slave demand of Arab countries and the limited supply of slaves due to a severe depopulation, almost doubled the slave price; which became another attractive force for merchants to exacerbate the slave raid (Timoty, 1989, pp. 156-159).

**Empress Zewditu and Ras Tafari Mokonnen
(r.1916-1930)**

The fate of *Lij* Iyasu was eventually concluded by deposing him from power after three turbulent years. Menilek's daughter Zewditu and Regent *Ras* Tafari formed a dual administration in 1916. However, power struggle continued between the forces of conservatives and that of the progressives. Progressives led by *Ras* Tafari and educated reformers wanted to modernize the country, but faced stiff resistance from Zewditu and especially from powerful nobilities. One of the modernizing projects was to abolish the slave trade.

Tafari's strong desire to end slavery also originated from his wider plan of modernizing and reforming Ethiopia. The Japanese Meiji government was taken as the perfect model for the Regent and his closer educated 'Young Ethiopians' usually called 'Japanizers'. Japan and Ethiopia's strikingly 'similar' kind of historical trajectories, their recent success of modernization within short time and without losing their Japanese culture (or without westernization) seriously captured the Regent's and the educated Ethiopians' attention. Concerning the the issue of slavery, Japan ended the social status of the 'untouchability' in 1871 Emancipation Edict and harnessed the liberated force to national projects. Likewise, the educated and the Regent aimed at the anti-slavery edict as a means of a steady progress of integrating and making slaves part of the envisioned modern state of Ethiopia and its institutional apparatus (Whyte, 2014, 656-661). *Ras*

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Tafari's educated advisors opposed slavery and called for emancipation mainly from economic grounds. The likes of Takkala Wald Hawarayt reasoned, "A household slave means not only one more unproductive person to feed but also one *gabbar* less to pay tribute to the state" (Bahru, 2002, p.128). Furthermore, *Hakim* Worqenah, the enthusiast abolitionist vehemently opposed slavery due to its inhuman act against any Christian value and a great shame for Ethiopia's diplomatic relations. *Ras Tafari* issued two successive proclamations to abolish slave trade on September 15, 1923 and on March 31, 1924, respectively. The proclamations were aimed at appeasing European's persistent demand to end slavery and to change Ethiopia's embarrassing image in the face of the international diplomacy.

The anti-slavery laws were also part of the Regent's wider plan of modernizing and advancing Ethiopia. Unless Ethiopia abolished slavery as fast as possible and sought collective security of the League of Nation, *Ras Tafari* realized that Ethiopia could easily fall prey to Italian colonialism which could use slavery as a pretext (Whyte, 2014, 656-661). The first proclamation made slave raiding a crime punishable by death and gave the executioner the role over local authorities. Slaves were also allowed to return to their homes. The second proclamation was uniquely important because "for the first time it addressed the problem of slavery as a social institution" (Timoty, 1989, p.173) The government was genuinely determined to eliminate slavery from its social base. As a result, it ordered the freedom of all slave born children and again the freedom of all slaves when their respective masters died after seven years. This is viewed as the government is plan to a gradual elimination or 'slow death' of slavery (Pankhurst, 1935, p.114). Others viewed that the government intended only to abolish the trade, not the institution and possession of slaves because the Regent was not yet capable to shoulder the wrath of powerful nobilities

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and to avoid the consequential economic crisis. (Perham, 1948, 226). To firmly establish the emancipation process and to make it institutionalized *Ras Tafari* tried to form bureaus and institutions. "Freed 'slave children' were put into a new school run by the *Féqér énnā agälgélot maðbär* ('Association for Love and Serving'), directed by *Hakim Warqenah Eshete*, with *Marseye Hazan* as its secretary. Here they learned Amharic and European languages, Mathematics etc., to be prepared for services for the modern state." (Pankhurst, 1935, p.681). To assist the reform, the Regent established slavery courts in Addis Ababa and provinces to give verdicts based on the manumission procedure and to impose heavy penalties on those who disobeyed the edict. The Bureau for the Liberation of Slaves was also instituted in 1924. The commission of this bureau was to certify manumitted slaves, and to help them find jobs, to exempt them from tax as well as to enroll their children in schools. To implement the decree and task effectively, the bureau opened branch offices particularly in most slave prevalent areas like in Gore, Kaffa, Jimma, Gondar and in remote frontier areas. Furthermore, a special police force was organized for this purpose ((Timoty, 1989, p, 117). The governmental efforts to demise slavery was often sabotaged by provincial governors who had vested economic interests on this inhuman slave trafficking. The anti-slavery bureaus and judges were harassed and intimidated by governors who deliberately flouted the imperial edict, and judges were afraid to arrest officials. Moreover, the communication and infrastructural barrier between Addis Ababa and the remote areas made their task more difficult. In the face of such major challenges,

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the slavery court managed to liberate around 4,000 slaves in 1920s (Edwards, 1982).

Emperor Haile Sellase I (r.1930-1974)

In 1930 *Ras* Tafari was proclaimed Emperor Haile Sellase I of Ethiopia. He primarily aimed to centralize his power and to weaken the status of some powerful lords who were involved in slave raids and possessed large number of slaves. The likes of *Ras* Haylu of Gojjam and others agreed to stop slave raiding. The government had steadily begun to exert real power to control open slave traffics and markets, and forced slave merchants to carry out a clandestine trade (Pankhurst, 2011, p.120; Miers, 1997). To accelerate the emancipation process and to create a convenient provision for freed slaves, the Emperor issued a third imperial proclamation on July 15, 1931. This time the edict announced the immediate liberation of any slave when the master died. Hence, Gardiner praised the Emperor's determination, "the state of the law [...] is sufficient not only to protect the slave, but also to terminate slavery within a generation (Pankhurst, 2011, p.120). So, this means the exact time for the end of slavery in Ethiopia was still unknown. Despite these relentless efforts, the British Anti-Slavery Society criticized the government's reluctance to immediately end slavery. However Ethiopian officials argued that the immediate abolition of slavery would cause an overall socio-economic disruption and a widespread political crisis (Pankhurst, 1935, p.118).

The Haile Sellassie administration renewed its plan to abolish slavery within a maximum of twenty years. To further assist the effort, the Emperor organized a new Slavery Department in the Ministry of the Interior and the former slavery courts and prisons also reorganized under this new structure. However, the expected outcome was

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never realized soon and the Emperor was running out of time to save Ethiopia from the explicit Italian invasion in 1935. Haile Sellassie's failure to move faster on the abolition process proved a (121, 118) gift to fascist propagandist to justify their sin of colonialism (Timoty, 1989, 184).

Challenges for Abolition: Why Did Slavery Persist in Ethiopia?

So far we have seen Ethiopian monarchs and their attempt to abolish the slave trade in Ethiopia. They issued different anti-slavery decrees. Nevertheless, they could not bring a complete suppression of either the institution of slavery or the trade. Abolition meant revolution and this is aptly understood by Pankhurst, "Slavery was then as deeply engrained as ever and its abolition involved nothing short of a social revolution." (Pankhurst, 1935, p.108). Since Emperor Tewodros' first edict, (1854) the abolishing effort was not concluded until the Italian occupation. It is here we took about eight years. Why was this? We can assume a number of factors but mention four major challenges in the abolishing process. These are geographical, religious, economical, and administrative or political challenges.

Geographical Factors

Ethiopia's closer location to the Muslim and Arab world made her a primary target by merchants for the notorious Red Sea slave trade. Margery Perham noted that there was "the encirclement of the country since the 8th century by Muslim states which, by their religion, (were) permitted (to practice) slavery (Perham, 1948, p.218)." Since then, the centuries long Christian-Muslim wars in the country and the notable 16th century *Gragh* Ahmed invasion was the result of controlling the vital trade routes which connect the resource areas to the sea outlets. In the 19th century, Muslim

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slave raiders and traders entirely dominated the lucrative slave trade and were able to transport many slaves to the voracious Arab world. They formed a well-organized trade network with local dealers and merchants. This maintained the longevity of their transaction and solidified their economic leverage across the Red Sea human merchandise (Mordecchai,1968). The Red Sea slave trade existed since time immemorial, nonetheless, it reached its climax in the 19th century. Conquests as well as state formations around Northeast Africa and Arabia were the primary factors to produce many more slaves and escalated the demand of Ethiopian slaves. War creates slaves. In the beginning of this century, the Egyptian ruler, Mohammed Ali embarked on massive campaigns of territorial expansion in the North East Africa and Arabia. The then subsequent upheavals increased the number of procured slaves and at the same time many more slave troops were demanded from Ethiopia to win the power struggle in Arabia. An additional factor was the insatiable need of labor force in Arabia and the good reputation of Ethiopian slaves among the Arabs and Ottomans which fueled the slave trade in 19th century in the country and across the Red Sea.

Consequently, several thousands of slaves were transported annually and it is estimated that between 450,000 and 500,000 slaves were exported through the ports of Matamma, Massawa, Tajura, Berbera and Zeila in 19th century from Ethiopia to Arabia and Egypt (Pankhurst, 2011, p.673; Abdussamad, 1996/2017, p.100; Lovejoy, 2011, p.148/9). Despite Ethiopian monarchs' proclamation of anti-slave trade laws, the Arab world geo-political impact was enormous and overwhelming. Moreover, the internal political dynamism and the major ports around the Red Sea were in the hands of Muslim states, making the task of resisting the Arab's voracious demand beyond the politico-military capacity of Ethiopian Emperors. This continued in

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the 20th century and became one of the giant's stumbling block against the abolition process.

Religion and Religious Laws (Code)

The second responsible factor which gave institutional social base for slavery was the legal framework of *Fetha Nagast** (Laws of the Kings). The code specifically dealt with slavery, the ways of slave acquisition and also manumission. Hence, *Fetha Nagast* was the principal factor for legalizing and officially endorsing the slave trade and the institution of slavery in Ethiopia. It had a significant role slavery to form a deep social and economical root among the Ethiopian society (Pankhurst, 2011, p.35). Christianity in general and *Fetha Negast*** in particular provided an ideological background to normalize the 'evil' and inhuman practice of slavery in the Ethiopian society. Slavery was portrayed as a regular and customary social relation in the societal law of nature. As Perham Morgan commented, "Christianity was not felt by the nations incompatible with slavery (Perham, 1948, p.217)." Pankhurst also corroborated that, "attempts at reform were largely ineffective partly because the people as a whole found nothing offensive in slavery" (Pankhurst, 2011, p. 73). A nation like Ethiopia which has both Christians and Muslims who regarded their faith most sacred and most important than anything else counted enslaving pagans as a means of accomplishing the dual mission of civilizing and converting them to their respective religion. With this position slave raid, and trade were more galvanized and vigorously executed in the spirit of crusade seeking to fulfil God's/Allah's will. In such a context of strong religiosity, any abolitionary attempts faced the resistance from these religious institutions (Pankhurst, 2011, p. 73. To see it more specifically, the northern Semitic people and Sudanese

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Arabs had contempt for peoples having a dark skin color who predominantly lived in Ethio-Sudan borderlands.

These peoples such as the Bertha, Mao, Khoma, Gumuz, Gimeria, and others were labeled by the northerners 'Shanqiall' or 'Barya' [sic] which means slave. These minority groups were subject to double exploitation from Christians and Muslims. As Abdussamed wrote, "the Christian military class worked in harmony with the Muslim merchants in enslaving the Gumuz. [and] Both the Christian military and the Muslim merchants claimed religious merit for despoiling and enslaving the 'pagan' of the borderlands (Abdussamad, 1996/2017, p.443)."

Socio-Economic Factors

Socio-economic relations were the other factor that most hindered the abolition process. The intimate social interaction between master and slave, seriously choked and blocked the anti-slavery movement. Slaves closely shared their life with their masters. Most slaves tended quickly to learn and adapt to their masters' culture. As Hussien Ahmed described, "One of the main characteristics of the Ethiopian slave trade was the high degree of assimilation of slaves into the social and economic life of slave-holding communities (Hussein, 2010, p.197)." Assimilation was mostly featured through converting to Christianity or Islam and taking Christian baptism. Although slaves were not manumitted immediately after conversion, at least conversion presumably gave them better treatment. Furthermore, "religion seemed to foster a sense of fatalism among slaves, and thus undermined their proclivity towards organized action against the system (Hussein, 2010, p.202)." The domestic nature of Ethiopian slavery made the master-slave relation somehow soft and lenient. This is perhaps due to the slaves' prestigious and greater social values for the masters, both in northern and

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southern Ethiopia. As the British traveler Charles Jonston's witnessed in Shoa, "Slaves usually live in the same manner as their owners (Ahmed, 2010, p. 202)." Besides, Harris also noted, "he [the slave] is invariably treated with lenity – usually with indulgence – often with favor (Hussein, 2010, p.201)"

Despite the slaves' hard work, oppression and relegation to the lowest sections of society, in northern and southern Gibe states, Timothy corroborated master's benevolence towards their household slaves by treating them like their "foster children" and as part of their family; (Timoty, 1989, pp. 74-75). Such 'good' and non-violent relation cast major difficulties on the abolition process. Assimilation and social integration of slaves to the dominant culture might have given them a relative comfort which lowered attempts to fight for their freedom. Richard Pankhurst sheds more light towards this unique social context: Emancipation was further hindered by the fact that the slave had a great value for his master and the owner preserving his value by treating him with consideration. The slave was considered part of the owner's family, he ate the same food, slept under the same roof... even if not born in the family, his life was a little different from the one who was in his own country. The owner also might even have made him his heir when he is going to die, this possibility tended to engender a feeling of complacency on the part of the slave (Pankhurst, 2011, p.109). Unlike African slaves' harsh treatment in America and Caribbean, the 'good' master-slave relation made slave rebellion absent in Ethiopia. One of the usual ways that slaves could win their freedom is by organizing a persistent slave revolt.

The Haitian slave revolt can be mentioned as the most successful uprising. Such uprising has an undoubted impact on the emancipation process. However, in Ethiopia's case,

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we never come across any organized slave revolt in history. Alicen Moore-Harell reasoned on the possible factors, "Slaves were owned individually by families and were not gathered in mass numbers for government or private economic enterprises. Also, slaves were seldom maltreated in Ethiopia and were mostly content with their position, since as valuable property of their owners, they were given adequate protection and food" (Moore-Harell, 1999, p.410). Additionally, their diverse linguistic, ethnic and societal complexity made it difficult to come to consensus to organize resistance. Running away from their masters' houses although very rarely, made them travel long distances. Having past trauma of harsh travel experiences and not knowing where to go added to their inability to escape. In general, the absence of active slave resistance made the abolishing task less enthusiastic and very intricate for the government (Hussein, 2010, pp.203, 205 & 210). The slaves' strong social bondage with their household masters deprived their gut to imagine a new life outside slavery. Their lack of any saved capital, further affected their chance to go back to their original home or to venture into a new life journey. Rather than giving their support for the abolishing call and dream of a better life, most of them and even freed slaves chose to stay in their masters' houses. The country's basic problem of creating conducive social and economic environment for ex-slaves made abolition unattractive and less desirable (Teshale, 1995; Pankhurst, 2011, p. 109).

Political and Administrative

The administrative problem related with the relative independence of regional rulers from the central government gave them more autonomy to involve in slave raid and trade. Notable and powerful governors like *Ras* Tessema of Illibabor and *Ras* Wolde Giyorgis of Kaffa engaged in enslaving the people of south western Ethiopia (Timoty,

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1989, p.119). Additionally, the backward tax and tribute collection system of the imperial administration from distant areas contributed to the persistence of slave trade. Regional governors and their large entourages, judges and other appointed workers did not have a fixed salary, rather they generated their income by extracting the resources of local people. This paved way for open and large-scale slave raid and trade. Besides, they were not secure about their job and future. Government appointment was done by the absolute will of the Emperor and anyone who was out of favor with the Emperor would lose his position. "Since the officials and their retinue had no security of tenure and no certainty that they would be re-employed, this booty served as an insurance against their own uncertain future (Miers, 1997, p.264)." For instance, in 1910 *Ras Walda Giyorgis* and his deputy *Dejazmach* *Damte* received an order to move from *Maji*. This meant that all the dignitaries, retinues, families and traders had to move together. As soon as they heard the transfer, they began to raid children, women and their livestock. The next governor and his entourage found a devastated land and people, and obviously went on to also raid and exploit the remaining people and resources. This devastating trend continued for a while.

The Road to Abolition and End of Slavery

While we see the challenges that hampered the abolition process, other concomitant historical developments also emerged to facilitate the eventual complete suppression of slavery in Ethiopia. The 1920s and 30s external and internal developments enhanced the demise of slavery. Three factors are responsible; one is the League of Nations and its international pressure, second is consolidation of the central government and the third is the introduction of market economy.

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League of Nation and the International Pressure

The British overtly opposed Ethiopia's application to the League of Nations due to the prevalence of slave trade. A British ivory hunter and trader, Henry Darley visited south and south western boarder parts of Ethiopia in the early 20th century and reported the prevalence of the slave trade to the British government. Moreover, travelers, British consular agents and the British Anti-Slavery Society brought the issue to publicity and to the British parliament in 1920s (Guluma, 1990; Teshale, 1996, p.63). The British also realized the persistence of slavery by the influx of the borderland people of Gumz from Ethiopia to British Sudan in fear of mass slave raid by regional lords. British officials in Sudan organized a shelter for the runaway Gumz in 1902. However; the depopulation of Ethio-Sudan borderland peoples worried the British (Abdussamad, 1996/2017, pp, 441-442). The real motive for British's opposition was more of political and related with arms. If Ethiopia became a member state of the League of Nations, that would allow her to import arms. This would give more power to Ethiopia and especially to governors, to create more havoc and organize cattle raid in south and southwestern border areas between Ethiopia and the British Kenya and Sudan. Additionally, it would endanger the British's plan to occupy the source of the Blue Nile, Lake Tana area according to the 1906 Tripartite Treaty. Nevertheless, Ethiopia finally admitted as a member of the League in September 1923, she agreed to deliver reports on the progress of the abolitionary process. The international pressure and the most vociferous critics of the League enhanced the suppression of slavery in Ethiopia (Miers, 1997, p.289). Especially, Italy's ambitious colonial interest over Ethiopia was getting stronger in the alleged reason of abolition of slavery and civilizing the nation. To avoid

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the impending national threat, the Haile Sellassie's regime worked aggressively to demise slavery (Guluma, 1990, p.15).

Centralization of Government Power

To implement the anti-slavery edicts and to realize the total eradication of slavery, restoring the prestige of the central government and controlling powerful regional rulers were an indispensable solution. For the sake of his own political hegemony and to end slavery, Regent Tafari have to bold political decisions. Henceforth, he replaced notorious slave administrators with his loyal governors in the south and in the south western Ethiopia. The appointment of *Ras* Mulugeta at Gore was with the intention of protecting the people from slave raids (Timoty,1989, p.190). In 1920s, slave raiding and trade had shown a significant decline. Both slave raiding and trading lost their former popularity and profitability, and also became very risky due to the increasing capacity of the government power to implement the anti-slavery edicts leading to severe penalties. Instead, *naftegna* (who holds gun) settlers turned into cattle raiding, which was less risky, very basic for their daily living and valuable for the growing commercial demand for skins and hides (Guluma, 1990, pp.11-12). After his coronation, to control the situation in remote south western area, Emperor Haile Sellassie embarked on administrative reforms in one of the most devastated area, Maji. Maji was selected as one of the model administrated areas which would get special attention. The reforms included monetizing both the tax collection system and the salaries of appointed officials (Guluma, 1990, pp.11-12). Consolidation of the Central Government's power and effectively controlling regional states was a milestone in the emancipation process. This step helped the government to execute the anti-slavery edicts and hence free enslaved people. McCan also observed, "The expansion of the imperial state and its increased presence in rural areas after

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1930 helped slaves to claim their freedom.”(McCann, 1988, p.352).

Market Economy

The Ethiopian government drafted new economic plans to redirect its attention from exporting slaves and ivory to coffee and hides. *Ras Tafari* wanted to make an unprecedented economic shift to establish the Ethiopian economy on a more reliable resource. To dislocate the institutional base of slavery from Ethiopia, such major economic changes were vital. The state allowed expatriate merchants to serve as middle men and engage more on infrastructural buildings to integrate Ethiopia into international legitimate commerce (Timoty, 1989, pp.190/1). The end of World War I and the opening of the international market brought good economic opportunities for Ethiopia’s major export items mainly coffee and hide, According to John Edward, Ethiopia’s economic re-origination was successfully transformed in two ways; first by establishing the production of coffee, skins and hides and by mobilizing large and small units of wage laborers under the nobilities and new settlers.

Secondly, the Addis Ababa–Djibouti Railway and the construction of roads which aimed at hastening the economic integration, increased the government’s capacity to easily deliver products to the international markets and to this benefit from income taxes (Edwards, 1982, p.6). Therefore, the export substitution and an abrupt economic shift undoubtedly had enormous impact on slave raid and trade. Gulema substantiates this, “the penetration of market economy also undermined the economic and social values of the institution of slavery (Guluma, 1990, p.11).” Although slavery was on the verge of demise since the mid-1920s and 30s, John Edward differently argued claiming that slaves had become unprofitable for the southern coffee production

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not because of the edict but for the shortage of slaves and their consequent higher prices. In Addis Ababa, the arrival of lorries cars as well as the influx of labor force from different regions concomitant with the expansion of industries and private businesses made acquisition of slaves outdated and unprofitable. John further reasoned,

most of the services performed by slaves could now be accomplished more cheaply with wage labor, which incurred no permanent liability for support in old age, sickness, and so forth. [and] Lorries had effectively replaced slave porters in the capital, and status and prestige depended more on possessing currency, land, cars, and western clothing than on large retinues of slaves (Edwards, 1982, pp.9-10). From an economic perspective, McClean, too, asserted that serfs labor force in the south exploited by the settlers was almost as equal as slaves, yet this did not have additional significant expenses. Slavery on its past obliged the master to cover the overall welfare expenses of the slaves including the slave price. Such expenditures had economic costs compared to the serfs' labor with minimum cheap wage price and without the accommodation of costs (McCann, 1988, p.76). The wide expansion of the gabbar system in southern Ethiopia, after the incorporation, served as an important economic factor for the decline of slave trade in Ethiopia. Timoty noted that, "As Menilek and his officials perceived that the value of the southern population was greater as cultivators than as commodities for export and immediate profit, they issued a series of edicts to prevent their removal (Timoty, 1989, p. 124)." They realized that slave raiding would bring severe depopulation, and endanger the very existence of the exploitative feudal system. Some of the notable governors, like Ras Walda Giyorgis in Kaffa restricted slave trade instead and exploited the servile labor as a gabbar. Menilek's territorial expansion and creation of modern state steadily transformed the socio-economic relation from salve-master into serf-noble or gabbar-neftegna system. Slavery was substituted by serfdom. Timothy again aptly described that, "the labor power at last had ensured that southern populations regained relative security [as] their needed labor was their guarantee. [...] the introduction of capitalist production relations made slavery a social anachronism and the slave trade

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unprofitable (Timoty, 1989, p. 125)”. Henceforth, the gabbar system decreased the scale of slavery in southern Ethiopia in the beginning of the 20th century. The nefteгна now started to work against slave raiding seriously affecting its economic interests by depopulating the gabbar labor force. The nefteгна turned into a defender and protector of the gabbar (Edwards, 1982. p.5). Northern Ethiopia was for long a beneficiary and one of the destinations of slave trade. As it happened in the south, the legal status of slavery and their domestic role diminished overtime. James McCan argues that, government’s pressure to abolish slavery by issuing edicts did not have much direct influence over the north; it rather caused the suppression of slave raid and open markets creating havoc to access slaves by a much-inflated price. Additionally, the changing of the landscape of the Ethiopian economy into market-based production through the years, made slavery obsolete, incompatible and uneconomical to the northerners (McCann, 1988, p.344).

The Final End of Slavery

The 1936 Italian occupation officially ended slavery in Ethiopia. In fact, slavery had been diminished and on the eve of the Italian invasion, due to the measures taken by the Imperial Regime and the aforementioned factors, the occupation period abolished the legal status of slaves in the north and in the south of Ethiopia. Many slaves were allowed to go away freely. One of the success stories of Italians was the establishment of a settlement place called “village of liberty” for the newly freed slaves. Italians helped the freed slaves to sustain their lives in agriculture by providing all the necessary materials (Perham, 1948, p.232). In the North, the Italians protected the freed slaves from their former masters and employed many ex-slaves in their extensive road construction. Others were hired in Italian military

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camps and women ex-slaves turned to concubine services (Perham, 1948, p.353).

In the south and in the south western areas Italians mercilessly punished slave holders and traders. In this way, they effectively abolished slavery system in Ethiopia (Timoty, 1989, p. 190; Bonacci & Meckelburg, 2017, p.16; Miers, 1997, p.277). The restored Haile Sellase regime initially affirmed the previous anti-slavery edicts but after a year, on August 26, 1942 issued a new edict. The new law announced the official and the legal abolishment of slavery in Ethiopia once and for all. The new legislation included exceptions for freed slaves who wanted to stay with their former masters in agreement of a new status. This was done purposely to minimize the consequent social and economic crises (Timoty, 1989, p.190). Such exception would convert most household slaves into household servants and this was anticipated to be the fate of majority of ex-slaves “to stay with their ex-masters rather than venture into an unknown world. [Those] who left the households of their former masters became ‘coolies’, guards, servants, maids, wood choppers, tree climbers, thieves, soldiers, prostitutes, and other such like engagements” (Teshale, 1995/6, p.67).

Despite the legal status of slavery being abolished in 1942, the life of slaves almost remained the same and did not show significant structural change. In northern Ethiopia, ex-slaves were economically alienated from possessing land and socially marginalized to languish at the bottom of the social ladder. In the north, “Most domestic ex-slaves remained tied to their former status of dependence and agriculturally engaged in ‘*siso bala*’ -“he ate one-third”, a type of tenancy where a landless farmer used the capital and land of the land lord and retained two - thirds of the produce in return for his labor” (McCann, 1988, p.354). Slavery was replaced by another exploitative system of tenancy and serfdom.

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These ex-slaves who based their life and security on giving their labor force to their former masters were called *ya-sarbarya* (Grass Slaves) (McCann 1988, p.350; Timoty, 1989, pp, 190/196). The serf's life was more abused, more risky and had no guarantee of life and work higher than that of slaves, since slaves were the property of their masters, had protection and better provision of diet and shelter. However, the *gabbar* was doomed to remain in a condition of life worse than ever before (Abir, 1985, p.124). What was really left for the ex-slaves was freedom – a freedom which could not afford anything!

The 9th century witnessed the climax of slave trade in Ethiopia and the entire region. Ethiopian monarchs made a wide range of endeavors from reducing the scale of the trade up to eliminating the institution of slavery. However, national and regional factors made the task very difficult and quite impossible. The country's overall socio-economic and political condition was not conducive to implement anti-slavery edicts and to eradicate slavery. In 19th century, slavery was deeply embedded in the routine life of the people. It was the main source of income for monarchs and an empire of complex web of trade network had already been built. Such an established system could not be simply removed by issuing anti-slavery edicts and without changing the country's fundamental socio-economic policies.

The defeat of the Italian colonialism, and the subsequent consolidation of the state authority to embark modernization and changed economic policies were coupled with the ever increasing international pressure against slavery. In addition, its waning demand on the Arab world, heavily contributed to the decline of slave trade in mid 1920s and 30s. The 1935/36 Italian invasion officially eradicated slavery in Ethiopia and was later confirmed by the restored Imperial regime in the 1942 anti-slavery edict.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Tales of Two Somali: The Jileck (Master), Jereer (Slave) and the (de) construction of Modern Somalia

Samuel A. Nyanchoga

Lewis (1961, 2004) situates the problematic of nation building in Somalia in the intractable primordial tendencies. The challenges of clannism, ethnicity, and nationalism created intractable conflict and challenges of identity and loyalty that has proved extremely difficult in the construction of modern statehood. This at the same time exacerbated the problems of irredentism and unification (Lewis, 2004). Hobsbawm and Ranger, (1992) however situate conflict in Somalia in political economy perspective, race, ethnicity, land, cultural and economic marginalization and the ethno-territorial zoning (Hobsbawm, 1992). The colonial political economy distorted and pauperized the pre-colonial pastoral and cultivation based economies and also the colonial rule imposed multiple legal regimes and political economy structures that contributed to the tensions, civil wars and unstable post- colonial

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state (Abdi, 1987). The colonial state was both extractivist and destructive hence laying a pernicious foundation of instability and preventing the growth of a healthy and stable post-colonial society (Crawford, 1994). The imperial machinations in Somaliland proved detrimental in the reconstruction of the post-colonial state. Somaliland was the theatre of British, French, Italian, Abyssinian and Egyptian imperial rivalry dating back to 1830s. The British had laid claim to the port of Aden as a strategic garrison in her activities in India.

The French interests dates back to 1850 when she obtained concession of Danaki port of Obock and Afar. The French also occupied the gulf of Tajura and the Anglo-French agreement of 1888 further defined the boundaries between the British and French as at Zeila and Jibuti (Lewis, 1988). The territory to the south of Juba remained the British dominion and later protectorate until 1895. The Benadir coastal ports of Bravai, Merca, Mogadishu, and Warsheik became part of the Italian protectorate. Egyptian expansionist programme also extended to the Red Sea ports of Suakin, Massawa and the Somali coastal ports of Bulhar and Berbera. By 1870s, Egypt had laid claim to Zeila, Harar, and Rashafun until 1884, when she evacuated the territory leading to the establishment of British protectorate.

The Italian consolidation included the Assabin 1882 (Lewis, 1988). The colonial project with multi-legal regimes and political economy orientations did not mobilize meaningful development for the sustainability of the post-colonial state. The Greater Somalia project mooted by the colonial state had greater repercussion on state building and border tensions as the transition from colonialism to independence began to take shape. The Greater Somalia project reared pernicious

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clan and ethnic political contestations: trans-border conflict and tensions.

The Greater Somalia was mooted by the British in an attempt to unify Somalia into a single political entity. The project was a dismal failure. The decolonization politics in Somalia embraced the politics of Greater Somali because it was politically relevant to the decolonization politics in the region. The projects was a failure because it was wrongly premised on the perceptions of Somali homogeneity (Zoppi, 2015).

Unearthing the Genesis of Slavery in Somalia Land

The clan is the center pole of Somali social formation but the nation is de-facto divided into the Jereer (slave) and the Jileck (master). In the invention of modern Somalia; the Jileck is Arab in origin and Jereer is of Bantu stock. The Jileck Somali constitute the Somali clans of Dir, Hawiye, Darod, and Issaq. The Somali revisionist historians such as Ahmed (1995) and Dualeh (2002) argue that the Somali clans come from the Arab origin and entered Somaliland through coastal Maiti and gradually evolved into the Somali nation with common religious and language traits (Ahmed, 1995; Dualeh, 2002). The Somali Bantu share a common physical trait; hard hair (tiimo jareer) and ipso facto deemed to be of low status in the Somali lineage system. In the colonial and post-colonial history of Somalia, the Somali Bantu are the most disposed, subjugated and exploited having been dispossessed of the lucrative riverine farmlands in southern Somalia and deprived of access to high positions in the Somalia military, police and national civil service (Bestemann, 2003, p. 199).

The politics of identity classifies the Bantu Somali as “non-Somali” implying that they are foreigners, outside

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the Somali clan lineage and are ipso facto disenfranchised and most disadvantaged group (Menkhaus, 2003). Where the Somali Bantu are adopted (shegad) into Somali clans, they hold a separate lineage (Lewis, 1995). The Somali Bantu clients were referred to as *boon* or commoners. They retained a separate identity and rarely intermarried with the mainstream clans. They were often considered to be “less Somali” impure, unclean and subjected to serfdom status (Helander, 1996). There are several coercive terminologies that define the Somali Bantu in relation to the “other” such as *oggi* (Italian- people who think for a moment without the ability to think beyond their immediate needs); *adoon* (slave); *vergoled* (people of the forest); *mushungulu* (bantu people), Habash (pagan) (Bidde) slave and jereer (slave) (Menkhaus, 1989).

The presence of Bantu in Somalia is attributed to the early dispersal and migration of larger Bantu stock into Eastern Africa and the other explanation is founded on the 19th century enslavement of diverse Bantu peoples (Pokomo, Taita, Yao, Zegua, Makua, Kikuyu, Swahili, Ngindo, Nyasa, Nyamwezi and Nyika) as well as runaway slaves from the Swahili coast seeking refuge in fortified forests and river valleys of southern Somali region. The Somali Bantu are concentrated in the riverine regions of Jubba, Shabelle, Bay, Bakool and in urban areas of Mogadishu, Kismayo, Galkayo, Hergeissa and Bosaso (Menkhaus, 2003). The practice of slavery in Somali dates back to the beginning of the 19th century. The Benadir coastal town of Somalia fell under the sultanate of Zanzibar and by extension was an important transit point of the slaves from Zanzibar and coastal Kenya to the Middle East. Slaves were also sold to wealthy Somali farmers and livestock keepers in southern Somalia. Slaves were used for all manner of work that included cultivation,

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tending livestock, irrigation and transport of farm produce to the coast (Cassannelli, 1987).

Prior to a large influx of Bantu slaves to southern Somalia, there also existed a stock of Bantu migration settlers in southern Somalia who had assimilated into local Somali population. They entered into client cultivation with noble Somali pastoral clans while maintaining separate lineages (Luling, 1971). From the beginning of 19th century, there was an influx of imported slaves into southern Somalia hence empowering the Somalia pastoral nobility to engage in large scale agricultural production of grains, sesame, organic dyes, cotton and began to use slave labour for transporting agricultural products to the coast of Somalia (Luling, 1971).

Italian Colonialism and Metaphorical Slavery

The entry of Italian occupation in Somaliland dating back to 1903 resulted in the anti- slavery ordinance of 1903 and 1904 outlawing slave trade (Hess, 1966). There was a strong resistance from the Somali pastoral nobility to the Italian suppression of slavery. The Bimal clan resistance as well as rural Somali pastoral nobility resisted the emancipation of slaves. It was not until 1908 that Italian military was able to stamp out the resistance. The Italian military occupation of southern Somaliland in 1908 resulted in the suppression of the slave trade (Cassannelli, 1988). After the suppression of slavery, the Italian colonial government leased most of the riverine land in southern Somalia for agricultural production of cotton, rice and tobacco to generate revenue for colonial operations. The political economy of the riverine settler farmers proved repressive. By 1908, the Italian Governor Carletti in Somaliland instructed the Resident Commissioner of Giumbu to reserve some 10,000 hectares of Arable land in Gosha region of Shebelle. The land was originally cultivated for Tuni clan by their bondsmen and serfs. The

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Italian settlers found their efforts seriously impeded by the difficulties of recruiting local labour. By 1910, the private Italian concession companies had run bankrupt prompting the colonial government to declare most of the riverine land as state property for a period of 99 years. From 1910 to 1916 the colonial government conscripted local Bantu Somali to provide labour for roads construction. The Italian fascist regime of 1923 to 1935 introduced forced labour (*Kolonyo-corvee*) in southern Somaliland to provide the much needed labour for agricultural production. This led the Italian residents in riverine regions to force people mainly slaves and serfs to work on the plantations.

In the coastal towns of Mogadishu and Benadir, there were several slaves working in the households, local textile and seed press industries producing sesame oil owned by wealthy Somali and Arab merchants. Urban slavery went hand in hand with rural based slavery despite the Italian colonial presence. The Italian Benadir company (a chartered company that administered Southern Somalia on behalf of the Italian government from 1893) did not bring immediate changes to urban slavery arguing that most of the slaves were well treated by their masters. The company minimally reimbursed the urban slave masters for freeing their slaves and asked the slaves to pay their masters a fee for food and lodging. The Company administration argued that freeing slaves from their masters could lead to urban prostitution, crime and poverty. Due to the gradual abolition of slavery, many freed slaves transited into poorly paid employment as porters, dockworkers, sweepers, waiters and house servants, while others maintained a client patron relations with their former masters as a form of livelihood security.

In the rural agricultural Somalia economy, the large proportion of freed slaves were absorbed into colonial plantation economy (Cassannelli, 1982). By and large in the

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period before 1920, the colonial administration aligned itself with slave owners and aimed to keep slaves on the land of their former owners to maintain traditional corporate discipline and avoid anti-colonial resistance. This gave slave owners the latitude to gain advantage over labour extraction of their former slaves and hence entrenched coercively labour control. The Italian colonial occupation of southern Somali land impacted on the (Jareer) Somali Bantu negatively in terms of land appropriation and exploitation of their labour (Ronnell, 1945). The Italian colonial government expropriated approximately 46,000 hectares of lucrative riverine land in Juba and Shebelle for agricultural purposes. The Italian colonial state took advantage of precariousness of Somali Bantu population and subjected them into forced labour. The Somali Bantu described the Italian colonial occupation as white slavery having early been subjected to Arab slavery. The Italian (Kolonya/ corvee) forced labour was described by the Somali Bantu as white slavery because of its repressive policies that resulted in further disintegration of the Somali Bantu community because of forced migration (Eno, 2004). The words of Sylvia Pankhurst portrayed Italian colonialism as a *"scheme aimed to bankrupt the indigenes of their land, marching them to the Italian plantations by coercion and oppression"* (Eno, 1995). In the words of Eno (2008) Somali ex-slave-owners, having been exempted from Kolonya/ Corvee acted in solidarity with the Italian colonialism and coordinated the conscription of the Bantu labour to the Italian plantations. Hence, it reinforced their perception of superiority over Somali Bantu (Eno, 2008). In the Italian campaign against Ethiopia from 1935 to 1936, the (Jareer) Somali Bantu were enlisted as porters while non Somali Bantu were enlisted as soldiers hence reinforcing the notion of ethnic and social classification and differentiation.

The Italian colonial State entrenched the military strength of ethnic Somali over the Jereer Somali. It went

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hand in hand with massive land expropriation and labour exploitation. It continued up to 1950 when southern Somalia was placed under the UN trusteeship. In 1960 following the independence of Somalia land, the British northern Somali land was reunited with formerly the Italian Southern Somali land to create the republic of Somalia (Lewis, 1988).

Independent Somalia land and the Semantics of Slavery

The politics of independence in Somali land focused on regional autonomy and land. The Somali Bantu unsuccessfully fought for regional autonomy in an attempt to protect their land from further expropriation from the Somali ethnic clans. The failure to secure federated political system in the Greater Somali land in the early years of independence had far reaching implications on the Somali Bantu. What ensued was massive land expropriation in the riverine in Somali Bantu regions in southern Somali land. Several state farms and foreign firms were established in lower and middle Jubba valley (Menkhaus, 1998). The State farms and foreign firms triggered a new phenomenon of landless and squatter system among the Somali Bantu Population due to land expropriation particularly in the 1980s under guise of land adjudication and registration programme. Since the process was in the hands of public servants from the mainstream non- Bantu Somali, they took advantage of the corrupt system to amass thousands of Bantu riverine for themselves and dominant Somali clans. The Said Barre regime that presided over the programme unleashed terror on the protesting Bantu Communities (Menkhaus, 1998). This resulted in the massive flow of state induced internally displaced persons from the region to urban areas and neighboring states and at the same time

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creating a phenomenon of migrant and casualized Bantu workers.

The Bantu Somali resorted to the provision of casual labour in the newly created state farms resulting to exploitation and marginalization. The Somali Bantu began to interpret their marginalization in the post-colonial state as the perpetuation of the colonial structures of exploitation, marginalization and inequality. The Somali Bantu rhetoric against the post-colonial regime is best captured in poetic themes that described the Italian colonialist and post-colonial regimes as exploitative because they both expropriated Somali Bantu land hence rendered independence and freedom worthless (Eno, 2008). The Somali Bantu described the transition from colonialism to independence as “road to zero”. This was in reference to Aden Abdulle Osman is regime; the first independence president of Somalia and his successor Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke for the perceived role they played in sidelining the Somali Bantu from the military and public sector. In the eyes of the Bantu Somali, the regime of Osman and Sharmake was not emancipatory but rather maintained legacy of marginalization associate with slavery and colonial oppression by failing to institute land reform, leading to the decline of ‘agricultural production and consequent deterioration in the means of livelihood (Samatar, 1992). The main stream Somali clans literally, milked the “Mandeeq” (she-camel, symbolizeing Somali independence) to the exclusion of the Somali Bantu. The clan representation in the post-colonial government favoured the Hawiye, Darood and, Issaq to the disadvantage of the Somali Bantu (Eno, 2004). The entry of Said Barre regime did not alter the fortunes for the Bantu Somali but lumped all the Bantu/Jareer as “ex-slaves and suppressed them to the bottom line of the social strata” (Samatar, 1992). They were referred to derogatory terms as “adoon” and hence denied economic advancement, political participation as well as

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social equality with other Somali clans. The derogation of the Somali Bantu to position of inferiority was perceived as continued slavery by the independence regimes.

The protest in poetic terms of the post-colonial Jereer marginalization was captured succinctly in the words of Sayid Ali; a jarer poet; “We are un-matchable in Number, and strength in production But we (Jareer) are alienated (persecuted) due to the (distinctiveness) of our hair (ethnicity as Jareer)”. The Said Barre ascendancy to power through military coup and in imposition of Somalia dialect as a standard language of official communication implied the ascendancy of clan to political economic and cultural dominance in a multi ethnic society. The use of Somali dialect as standardization language implied the cultural dominance of one ethnic group over the other ethnic groups drawing convergence with the colonial experience of language imperialism.

Said Barre and Servitude

The Said Barre administration introduced the Agricultural Development Corporation targeting the predominantly Somali Bantu grain growers. The Corporation through government orders extracted most of the grain from the Jereer farmers at prices lower than the production cost and later resold to the same farmers at inflated prices. The extraction of grains through both price controls and forced produce deliveries led to the decline in crop production, stagnation and precariousness among the Somali Bantu grain producers (Samatar, 1989). The politics of exclusion during the Barre regime would be seen in the stagnation of the Bantu Somali in the military and in the civil service (Eno, 2008). The civil war and anarchy that followed the collapse of the Barre regime led to further suppression and abuse of the Somali Bantu by both the mainstream Somali

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clans and militia groups on grounds of physical markers of differentiation with other clans. Eno (1980, 2001) intimates that the Somali Bantu suffered the double tragedy of losing their homes, land and property and their women raped on account that they were lesser of Somali people (Eno, 2001).

The civil war led to the dispersal of Somali Bantu into refugee camps beyond its borders. The legacy and stigma of slavery made the Bantu population particularly vulnerable to torture, and rape by the militia and criminal gangs. Many of the Bantu Somali fled their homes and became refugees in the neighbouring countries. The refugee camps did not necessarily offer reprieve as the Bantu people were subject to discrimination and often placed in housing units on the outskirts of the camp, where residents were more vulnerable to looters and women more vulnerable to sexual abuse than their Somali national counterparts in the center housing units (Eno & van Lehman, 2003). Bantu families were often made to work for more powerful Somali families within these camps, building homes, and fetching water and firewood (Horst, 2007).

Contemporary Somalia Society and modern Slavery

The constitution of the Federal Republic of Somalia 2012; articles 407 and 408 criminalizes the instigation, aiding and exploitation of prostitution. The article 455 spell out the penalty of reducing another person to slavery, articles 456 and 457 declares it as offense dealing and trading in slaves. Finally articles 458 and 464 declares that enforced subjection and or compulsory labour as criminal offense punishable by a court of law. Contrary to spirit and letter of the constitution of the Federal Republic of Somalia; the USA State Department Report cites modern times slavery in Somalia. The reports notes that Somali has become a destination, transit and origin for victims of human trafficking and modern slavery. The

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Somalia society continue to endure some practices similar to slavery, servitude, forced labour, human trafficking, child soldiers and child prostitution. Women and children and are trafficked for domestic work and forced prostitution. The Al-Shabaab seize children, indoctrinate and force them into military camps to carry weapons and be trained as suicide bombers, transport detonators, for logistics, and intelligence collection. Similary the Al-Shabaab and the Islamist militant group sexually abuse women, young girls and subject them into forced marriage (Anti- slavery in Domestic Legislation in <https://antislaverylaw.ac.uk/country/somalia/> United States Department of State, 2017 Trafficking in Persons Report - Somalia, 27 June 2017; Bloom and Horgan,2020)

The chapter has established that slavery is intricately intermingled with national politics in Somalia. Despite modern constitutional prohibitions slavery continue to evolve and entrenched due to the fragility of the State.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Institution of Slavery and its Legacy in Ethiopia

Akalework Mengesha

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to present the historical process of slave abolition in Ethiopia with the aim of recounting how apparent facts of institutional slavery and slave trade came to an end. More notably, the legacies of slavery have been given due emphasis by resonating around the profound impact on social, economic and political dimensions. The historical insight provides the background of slavery in Ethiopia with the venture to shed light on how it was sought and addressed in the past. With such past scenery, discussion has been accentuated in order to bring about the legacies of slavery given that it is typically unaddressed and inadequate in the scholarship of post slavery society. The impact of slavery on the condition of descendants of former slaves and the overall fabric of contemporary society have, for the most part, been left understudied and overlooked despite the fact that its legacies are still invasive and deep-rooted. This part brings accessible understanding in this aspect and tries to

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provide the foretaste of an old antiquity with multi-faceted legacies. In the course of this endeavors, I have consulted secondary sources, published and unpublished documents, in discussing the subject at hand.

Taking Apart the Institutional Basis of Slavery and Slave Trade

It has been extensively recorded that slaves existed since time immemorial.¹ Slavery as a social reality involved the ownership of human beings through an exchange with the purpose of forced or unpaid labor and sexual exploitation. It was a phenomenon with institutional basis and soci-cultural and religious patronage. Slavery was well established and continued to exist throughout 19th century and early 20 (Pankhurst, 1968b).

Going back to the historical inscriptions, its existence dates to the 3rd millennium in 495B.C, which marks the subjugation of Punt land in slavery and the practice of exporting slaves from the Aksumite kingdom that dates back to 100-940 AD. The inscriptional evidence suggests that the purchase of slaves was made by Egyptians through naval expeditions from what is currently known as Red sea or Gulf of Aden. Later, slave trading was recorded in inscriptions during the time of King Ezana in the 4th century (Pankhurst, 2010).³ These two most essential evidences bear the realization that slavery and slave raiding existed since distant past. Slavery was a practice that had strong traditions in all three religions of the world, Christianity, Islam and Judaism. They all recognized slaves as an independent class of people with some distinctive attributes. In Ethiopia, it was legally accepted and practiced through the enactment of Fiteha Negest (the law of the kings), which is the legal code of Ethiopia translated from the 13th century Arabic writings of Coptic documents based on biblical and Roman laws

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(Pankhurst, 1976).⁴ This legal document gave institutional basis to regulate acquisition, possession and treatment of slaves (Goadby, 1993).

As a religious and secular text, it played a significant role in making the practice widely acceptable and deep-rooted in societal tradition. It combined both spiritual and secular matters. For instance, it pronounced that certain people who could legally be enslaved were prisoners of war. With reference to this, it states;

Liberty is in accord with the law of reason, for all men share liberty on the basis of natural law. But war and strength of horses bring some to service of others, because the law of war and of victory makes the vanquished slaves of victors (Tzadua P. 1968).

More to the point, it also permitted the enslavement of non-believers and children of slaves. What made it so commanding and incontestably all right, was the scriptural authority embodied in its declarations.

This is markedly and plainly outlined in the Fetha Negest(laws of kings) and quoting directly from the book of Leviticus chapter xxv verse 44-46, it had been placed in the following;

Both thy bond-men and thy bond-maids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bond-men and bond-maids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do so-journ among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begot in your land; and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you; they shall be your bond-men forever (Leviticus, XXV, 44-6).

This document had an extensive impact and was accepted by unsparing rulers of later times. On the other side, the widely prevalent situation of slavery practices in the various

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corners of the country also related to the outside factors where it was universal all through west, south and east of the neighboring countries and in the world at large. In addition to such institutional basis that put slavery on robust underpinning during ancient Christian Ethiopia, it is far and widely argued that the national project, which envisioned in unifying and making greater Ethiopia possible, had massive impact on the continuation and extensive pervasiveness of the practice. It was in 1880s that Emperor Menelik II started to conquer and incorporate the south-western part of Ethiopia which is believed to be the central element in the formation of the Abyssinian Empire. Such political conquest resulted in a land tenure system which brought new social status with privileged owners of land (landlords) and landless peasants (Pankhurst, 1968b; Miers & Neal, 1980; Dennis, 1986).

With such introductory thought about the institution of slavery and its practice, I will discuss the attempts made to end slavery and slave trade at the time of different rulers of the country

Earlier Attempts and the Abolition of Slavery in 1942

The efforts to abolish slavery and its practice were there during the time of Emperors of Ancient Christian kingdom. However, it did not succeed to till the advent of Italians in 1930s. The Italians use the abolition of slavery as validation of its invasion in 1955 (Baravelli, 1935).

Attempts to abolish slavery go back to the outlawing of slave trade by Emperor Tewodros II of Ethiopia in 1854. His efforts were believed to be half-done and inadequate due to the fact that he allowed Christians to buy slaves if they did so for charity reasons. Since the practice was deep-rooted in the society, the ban of slave trade had little effect. Again the Emperor issued a decree in 1862 banning the sale of

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slaves of any and all Christian slaves (Bahiru, 2001). This law outline gruesome penalties if any person was caught trading in Christian slaves; they would have their hands and feet amputated.

Another failed attempt to end slavery was made by Emperor Yohannes IV. During the signing peace treaty with Britain, which ended Egyptian-Ethiopian war, in 1884 as part of it, he also signed an agreement to end slavery and the trading of slaves. The agreement entailed the banning of slave trade and safeguarding the wellbeing of freed slaves. However, such effort also did not bear fruit in dismantling slavery and slave trade in the country (Siegbert, 2010). It was during the time of Emperor Menelik II that the issue of slavery and slave trade gained better public attention (Baravelli, 1935). He was known to issue two important decrees made in 1876 that banned Christians from buy and selling slaves.

This law also banned Muslims not to travel with slaves, and the breach of this law would resulted in custody. The second proclamation issued in 1989 in relation to the abolishing of the slave trade (Pankhurst, 1968a). Despite these legal basis and proclamations, Menelik was unable to end the practice. It was broadly believed that he himself debased those laws with his political agenda of expansion and unification in making of greater Ethiopia where he enslaved war captives in thousands. In elucidating this fact, Pankhurst sates;

...commanders and provincial governors acquired several thousand war captives in the aftermath of numerous campaign of conquest that they launched from Shawa against the indigenous hereditary rulers of Southern and eastern Ethiopia... A good number of these captives were sold to slave dealers...while other captives found their way

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to thousands of rich merchants and prosperous cultivators who purchased them in open markets (Bahiru, 1987)... Menelik and his wife Taytu reportedly owned 20,000 slaves in the palace, Addis Ababa and 50,000 elsewhere... (Pankhurst, 1968a),¹⁵

Again he also relied on slave markets and its levy tax in order to import firearms and ammunitions (Miers & Neal, 1980). Such unsuccessful and vain attempts eventually led to the real effort on the abolition of slavery in 1923, following the requirement of Ethiopia to join the League of Nations during the time of Emperor Haile Selassie I. Previous leaders had shown interest in downplaying its practice though it had failed to bring desired change. Ethiopia's Application to become a member of League of Nations was denied due to the practice of slavery and slave trade (Bahiru, 2001).¹⁷ As a result, and in abiding by the international agreements and conventions, Ethiopia declared trading slaves a crime punishable by death. This decree, which was edited as the slavery abolition proclamation No22/1942, entailed an account stating that any practice of slavery would result in grave punishment; and it states;

Any person who...engages in slave dealing or assists or in any way helps a person in this engagement is guilty of an offence and shall be liable for conviction(a) to be sentenced to death or (b) to imprisonment for a term not exceeding 20 years or to a fine not exceeding Maria Theresa Dollar 10,000...(Anti slavery Proclamation, 1951).

As part of the obligation, it was stated that Ethiopia required ending slavery over 10 years with the expectation that it would abolish it completely. Thus, the 1942 abolition of slavery and slave trade was basically the outside pressure of international communities and also the internal situation that made the process of the institution of slavery less important in terms of economic tenability and thus undesirable by

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the feudal class due to the changing life fashion. A range of legislative measures were taken by Emperor Haile Selassie in the process of ending the institution of slavery in its real terms. A number of legislations were issued to give backing to the new anti-slavery laws. The 1923 legislation was issued with the aim of outlawing slave raiding and giving the local administrators the responsibility to put it in force. Also, another proclamation was enacted in March 1924 which fundamentally envisioned the emancipating of slaves all over the country; this was termed as The Emancipation Law (Pankhurst, 1968a; Pankhurst, 2010).

This law was passed encompassing the larger aspect of previous ones, in order to deal with the practical challenges faced while enforcing them. For instance, the fact that local administrators were also slave owners made the enforcement impossible on the one hand and lack of effective control on the part of the central government in many parts meant another challenge on the other hand. Taking in to account such challenges, the new law was enacted to address in more strict ways the end of slavery in the shortest time possible. However, such measures and moves were not strong enough to prevent Italian invasion of 1935 as the Italians used slavery and slave trade as justification (Woldemariam, 1984). The aim was to portray Ethiopia as lagging behind the other member states since it did not emancipate slaves in practical terms. They used the practice as a propaganda tool in convincing the world to the claim that Ethiopia was not 'civilized'. With such political intent, Italy succeeded in occupying Ethiopia though it was for brief a period of five years. Italy on its part issued laws in 1935 and 1936 aiming to emancipate slaves (Smidh, 2010). . Shortly after their defeat in WWII, the Emperor issued slavery abolition proclamation No22 of 1942. This was replaced by penal code No158 of 1957

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and this was followed by a current law; the criminal code of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia No 414 of 2004.

Socio-Economic and Political Condition of Slaves Descendants in Post Slavery Societies

In present day Ethiopia, slave descendants live in various parts of the country. To a large extent, the issue of slavery and its impact on contemporary societies have been left obscured and unexplored. In most instances, people assume that it is an extremely sensitive topic due to the fact that it entails the concern of domination and subordination, marginalization and discriminatory practices as well as elements of depravity. It is apparently plain that the issue of slavery and its legacies have not been given attention in media outlets, academic and research outputs as well as in political agenda. It is apt to raise the question why this is so while, the facts on the ground signify that as much as it is a very unrelenting phenomena it has far-reaching consequences to this time.

In this section, I have attempted to bring the existing data on current situation of descendants of former slaves with particular emphasis to their social, economic and political spheres of life. This is due to the belief that it will give better picture of the recent condition across the country though it is still limited in terms of the depth and scale of the analysis because it has only relied on the existing sources and research outputs. We have seen that slavery and slave trade were abolished long ago though changing its nonconstructive impact through challenging social values and belief systems of contemporary society have not yet been achieved. Its legacies are marked in various socio-economic and political endeavors of the former slaves and slave descendants.

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Social Standing of Former Slaves and Slave Descendants

As designated in preceding paragraphs, the subject of slavery and slave trade remain the neglected field in scholarship even in the historiography of Ethiopia, this is despite the fact that it had and continues to have enormous impact in structuring the social relations of modern-day societies.

In Ethiopia, social exclusion and marginalization have existed for long and continue to prevail on such obvious facts essentially are attached to descent and occupational attributes of social groups. Slave descendants remain among the socially marginalized groups in Ethiopia together with occupational minorities and hunters. In terms of social relations, they are identified as slaves and that discriminately often puts them in low status which is manifested in various social occasions (Epple, 2018). The most common and widely prevalent element, across all parts of the country, attesting to such occurrence is the prohibition of intermarriage that separates slave descendants from the dominant mainstream society. In fact, such rules also strongly persist affecting other socially marginalized groups such as occupational minorities and hunters. Slave descendants in south western Ethiopia are a prominent example in this case. Slave descendants occupying the last social hierarchy in Gamo society also occupy the middle of strata in Wolaitta and Gofa societies (Mengesha, 2014; Bombe, 2014).

In many cases, mainstream communities believe that they are impure and sub-human creatures that pollute the *Goqqas* or non-slaves. In a similar manner, the Dube community of Bale lowlands have been excluded in many ways because of their low social standing as manifested in the rules in

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disfavor of intermarriage (Tessema, 2019). There are widely held beliefs that they are impure and have grimy physique.

The slave descendants in northern Ethiopia located in the Rayya Qoboo highlands have been experiencing social exclusion and prohibited intermarriages though they are somehow considered to be supposedly adapted into the majority. In other words, slaves and other occupational groups have remained away apart from interrelation and austere forbidden to have marital ties with the majority. Interaction with slave descendants was believed to imperil the socio-economic and religious thoughts and actions of the people. They depart the area as a means to avoiding discrimination and exclusion as they remain easily identified by the majority (Gezahegne, 2018). Across the country, it is commonly held that slave descendants are unique, with their physio-gnomic attributes, filthy and less human.

In the western part of the country, slave descendants and ethnic minorities of the Mao and the Komo, who are at the border in Sudan and Ethiopia, are among the most stigmatized and discriminated communities. This is done by the main stream communities in various ways at different occasions. For example, a juncture of such harsh stigmatization and exclusion is expounded by Mecklenburg as follows;

...the Mao language is usually only used at home, people are embarrassed to speak it in public and it is laughed at and despised if used in market transactions. Similarly, forms of ornament and material culture and above all skin color elicit constant public mockery (Meckelburg, 2015).

In the Woliatta society, in southern Ethiopia, slave descendants and former slaves endure forms of social exclusion that prohibited intermarriages. The violation of this marriage rule results in severe condemnations and

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dis-approvals by the mainstream community albeit such restrictions being seemingly challenged by the young and educated men (Mengesha, 2014).

Due to the widespread historical phenomenon of slavery and slave trading, slave descendants are vulnerable to almost all forms of social exclusion and stigmatizations across the country. In many instances, they are viewed as unashamed, iniquitous, full of complaints and ill-mannered.

There are various instances where slave descendants experience stern distancing and exclusion. Due to the view that they are impure to such a level that they 'infect' others in ways that turn them to slaves as well, their exclusion and unfriendliness is so needed when it comes to marriage, funerals and childbirth rituals (Bombe, 2014).

However, this does not mean that the level of exclusion and saddle of living as slave descendants is alike across the country in terms of place and societies. The degree of social exclusion varies within one community and to a larger extent depends on the overall economic and numerical standing of the slave descendants. For instance, at the country level, slave descendants at the northern part of Tigray region are better integrated and empowered as compared to other parts of the country. The argument here is that the ruling party (TPLF) did well to introduce reforms that aimed at making former slaves and slave descendants practically free (Berhe, 2018).³⁰ The reforms take in land redistribution schemes that provide land for them while outlawing discriminatory practices towards them. Nevertheless, it is clear that there is variation as to the level of social exclusion and marginalization of slaves and their descendants; it requires far more in-depth exploration as the reform taken by the government could not

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be the only cause for such differences, since such schemes were applied in all parts of the country.

The Economic Status of Slave Descendants

Traditionally, slaves were at the center of economic activities as often times captured or bought from other groups. Trading of slaves as means of generating wealth was the vogue of the day all through the 19th and early 20th century (Pankhurst, 1968a). In Ethiopia, slaves were destined both for international and domestic markets existed during 19th century. The major supply regions by then were Oromo, Sidama, Kaffa, Magi, Gamo, Gimira, Gofa, Woliatta, Kullo and Konta. In 1830 and 1880, from the total of 15,000 slaves brought to market 7,500 slaves were exported in long distance slave trade and the remaining half were sold in domestic market (Fernyhoigh, 1989). They were a source of economic possessions and yet not allowed to own any resources and work towards that. They were forcefully impoverished and were meant to live so. In fact, this was outrightly pointed out in the legal document of Fetha Negest (laws of kings). The document ordered that slaves could not own any property and hold public office. This is due to the belief that slaves themselves were heritable and they could not inherit from their masters (Tzadua, 1968). They were marginalized from essential economic resources due to prohibiting the ownership of land and livestock and exploiting them simply for unpaid labor. They were engaged chiefly in agricultural activities by working in large plantation farms. Labor exploitation was brutal in that they were compelled to carry out any kind of activity assigned to them by their masters. Such legal and customary practices were the fundamental

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causes of the deprived position of slave descendants at present time.

With the introduction of 1974 revolution of land reform during the Dreg regime, there observed a light of hope that brought the right of land ownership and ended traditional land holding systems. However, the land given to former slaves and their descendants and other excluded minorities was often of smaller size and lower in quality (Mangesha, 2014).

Above all, reforms and privileges during the Derg regime did not prolong to bring the desired change as slave descendants were yet imposed to return to the land given to them under the land reform. They were also powerless in maintaining their advantage from the empowering engagement in village association and political participation.

With the advent of EPRDF (Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary and Democratic Front) there existed changes with the new constitution of 1995. This utterly banned any sort of discrimination based on social status or background. Regarding former slaves and slave descendants, Article 18/2 of the Federal Constitution of Ethiopia, prohibits the holding of anyone in slavery or servitude (The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Constitution, 1995).³⁵ Again, the constitution bans all forms of discrimination based on race, nation, nationality or other social origin, color, sex, language, religion, political affiliation and among others. It assures the protection and equal treatment of all people regardless of such attributes. However, the situation of excluding minority groups including slave descendants and other marginalized groups still persists in local context and outwardly in sense that so much is left untouched in

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the changing socio-economic and political life of them (Mengesha, 2014).

As a way out and as a /mechanism to deal with their economic quandary, slave descendants and their families engage in share rearing and farming relationship with the majority. They also generate income through charcoal production and trade in the local markets. Such economic engagements enabled them to gain respect and position in the neighborhood though this has had very minimal effects in changing societal values and attitudes in many instances. This is especially so in the context of social relations that move towards marital union. In the Ganta community slave descendants have gained respect through successful accumulation of wealth through share cropping arrangements (Bombe, 2014). Though the level of exclusion in resource acquisition varies across families and throughout places where former slaves and their descendants live, the economic marginalization seem to show no momentous difference since there are no special programs or attempts that target to enhance the living condition of the slaves other than the land reform program that guarantees small plots of land to the slave descendants and their families.

Slave Descendants' Political Involvement and Standing

From the opening of introductory points and subsequent sections, we have discussed that the abolition of slavery and slave trade did not get apposite consideration during the time of the Ethiopian Emperors. For example, the first attempt to abolish slavery and slave trade was made at an early time by Emperor Tewodros II, as part of his radical reforms, and issued proclamation in 1884 in banning the export of slaves. However, the problem lay in putting the decrees in to effect as there were very minimal efforts on the ground. By and large, the influence of previous political regimes and

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their response to the condition of slaves and other minority groups have been studied and documented in better way in historiography. In all, the course of dismantling the institution of slavery and slave trade and marginalization of other minority groups leaders took legal and policy measures that targeted to deal with their economic rights such as land ownership and other fundamental rights of minorities.

However, a significant move in ending slavery as a practice was taken during the time of Haile Selassie I in 1942 and had a crucial effect in making slaves become independent and free. This does not imply that the decree immediately eliminated the practice on the ground but rather it completely abolished slavery in its entire forms. The legal measures were unsuccessful in bringing realistic changes when it came to economic, social and political life of former slaves and their descendants. The underprivileged status, in all those dimensions, has continued to persist even today across different parts of the country (Gezahegne, 2018; Mengesha, 2014).

It was during the Derg regime that some radical reforms were taken, which had an impact in improving the socio-economic and political status of former slaves and slave descendants and occupational minorities.

The 1974 revolution promoted equal rights to all peoples and groups by foreseeing to eradicate unequal social hierarchies. The most vital change brought by this revolution was the fact that it enabled slaves to gain land and engage in agricultural activities (Bombe, 2014; Epple, 2018). Such economic reforms had consequential impact in improving social and political status of slaves and their descendants. They started to play a part in local administrative positions and cooperative associations, alongside other socially

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mariginalized minorities. The reform had enduring positive impact in paving the way in challenging traditional held beliefs and attitudes in the subsequent periods though thus far remains so much to be done.

The 1995 federal constitution, which is based on the value of multiculturalism and political rights of all groups, promised to assure the protection of the rights of ethnic and occupational minorities from any condition that led to discrimination and marginalization. However, slave descendants' involvement in administrative roles or in village peasant associations were restricted and even when they were allowed to take part, they faced serious stigmatization and disapproval from the majority (Mengesha, 2014).

There are also serious drawbacks of the current constitution is its inability to address the right of ethnic and occupational minorities in different parts of the country. The main argument is that the constitution uses ethnicity as fundamental organizing principle in forming the regional states and unnoticed the existence of social groups that could not fall to the definition of ethnicity. In consequence, social groups identified by their nature of work and descent origin have been vulnerable to wide-ranges of marginalization and discriminatory practices (Fisseha, 2007).

In Wolaitta, southern Ethiopia slave descendants are not believed to have the quality like the majority to play the leadership roles as they are destined to be subordinated and relegated. In most instances, they are deprived from political offices and not treated equally with members of the main stream majority. The change in attitudes and belief system to entertain the equality of slave descendants and other

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occupational minorities, demand far more intervention and consideration.

The EPRDF ethnic based federalism re-empowered the local authorities and thus, excluded slave descendants and minority groups. The 1995 Constitution essentially revived the exclusion and marginalization and made them helpless by suppressing political voices, coupled with their fragmented settlement patterns across the country. In many areas the antagonism and insensitive exclusion of slave descendants is observed in relation to the less numerical and spare settlements. The Dube's of Bale lowlands in the Oromia region, also a typical example clearly shows how the political system is not responsive to the marginalization and discrimination of slave descendants in present time. Despite their continued litigation to be recognized as separate ethnic groups, they are deprived of their constitutional rights. They lack representation in political structures of the country though they are over one million. On the contrary, their quest for recognition is unremittingly experiencing intimidation and imprisonment.

Though it has to be studied exhaustively across their settlements, it is undisputable that legal and human rights of slaves are challenged and compromised in various contexts due to lack political participation in leadership positions.

In Dawuro of south Ethiopia, during the 2005 election, the candidacy of individuals was strongly influenced predominantly by their descent, origin and social status by ruling out the individual achievements. During the election, slave descendants were only given a chance to participate in the election but not the opportunity to win seats in the election. It is argued that the 1995 constitution resulted in the renewed excision of slave descendants and occupational minorities (Dea, 1997). Political leaders deny the existence

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of such facts instead of working towards integration of those social groups. Local government officials are rarely reprimanded for their prejudice by higher officials and this has led to structural disadvantages for the slaves. On the other side, there are also stories that indicate the fact that once slave descendants and occupational minorities attain local political offices, they use the opportunity to take some revenge by imprisoning and raiding the majority (Pankhurst & Freeman, 2001).

However, there seems to be exceptions as regards the integration and involvement of slave descendants and other minority groups. One prominent example in this case is the condition of slave descendants in the northern part of Tigray region. Slave descendants were permitted to join armed struggle of TPLF as comrades of free borns. There are claims that they held important political and administrative positions and even given new opportunities of independence and promoted social mobility. In fact, such cases were dealt more intensively so that it could send signals on important notes in working towards the integration of the slaves across the country.

In the foregoing sections of the chapter, I have attempted to give glance of the matter; the historical benchmarks in dismantling the institutional basis of slaves and slave trade in Ethiopia and its overarching impacts till present. The abolition of slavery was very gradual process which characterized many unsuccessful efforts and halfhearted measures. The abolition of the practice was made possible due to external pressures during the time of Emperor Haile Selassie I in 1942. Apart from issuing proclamation, the attempts made by previous leaders could not abandon the practice on the ground. For example, the first attempts in banning slavery were made by Emperor Tewodros II that outlawed slavery in general but given room to the practice,

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it was the case in charity purposes. There were strong legal declaration issued during the time of Emperor Menelik I in 1870 and 1889. Such legal instruments were ineffective due to the fact that it was well-established and emperors and their officials were also largely involved in the practice for economic and political reasons. Besides, lack of genuine political commitment in dismantling the institution, the very religious and secular documents of the laws of the kings; *Fetha Negest* made the eliminating practice unfeasible by giving it religious rationalization that enabled people to accept it as true indubitably.

The complete and definite abolition of slavery was possible with the interference of international communities to ban slavery during the time of Emperor Haile Sellasie I, as the requirement to join the League of Nations in 1923. Italy's usage of the practice of slavery as the pre-text and political validation implies to how the institution of slavery and slave trade was ubiquitous and inherent in the country. The practice with such enormous institutional and political establishment had widespread impacts in shaping social, economic and political life of slave descendants and contemporary society at large.

There were limited efforts such as the 1974 land reform programs that guaranteed slave descendants and other minority groups land ownership and paved a way to take part in local political structures and community based associations. However, such efforts failed in bringing the desired change implying that much should be done considering the complex nature and invasiveness of the practice. Though the land reforms have had their own positive impact in improving the economic condition of slave descendants, they did not assure them productive and better land as they forced them to stay in small plots of land given to them by their masters. It is also irrefutable that

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the efforts aimed at enhancing their social interactions and standings were very nominal and of no consequence.

The EPRDF (Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary and Democratic Front) led the government and its constitution with the emphasis an ethnicity as overarching building block of the country disregarded and overlooked not only in terms of practical matters, their daily life but did not give room to constitutional setups and other legal documents. In general, the success stories in the dimensions of economic, social and political standing vary across places and societies. The impacts of their descent in affecting the living condition fundamentally depend on factors such as accumulation of resources, taking part in political offices and associations, and the numerical status in the area. There should be research based interventions to understand conditions of slave descendants in a better way through the experiences at different localities. There is a colossal gap in research when it comes to the legacies of slave and slave trade across northern, eastern and western part of the country. While limited, research outputs are available with reference to the situation of slave descendants and occupational minorities in the southern part of Ethiopia. Nevertheless, again this also should be done considering different variables and interdisciplinary trajectories that would enable better understanding of the situation of the slave descendants that put them in multiple sources of vulnerabilities.

CHAPTER NINE

Legacies of Slavery and Abolition in the Sudan History

Mohamed A. G. Bakhit

The accounts of history confirm that the relationship between the Eastern Bilad al-Sudan² and slavery is a contradictory and fluctuating one (Sharkey, 1992, pp.23). Certainly, over the course of centuries and culminating in the late nineteenth century, the institution of slavery virtually carved out the territories of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan³ as it now stands. The practice of raiding for slaves in the Sudan was of ancient origin, going back to the early fourth millennium BC, when King Seneferu penetrated Nubia to the Fourth Cataract and collected slaves from the region between Abu Hamad and Khartoum. Similar raids continued throughout subsequent millennia

² Bilad al-Sudan. meaning "The Lands of the Blacks," was the traditional term used by Arab geographers to indicate those regions of sub-Saharan Africa stretching in a belt from die Red Sea in the east to the Atlantic Ocean in the west.

³ Today it includes also the Republic of South Sudan, which seceded from Sudan in 2011, after two civil wars (1955-2005).

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of dynastic Egypt, down through the Greek, Roman, and Byzantine periods. The establishment of Egypt's southern frontier at the First Cataract of the Nile, in the mid-seventh century AD, and a treaty between Egypt and Nubia providing for the supply to Egypt of 360 slaves a year, had little effect in curtailing the flow of slaves northwards, for the treaty permitted free movement of Egyptian and Arab traders in the lands to the south (Beachey, 1976, pp.121). Throughout the succeeding centuries, slaves from the Sudan, filled the lower ranks of the army in Egypt, beside performing menial and domestic works in different regions of North Sudan and Egypt. This pattern of slavery functioning continued during the dynasties of the Fatimids in Egypt, 969-1171, under Abbaasid Caliphates and down to the Turkish conquest of Egypt in 1517, and of Sudan 1820-1881.

The Baqt is one of the more famous documents of medieval times, whether Christian or Islamic, which defined the terms of peace on the frontier between Christian Nubia and the Islamic world for 600 years (652-1257 AD). This remains a record in the history of international relations among nation states, particularly since it was originally regarded as a truce, not a treaty, whose longevity was more the result of reality and the benefits therefrom than any immutable agreement of ambiguous jurisprudence. The Baqt regularized the slave trade hitherto defined by commerce and captives (Collins, 1999, pp.72-73). The agreement (Baqt), unique in the Muslim world and medieval era, recognized that Christian Nubia was sovereign and exempt not only from the Dar al-Islam (land of the faithful) but also from the Dar al-Harb (land of the enemy). It provided peace and stability to the Christian kingdoms of Nubia during the centuries of Islamic expansion at the expense of Christians elsewhere. In the history of Sudanese slavery and its trade, the Baqt appeared to support the Crown's right to dispose of its subjects. It certainly encouraged the Nubians to rely

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increasingly on slave-raiding and its profits during their centuries of isolation and decline before the coming of the Arabs to the river and beyond in the basin of the middle Nile Valley.

In Egypt, the annual caravans from the Sudan brought in 5,000 to 6,000 slaves during the early nineteenth century, the numbers of deprived slaves had risen to between 20,000 and 30,000 by the second half of the century, a figure which was sustained into the 1870s. About one-third of these poor humans were shipped to Turkey (Beachey, 1976, pp.261). There was also forced importation of 15,000 to 20,000 slaves annually into Mecca and Medina from the African side of the Red Sea including Sudan, Sustained well into the later nineteenth century, until it dropped to about 1,500 annually during the last decade of the nineteenth century.

This chapter is intended to reveal the extent and magnitude of the horrible slavery trade and enslavement practices in Sudan history, and the subsequent efforts to abolish this awful social institution, and how different actors engaged in attempts on sustaining the slavery institution for their material and social benefits. While other actors- including the slaves themselves- were engaged on counter efforts to abolish the practice of enslavement and slavery trade.

In order to do this task, this chapter traces the origin of slavery practices back to the times of pharaoh. Then the chapter details the fluctuating up and down of slavery trade and slavery abduction on subsequent kingdoms and rulers to reach the highest point in terms of numbers and violence as well as human suffering after the Turkish-Egyptian invasion of Sudan(1820).

Then the chapter documenting the declined of slavery trade with the Anglo-Egyptian colonization of the Sudan(1899) - after brief period of a local revolt led by Al-Mahdi(1885-1899),

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which hardly benefited the abolition cause, if not witnessed the increase of enslavement practices- while the Anglo-Egyptian colonization suppressed effectively the slave trade going northward and eastward, but tried to slow down the process of abolition to have minimum effect, in order to not upset the population of Muslim north Sudan, who used to have domestic slaves doing all hard manual works on the society. In addition for the Anglo-Egyptian colonizers it was vital to prevent any attempts to organize another local revolt as a result of changes on slavery system on the northern Sudan society. Finally, the chapter will shed light on more recent attempts to the revival of slavery practices and trade related to civil war in Sudan (1983-2005), led effectively to the subsequent independent of South Sudan in 2011.

Ancient Origin of Slavery Trade in Sudan History

Slavery in the Sudan and its trade is as old as time itself. The first recorded account of the acquisition of slaves from the Sudan was inscribed on an outcrop near the Second Cataract of the Nile during the reign of the First Dynasty Pharaoh Djer (c.2900 BC). The Nubian chief is bound to the prow of an Egyptian ship with his followers being carried off into slavery. During the millennia that followed slaves were sent down the Nile as goods in commercial transactions. The largest number of slaves, however, was captives seized during Pharaonic military expeditions south of Aswan into Nubia when Egypt was an imperial power during the Old, the Middle and the New Kingdoms that encompassed 31 dynasties and lasted from c.2900 to 332 BC. As prisoners of the Pharaohs, the slaves were a royal monopoly to be used as mercenaries in the royal armies and as domestic servants and concubines for the Egyptian nobility in return for services and loyalty. The economy of dynastic Egypt was not dependent on slave labor except in the gold and diorite mines of Nubia. The Pharaoh Sneferu (c.2700 BC) of

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the Fourth Dynasty returned from Nubia with 7,000 slaves (Collins, 1999, pp.69). Since this number probably equaled the estimated total population of Lower Nubia, his claim is more likely the jubilant expression of a powerful Pharaoh than any systematic slave trade south of the first cataract.

Slavery and the slave trade did not disappear with the Kingdom of Kush and the 'Golden Age' of dynastic Nubia before Meroë was destroyed. Its economy, society and culture were distinctly Nubian that came to incorporate the whole of the middle Nile Valley from Lower Nubia and the Batn al-Hagar to Sennar on the Blue Nile, the southward expansion of which produced a more dependable supply of slaves. This feudal society was sharply divided between the rulers and the ruled. The latter formed a servile class in which serf and slave were indistinguishable from the nobility by the legal and traditional principle that all the king's subjects and all the king's men were his slaves, his property, as was all the land confirmed by divine right to the Crown. This structure of society continued after the disintegration of Kush for another 200 years (Collins, 1999, pp.70-71). Under the absolute rule of the Ballana monarchs in Lower Nubia, slaves were sacrificed in the tombs of their masters, but the institution of slavery without human sacrifice remained undisturbed by the dramatic transition to Christianity.

The Nubian Christian kingdoms established in the early centuries after Christ—'Aiwa, al-Maris, and al-Muqurra undoubtedly participated in the slave trade also, well before the Muslim Arab powers in Egypt began to eclipse them after the mid-seventh century. Slaves even figure in the earliest formal relationship forged between these two groups. For when Muslim Arabs under 'Amr ibn al-As finally quelled Christian Nubian attacks on Upper Egypt in 651 AD, the parties involved signed a mutual and highly unique non-aggression treaty. Christian Nubia assumed the

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designation not of dar al-Islam (“the abode of Islam”) nor dar al-harb (“the abode of war”), but rather dar al-’ahada or dar al-aman-“the abode of pact or guarantee.” The most important stipulation in the treaty was the Baqt: a provision requiring the Nubians to deliver 360 slaves annually (plus another forty as a bonus) to the Egyptian Muslim leaders. And though not required to do so, the Muslims bestowed textiles and gifts, equal in value to the slaves, in return.

The Christian Nubian kingdoms weakened steadily over time, as Muslim Arabs migrated southwards through Egypt and settled in Nubia. During this period of gradual Islamization, Nubia continued to supply slaves for the Tulunid, Ikhshidid, and Fatimid regimes in Egypt. Many of these male slaves fortified the armies as soldiers. Ahmad ibn Tulun (d. 884 AD), for example, is said to have left 45,000 black slaves (and 24,000 white) at his death (Sharkey, 1992, pp.24). The Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir (1035-94 AD) who was himself the son of a black Sudanese slave woman’ is said to have had 50,000 black slaves.

Pre-modern History of Slavery Trade and Abolition in Sudan: the 14th Century and After

The trade in slaves from the Sudan and its institutionalization in slavery could hardly revive among the decentralized tribal polities of the Arabs in the Sudan. They were, in fact, a Muslim extension of late Christian feudalism until these petty and unstable principalities were forged together into larger confederations by force of arms in the seventeenth century. The largest and the most durable of the feudatories was the Kingdom of Sennar, the *al-Saltana al-Zarqa’* (commonly known as the Black Sultanate), founded in 1505 that dominated the Nile from the Third Cataract to the *sudd* and from Kordofan in the west to the Red Sea in the east. The Funj sultans were of obscure origins that have led

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some to believe they were servile *Hamaj* from the Ethiopian borderlands, but the Funj hegemony was established by military force that produced slaves in abundance irrespective of ethnicity or religion. Their imperial expansion west across the savannah and south up the Nile brought a steady flow of slaves from the Nuba Mountains that had supplied slaves in the past for Egypt, Kush and the Christian kingdoms. The physical prowess of the men and the beauty of the women consistently commanded throughout the centuries the highest prices in the slave markets from Cairo to Constantinople (Collins, 1999, pp.73). The Nuba speak Eastern Sudanic languages of the Nilo-Saharan linguistic family, as do the Nubians of the northern Sudan, and appear to have been active participants in the cultures coming out of Africa to the Nile throughout the millennia.

The acquirement of slaves was also state policy for the Kingdom of Darfur west of Sennar on the Nile and in Kordofan. The sultans of the Keria Dynasty (c. 1600-1874) were continually at war with the sultans of Wadai and the petty frontier chieftains while expanding the Fur sultanate ever southward to the geographical center of Africa and across the indistinguishable watershed into the Congo Basin.

Slavers and traders like Ahmad Tiktik were joined by entrepreneurs from the royal family and the wealthy merchants of El Fasher who provided the credit and capital for expensive expeditions to the south that yielded a regular supply of slaves for the fields, the pastures, and houses of pleasure. Their raids, 'ghazwa', swept into Dar Fartit and down into the valleys of the Bomu and Ubangi Rivers and across the savannah park lands of the Central African Republic (CAR) where the slaves were obtained in response to demands for tribute or violence, the raid, the 'ghazwa'. The legitimate slavers were those who carried the 'salatiya', the sultan's letter of permission to pillage. They would

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then divide the spoils among themselves, the Sultan, and the merchant bankers for export up the darb al-arba'in (the Forty Days Road) from Kobei (El Fasher) to Asyut on the Egyptian Nile with the customary losses in transit across the Sahara (Collins 1999, p.74-75), (Clarence-Smith, 2006, p.2-3).

Slavery was the backbone of the economy of the Fur and Funj kingdoms (Sultanates) of Sudan. Together with ivory, gold, gum Arabic and other commodities, slavery was the major source of wealth for the two Sultanates and represented the most important export item in the trade with Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula. While the Fur Sultans controlled the slaves and other commodities that went north across the Sahara desert or towards the Nile, the Fung Sultans were in control of such trade on the Nile and across the Red Sea. The areas which the Fur Sultans raided or gave permission for slave traders to raid extended south and south-east beyond the boundaries of what became the present Republic of South Sudan. The most common areas for the Fung and the slave traders of their Sultanate were the Nuba Mountains to the west of their capital, Sinnar, and the Ingessana Hills and the Ethiopian borders to the south and southeast.

Slaves collected during the different raids were first taken to the capital towns of these Sultanates before following the traditional caravan routes for export. There were three traditional routes for the slave trade in these Sultanates. The trade from the Fur Sultanate used two routes: the first and most common was the Forty Days Road, which started from el Fashir and Kobe and connected the Sultanate with Asyut in Egypt; and the second was along the Nile, reaching the markets of Shendi, Berber and Dongola via el Obeid in Kordofan. As for the Funj Sultanates, the slave caravans either followed the Nile route from Sinnar to Shendi, Berber and Dongola or moved in an easterly direction to the Red Sea, reaching the town of Sawakin from where the slaves

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were exported to Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula across the Red Sea (Ahmed, 2007, pp.3). From Egypt, many slaves were passed on via Alexandria by sea to Turkey.

Turco-Egyptian Role in Slavery Trade and Abolition

Research on slavery in The Sudan is not possible unless it is centered on the Turco-Egyptian era, from 1821 to 1885. Mohamed Ali Pasha the khedive of Egypt brought the institution of slavery to its height. Slavery during the Turco-Egyptian inflicted the same effects on the Sudan as did the transatlantic slave trade on West Africa (Nugud, 2013, p.4). Enslavement and the procurement of slaves were the main strategic objectives in both cases. Mining gold and discovering the source of the Nile were secondary goals.

On 14 June 1821 the Turco-Egyptian forces occupied Sennar and dismissed the last of its sultans into the limbo of history (Collins, 1999, pp.76). The new administration immediately inaugurated raids to acquire slaves from Kordofan, the White Nile, and the southern Gezira along the borderlands of Ethiopia. The raids soon became an annual event yielding 5,000 slaves in 1839 from Taqali to be distributed among the officials and merchants who often subjected them to sadistic abuses and brutal atrocities.

The Turco-Egyptian period launched slave-owning on an unprecedented scale in the northern Sudan. The vast numbers of slaves that poured into the local markets at cheap prices meant that almost the entire spectrum of free Sudanese society, from the very rich to the poor, began to experience slave-owning. Another set of factors contributed to the widespread increase of slave-holding in the nineteenth-century Sudan, and they revolved around the Zariba system. The Turco-Egyptian conquest created an atmosphere of greater security for international adventurers

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of European, Levantine, and northern Sudanese traders, who flocked to the southern Sudan in the 1840's with aims of dealing in ivory (Sharkey, 1992, p.28). These traders set up Zara'ib [singular, zaribal. heavily fortified thorn enclosure camps, as their bases. They attracted Jallaba [singular, jallabl. itinerant petty traders from the north, and Fuqara' [singular, faqih]. itinerant Sufi religious scholars, as well. These traders soon began dabbling in the slave trade as an offshoot of the ivory trade, so that by the mid-1840's, they were supplying Muhammad 'Ali with practically all the slave recruits he needed.

Throughout this post-conquest period, demand rose to meet the increased supply of slaves as former patterns of slave-holding were transformed. The effect on the economy and society of the northern Sudan was indeed profound. Prior to 1820, for example, in the region north of the Nile confluence, free cultivators had predominated while the agricultural use of slaves was limited to the more affluent classes. Ruppell estimated the number of slaves between Wadi Halfa and the fourth cataract at around 4,500, or approximately four percent of the total population, by 1820.

All of this changed quickly. Spaulding writes, "By the end of the nineteenth century it could be said that throughout the northern Sudan all the agricultural work was done by slaves, who were then said to account for almost a third of the population" (Sharkey, 1992, p.28). This rapid spread of agricultural slavery at almost all levels of the socio-economic spectrum arguably transformed popular attitudes towards physical labor, and created not a new work ethic but rather a leisure ethic which proved hard to erase until today in Sudan.

The first penetration of the great swamps of the Nile (sudd) in 1841 was followed by the abolition of Muhammad

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'Ali's state trading monopolies in 1843 and the subsequent opening of the Upper Nile Basin (Collins, 1999, pp.76). Suddenly the populous but hitherto isolated Southern Sudanese with little knowledge of the world beyond the sudd were exposed to the designs of private entrepreneurs of every ethnicity, Turk, Arab, European, Sudanese. Known as Khartoumers, these adventurers had all the vices and virtues of frontier entrepreneurs who flocked to the Sudan in an outburst of organized acquisition and trade in slaves which in the past had absorbed so many of Africa's human resources elsewhere in the continent.

The Khartoumers exported many thousand slaves a year and their exact numbers are as indeterminable as the background of their owners; an estimated 15,000 slaves went down the Nile and another 2,000 overland in 1868, but the 30,000 transported in 1876 were more an exaggeration than the average. Within the Sudan a quarter of the population in the nineteenth century has been estimated to be of slave origins (Collins, 1999, pp.76). Any number of slaves was, of course, outrageous to the Victorians, but the enslavement of the southern Sudanese and their trade down the Nile was a growth industry that revived the indignation of the Abolitionists when the trade had been eliminated on the fatal shores of East and West Africa.

Some sixty years had passed from the conquest of the Sudan by Muhammad 'Ali until the deposition of his grandson, the Khedive Isma'il. During that time, both Egypt and the Sudan had been partially transformed and deeply affected by processes of westernization and modernization, as well as by the ever-growing presence of and interference by European expatriates and European powers, respectively. Moreover, during those sixty years, values and tastes of the latter underwent deep changes (Shaked, 1980, p.277-278). One area in which this change was very noticeable was that

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of the attitude to slavery; the abolitionist tide was growing, and the British, then the French, and later other European empires gradually imposed manumission on the territories which they controlled or influenced.

Just as slave-raiding and slave-owning were rising to unrivalled heights in the northern Sudan, an abolitionist movement, emanating mainly from Great Britain, began to make its weight felt. As early as 1807, Britain had abolished the slave trade to her colonies and had emancipated all the slaves remaining in them by 1833. Abolitionist fervor then focused its attention on other remaining slave-holding zones. When the United States ended slavery in 1865 after a bloody civil war, British anti-slavery circles next shifted their concentration onto the Ottoman Empire and to the slave trade which sprang from the Sudan.

Efforts to abolish the Sudanese slave trade and Sudanese slave exports developed after the 1850's, as a direct result of pressure from European anti-slavery groups. An imperial Ottoman Firman abolished black slavery in Ottoman lands as early as 1857, although this had no effect and was not fully imposed in the empire's core until the Young Turks came to power in 1908. Following his accession as Khedive of Egypt, Sa'id, bowing to the same anti-slavery pressure, had ordered his governors to bar the entry of slaves from the Sudan in 1856-57. Subsequently, in 1877, the British pushed through the Anglo- Egyptian Convention, which prohibited the import and export of slaves from the Sudan. The burden of stamping out the slave trade fell largely to Charles Gordon, in his capacity as Governor-General of the Sudan (Sharkey, 1992, p.29-30). Though Gordon certainly

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managed to make slave-trading more difficult for a while, he by no means stopped it.

Gordon had thus come to assess that it was the source of the slave trade, the 'nest of slavery,' the Bahr al-Ghazal area, not the convoys which ought to be dealt with. That area, however, was under the control of a well-known slave dealer— al-Zubayr Rahma Manzur, who had in 1872 annihilated an expedition dispatched by Khedive Isma'il under the command of a Muhammad al-Hilali. Not only did the territory which Zubayr controlled provide refuge to the slave traders who had been compelled to leave the Bahr al-Jabal area because of Gordon's measures. He however, now concerted with the Khedive and with the Governor-General of the Sudan (Isma'il Ayyub) an attack on Darfur (Shaked, 1980, p.282). On October 24, Ayyub and Zubayr's armies defeated Ibrahim, the Sultan of Darfur. An arch-slave trader was thus co-opted into alliance with the administration, thus making him relatively invincible and providing him with a degree of recognition by the government.

Although the Egyptian government made al-Zubayr a pasha, he felt compelled, nevertheless, to travel to Cairo and plead his case personally before the Khedive. Al-Zubayr set out for Cairo in 1876 taking with him prodigious bribes for the Khedive and his pashas. Ismail was quick to take advantage of this dividend, courteously informing the redoubtable conqueror of Dar Fur that he was to consider himself a permanent guest of the Khedive, never to return to the Sudan. Although his son Sulayman continued his father's aggressive policies in the southern Bahr al-Ghazal, the era of the slave traders was coming to a close (Mire, 1985,p.117). Under the leadership of Europeans like Gordon and Gessi, the Egyptian government began to make real progress toward extirpating the slave trade. Exploiting rivalries between the Khartoumers, arming the local tribes

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and inciting the Rizqayat against the jallaba, Gessi was able to defeat, expel and massacre the Khartoumers and the jallaba. The zariba system was at an end.

The years which Gordon spent in the Equatorial province were devoted to two main efforts. Until July 1875, he concentrated mainly on the consolidation of the Turco-Egyptian rule in the areas which had been annexed by Baker, up to the White Nile. After July 1875, and once Gordon had secured the communications with Khartoum, he concentrated on pushing southward, towards the Great Lakes. In both periods, his main task was not the complete stoppage of the slave trade. Indeed, when the Khedive's instructions, issued to Gordon on February 16, 1874, are carefully read, it is realized that they deal mainly with the implementation of the Governmental trade monopoly; the taming of the bandits; the pacification of the tribes; the opening of the White Nile to navigation and trade; etc. Even officially, Gordon's action against the slave traders during his stay in Equatoria was meant to be of secondary importance: a by-product of his endeavor to fulfill the above instructions of the Khedive. Gordon's mission to Equatoria was far from a complete failure. He did set up a rudimentary structure of government; he surveyed and mapped important river and land routes; he established a chain of ports; and laid the foundations for a better relationship with the local tribes (Shaked, 1980, p.283). On the other hand, however, he did not succeed in truly consolidating Turco-Egyptian rule over the southern part of the Sudan, reaching up to the Lakes. Neither did he manage to uproot the slave trade and to develop 'legal' trade instead.

The slave trade became a major commercial enterprise of the Sudanese economy in the nineteenth century. By 1877, this enterprise was the pre-dominant occupation of the northern Sudanese. The Egyptian government's attempts

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to suppress this trade, from the late 1850s onwards, were largely unsuccessful. However, the abolition policies did affect many Sudanese and arguably laid the foundation for civil unrest and local revolts in the Sudan during the second half of the nineteenth century (Searcy, 2010, pp.63-64). The suppression of the slave trade was a major factor in the revolts of 1878 that took place in Bahr al-Ghazal, Kordofan, and Darfur. Abolition of the slave trade is also considered to be a major factor for the eruption of the most successful of these local revolts, the Mahdiyya.

Resentment against the Turco-Egyptian regime snowballed in the northern Sudan until a full scale revolt emerged by 1881, under the guidance of a devout Dongolawi Sufi scholar named Muhammad Ahmad ibn 'Abdullah. This man declared himself to be the Mahdi- the expected one, according to millenarian thinking of the time—who would guide the community of Muslims in a period of crisis foreshadowing the Day of Judgment. Though lacking the regime's strength in arms, the Mahdi and his supporters nonetheless enjoyed a series of victories, which culminated in 1885 with the defeat and murder of Gordon in Khartoum. A curtain fell down on the Sudan, virtually cutting it off from any European contact until 1898. The Mahdi, and after 1885 his successor the Khalifa 'AbdualUahi, presided over a state based upon their own interpretations of Islam and Islamic law.

Slavery had a direct bearing on the rise of the Mahdi. Muhammed Ahmad found one substantial base of his support among the slave traders, whom anti-slavery forces had harassed and economically destroyed after 1865 (Sharkey, 1992, p.30-31). The slave soldiers who worked for the traders were highly disillusioned, too, since they had previously enjoyed a share in the spoils of the raiding expeditions. An even larger segment of the population

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resented the anti-slavery drives of the previous twenty years, and those were the slave-owners themselves. They regarded slavery as Quran sanctioned (i.e. God-sanctioned) right which was critical to their way of life.

In the Mahdist period, as before, slavery continued to be an accepted and widely practiced social institution (O'Fahey, 1985,p.83). Raids resumed and brought many slaves to the local markets for sale. According to Slatin, a prisoner of the Mahdist state for many years, the Mahdi and later the Khalifa, as well as other members of the ruling elite, were able to skim off the strongest males and the most beautiful females for the armies and the harems respectively (Sharkey, 1992, p.30-31). The only major change was that the Mahdist regime prohibited the export of slaves to Egypt, not wanting slaves from the Sudan to strengthen the enemy's armies.

Anglo-Egyptian Role in Slavery Trade and Abolition in Sudan

On 2nd September 1898 the Mahdist State came to an end after the disastrous defeat of the Sudanese army of the Khalifa 'Abd Allahi by the Anglo-Egyptian forces under the command of General Sir H. H. Kitchener. The abolition of the slave trade and slavery in the Sudan had received overwhelming support from the British people, the Parliament and the Abolitionists, and became one of the most powerful arguments to commit British forces for its conquest. When it was time to define the legal status of the Sudan, the architect of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, Lord Cromer, could not ignore the politically powerful Abolitionists in Britain.

Lord Cromer sought to satisfy their demands by prohibiting the trade in slaves in Article 11 of the agreement with Egypt that established the Condominium in 1899, but

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he studiously ignored the institution of slavery in the Sudan. His distinction between the slave trade and slavery is not surprising for a member of the family of the Bankers Baring. Cromer discerned no contradiction in the curious notion that sovereignty can be shared between Egyptians and Englishmen in the Sudan. He, therefore, logically perceived no ambiguity in the distinction between the slave trade (impractical and immoral) and slavery (necessary for order and domestic peacefulness).

Neither Cromer nor his officials were about to disrupt the social order in the Sudan. It was predicated on slavery, a sociological challenge, an unacceptable custom, a degenerating tradition, but still an institution which cemented the social fabric of a country whose administration in 1899 required imperial security at the least possible cost. The adapted solution was a pragmatic policy that decried slavery, took some steps to root out the trade, but simultaneously upheld and even enforced the continuation of domestic slavery. The reality of this policy was, of course, apostasy to the humanitarian descendants of the great Abolitionists of Europe and North America, but no one in the Sudan shared this ideal (Collins, 1999, pp.79-80). "The farmers, the tribes, the merchants, officials, and even in some cases the slaves themselves ...had no reason to support a policy that made no sense economically and contradicted age-old customs" as Cromer put it. Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle expressed concern about this curious tolerance for slavery, but her few, struggling imperial officials in the Sudan were not about to let royal sentiment obstruct law, order, and their own security.

The abolition of slavery became a top priority of the new government. Learning from their mistakes—such as the bitterness over their anti-slavery policy that had fomented the Mahdist revolt and led to the death of Gordon—they

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decided to proceed slowly, and to curtail the slave trade while allowing the remaining slave population either to gain manumission and pass into wage labor, or to eventually die out. They began by declaring that all men and women born after 1898 would indeed be free.

The demise of slavery came very slowly. By 1924, P.W. Diggle, an agricultural inspector in Berber, felt that the demise of slavery was coming much too slowly. He felt that the administration was neither addressing the issue of the widespread domestic slavery that remained nor assisting those slaves who wanted freedom. His expose to the League of Nations via the Anti-Slavery Society in part triggered the administration to change its policy and dedicate renewed efforts to stamping out the remnants of slavery and the slave trade (Sharkey, 1992, p.32-33). As late as 1926, though, a small-scale slave trade flourished under the guise of the pilgrimage traffic, from Red Sea ports to Arabians. Sporadic raiding and kidnapping also continued in fringe areas, such as along the Sudan-Ethiopia border, until World War II, while domestic slavery itself may have continued to exist in parts of the Sudan as late as 1962.

In 1899 the Department for the Repression of the Slave Trade (the Slavery Department) was reorganized from the old slavery department of the Egyptian government that had been established in 1880 after the departure of the Khedive Isma'il. Despite the relentless hostility of British officials in the Sudan, who did not appreciate the misguided assumption by its agents that their mission was to eradicate slavery as well as the slave trade, the department had reasonable success in suppressing slaves in transit on the borderlands of the Sudan. In 1922 the agency was abolished. It was a casualty of the diminution of British dominant in Egypt and the indifference of the Sudan government. Its demise, however, was made more acceptable if not explicable, by the

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expanding post-war economy in the Sudan that helped to exorcise the specter of freed slaves roaming through town and country as anti-social, unemployed vagrants. Ironically, the disappearance of the department did not secure immunity for the Sudan government from fresh slavery scandals in 1924 that ignited the wrath of the Anti-Slavery Society and produced embarrassing questions in Parliament and the League of Nations. Cornered, the Sudan government issued a decree in May 1925 upholding the absolute right to freedom of all Sudanese despite the vigorous objections of the powerful religious leaders and the ruling by the Grand Qadi that wholesale manumission was a contravention of Islamic law.

Two years later British officials acceded to the demands of their Foreign Office, the humanitarians and the international community to sign the new international 1926 Slavery Convention at the League of Nations that has been acknowledged by all the governments of the independent Sudan (Collins, 1999, pp.76). Slavery and the slave trade in the Sudan were defined respectively as ‘the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised’ and ‘all acts involved in the capture, acquisition or disposal of a person with intent to reduce him to slavery’.

On 6th March, 1925, in response to the government’s efforts to abolish slavery, the three most prominent religious leaders in Sudan addressed the director of intelligence of the Condominium Government (Ahmed, 2007, pp.9-10), saying: “As you are well aware, labor at present is the most important question in the Sudan, which should be considered with greatest interest. The Government, the companies and the individuals who are interested in agriculture are in need of every hand that can be obtained and which would contribute to the success of these schemes. Further, the Government

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and its officials must have marked during the past few years that the majority of freed Sudanese have become useless for any work. The women folk among them generally turned to prostitution, and men are addicted to drinking and laziness. For these reasons we urge the Government to consider very carefully the wisdom of indiscriminately issuing freedom papers to persons who look upon these papers as granting them freedom from any liability to work or carry out the obligation under which they may stand⁴". This address is similar to the petition presented 27 years earlier to Kitchener by sixty eight nobles of Omdurman, in which they stated: "The restoration of the saqiyas and agriculture, which are essential for the reconstruction of the country, cannot be achieved without the slave labor. Without that, there will be no prosperity for any native and there will be no progress in the Sudan to be able to catch up with the rest of the world. In order to remove our suffering and improve our conditions, we present to you on behalf of all the people, hoping you will have favorable consideration".

Slaves were the backbone of the economic activities carried on by these prominent religious leaders and notables. They had built their prosperity on the misery of those who had the misfortune to be captured and enslaved. Slaves who were granted their freedom and were the main concern of those who opposed their emancipation were to become an effective part of the labor force when the colonial state transformed them into wage labor and made them the pillars of modern Sudan. More than that, they in fact played

⁴ This petition was presented by the leading religious sect leaders in the country, namely Ali al-Mirghani, Sharif Yusuf al-Hindi and Abdel Rahman al-Mahdi.

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a significant part in political developments before and after independence.

A commission was established that produced comprehensive reports on slavery, a more rigorous system of certification of manumission, and the application of these conventions to the Shari'a. This public relations campaign fooled few, least of all the Sudanese. Slavery scandals disconcertingly reappeared in 1928 and 1929. There were spontaneous incidents of the trade and a bevy of reports from British political officers in the provinces of growing discontent within the tribal establishments about the dangers of uncontrolled manumission. British officials in Khartoum, however, were not amused by reports of unwanted slavery that they could not defend to their masters in London (Collins, 1999, pp.81). Beleaguered on the Nile they signed the International Labor Organization's convention against forced labor in 1930 and the convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children the following year.

Slavery very gradually blended into wage labor. Many men gained their freedom or simply ran away from their masters and found lucrative wage-paying jobs in a variety of public works projects, such as the Makwar Dam, Gezira Scheme, Nile/Red Sea Railway, Gash and Tokar irrigation works, and docks of Port Sudan (Sharkey, 1992, p. 33). Women found it much harder to leave their lives of servitude; saddled with children, under the close supervision of their male owners, and having almost no options in the growing wage labor market, their choices remained virtually nothing for a few decades.

The declaration of an independent Sudan on 1st January 1956 and the departure of British officials did not result in any resurgence of slavery, which had been finally contained

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but certainly not eliminated, during the last 25 years of the Condominium. The tranquility of the transfer of power, however, was marred by the mutiny of the Equatorial Corps of the Sudan Defense Force in the southern Sudan. The mutiny was suppressed, but it has since become a symbol of the antagonism created by nineteenth-century reality and twentieth-century perceptions between those who came from the north, presumably Arabs, and the southern Sudanese, presumably slaves (*abid*) or property (*jnalkiya*). No independent African country in the latter half of the twentieth century could or would excuse slavery. Before the international tribunal of the United Nations and the international media that has vigorously reported about the vulnerable victims forced into servile status from the upper Nile Basin, the Sudan government has sought refuge in rhetoric to deny that this trade in slaves has reappeared. The ability of the leaders of the independent Sudan to govern has diminished proportionately with time, and the deterioration of their administration in the vast hinterland has combined with famine and war to provide the opportunity for customary practices of slavery and its trade to revive (Collins, 1999, pp. 82-83). Every government of the Sudan has denied the existence of slavery and certainly its trade, but like their British counterparts in the first half of this century, Sudanese officials in the second half have been more concerned about social and political order than individual human rights.

Current Ramifications of Slavery and Abolition Efforts in Post-Independent Sudan

The successive Khartoum governments since the start of the second civil war between the north and the south in 1983 have been notorious for encouraging enslavement of southern blacks, and increasingly Christian Sudanese, by northern Arab Muslims. Armed by the government as low-cost counterinsurgency militias, the Arab cattle-herding

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tribes of Darfur and Kordofan provinces, known as the Baggara, targeted in particular the Dinka of northern Bahr el-Ghazal and Abyei. The main reason for these atrocious assaults is that the Dinka are accused of supporting the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army (SPLA), the southern opposition army confronting the North in the longest war of the twentieth century (Jok, 2001, p.2). Khartoum governments have reasoned that if the SPLA's support base were destabilized, the rebel army would be easy to defeat.

The capture and sale of Dinka women and children from South Sudan into slavery in the North has been going on since 1983. The total number of captives at a given time is estimated at 10,000–15,000. It could be argued at a given time because much of the slavery in Kordofan and Darfur could best be described as temporary. Some abducted slaves are released after they become regarded as unfit. Others escape. Others are redeemed through the assistance of Arab middlemen, or freed by legal recourse. This transitory character of slavery does not mean that while in captivity, the victims are any better off than those who are in bondage permanently. It simply means that some people become free as suddenly as they became slaves. In addition to people abducted for the sole purpose of enslavement, there are hundreds of thousands of South Sudanese displaced to the North by the raiding, the civil war, and the consequential famines that have plagued the southern region since the start of the war. Many of these displaced Southerners have also experienced enslavement. The impermanent nature of slavery does not bother the slavers, for they can always obtain more slaves. They have no fear of any legal measures since the government and the authority of the state stand behind them.

Although race in Sudan is a very slippery subject in terms of its biological expression in the population, it matters a

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great deal in the way people relate to one another. In terms of skin color, which is perhaps one of the most obvious characteristics for lay classification of races, an outsider may regard all Sudanese as black. But as far as the social construction of race is concerned, North Sudanese regard themselves as Arabs, whereas South Sudanese, Nuba, African tribes from Darfur and Blue Nile identify themselves as predominantly African, or rather call themselves by the specific ethnic groups to which they belong. These defined racial identities, the history and evolution of which define the status of people and their political share on reality. They evoke emotions of superiority of one group over the other. Sudanese society has become terribly polarized along these perceived racial lines as each group is engaged in either proving the superiority of its culture or disproving the allegations of inferiority made against it. The violent enslavement of African ethnicities is as a result of enslaving communities having developed a racist ideology which ascribes subhuman status to the enslaved communities. The perpetrators of slavery in Sudan, the Baggara Arab herdsmen, use this racial ideology to generate enthusiasm among the young: when a call for raiding is made, they race to the front to prove their assumed superiority. One of the notions used to promote slavery has been the alleged natural inability of the African tribes to confront the more intelligent and militarily agile Baggara.

The two main sections of the Baggara, the Rezeigat in Darfur and the Misseria in Kordofan, have both attempted to assert their assumed superior cultural capacities to justify slave raiding (Jok, 2001, p.7). These two Baggara tribes are Arabic-speaking Muslims. The victims of Sudan's slavery are black Africans, mainly from the Dinka sections of Malwal,

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Ngok, and Tuic, who are non-Muslim and speak a Nilotic language, using Arabic only as a second language, if at all.

This situation has generated many puzzling questions about how slavery could be happening in this century. How can the government of a modern country encourage such a horrendous practice against its own subjects, simply because they are Africans and non-Muslim? How is it possible that the southern guerrilla force, the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army, allows people in the areas under its control to be constantly raided and taken into slavery?

While some historians and scholars would argue that slavery died a slow death in the Sudan (Sharkey, 1992, p. 33-34), then others would argue that it never really passed away (Mahmud and Baldo, 1987). An Anti-Slavery Society report to the United Nations Working Group on Slavery in 1988 summarized evidence on a revival of slavery in the midst of the Sudan's current civil war. Armed Baqqara Arab militias have raided Dinka communities and have taken men, women, and children as slaves to be used for household and agricultural work. Sikainga (Sikainga, 1989, p.77) argues that although the abolition of slavery in the Sudan (announced in 1898) may have changed laws, it did nothing to change attitudes and ideologies on slavery: the Northern Sudanese continue to regard Southerners and other Africans as the culturally inferior descendants of slaves. Hence it comes as no surprise that the civil war has so easily resurrected slavery.

In the Sudan, recent studies suggest that there is an identity struggle at the national level between Arabic/Islamic identity versus African/non-Islamic identity (Deng, 2005) (De Waal, 2005) (Assal, 2009) (Idris, 2005) (O'Fahey, 1996) (Sharkey, 2007). Conflicts and political instability have plagued the Sudan since its independence, and recently led

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to the split into two countries – Sudan and South Sudan – with these conflicts apparently based upon this identity divide; all other parts of the country still suffer from symptoms of this problem. This encourages an academic exploration into Sudanese culture and communities to gain a better understanding of the ‘identity crisis’ of the Sudan including the nature of ‘the multiple marginality of the Sudan’ (Mazrui, 1971, p.240) .

During 1983-1991, more than 3 million people were estimated to have been displaced from the South Sudan. By mid-1991, an estimated 425,000 of them had taken refuge in neighboring countries of Uganda and Ethiopia. The rest fled to Southern Sudan cities, such as Juba and Malakal, while an estimated 2.3 million Southerners were displaced toward the North, of whom about 1.8 million settled in Greater Khartoum (De Geffroy, 2007, 6-7).

A different approach was adopted by Assal (Assal, 2006), who stressed resource-based conflicts taking place at the local community level, which were later transformed to ethnic identity conflicts through binary oppositions, e.g. Arabs vs. Africans, Christians vs. Muslims, North vs. South, etc. In his study of Lafofa people, Lief Manger (Manger, 1994) used many similar concepts, such as Arabization, Islamization, Commercialization and Modernization, to analyze the process of social change in Lafofa, and the Nuba Mountains in general. Another contribution in this respect comes from Francis M. Deng (Deng, 2005), who stressed that the identities currently in conflict are the result of a historical legacy characterized by an institutionalized form of slavery that classified groups into a superior race of masters and inferior enslaved people. Another similar contribution is by Mukhtar (2005), who not only stressed that Sudan is in a state of crisis of national identity between two main identities in the country, North and South, but

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also focused on the conflict 'within' the Northern identity. He divided this into an internal duality characterizing the North self-divide (black Arabs of Sudan vs. original Arabs of Arabic peninsula), which underlies the external duality characterizing the North/South divide.

The last example of this use of binary identity politics is from Makris, who studied the spirit possession cult called 'tumbura' spread in surrounding shantytowns of North Khartoum (Makris, 1996). He stressed that these 'Zar' cult ceremonies demonstrate the contested space between the cult's devotees (the majority of whom are descendants of nineteenth-century African slaves) and Arab Muslim northerners. He also addressed the changes after the shantytowns were populated by the displaced people from Southern Sudan, whereby the Southern displaced people enabled the slave descendants to move away from the margins of the society and closer to their previous Arab masters. In his view, this movement triggered a process of identity transformation that has reflected upon the popularity of tumbura, which has started to rapidly decline.

Despite its richness in resources, Sudan and South Sudan, like many other countries in sub-Saharan Africa, have witnessed many years of political instability and civil wars since its independence in 1956, and 2011 respectively. The two countries have also suffered from many other prolonged problems, such as ethnic conflicts, high rates of poverty, vast population displacement, the unequal distribution of social services, high levels of immigration, many forms of environmental disasters and a poor quality of government services (education, healthcare, as well as low achievements in governmentality and rule of law) (Bakhit, 2016a).

The important question this chapter tried to answer is what binds together a history of slavery practice and slave

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trade in Sudan and South Sudan that stretches over several millennia? Many scholars argue that the Sudan and South Sudan have almost always been at the periphery of some world system throughout its long history, supplying exotic goods—including slaves—to the Pharaonic, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Mamluke, Ottoman, and Turco-Egyptian empires.

Almost throughout history there has always been a part of the Sudan-the North-that was encompassed within a world-system, and another part-the South-that was not. The northerners were collectors; the southerners were a part of the collected. They were fair game for capture and sale on the same basis as were other indigenous resources (Sharkey, 1992, p. 34-35). The North and South divide has shifted slowly southward over the millennia, with the collected merging into the collectors over time. The boundaries of the Sudan today can be seen as the legacy of that southward push, in the quest for slaves and other trade goods.

According to the ethnic hierarchy that prevails in the northern parts of Sudan, people from Southern Sudan and the Nuba mountains, and to a lesser extent those from Darfur, are considered as having the lowest status due to their different cultural features, such as different religions or ethnic origins)(Bakhit, 2016b). This is because the majority of people from these regions consider themselves as coming from African ethnic origins, while the majority of people in north Sudan consider themselves as coming from Arab origins. Accordingly, Ja'aliyiin, Shaygiyya, and Dangala, the main ethnic groups in the Nile Valley, dominated the Sudanese state since the pre-colonial period, particularly since the introduction of Islam and Arabism to Sudan in the sixteenth century, accompanied by a bitter legacy of slavery. After the rise of the Funj Sultanate (1504-1820) and the Fur Kingdom, and the spread of Islam and the Arabic language

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in northern Sudan, the slave-raiding frontier moved further towards the south. The adoption of an Arab/Islamic identity by northern Sudanese groups became a major criterion for differentiating themselves from the non-Muslim groups of the south and other areas of Sudan. While Ja'aliyiin and Shaygiyya ethnic groups claim direct Arab origins, the Dangala still claim Nubian origins, which date back to the 5000BC period in the Nile Valley. Nonetheless, all Nubian ethnic groups are very much Arabized and have become a part of the northern elites who have dominated the Sudanese state since the country's independence. The construction of any particular identity involves the development of specific perceptions about others. The Arabized northern Sudanese thus adopted stigmatizing ethnic labels to refer to non-Muslim groups in the South (Sikainga, 1996, p. 8). As such the slave-raiding frontier was defined and maintained in ideological, ethnic and geographical terms: the inhabitants of Dar Fertit, the Nuba Mountains and upper Blue Nile became easy targets for slave traders from northern Muslim groups.

The northern Arabized elites primarily assert their Arabic/Islamic identity "to maintain and reinforce their hegemony as a minority government but also in part because of their own identity struggle" (Pekkinen, 2009, p.1). The identity struggles of northern people were based on the essential problem that "there is disparity between Northerners' self-perception of their identity and others' perception of them. Northerners think of themselves as Arabs, whereas the Arabs think otherwise" (Mukhtar, 2005). Indeed the deep crisis of self-identification of many northern people is clearly reflected in their views on their "African-origin" fellow citizens, who they perceive as being subject to their domination, and as having an inferior status by virtue of being the descendants of enslaved Africans. It is remarkable that this inferior position was maintained and extended to

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almost all urban settlements in Sudan, where shantytown's inhabitants usually from African ethnicities are occupied the bottom class across towns in Sudan. While shantytowns positions consolidated by other urban factors (such as their high rate of illiteracy, poverty, and their rural background). The policy of the government concerning urban areas should also be borne in mind: older quarters and upper-middle class areas have always enjoyed the largest piece of the city's cake.

In conclusion the legacies of slavery practices and slavery trade in Sudan are still lived experiences. It is possible to attribute the socio-political setting and patterns of economic development in Sudan today to those brutal legacies. Sudan is an ideal example of a country in East Africa still grappling with its past, in a way that, make the present social and political instability is mere reflection of centuries of failure of addressing the horrific past of enslavement and slavery trade.

CHAPTER TEN

Conclusion

Samuel A. Nyanhoga

The historiography on slavery studies in eastern Africa suffers from the lack of home-grown scholarship. Slavery studies are perceived as a peripheral subject of study with many governments in Africa publicly acknowledging of its non- existence in the continent or turning a blind eye to the manifestations of its legacies and mutability. With such a parochial stance and lack of homegrown support; indigenous scholars are stripped of financial support to conduct credible research on such a subject as slavery studies. There is an over-reliance on research out-put by external scholars; necessitating the need to support indigenous scholarship and an Africanist interpretation. There is little work on the impact of slavery on the inland and coastal communities. The legacies and plasticity of slavery are indeed rife and hence the need to interrogate the subject even further.

The historiography on abolitionism is shrouded with ambiguity, buoyed and contested at the same time. The

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process of abolitionism was deliberately gradual to allow the key players in the slave trade to transit into alternative labour regimes. It was often abused because of the multiple legal regimes, the fragility of the colonial government to stamp its authority and non-compliance to anti-slavery legislations. Indeed, the moral and diplomatic stance on abolitionism was overwhelmed by the economic imperatives of the international capital and local slavocracy. The anti-slavery legislation was circumvented, leading to a protracted and checkered history of abolitionism in eastern African. Local slavery and the slave trade continued unabated beyond the notable legal dates of prohibition. The subject of local abolitionism was never effusively discussed. Abolitionism was imaged magnanimously as the work of moral and diplomatic crusaders of what was described as a heinous crime and iniquitous practice against humanity. The consequence of the over-glorification of foreign anti-slavery movements was to obscure local initiatives to abolitionism.

Given the slow pace on abolition, emancipation meant or was understood in very different versions because of the vagueness and non-amenability of abolition laws. The Missionary approach towards emancipation was enculturation while the colonial government understood it in terms of imperially decreed freedom. Emancipation was not necessarily given; it was fought for and renegotiated continuously in varied circumstances. The slaves who fled from their masters emancipating themselves out of a hostile environment, were branded deserters, runaway slaves or maroons. The freed slaves who deserted mission stations for varied reasons were seeking a new interpretation of emancipation beyond ritualised Christianity. The paper freedom was in itself dead freedom and not insurance to post-slavery sustainable livelihoods. As the freed slaves entered into new contractual obligations with the former

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slave masters or even negotiated other forms of contract agreements, they entered into new forms of obsequiousness.

The so-called post-slavery environment at eastern Africa is in itself a ubiquitous landscape of slavery. The tangibility and intangibility of the slave trade landscape intersect the descendants of the freed slaves and those of the slavers in an environment that is xenophobic. The landscape is rife with inequities that stem from yester-years of the slave trade. The slave routes, ports of call, post-slavery settlement communities, squatter system and landless communities are among the legacies of the slave trade that speck the eastern Africa region. The narratives of slave victim and master intersect in a very conflictual manner. The descendants of freed slaves settlements of Rabai, Freretown, Takaungu and Witu to name a few evoke memories of oppression and marginality. Abolitionism and emancipation did not necessarily translate into sustainable livelihoods for the descendants of freed slaves but continued their subjugation. The phenomenon of landlessness, denial of citizenship, and precarious livelihoods and structural inequality typify the current post slave populations. The descendants of the former slave masters such as the Mazrui and Busaidy families and remnants of the Shirazi Arabs in Vanga and Wasini islands represent the fortress of slavery.

Over the years, slavery heritage sites have been turned into public museums and hence acquiring a touristic identity. Yet, the history of human exploitation and demand for restitution for past injustices is increasingly becoming peripheral to national history. The resurgence of conflict on the Kenyan coast by the post slave societies is a demonstration of the ambiguity of emancipation as well as of State denial of historical claims related to inherited slave status. The political mobilisation and institutionalisation of the past slavery sites and memory as a pathway to national

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development yet denying dialectics of power dynamics that contribute to persistent subjugation of the post slave populations. The dynamics of the “silence” and “silencing” the “reluctant sites” of memory is discernable in national history. The voices, sites and artefacts of slavery heritage are marginalised safe for and integrated into public history. A crucial issue that is not tackled is the history of “victimhood” and the voices of the victims as a medium of dialogue between generations and between divergent memories and power dynamics.

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Slavery studies in eastern Africa are perceived as a peripheral subject of study with public acknowledgment of its non-existence or turning a blind eye to the manifestations of its legacies and mutability. Abolitionism was imaged magnanimously as the work of moral and diplomatic crusaders of what was described as a heinous crime and iniquitous practice against humanity. The consequence of the over-glorification of foreign anti-slavery crusade led to historical inequality in reporting on the role of Africans in the abolitionism. This book attempts to add African voice in Abolitionism and in post abolition debates.

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