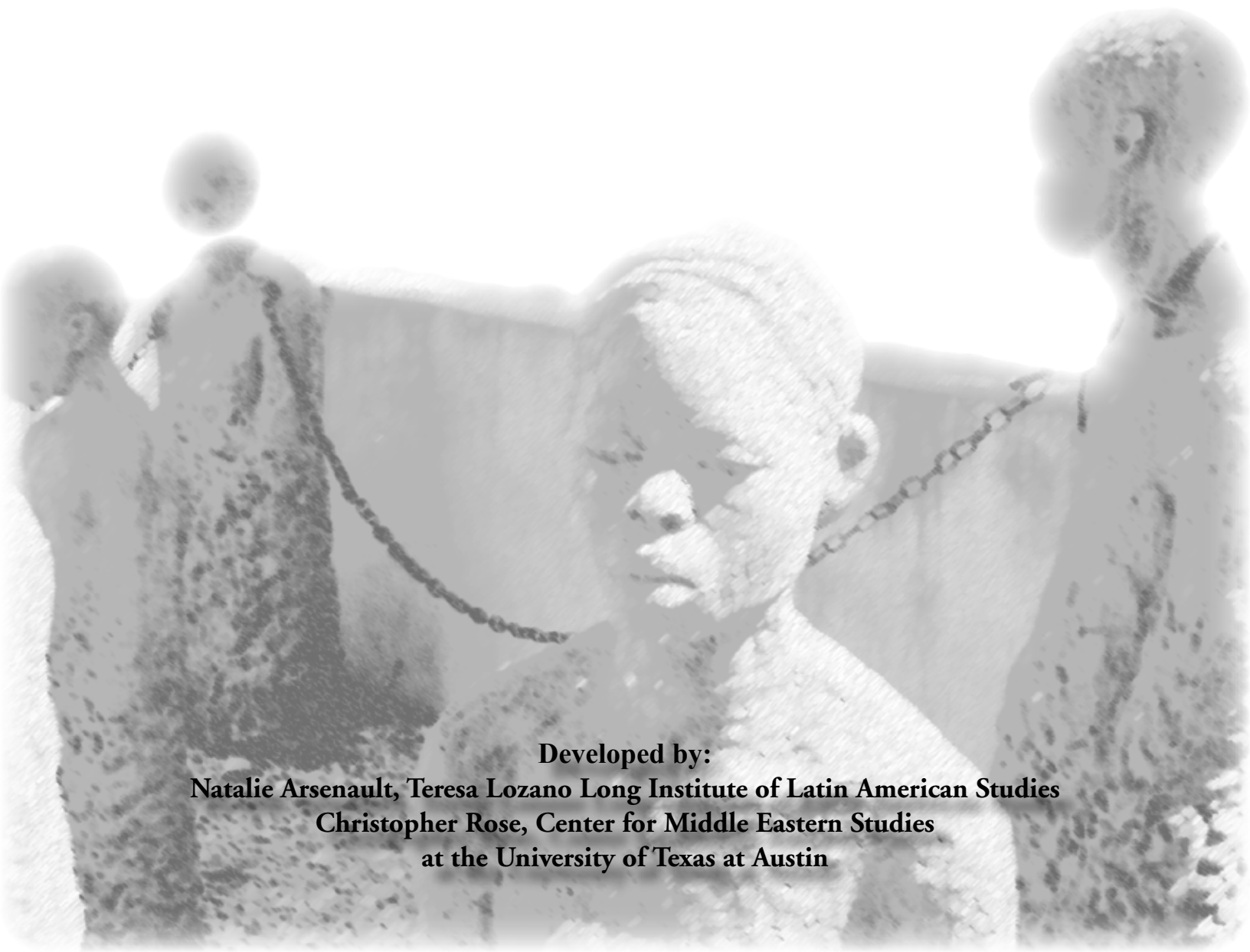


# **Africa Enslaved**

**A Curriculum Unit on Comparative Slave Systems  
for Grades 9-12**



**Developed by:**

**Natalie Arsenault, Teresa Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies**

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## **Africa Enslaved: A Curriculum Unit on Comparative Slave Systems for Grades 9 -12**

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Cover photo: The slave monument, Stone Town, Zanzibar, Tanzania  
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## STANDARDS ALIGNMENT

### NATIONAL STANDARDS FOR HISTORY Published by National Center for History in the Schools World History Standards, Grades 5-12

#### **Era 6: The Emergence of the First Global Age, 1450-1770**

*Standard 2: The causes and consequences of the agricultural and industrial revolutions, 1700-1850.*

2C: The student understands the causes and consequences of the abolition of the trans-Atlantic slave trade and slavery in the Americas. Therefore, the student is able to:

- 9-12 Assess the relative importance of Enlightenment thought, Christian piety, democratic revolutions, slave resistance, and changes in the world economy in bringing about the abolition of the slave trade and the emancipation of slaves in the Americas. [Analyze multiple causation]
- 5-12 Describe the organization of movements in Europe and the Americas to end slavery and explain how the trans-Atlantic slave trade was suppressed. [Reconstruct patterns of historical succession and duration]
- 7-12 Assess the degree to which emancipated slaves and their descendants achieved social equality and economic advancement in various countries of the Western Hemisphere. [Interrogate historical data]

*Standard 4: Economic, political, and cultural interrelations among peoples of Africa, Europe, and the Americas, 1500-1750s*

4B: The student understands the origins and consequences of the trans-Atlantic African slave trade. Therefore, the student is able to:

- 7-12 Analyze the ways in which entrepreneurs and colonial governments exploited American Indian labor and why commercial agriculture came to rely overwhelmingly on African slave labor. [Evidence historical perspectives]
- 7-12 Compare ways in which slavery or other forms of social bondage were practiced in the Islamic lands, Christian Europe, and West Africa. [Compare and contrast differing sets of ideas]
- 5-12 Explain how European governments and firms organized and financed the trans-Atlantic slave trade; and describe the conditions under which slaves made the “middle passage” from Africa to the Americas. [Appreciate historical perspectives]
- 9-12 Analyze the emergence of social hierarchies based on race and gender in the Iberian, French, and British colonies in the Americas. [Interrogate historical data]
- 5-12 Describe conditions of slave life on plantations in the Caribbean, Brazil, and British North America and analyze ways in which slaves perpetuated aspects of African culture and resisted plantation servitude. [Appreciate historical perspectives]

**Era 7: An Age of Revolutions, 1750-1914**

*Standard 5: Patterns of global change in the era of Western military and economic domination, 1800-1914*

5E: The student understands the varying responses of African peoples to world economic developments and European imperialism. Therefore, the student is able to:

- 7-12 Explain the rise of Zanzibar and other commercial empires in East Africa in the context of international trade in ivory, cloves, and slaves. [Appreciate historical perspectives]

## TEXAS ESSENTIAL KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS (TEKS)

### World History

(1) History. The student understands traditional historical points of reference in world history.

The student is expected to:

- A) identify the major eras in world history and describe their defining characteristics;
- B) identify changes that resulted from important turning points in world history such as the development of farming; the Mongol invasions; the development of cities; the European age of exploration and colonization; the scientific and industrial revolutions; the political revolutions of the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries; and the world wars of the 20th century.

(5) History. The student understands causes and effects of European expansion beginning in the 16th century.

The student is expected to:

- B) explain the political, economic, cultural, and technological influences of European expansion on both Europeans and non-Europeans, beginning in the 16th century.

(7) History. The student understands the impact of political and economic imperialism throughout history.

The student is expected to:

- A) analyze examples of major empires of the world such as the Aztec, British, Chinese, French, Japanese, Mongol, and Ottoman empires; and
- B) summarize effects of imperialism on selected societies.

(25) Social studies skills. The student applies critical-thinking skills to organize and use information acquired from a variety of sources including electronic technology.

The student is expected to:

- A) analyze information by sequencing, categorizing, identifying cause-and-effect relationships, comparing, contrasting, finding the main idea, summarizing, making generalizations and predictions, and drawing inferences and conclusions;
- B) explain and apply different methods that historians use to interpret the past, including the use of primary and secondary sources, points of view, frames of reference, and historical context;
- C) use the process of historical inquiry to research, interpret, and use multiple sources of evidence;
- D) evaluate the validity of a source based on language, corroboration with other sources, and information about the author;
- E) identify bias in written, oral, and visual material.

## UNESCO MAP OF THE SLAVE ROUTE

Use the attached map on the slave route to answer the following questions:

### Brazil:

1. In terms of Brazilian slavery, which parts of Africa were slaves drawn from first, and which regions were used later?
2. Produce a line graph depicting the total number of slaves entering the Americas over the course of the slave trade.
3. Look at abolition dates and create a time line of abolition dates in Europe. Review trends in Europe that would have affected slavery in the Americas, and discuss the progress of abolition movements throughout Europe and the Americas.

### Egypt:

1. What parts of Africa were slaves drawn from for import to Egypt?
2. According to the map, did the slaves brought to Egypt remain there? If not, where else did they go? (Bear in mind that for most of the 19th century, Egypt controlled the area now known as Sudan.)
3. Do you think that the European abolition movement in the 19th century had much of an impact on Egyptian slavery? Why, or why not? Cite evidence given on the map to support your answer.

### Haiti:

1. What percentage of slaves brought to the Americas ended up in the Caribbean? Where in the Caribbean did they go?
2. What key figure is associated with the abolition of slavery in Haiti? Do some preliminary research on this figure and discuss his significance in Haitian history.
3. What century saw the greatest number of slaves brought to the Caribbean? How many slaves were brought in that century?

### Swahili Coast:

1. How do the numbers of slaves exported from Zanzibar compare with the numbers of slaves exported from other parts of Africa?
2. Produce a line graph depicting the total number of slaves exported from different parts of Africa in the 15th, 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. How do the numbers change in each part? Do they go up in some places and down in others? What might have led to the shift?
3. Research abolition movements and efforts to suppress the slave trade. What effect did they have on the West African slave trade? On the East African slave trade?

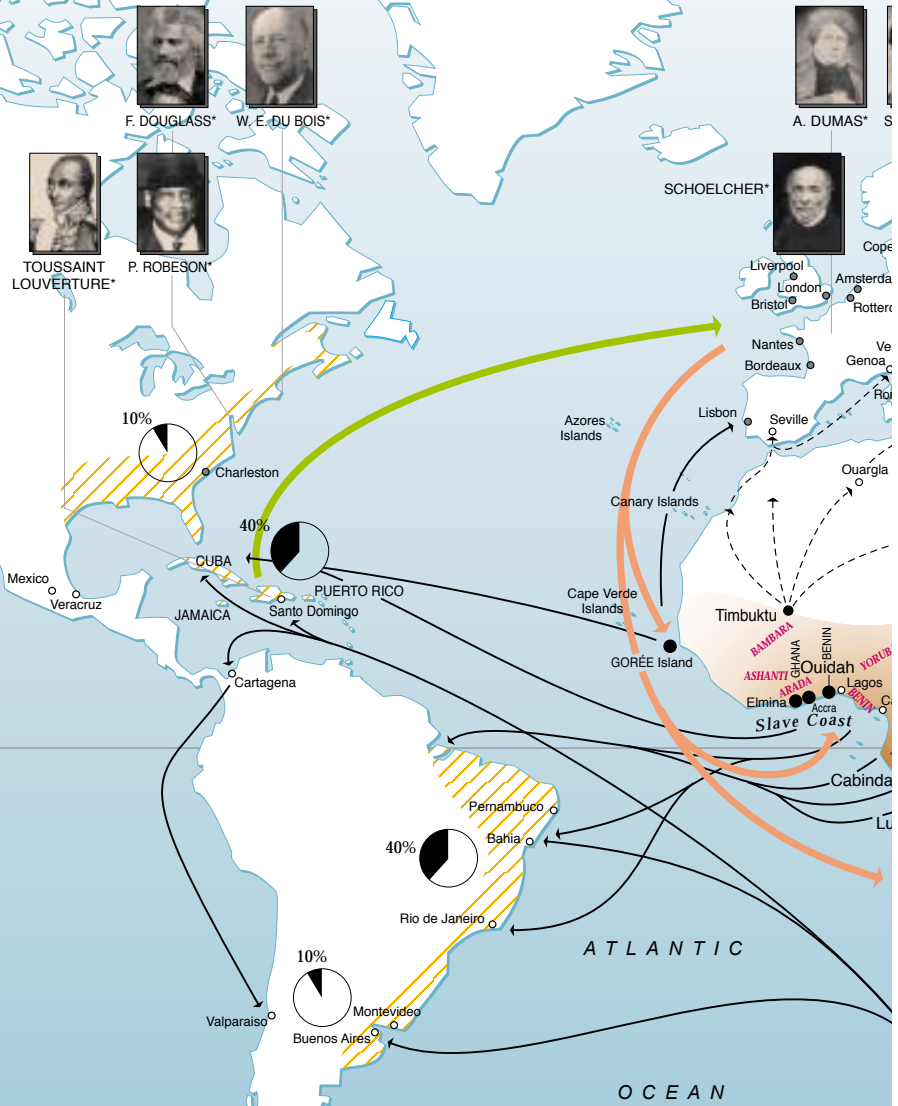
# THE SLAVE ROUTE

The slave trade represents a dramatic encounter of history and geography. This four century long tragedy has been one of the greatest dehumanizing enterprises in human history. It constitutes one of the first forms of globalization. The resultant slavery system, an economic and commercial type of venture organization, linked different regions and continents: Europe, Africa, the Indian Ocean, the Caribbean and the Americas. It was based on an ideology: a conceptual structure founded on contempt for the black man and set up in order to justify the sale of human beings (black Africans in this case) as a mobile asset: For this is how they were regarded in the "black codes", which constituted the legal framework of slavery.

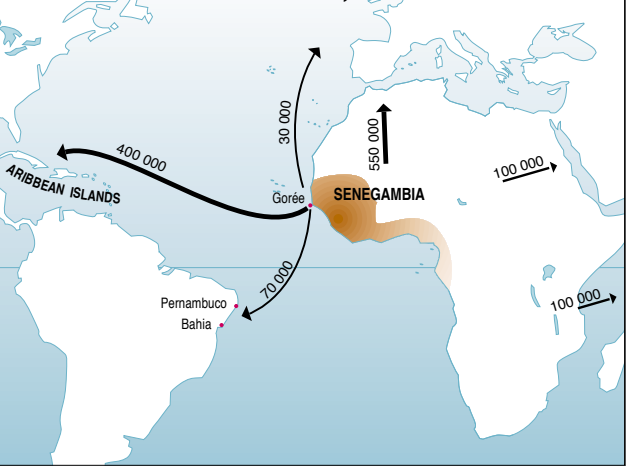
The history of this dissimulated tragedy, its deeper causes, its modalities and consequences have yet to be written: This is the basic objective that the UNESCO's member states set for the "Slave Route" Project. The issues at stake are: historical truth, human rights, and development. The idea of "route" signifies, first and foremost, the identification of "itineraries of humanity", i.e. circuits followed by triangular trade. In this sense, geography sheds light on history. In fact, the triangular trade map not only lends substance to this early form of globalization, but also, by showing the courses it took, illuminates the motivations and goals of the slave system.

These slave trade maps are only a "first draft". Based on currently available historical data about the triangular trade and slavery, they should be completed to the extent that the theme networks of researchers, set up by UNESCO, continue to bring to light the deeper layers of the iceberg by exploiting archives and oral traditions. It will then be possible to understand that the black slave trade forms the invisible stuff of relations between Africa, Europe, the Indian Ocean, the Americas and the Caribbean.

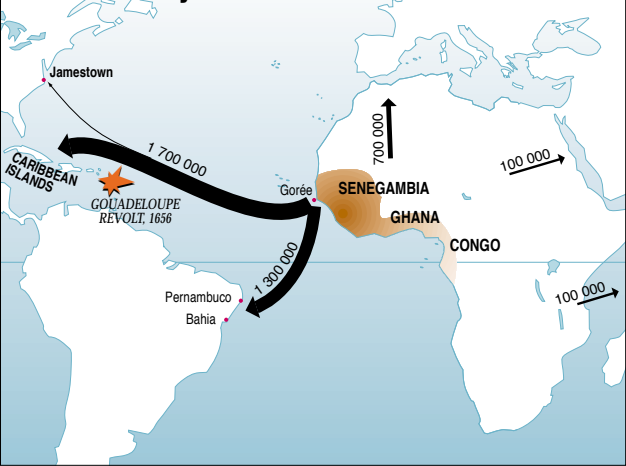
**Doudou Diene**  
Director of the Division of Intercultural Dialogue



## DEPORTATION FLOWS, 15th-16th Centuries



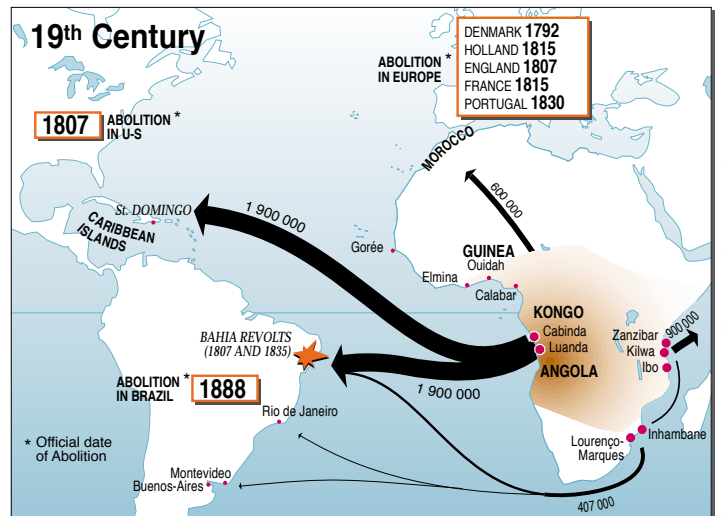
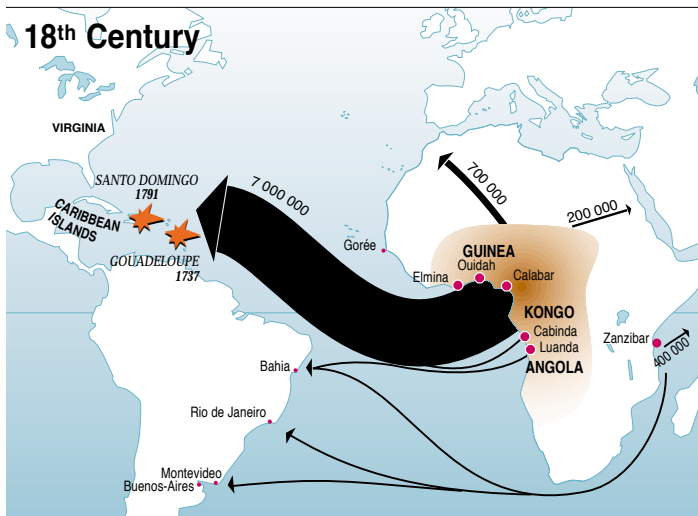
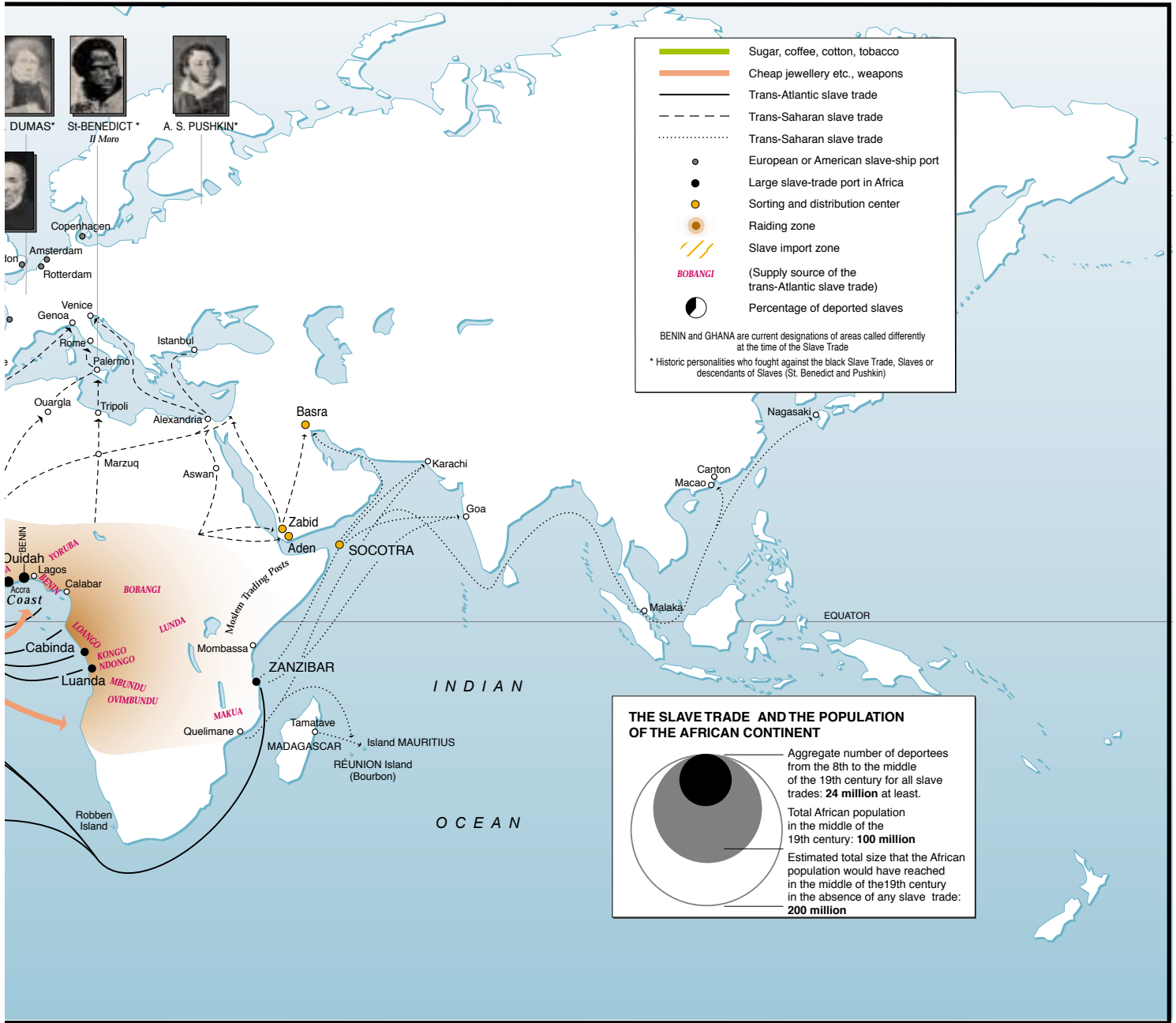
## 17th Century



## 18th Century







## SUMMARY CHARTS

### Instructions to the Teacher:

The two charts that follow may be used in a variety of ways to help students maximize their understanding of the concepts within this unit.

1. Students can fill out the charts individually while reading through each case study and make observations regarding trends that they identify.
2. Split your class into teams and assign each team to read a specific section of one of the case studies, then complete the chart as a class activity.
3. A fifth row has been assigned for comparison with the United States. Since the United States is not covered in this unit, students will have to do additional research. Students can complete the entire chart on their own, or you can split the class into teams, assign each team one section to research, and complete the chart as a class activity.
4. Using the chart as a data source, have the class design and complete a Venn Diagram showing similarities and differences between two or more of the slave systems discussed in this unit.
5. After completing the chart, have students prepare a class debate on one of the following questions:
  - a. Should slavery be abolished in (select an area)? Consider economic and political factors.
  - b. Should slaves in (select an area) be permitted to work outside of their masters' homes to earn income for themselves?

Fill in the charts below, summarizing what you have read or researched,  
or use the charts to write down questions.

	<b>Legal Status</b>	<b>Slave Labor</b>	<b>Rights &amp; Responsibilities</b>
<b>Brazil</b>			
<b>Egypt</b>			
<b>Haiti</b>			
<b>Swahili Coast</b>			
<b>United States</b>			

	<b>Slaves &amp; Religion</b>	<b>Rebellions, Runaways, &amp; Emancipation</b>	<b>Transition to Freedom</b>
<b>Brazil</b>			
<b>Egypt</b>			
<b>Haiti</b>			
<b>Swahili Coast</b>			
<b>United States</b>			

	<b>Abolition</b>	<b>Notes and Questions</b>
<b>Brazil</b>		
<b>Egypt</b>		
<b>Haiti</b>		
<b>Swahili Coast</b>		
<b>United States</b>		



CIA World Factbook, 1994.

## SLAVERY IN BRAZIL

Although the Portuguese arrived in Brazil in 1500, it took over half a century for them to establish an economy. Portugal's other dominions in Africa and Asia were more profitable and garnered more attention. The crown only established a strict bureaucracy in 1549, to fight off French and British incursions into Brazil. But by the mid-1500s sugar plantations began to spring up in the Northeast, where sugar grew well. The colonists looked to the Indians to provide the necessary work force for this labor-intensive crop. However, the enslaved Indians quickly fell victim to European diseases or fled to the unnavigated interior of the country. The Portuguese decided that the Indians were too fragile for plantation labor and, having been active in the Atlantic slave trade since the 1450s, they began to import African slaves. Soon, the sugar plantation system became entirely dependent on African slave labor.

African slaves were brought into Brazil as early as 1530, with abolition in 1888. During those three centuries, Brazil received 4,000,000 Africans, over four times as many as any other American destination. Comparatively speaking, Brazil received 40% of the total number of Africans brought to the Americas, while the US received approximately 10%. Due to this huge influx of Africans, today Brazil's African-descended population is larger than the population of most African countries.

Beginning in the 1530s, slaves entered through the port of Salvador and stayed in the state of Bahia, where sugar plantations rose to prominence during the colony's early years. The sugar trade then diminished and, although slaves were distributed to other parts of Brazil, many remained in Bahia and worked in the capital of Salvador. In the 1690s, gold was found in Minas Gerais, tripling the demand for slaves; of the estimated 1.7 million slaves brought into Brazil in the late 17th and early 18th century, about 1 million went to the gold mines and diamond fields. By 1760, the slowdown in gold and diamonds coincided with sugar's second wind, causing a renewed influx of slaves to the Northeast. In the 1830s, coffee came to prominence in southern Brazil: 1.3 million slaves eventually made their way to the coffee plantations. Slaves were also sent to major cities and, by the late 18th century, 40-50% of households in São Paulo, Ouro Preto (in the state of Minas Gerais), and Salvador held slaves.

Over the centuries, Portugal exploited different parts of Africa. In the 16th century, Senegambia provided most of Brazil's slaves; in the 17th century, Angola and the Congo rose to dominance; and in the 18th century, slaves were coming from the Mina Coast and Benin. "Without Angola no slaves, without slaves no sugar, without sugar no Brazil" was a common expression during the 17th century. During the last 50 years of the slave trade, large numbers of Yoruba people (from the area that is currently Nigeria and Benin) were brought to cities in Northeastern Brazil, resulting in a lasting impact on the culture of that region.

The slave trade lasted longer in Brazil than in almost any other country in the Americas. Slavery was abolished in the British and French Caribbean, the United States, and Spanish America a generation or more before it was abolished in Brazil. When Brazil gained independence, in 1822, slavery was such an entrenched part of the system that the elites who structured the new nation never seriously debated the issue. Brazilians believed that the prosperity of their country depended on the institution of slavery, since they so desperately needed the labor, but slavery was rarely defended on racial grounds.

The slave trade was not only continuing, but accelerating: the same number of Africans (1.7 million) entered Brazil between 1800 and 1850 as during the entire 18th century. Brazil ended the legal slave trade in 1850, due to pressure from Great Britain. Britain had outlawed slavery in the British colonies in 1833, and rising labor costs in the colonies made it very difficult to compete with the slave economies of Brazil and Cuba. Beginning in the 1830s, Britain's Royal Navy began to intercept slave ships headed for Brazil, in order to free the enslaved Africans. While the British were not very successful at first, increased efforts between 1845 and 1850 allowed them to seize almost four hundred ships. Brazil was forced to close down the slave trade.

The abolitionist movement in Brazil began to gain widespread support in the late 1860s, due in part to pressure from the outside world. Also, after the end of the legal slave trade, Brazil experienced a labor shortage because slavery had been sustained by continued imports of slaves rather than reproduction among the slave population. And, finally, the slaves were getting harder to control, and slave owners feared revolts. In 1871, Brazil passed the "Law of the Free Womb," freeing from that time forward the children born of slaves. In 1885, Brazil passed the Sexagenarian Law, freeing slaves over sixty-five years of age, though few slaves reached that age. Finally, on May 13, 1888, the "Golden Law" abolished slavery with these simple words: "From the date of this law slavery is declared extinct in Brazil."

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. Create a time line of slavery in Brazil from 1450-1888 based on the overview.
2. Slaves served in every form of manual labor in the colony, but what three industries utilized the greatest number of slaves?
3. Discussion question: Why would the outside world have pressured Brazil to abolish slavery? Consider abolition dates and how abolition was defended in other parts of the world.



## LEGAL STATUS

Neither our constitution nor any of our laws regard the *slave* as belonging to the mass of the *citizens* for any purpose involving social, political, or public life, even if he was born in the Empire [of Brazil]. Only *freedmen*, if they are Brazilian citizens, enjoy certain political rights and can exercise political responsibilities....

From the moment a man is reduced to the condition of a *thing*, from the moment he becomes the property of another person subject to his *power* and *authority*, he is regarded as legally *dead*, deprived of every *right* and possessing *no representation whatsoever*, as Roman Law previously established. Therefore, he cannot claim political rights ... nor can he perform public functions. This is expressly laid down in various old Portuguese laws....

So complete is this incapacity that slaves among us are not even allowed to serve as recruits in the army or navy; nor can they exercise ecclesiastical responsibilities, either of a mixed nature such as those of a curate, or one of a purely spiritual character; on this point Canon and Civil Law are in full agreement. This legal principle, which *excludes slaves from the political community, from the exercise of any political right, from all participation in national sovereignty or public authority*, has been followed invariably in every ancient and modern nation where slavery has been introduced....

Our ancient and modern laws formally denied and still deny to masters the power of life and death over the slaves; they grant them the right only *to punish them moderately*, as fathers may punish their children and teachers their students. If this punishment is not moderate, there is an excess which the law castigates as if the offended person were not a slave, and with very good reason.

Since the slave is looked upon as a *thing*, subject to the authority (*dominium*) of his master, through a legal fiction he is subordinated to the general laws of property. Although he is a *man* or a *person* (in the broad sense), he is subject to his master's power (*potestas*) with its several consequences. This has been the case in every country. The Romans supply us with an abundant source of decisions in this respect.

Agostinho Marques Perdigão Malheiro, "This Dark Blotch on our Social System," (1866) in *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*, by Robert Edgar Conrad (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 237-245.

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. This article was written in 1866, after the slave trade had ended, and only 22 years before abolition. Based on the title of the piece, what can one assume are the author's feelings about slavery?
2. To what legal traditions does the author attribute Brazilian slave practices?
3. Cite examples of how slaves were seen as *objects* or *things*.

## SLAVE LABOR

### Reading 1: Plantation Labor in the North

On the plantations there is no law but the absolute will of the master, which is rudely delegated to the overseer, usually a trusted slave.

At six o'clock in the morning the overseer forces the poor slave, still exhausted from the evening's labors, to rise from his rude bed and proceed to his work. The first assignment of the season is the chopping down of the forests for the next year's planting, using a scythe to hack down the smaller trees. This work normally goes on for two months, depending on the type of jungle being cut and the stamina of the slaves.

The next step is the destruction of the large trees, and this, like the previous work, continues for twelve hours each day. At night the slaves return home, where evening work of two or more hours awaits them, depending upon the character of the master. They set fire to the devastated jungle....

Centuries-old tree trunks which two months before had produced a cool, crisp atmosphere over a broad stretch of land, lie on the surface of a field ravaged by fire and covered with ashes, where the slaves are compelled to spend twelve hours under the hot sun of the equator, without a single tree to give them shelter....

When it finally rains toward the end of December or early January, the slaves begin to seed the devastated fields, and the only tool they use in planting cotton is a small hoe, and for the rice and millet they use nothing but a stick with an iron point to hollow out the ground.

After this comes the weeding. This is painful labor for the slaves, who, with nothing to work with but a weeding-hook, are forced to stand in a stooped position during the entire day, cutting the shoots or other native plants, and enduring a temperature in the sun of 40 degrees Celsius. This work, which is the most arduous, continues as long as it takes for the plants to fully establish themselves.

The next step is the rice cutting in May or June, which each slave accomplishes with a small knife, cutting the stems one by one, and at night beating them with a branch to loosen the grains. During this phase of their labor the overseers demand a certain number of *alqueires* of rice from each slave, and if the unfortunate person does not produce what is demanded of him, the tragedy is brought to an end with *the daily bread of the slave*, that is, the lash.

F. A. Brandão, Júnior, "A escravidão no Brasil precedido d'um artigo sobre a agricultura e colonização no Maranhão," (1865) in *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*, by Robert Edgar Conrad (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 97-99.

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. What types of tools are given to the slaves to complete their tasks? Do they seem adequate for the work?
2. Why would plantation work in the tropics be especially difficult? Cite details from the article that address conditions in the tropics.

**Reading 2: Mine Labor in the South**

All the slaves occupied in the various *serviços* [places where diamonds are extracted] belong to private owners who rent them to the administration. . . . The owners of the slaves dress them and treat them when they are sick, and the administration feeds them and supplies the tools that they need for their work.

Forced to stand constantly in water during the time when they are panning for diamonds and consuming foods of little nutritive value, their intestinal tract is weakened and they become morose and apathetic. Aside from this, they often run the risk of being crushed by rocks which, undermined from the mineral beds by digging, loosen themselves and fall. Their work is constant and agonizing. Ever under the watchful eye of the overseers, they cannot enjoy a moment of rest. Nevertheless, almost all of them prefer the extraction of diamonds to working for their masters. The money they acquire by stealing diamonds and the hope they nourish of acquiring their freedom if they find stones of great value are undoubtedly the main reasons for this preference, and yet there are others. . . . Whereas in the houses of their masters they are subjected to all of their masters' whims, here they obey a fixed set of rules, and if they adapt themselves to those rules, they need not fear punishment.

Auguste de Saint-Hilaire, "Viagem pelo distrito dos diamantes e litoral do Brasil," (1816-1822) in *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*, by Robert Edgar Conrad (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 141-143.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. Why did some slaves prefer to work in the mines rather than in the homes of their masters?
2. What risks did slaves run by working in the mines?

**Reading 3: Abusive Labor Practices**

If idleness is harmful, the abuse of labor is even more so. We are so convinced of the truth of this principle that we do not hesitate to affirm that a third of the slaves in Brazil die as a result of the excessive labor that they are forced to endure... When I asked a planter why the death rate among his slaves was so exaggerated, and pointed out that this obviously did him great harm, he quickly replied that, on the contrary, it brought him no injury at all, since when he purchases a slave it was with the purpose of using him for only a single year, after which very few could survive; but that nevertheless he made them work in such a way that he not only recovered the capital employed in their purchase, but also made a considerable profit! And besides, what does it matter if the life of a black man is destroyed by one year of unbearable toil if from this we derive the same advantages which we would have if he worked at a slower pace for a long period of time? This is how many people reason.

The slaves, going off to work at five o'clock in the morning, exposed during the entire day to the effects of sun and rain, are vulnerable to the kinds of fevers which result from too much exposure to the sun. They also get violent headaches, mainly when the sun is at its zenith, and apoplexies, which also quite frequently occur at this time of the day. This we would particularly like to prevent, and therefore we strongly recommend that on very hot days slaves be allowed a little time to rest.

It is customary to force the slaves to work for some hours at night. I have seen the terrible results of this... After their daytime labors, it is only right that the evening be devoted to recuperating their lost strength. We therefore protest again the conduct of those persons who, denying their slaves their necessary rest, force them to perform evening work, which consists of digging trenches, leveling terraces, preparing coffee and sugar, etc. This evening work almost always causes illnesses of the kind that arise from suppressed perspiration.

Once more, owners of slaves, stop these practices. Regulate the labor of your slaves according to each one's strength. Give them their needed rest, and you will see that the observance of simple rules of personal conduct can go far toward preserving the lives of your slaves.

David Gomes Jardim, "There Are Plantations Where the Slaves Are Numb with Hunger," (1847) in *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*, by Robert Edgar Conrad (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 95-96.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. What was a typical attitude of the planter toward his slaves?
2. What suggestions does this article make to improve slave health?

## RIGHTS & RESPONSIBILITIES

### Reading 1: Rights & Responsibilities of the Slaveholders

The master has the right to obtain from the slave every possible advantage; that is, he can demand his services gratuitously in any way that appears most convenient to him. In recompense, he has the obligation to feed, clothe, and cure the slave, and may never be allowed to forget that in him there exists a human being.

Nevertheless, the master may not require criminal, illicit, or immoral acts from the slave....

Through the property right which he has in his slaves the master can rent them, lend them, sell them, give them away, transfer them, bequeath them, use them as collateral, dispose of their services, and remove the fruits of slave property in cases in which he is not the unrestricted possessor. In short, he can exercise all the legitimate rights of an owner or proprietor....

Today only slaves belonging to agricultural establishments can be mortgaged, and only if this is specified in the contract, and this can be done only in conjunction with other real estate to which slaves are looked upon as accessories, in the same way that animals are....

Agostinho Marques Perdigão Malheiro, "This Dark Blotch on our Social System," (1866) in *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*, by Robert Edgar Conrad (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 243.

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. What were the responsibilities of the slaveholders towards slaves? What were the slaveholders not allowed to do?
2. Cite examples of how slaves were seen and could be used as *things*.

**Reading 2: Declaration from the King on Treatment of Slaves**

To Dom João de Lencastro, Friend. I the King send you greetings. Having consulted with my Overseas Council concerning the suggestion of the Council of Missions that the sugar-mill owners give Saturday free to their slaves for the cultivation of their gardens, Sundays and saints' days thus being unencumbered so that they might take part in Christian doctrine and divine services, and recognizing that this matter is of the greatest importance and that every effort ought to be made to remedy it, because the slaves are being obliged as they are to serve their masters, the masters are also obliged to give them the necessary sustenance so that they will not die. I have therefore decided to order you to force the mill owners either to give their slaves the required sustenance, or a free day in the [work] week, so that they can themselves cultivate the ground, in the event that mill owners should choose this alternative. Written in Lisbon on January 31, 1701.

THE KING

Robert Edgar Conrad, *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 60.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. What did the King establish in this declaration, and why did he do so?
2. What were the choices given to the slaveholders?
3. Why does the King want slaves to be free on Sundays and saints' days?
4. Why might it have been necessary to issue a royal declaration on this subject?

**Reading 3: Observations on Treatment of Slaves**

It is only just and charitable that I say something about the barbaric, cruel, and bizarre way that the majority of masters treat their unfortunate working slaves.

There are some who provide them with no food at all, merely allowing them to work on Sundays or on a holy day on a tiny plot of ground called a *roça*. From this work they are supposed to supply themselves with food during the entire week, their masters contributing only a drop of molasses of the worst kind during milling time. If it is discovered that one of these miserable people has stolen something from him, the master has him tied to a wagon, and, bound in this way, he is given at least two hundred strokes on the buttocks with a whip of two or three strands of coarse twisted leather, which amounts in reality to four hundred or six hundred individual blows....

I doubt that the Moors are so cruel to their slaves.

Robert Edgar Conrad, *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 61-62.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. Does this piece, written after the declaration made in 1701, contradict the King's order?
2. Why would the writer compare Brazilian slaveholders to Moors?

## SLAVES & RELIGION

### Reading 1: Regulations from the Catholic Church on Evangelization (1707)

We order all persons ... to teach or have taught the Christian doctrine to their families, and especially to their slaves, who because of their ignorance are those most in need of this instruction, sending them to church so that the priest may teach them the Articles of Faith, so that they may know what to believe; the Pater Noster and Ave Maria, so that they may know how to pray; the Commandments of the Law of God and of the Holy Mother Church, and the moral sins, so that they will know how to behave; the virtues, so that they may recognize good values; and the seven Sacraments, so that they may receive them with dignity, and with them the grace which they give, and the other prayers of Christian doctrine, so that they may be instructed in everything which is important to their salvation....

We order all our subjects who are being served by infidel slaves that they labor hard to convert them to our Holy Catholic Faith, and to receive the Sacrament of Baptism, coming to a knowledge of the errors of their ways, and the state of perdition in which they walk, and that for this purpose they should be sent frequently to learned and virtuous persons, who will point out their errors to them and teach them what is required for their salvation....

Excerpt from “Constituições Primeiras do Arcebispado da Bahia feitas e ordinadas pelo Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Senhor D. Sebastião Monteiro da Vide,” in *Children of God’s Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*, by Robert Edgar Conrad (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 154-155.

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. What should the slaves learn?
2. If the Catholic Church saw slaves as “infidels,” what do you think their attitude would have been toward African religions?

### Research topic:

1. Look up Candomblé, a religion that blends Catholicism with African religions.



**Reading 2: Sermon by Father Antônio Vieira to the Black Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary**

One of the remarkable things witnessed in the world today, and which we, because of our daily habits, do not see as strange, is the immense transmigration of Ethiopian peoples and nations who are constantly crossing over from Africa to this America ... we can say that the ships which one after the other are entering our ports are carrying Africa to Brazil....

There is not a slave in Brazil—and especially when I gaze upon the most miserable among them—who for me is not an object of profound meditation. When I compare the present with the future, time with eternity, that which I see with that which I believe, I cannot accept the idea that God, who created these people as much in His own image as He did the rest of us, would have predestined them for two hells, one in this life and another in the next.

You are the brothers of God's preparation and the children of God's fire. The children of God's fire of the present transmigration of slavery, because in this condition God's fire impressed the mark of slavery upon you; and, granted that this is the mark of oppression, it has also, like fire, illuminated you, because it has brought you the light of the Faith and the knowledge of Christ's mysteries, which are those which you solemnly profess on the rosary. But in this same condition of this first transmigration, which is that of the temporal slavery, God and His Most Holy Mother are preparing you for the second transmigration, that of eternal freedom.

Father Antônio Vieira, "Obras completas do Padre Antônio Vieira, Sermões," in *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*, by Robert Edgar Conrad (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 164-165.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. In Father Vieira's mind, why would slavery serve a good purpose? Where would slaves end up after death?
2. Using this logic, do you think that Father Vieira would think slavery a good thing?

## REBELLIONS, RUNAWAYS & EMANCIPATION

### Reading 1: Muslim Uprising in the State of Bahia

*The Malê (as Muslims were known in Bahia) slave uprising in 1835 was the only slave rebellion in the Americas in which Islam played a central role. Armed revolts were not as common as runaways, due to the difficulty in organizing groups of slaves and the small chance of success. The Muslim uprising was ultimately defeated.*

When Malês met privately and, less often, publicly to carry out the precepts of their religion or just to share other aspects of their lives, they used those occasions to envision a better world. They did not, however, rule out the use of force to attain this better world... But for a long time Malê warriors' battles were ... [only an] angry expression of their desire for reparation rather than the conceiving of an actual revolt....

The very fact that African slaves opted for Islam proclaimed a schism.... In the 1824 Constitution, Catholicism had been declared the official state religion, and the only one allowed public ceremonies and clearly marked temples. *European* foreigners were conceded the right to religious freedom, provided they worshipped in private. Slave religions were illegal.... The Malês were outlaws.

The Malê ranks were growing. The rush to Islam did not necessarily mean a rush into revolution. It was, at its beginning, a search for channels of solidarity in the crisis that slavery itself represented, for spiritual security, and possibly for upward mobility and social prestige within the African community itself... To be known as a Malê was an honor. It meant being respected for Malês' written culture and magical powers, or merely for membership in a group known to express strong African identity....

The chasm between Islam and Bahian society was especially wide because Islam was an exclusively African religion that brought together slaves and freedmen. Besides, like Catholicism, Islam was a universal religion. And since it was not an ethnic religion, Islam could possibly unite diverse ethnic groups, nullifying the slaveholders' political advantages derived from Africans' diverse ethnicities....

The enthusiastic celebration of Lailat al-Miraj [Mohammed's ascension into Heaven] in November [1834] was a watershed ... the feast was interrupted and dissolved [by well-known enemy] Inspector Marques.... This episode was sealed shut by the later destruction of [their mosque], which produced discord and distress in the Malê community. Its pride was hurt, and its weakness exposed to the entire city. The Muslims need to act immediately.... Two other incidents must have influenced the political reasoning: the imprisonment of [Malê leader] Alufá Pacifico Licutan ... and the imprisonment and public humiliation of another important preacher, alufá Ahuna. The decision to revolt on 25 January 1835 was quite likely made in November 1834. It was a calm, calculated political decision designed to harness the high-strung emotions of the crisis. The twenty-fifth of January coincided with a propitious date in the Islamic calendar.

João José Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil*, trans. Arthur Brakel (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 112-115.

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. Why would Africans have been attracted to Islam, despite the fact that it was illegal?
2. Why was Islam, as a universal religion, threatening to the slaveholders?
3. What were the defining events that led to the January 1835 uprising? Do you think that Inspector Marques and other Brazilian leaders were trying to disband Muslim groups by interrupting festivities and arresting leaders?

**Reading 2: Description of *Quilombos* by João Saldana da Gama, Governor of Bahia (1807)**

*Runaway slave colonies called quilombos were found throughout the Brazilian countryside for the duration of slavery. The most famous of these was the Republic of Palmares, a network of settlements in northeastern Brazil that survived for over sixty years despite repeated attacks by the Portuguese. Palmares was dismantled in 1694.*

Seeing that slaves frequently and repeatedly escaped from masters in whose service they had been engaged for years... I became curious (an important trait in this land) about where it was they went. I soon learned that in the outskirts of this capital and in the thickets that surround it, there were innumerable assemblages of these people, who, led by the hand of some industrious charlatans, enticed the credulous, the lazy, the superstitious, those given to thievery, criminals, and the sickly to join them. They lived in absolute liberty, dancing, wearing extravagant dress, phoney amulets, uttering fanatical prayers and blessings. They lay around eating and indulging themselves, violating all privilege, law, order, public demeanor.

João José Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil*, trans. Arthur Brakel (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 42.

**Comprehension Exercise:**

1. How does Governor da Gama characterize the leaders of these groups? And the members? Does his description of the *quilombo* seem to reveal any prejudice?

**Reading 3: Unconditional and Conditional Grants of Freedom**

We the undersigned, Dr. Joaquim Caetano da Silva, a Brazilian citizen, and his wife Dona Clotilde Moinac da Silva, give freedom to our good slave Manoel, of the Angola nation, to enjoy all the rights and guarantees which the laws of our country bestow upon him. And so that it may be verified, documented and entirely clear, we grant him the present Letter, which will be registered in two of the notary offices of this Court, to be manifest for all time. Rio de Janeiro, first of December of eighteen hundred and fifty-one.

{Signed;} Dr. Joaquim Caetano da Silva  
Clotilde Moinac da Silva

Witnesses {Signed;}

Dr. Francisco da Paula Menezes  
Ignacio José Caetano da Silva  
Dr. Fernando Francisco {illegible}

*Conditional grants of freedom, such as that below, were more common than unconditional grants. A letter written after the death of Cândido's master revoked his freedom due to his "ingratitude."*

I, Antonio Pereira Freitas, state that among the properties which I possess is a Mulatto Slave by the name of Cândido, of more or less nine years of age, which slave I liberate and possess in a liberated condition from this day forward forever, with the declaration that he serve me while I live [and] that during this entire period of my life he not attempt to free himself by legal means, even if he possesses the money, since he is already free as a result of this my decision, and if at some time he should disobey me or show some ingratitude toward me of the kind stated in the laws, he will lose the freedom which I am granting him and will remain subject to enslavement to my person and heirs whom I may have, and I request His Majesty's justices to comply fully and rigorously with [what is contained herein]. Apiahy, 23 of August, 1827.

Robert Edgar Conrad, *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 319-320.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. How did Dr. Caetano da Silva seek to ensure that his grant of freedom would be registered and upheld?
2. How could Cândido's freedom be revoked? Does the second letter seem to give a lot of leverage to the owner?

## TRANSITION TO FREEDOM

### Reading 1: Legal Status as Freed Slaves

Slave status may be ended in the following ways: 1) through the natural death of the slave; 2) by manumission or enfranchisement; 3) by provisions of the law....

Through manumission the slave is restored to his natural condition and state of manhood, to that of a *person*. He enters the social community without any indication of his former slave status. It is then that he appears in society and before the law as a person, being able under the law, properly speaking, to freely exercise his rights and activities like other citizens. He may establish a family, acquire a full right to property for himself, pass on a *legacy* even when dying intestate, make contracts, dispose of property through sale or trade or through his last will and testament; in other words, like the minor child who upon reaching adulthood acquires his *full freedom*, he can practice every act of civil life.

However, the law, responding to prejudices of our society, deprives the freedman of some of his rights in regard to *political and public life*. Those prejudices had their origin not so much in the former vile and miserable condition of the slave or in his ignorance, bad habits, and degradation, or because that status generally corrupted his spirit and morality. Rather it is the result of the more general prejudice against the African race, from which the slaves of Brazil are descended. Thus the freed Brazilian citizen may vote only in primary elections.... Thus he cannot become an elector, and he cannot hold any other position for which only persons having an elector's qualifications can be chosen. These include the office of general or provincial deputy, senator, juror, justice of the peace, police delegate, public prosecutor, Counselor of State, Minister of Government, Magistrate, member of the Diplomatic Corps, Bishop, and similar positions....

In the churches the slave or person of color, among us, is at the side of the free man without distinction.... In public vehicles no distinction is made for the landmarks of slavery, or for color....

In the United States this generally did not occur. But there the reason was not just slavery, but also race; this being a question in which Brazil is not taken into consideration by laws or customs. To be a person of *color*, even a black African, is no reason for not being somebody in our country, to be admitted into society, into families, into public vehicles, into churches, into employments, etc.; moreover, the man of color enjoys as much consideration in the Empire as any other person to whom he may be equal; some have even occupied and now occupy the highest offices of the State, in provincial government, in the Council of State, in the Senate, in the Chamber of Deputies, in the Diplomatic Corps, in a word, in every kind of position; others have been and are now distinguished doctors, lawyers, illustrious professors in the highest scientific fields; to sum up, every area of human activity is completely open and free to him. It may perhaps be said that there are indications that he has had an exceptional degree of influence.

In the North American union public customs and even the laws concurred toward exclusion. People of *color* were not admitted into the schools. It was necessary to institute and create public conveyances especially for people of *color*. In hotels and inns and similar places people of color were rejected with loathing and contempt.... Marriages between whites and persons of color were condemned.... There was a profound separation, arising from a profound contempt for the African race and all their descendants, however light they might have been.

Agostinho Marques Perdigão Malheiro, "This Dark Blotch on our Social System," (1866) in *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*, by Robert Edgar Conrad (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 243.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. What limits were placed on the freed slave? What rights did the freed slave have and what rights did he not have in Brazilian society?
2. The article refers to a lack of distinction made for slaves or people of color in “public vehicles.” What does this mean? How does this contrast with what you know about laws or customs in the United States? [Think about Rosa Parks.]
3. The final paragraph contradicts earlier statements by pointing out the high status achieved by people of color in Brazil. If freedmen were not allowed to hold certain positions, where did the author find examples of members of the Senate, the Diplomatic Corps, etc? [Think about the distinction between freedman and person of color.]
4. What difference is the author pointing out between Brazil and the United States?

**Reading 2: Consignment of Freedmen to Involuntary Servitude**

*Slaves found with illegal traffickers were taken into government custody, so that they could be freed. This decree, however, indicates the elusiveness of this “freedom.”*

Since it would not be correct simply to abandon them, they will be destined to serve as freedmen [*libertos*] for a period of 14 years in some public service, either for the navy, at the forts, in agriculture, or in the mechanical trades, whichever may be most convenient... Or they may be publicly rented out to private persons of recognized integrity, who will sign a pledge to feed and clothe them and to teach them Christian doctrine and a craft or other suitable work. For the time stipulated [one year], these terms and conditions may be renewed as often as necessary until the above-stated period of 14 years is completed. However, this period may be reduced by two or more years for those freedmen who, by their fitness and good conduct, prove themselves worthy sooner of enjoying their complete right to freedom.

“Collecção das leis do Brasil,” (1818) in *Children of God’s Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*, by Robert Edgar Conrad (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 333.

**Comprehension Exercise:**

1. Does the description above seem significantly different from slave status? Why, or why not?

**Reading 3: Royal Proclamation on Clothing and Ornaments**

Having been informed of the great inconveniences which result in my conquests from the freedom of the blacks and mulattoes, the children of blacks or mulattoes or of black mothers, to dress in the same way as white persons, I prohibit the above, regardless of sex, and even if they have been liberated, or were born free, the use not only of all kinds of silk, but also of cloth of fine wool, of fine Dutch linen, and such fine cloth either of linen or cotton; and much less will it be legal for them to wear on their persons ornaments of jewelry, gold or silver, however minimal.

*O Americano*. Rio de Janeiro (1749) in *Children of God’s Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*, by Robert Edgar Conrad (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 248.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. What did this Royal Proclamation establish?
2. Why do you think the King would have made it illegal for former slaves and free Africans to wear the same clothing and jewelry as other citizens?

## ABOLITION

### Reading 1: Comments from Brazilian Abolitionist Joaquim Nabuco

When slavery penetrates modern societies, it destroys a large portion of their moral justification. . . . Only one looking at these societies blinded by passion or ignorance will fail to see how slavery has brought degradation to many modern populations, to the point that they are no better than corrupted populations of past times. The use of slave labor not only hinders to the point of stagnation material development, but it deadens the moral progress of civilizations, including knowledge, the arts, science, letters, costumes, government, people—in all, progress. . . .

Every dimension of our social existence is contaminated by this crime: we grow with it, and it forms the basis of our society. From where does our fortune come? From profits produced by slaves. Our state of liberty was rooted in this criminal activity, and now, when we want to free ourselves from it, it holds us fast. . . . Slavery corrupts everything, robbing working people of their former virtues: diligence, thrift, charity, patriotism, fear of death, love of liberty. . . .

Robert M. Levine and John J. Crocitti, eds., *The Brazil Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 143.

### Comprehension Exercise:

1. Brazil had always defended slavery on the grounds that it was necessary to support the plantation economy. On what grounds did Nabuco condemn slavery?



**Reading 2: Law No. 3353**

The Princess Imperial Regent, in the name of His majesty the Emperor Dom Pedro II, makes known to all subjects of the Empire that the General Assembly has decreed, and she has sanctioned, the following law:

Art. 1. From the date of this law slavery is declared extinct in Brazil.

Art. 2. All provisions to the contrary are revoked.

She orders, therefore, all the authorities to whom the knowledge and execution of this Law belong to carry it out, and cause it to be fully and exactly executed and observed.

The Secretary of State for the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works, and *ad interim* for Foreign Affairs, Bachelor Rodrigo Augusto da Silva, of the Council of His Majesty the Emperor, will have it printed, published, and circulated.

Give in the Palace of Rio de Janeiro on May 13, 1888, the 67<sup>th</sup> year of Independence and of the Empire.

PRINCESS IMPERIAL REGENT  
Rodrigo Augusto da Silva

Robert Edgar Conrad, *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 480-481.

**Comprehension Exercise:**

1. Did this declaration leave anything unclear about the status of slavery in the Empire? Cite phrases from the text that support your answer.

## GLOSSARY

An **alqueire** (al-kay-ree) is a traditional unit of volume for dry goods in Portugal and Brazil. This is about 13.8 liters or 12.5 U.S. dry quarts.

A **curate** is a cleric, especially one who has charge of a parish.

**Ecclesiastical** pertains to the church and relates to the organization or government of the church; not secular.

To **enfranchise** is to bestow the rights of citizenship, especially the right to vote.

**Intestate** describes a person who has died without leaving a legal will.

**Manumission** is the formal act of freeing an individual slave. Its Latin root, *manumissio*, meant the freeing of a Roman slave.

**Perdition** means eternal damnation, hell, absolute ruin.

A **quilombo** (kee-lom-bow) is a hinterland settlement originally created by runaway slaves in Brazil and sometimes including a minority of marginalized Portuguese and other non-black, non-slave Brazilians. Some of these settlements were near Portuguese settlements and quite active both in defending against *capitães do mato* (bounty hunters) commissioned to recapture slaves and in facilitating the escape of even more slaves. Consequently, they were actively fought by the Portuguese and, later, by the Brazilian state and slaveowners. All the same, *quilombos* that were further from the Portuguese settlements and the later Brazilian cities were effectively tolerated and still exist, to the point of having their own African-Portuguese creole languages. The most famous of the *quilombos*, Palmares, was led by the legendary hero Zumbi, who eventually died defending it.

**Reparation** refers to compensation or remuneration used to make amends for a past injustice.

A **roça** (ho-sah) is a plot of land.

A **schism** is a separation or division into factions.

**Transmigration** can mean to migrate or the passing of a soul into the next world at death.





CIA World Factbook, 1997.

## SLAVERY IN OTTOMAN EGYPT

Slavery has existed in Egypt since ancient times. Records from the New Kingdom era (around 1500 BCE) depict rows of captives being paraded before the kings and nobles of ancient Egypt, and it is rather safe to assume that slavery existed in some form or another from antiquity until the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Egypt became part of the Ottoman Empire in 1517, when Sultan Selim II won a quick and decisive military campaign against the *Mamluks*, who had ruled Egypt for several hundred years. The *Mamluks* were of slave origins, originally from the Turkic tribes of the Caucasus and Central Asia. Originally hired as soldiers by the Kurdish general Salah-al-din, the *Mamluks* took power in Egypt after his short-lived dynasty ended in 1250 CE. The *Mamluks* worked among themselves to continue the propagation of their ranks. Each year, new slaves would be brought in from Central Asia and trained in military techniques and affairs of the state. The *Mamluks* divided their ranks into “households,” to which the new slave’s loyalty was assigned. Upon reaching puberty, the slaves were manumitted and then became full members of the household, allowed to marry and buy slaves of their own to continue the process. The system was a meritocracy: through hard work and dedication, a *Mamluk* would be promoted through the ranks. At the highest level, a ruling council would elect a sultan as head of state from among their ranks. Infighting was common (only six of the *Mamluk* sultans died of natural causes), but the relative stability of the system allowed Egypt to flourish as a center of culture and learning during the *Mamluk* era.

After the Ottomans took control in 1517, the *Mamluks* became vassals of the Ottoman Sultan in Istanbul, but held on to their authority and prominent position in Egyptian political and cultural life. In 1798, Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Egypt, and French forces occupied the country for three years. After the French left, an Albanian-born general named Mohammad Ali was appointed the new Ottoman Governor of Egypt. Mohammad Ali soon began wielding considerable power and acting independently from the Sultan in Istanbul. In 1811 Mohammad Ali massacred most of the remaining *Mamluks* following a grand banquet at the Cairo Citadel. Although this broke their power, *Mamluks* continued to be bought and sold, and they held important positions in the army and served as the governors of various provinces until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.

The long history and association of slaves and slavery within Egypt meant that by the 19<sup>th</sup> century, slavery was a well-known and well-defined institution in the country. For most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the slave population of Egypt was between 20,000 and 30,000 out of a total population of five million. The number of slaves in Cairo, a city of a quarter-million people, was estimated to be between 12,000 and 15,000 at any given point until 1877. Every town of significant size in Egypt had a slave market, the largest of which was the Wakalat al-Gallaba, the Sudanese merchant’s *caravanserai* in central Cairo.

For most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the majority of slaves imported into Egypt were women. Overall, there was a steady decline in the number of male slaves imported until the worldwide cotton boom that accompanied the American Civil war from 1861-65. Nearly all of the slaves were destined for domestic servitude in middle- and upper-class households. During the cotton boom, however, many more people in the lower classes were able to afford slaves to assist with agricultural work.

In the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, under significant pressure from the European powers, the Egyptian government began to respond with a series of declarations and anti-slavery laws. In 1856, the importation and sale of white slaves was forbidden. The Anglo-Egyptian Convention of 1877 banned the import and export of Sudanese and Ethiopian slaves, and allowed British naval forces to search any vessel suspected of carrying slaves in Egyptian territorial waters. Neither the 1856 law nor the 1877 convention actually banned the practice of slavery itself. In this case, the government preferred to allow the practice to die out naturally.

In 1882, the Egyptian government defaulted on some of the massive loans that it had borrowed to pay for the construction of the Suez Canal. Shortly afterwards, the British and French occupied the country, supposedly for the purpose of stabilizing the country’s finances. In reality, the British Consul-General in Cairo became the effective ruler of the country. The new administration began to enforce the 1877 laws banning the trade and reduced the number of active sellers of slaves from 32 in 1883 to three in 1886.

Under similar pressure, the Ottoman Sultan firmly banned the trade in 1889, shutting off both supply and demand to neighboring areas. In 1904, the British consul general in Cairo was able to report that slavery had been completely eliminated in Egypt.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. What is a *Mamluk*? Why would a nation governed by *Mamluks* be more accepting of the practice of slavery?
2. According to the text, what were some of the likely duties of slaves in Egypt during the 19th century? For whom would they have worked?
3. How would the American Civil War have led to a boom in cotton production in Egypt? How would this, in turn, have led to an increase in slaves working in agriculture in Egypt?
4. How did the worldwide abolition movement affect Egypt? Do you think that European abolitionists had a clear picture of what slavery was like in Egypt? Why, or why not?

## LEGAL STATUS

### Reading 1: Ahmad Shawfiq on Slavery

*Ahmad Shawfiq was a French-educated Egyptian intellectual. After attending an 1888 speech by a French abolitionist in Paris condemning Islam for the evils of slavery, Shawfiq wrote a book in response. L'esclavage au point de vue Musulman was intended to defend Islam to European abolitionists on the basis of its humane views toward slaves and the institution of slavery.*

From the noble Qur'anic verses and the Prophetic *hadith*, and the statements of the imams and the testimonies of history which we have enumerated in the previous sections, it is clear without doubt or dispute that the Islamic religion narrowed the confines of slavery and worked to eradicate it at source, since it laid down conditions and imposed restrictions that had to be observed in order for enslavement to take place, just as it clarified the paths and explained clearly the means by which deliverance from its clutches might be achieved.

If it happened that, despite all these expedients, destiny caused a man to fall into slavery, then we have seen that the Islamic shari'a did not abandon him or leave him to his own devices, but extended over him the wing of protection and the banner of safekeeping, and considered him worthy of compassion and deserving of mercy it saw in the slave.

Hence the shari'a set forth injunctions that make it obligatory for masters to treat their slaves as they treat themselves and to strive to make them happy, to give them ease of mind, to teach them, to train them and educate them, and not to belittle them or put them down, to marry them off, both males and females, so as to hasten their release from the noose of slavery and to conduct them to the pathways of freedom.

Ahmad Shawfiq, *L'esclavage au point de vue Musulman* (Cairo: n.p., 1891).

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. According to Shawfiq, what is the ultimate goal of Islam concerning slavery?
2. What do you think Shawfiq would identify as the primary differences between slavery in the Islamic world and slavery in the Americas, based on the points he makes in this passage?

**Reading 2: Ahmet Midhat on the Status of Female Household Slaves**

*Ahmed Midhat was an influential Turkish writer who frequently wrote about slavery and the conditions of slaves in the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 19th century. Although he was an abolitionist, Midhat, himself the son of a Circassian female slave, was always quick to point out that slavery in the Empire resembled slavery in the Americas only in name, and that the status of slaves was completely different in the two systems.*

They [female slaves] are not [intended] for pleasure but for general household chores. All our female slaves perform duties that women do, from what are called in Europe maids of honor, or [just] maids, to cooks.... If the master's wife dies or falls into illness or old age, [he] takes a female slave for a concubine and there is no difference [then] between her and a legal wife. The children of that woman are [considered] legitimate.

Ahmet Midhat, "Âcaib-i Âlem," *Tanzimat Edebiyatında Kölelik*, by İsmail Parlatır (Ankara: n.p., 1987), 43.

**Comprehension Exercise:**

1. According to the passage, what is the legal status of a female slave in Islam? What is the functional status of a female slave?
2. What do you think Midhat would consider to be the main differences between a female slave in Islam and a female slave in the United States or Brazil?



## SLAVE LABOR

### Reading 1: A European Traveler Discusses Mid-19th Century Slavery in Egypt

In the absence of any official statistics on the point, no even approximate estimate of the number of the slave population in Egypt can be given. It must, however, be large, as nearly all the in-door work in every family above the poorest is done by servants of this class. From the house of the pettiest dealer or even better class mechanic, up to the palace of the Khedive, slave labour for this kind of work is the rule.

And here one of the many important distinctions between Eastern and Western servitude is at once met with. In Egypt and Turkey domestic work is done only by slaves, the cases being rare in which they are employed even in stables or light gardening, while in the West their chief value has always been as field hands. To this rule there are now in Egypt a few exceptions, in the case of village sheikhs who, after the increase of wealth consequent on the development of cotton culture during the American war, in a few instances brought slaves to help in field labour; but the work done by these is as light as that of the free fellah, and in respect of food and lodging they share the common fortune of their owner and his family.

So inwrought, indeed, is the institution into the domestic and social life of the country that the possession of one or more slaves is as essential to 'respectability' amongst one's neighbours as is that of a servant for menial work in a European family; and this social consideration has, probably, more to do with the maintenance of the institution than any question as to the relative cost of the slave and free labour.

James C. McCoan, *Egypt as It Is* (London: Casselle Petter and Galpin, nd.), 316-7.

### Reading 2: The Late 19th-Century Phenomenon of Agricultural Slavery in Egypt

The peasantry of Egypt who suddenly gained extraordinary sums of money for their cotton during the American Civil War, spent some of their profits in the purchase of slaves to help them in the cultivation for their lands ... nearly all the slaves who had applied at Mansourah [in the Nile Delta] for emancipation were agricultural, not domestic slaves.... The Fellahs, or farmer population, are glad to have the means of sending, as substitutes for themselves and children when summoned by the Government to forced labour, slaves bought at the slave marts.

Reade to Stanley. FO 141/63. Alexandria, August 8, 1867. Reprinted in Great Britain Foreign Office, *Collection of Documents Relating to the Slave Trade* (London: Glazier, 1977), reel 5.

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. According to McCoan, what is the primary function of a slave in Egypt? Who might do such work in the West? Would slaves do the same kinds of work in Egypt and the West? Why, or why not?
2. How common is agricultural slavery according to McCoan? How does the telegraph from Reade (Reading 2) support this?
3. What is the other primary use for the slaves of farmers, according to Reade?

**Reading 3: Slaves in the Khedive's Palace**

*One of the princesses in the extended ruling family of Egypt (who were primarily Turkish) recalls in her memoirs the varied and numerous functions that slaves were expected to perform in the Palace. Many of Egypt's most important and elite families would have attempted to follow this model as closely as possible.*

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in the palaces of the Egyptian ruling family, white slaves were divided into the following categories:

1. *Kalfas* of the private apartments, subdivided into *hazinedars*, *odacis*, *çubukcis*, *kutucis*, *leğencis*, *oğuşdurucis*.

The *hazinedars* were the personal attendants of the master and ladies of the house. The chief *hazinedar* held one of the highest posts in the household, being entrusted with the keys to the 'hazine,' or treasure room(s), where the valuables, jewels, and other effects of her master or mistress were kept ...

The *odacis* swept and dusted the private apartments....

The *çubukcis* cleaned and presented the long *çubuks*, or pipes, to their mistress, and kept the tobacco at the right temperature....

The *kutucis* were in charge of everything that was kept in boxes (*kutu*) or chests, articles which, nowadays, would be stored in cupboards or chests of drawers....

The *leğencis* were in charges of the ewers, basins, and towels. In the days before running water, they attended to their mistress while she was bathing....

*Oğuşdurucis* were masseuses.

2. The rest of the staff, divided into *orta kalfas*, *tezrecis*, *çubukcis*, *kahvecis*, *sofracis*, *kilercis*, *fannozcis*, *çengis*, *sazendes*, and *hanendes*.

*Orta kalfas* swept and dusted halls, passages, and drawing rooms and had to be in attendance on visitors at all hours of the day. After divesting the guests of their cloaks and veils, they would give them to the *tezrecis* to be pressed with an iron....

The *çubukcis* who were not attached to the private apartments had the same duties as those who were....

... the *kahvecis* were specialists in making coffee....

... the *sofracis* were the girls who laid and served at table and cleaned up afterwards....

The *kilercis* were in charge of the storerooms (*kiler*)....

Before gas or electricity were in use, the *fannozcis* were in charge of all the candlesticks, brackets, chandeliers, and lanterns....

The prettiest and most graceful girls were chosen to be *çengis*, or dancers. With the exception of the so-called 'navel dance,' considered indecent in the Palace, they learned old folk dances....

The *sazendes* were musicians and the *hanendes* singers. Musically gifted girls and those who had a good voice were trained in Oriental and European music by teachers who came to give them lessons in the Palace....

Coloured slaves, descendants of Abyssinian and Sudanese Negroes were never employed in the Imperial Palace, but as they were cheaper than the white, there was always a great demand for them elsewhere.

Emine Foat Tugay, *Three Centuries: Family Chronicles of Turkey and Egypt* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1963), 306-308.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. Describe the Palace slaves. What race are they? Gender? What kind of work do they do?
2. How replaceable are the Palace slaves? How much training does each slave need in order to do his or her job?
3. What would the life of a Palace slave have been like?
4. What do you think Tugay's attitude toward black slaves would have been?

**Reading 4: Higher Education for Slave Women**

Another interesting medical training experiment of Clot Bey was the establishment of the School of Maternity—*Madrasat al-Waladah*—in between 1831 and 1832 in the school of Medicine itself. For some time, it was not possible to get young girls or women to enter this School of their own free will. The first patch of girl students was made up of ten Abyssinian and Sudanese girls bought in the Cairo slave markets together with two eunuchs sent by Muhammad Ali from his palace. In 1835, ten more slaves were added and ten orphan girls who happened to be under the treatment of the doctors in the *Bimaristan* [hospital] and who, when cured, were taken over by the Government, as their parents did not claim them, and trained as midwives; thus the total number of students was thirty-four, including the eunuchs who were also made to follow the courses.

As the girls were all illiterate, they had to be taught Arabic first, and later on ... a little French in addition to midwifery, vaccination, cupping and bandaging, and the elements of *material medica* and dispensing....

On graduation, the midwives were given the same rank as the men students of the medical school.

James Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt* (London: Frank Cass and Co., 1939), 132.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. What would have been the purpose of enrolling slaves in the School of Maternity? What would have been the specific purpose of enrolling eunuchs in the school?
2. What kinds of responsibilities do you suppose these slaves had in their master's homes?
3. How valuable do you suppose these slaves would have been after they graduated from the program?

## RIGHTS & RESPONSIBILITIES

### Reading 1: Liability for Crimes Committed by Slaves

The crimes of slaves can be divided into three categories: 1) crimes against other slaves, 2) crimes against free persons, and 3) crimes against property. As for crimes against slaves, there are no exceptions whether they be deliberate or accidental. If it is an accidental offense then the owner of the offending slave has the option either to hand over the slave in compensation for his offense to the owner of the slave against whom the offense was committed, or to redeem himself against the value of the slave against whom a homicide was committed, or against the extent to which bodily harm diminished the slave's value in the case of injury. If the wound did not diminish the injured slave's value then the offender has no liability.

If the offense is deliberate then the owner of the slain or injured slave has two options: 1) to seek retaliation, or 2) to take the slave who caused the injury, unless his master redeems him for the price of the slain slave, or the amount by which the value of the injured slave was diminished....

As for slaves' crimes against free persons, if the crime is accidental homicide, then the owner of the killer has the option either to hand the slave over or to redeem him against the blood money. If it was deliberate, then the ruling concerning it has already been given. If the crime against free persons involves less than homicide, then it makes no difference if bodily harm was intentional or accidental, since the slave cannot have his own blood spilt in retaliation by a free man on account of an injury....

As regards slaves' offenses against property, it makes no difference whether the property belongs to a free person or a slave, for it is accountable to the slave who committed the offense....

Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Gharnati al-Kalbi, known as Ibn Juzayy (d. 1340), *Qawanin al-ahkam al-shar'iyya wa-masa'il al-furu' al-fiqhiyya*, (Beirut: n.p., 1974), 381-82.

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. According to the law, what is the value of a slave vs. a free person? How can you tell?
2. What recourse does a free man have if a crime is committed against him by a slave? Does it seem likely that the same recourse would be available if the crime were committed by a free man? Why, or why not? Cite examples from the text that support your answers.
3. Ibn Juzayy says that "the slave cannot have his own blood spilt in retaliation by a free man on account of an injury." What does this mean? What underlying values can you infer from this statement?

**Reading 2: Legal Recourse for a Female Slave**

*Ehud Toledano, a scholar on late Ottoman slavery, discovered the following account of a female slave who was impregnated by her dealer and sold to another man (an illegal act). When she was returned to the dealer, the dealer's wife attempted to induce an abortion by beating the girl, who fled to a neighbor's house and eventually made her way to the court. There is, sadly, no record of what finally happened to her or her child. Most likely, she was freed at the conclusion of the hearing; her child, however, was probably awarded to its biological father and it is unlikely that she ever saw the child again.*

Question: When did you come to Cairo? Who was the person who brought you? Where did you stay when you arrived? To whom were you given by the person who had brought you here?

Şemsigül: I came here two years ago. The person who brought me from Istanbul was the slave dealer Deli Mehmet. I was sold to the palace of Mehmet Ali Paşa... After I had stayed at Mehmet Ali Paşa's for five months, it was suspected that I was pregnant. A midwife was brought in to examine me, and she verified that I was indeed pregnant. So they summoned Deli Mehmet and returned me to him. He then took me and brought me to the home of Mustafa.

Question: By whom did you become pregnant?

Şemsigül: I became pregnant by Deli Mehmet.

Question: Where ... did he have sexual relations with you? And since you became pregnant, why did he sell you [this being illegal]?

Şemsigül: In the boat, on the way here, he forced me to have sexual relations with him.... Before the sale, I told him, " ... I think that I am pregnant by you." ...He went away, brought back some medicines and made me drink them [to induce an abortion]. Finally, he sold me to the palace.

Question: Your answer is well understood. When they said at the palace that you were pregnant, they returned you, and you went to Mustafa's house. But now you need to explain ... what was the state of your pregnancy?

Şemsigül: ... I went to the home of Mustafa and stayed there for about ten days. While I was there, Deli Mehmet's wife came to the house and cursed me ... she wanted to hit me, [but] Mustafa's wife prevented her from doing so. Mustafa sent me to the house of Deli Mehmet. When I got there, Deli Mehmet's wife brought in a private midwife and demanded that she perform an abortion on me. At that, the midwife said, "This pregnancy is [too far] advanced. ..." Having said that, she left, but Deli Mehmet's wife insisted, saying, "I shall put an end to this pregnancy." She said to Deli Mehmet, "Let us beat this slave and put an end to her pregnancy," to which Deli Mehmet replied "I am not going to beat her." But the woman ... fetched a clothespress, hit me with it several times ... and then beat me with a mincing rod.

At that point, one of the neighbors, a peasant woman ... went to the house of Selim Bey. When she told them ... the wife of the dignitary [...] came to the house of Deli Mehmet. She had mercy on me and said, "I shall take her and perform the abortion." She then took me to her house but left my condition as it was... When the child was to come into the world, Deli Mehmet's wife came and stood at the bedside. When he was born, she took the child into another room and passed him through her shirt to show that she was adopting him. To me she said that the child had died....

Ehud R. Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), 60-62.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. What about this document surprises you?
2. What does this document tell you about the right of a slave to protest maltreatment? Would a slave in Brazil, Haiti, or the Swahili Coast have the same right? What about a slave in the United States? How can you tell? Cite examples from the text that support your answer.

## SLAVES & RELIGION

### Reading 1: Edward Lane on the Religiosity of Black Slaves in Egypt

The male black slave is treated with more consideration than the free servant; and leads a life well suited to his lazy disposition. If discontented with his situation, he can legally compel his master to sell him. Many of the slaves in Egypt wear the Turkish military dress. They are generally the greatest fanatics in the East; and are more accustomed than any other class to insult the Christians and every people who are not of the faith which they themselves adopted without knowing more of its doctrines than Arab children who have been but a week at school.

Edward Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1908), 159.

### Reading 2: Slave Converts to Islam

As soon as a slave boy becomes the property of a Mussulman master he is circumcised, and has an Arabic name given to him. ... It very rarely happens that any uncircumcised boys come from the west; and I never knew of any instance of a Negro boy following the pagan worship of his father, and refusing to become Mussulman; though I have heard it related of many Abyssinian slaves, who, after having been converted from idolatry to the Christian religion, by the Abyssinian Copts, were sold by them to the Mussulman traders. I have been told of several of these slaves, particularly females, so steadily refusing to abjure their faith, when in the harem of a Mohammedan, that their masters were finally obliged to sell them, in the dread of having children born of a Christian mother, which would have been a perpetual reproach to the father and his offspring. In Soudan, the slaves, though made Mussulmans by the act of circumcision, are never taught to read and pray; and even in Egypt and Arabia this instruction is seldom given to any but those for whom their masters take a particular liking. It may be observed, nevertheless, that they are greater fanatics than the proudest Olemas, and that Christians and Franks are more liable to be insulted by slaves than by any other class of Mussulmans.

John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, 2nd. ed., (London: n.p., 1822), 290-300.

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. What religion were slaves generally expected to convert to? How genuine do these conversions appear to have been?
2. What do you make of Lane's statement that black male slaves are "generally the greatest fanatics in the East?" Does Burckhardt confirm this statement? Why do you think this is the case?

## REBELLIONS, RUNAWAYS & EMANCIPATION

### Reading 1: Instructions for Manumission of a Slave

There are six reasons for manumission, the first of which is voluntary manumission seeking divine reward, since this is one of the noblest of deeds. The remaining modalities are obligatory and they are 1) manumission resulting from the swearing of oaths, i.e., acts of atonement [for having broken a vow]; 2) resulting from mutilation; 3) resulting from partial freeing; 4) resulting from family relationship.

Mutilation: whoever intentionally mutilates his slave in a visible fashion, i.e., if he cuts off his fingertips or the extremity of his ear or the tip of his nose, or if he cuts any part of his body, shall be punished and the slave freed without his authorization. Injury is only defined as mutilation if the slave thereby suffers gross disfigurement....

Partial freeing: If anyone frees part of his slave, or a single limb, the rest of the slave is freed without his consent....

As for manumission on account of a blood relationship: this is occasioned by slaves' entering into ownership [of a blood relative]. According to the mass of mainstream jurists ... male persons related by descent or ascent to a person into whose possession they pass through purchase or inheritance, or other means, are to be freed without the owner's authorization.

Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Gharnati al-Kalbi, known as Ibn Juzayy (d. 1340), *Qawanin al-ahkam al-shar'iyya wa-masa'il al-furu' al-fiqhiyya* (Beirut: n.p., 1974), 408-9.

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. According to Ibn Juzayy, what are the reasons for manumission?
2. Under what circumstances might someone free only part of his or her slave? According to Ibn Juzayy, how should this be handled?



**Reading 2: Account of a Slave Seeking Manumission**

*The British Consulate became a destination for runaway slaves seeking emancipation on the grounds of poor treatment. The following is the account of one slave who, fearing for her own safety, entered the Consulate and asked them to intervene on her behalf.*

On Monday the 17<sup>th</sup> day of September, 1877, appeared in Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate at Cairo, Kadam Kheir, a negro slave, and declared as follows:

My name is Kadam Kheir, my master's name is Sid Ahmed el Rashash. He bought me twenty five years ago. I remained in his service twenty and a half years. When he divorced, his wife gave me the choice either to remain with him or go with his divorced wife, telling me that I was free. I selected to go with his wife, with whom I lived in a separate house for three years. She died, and her sister took me in her service. After serving one year and a half in the latter's house, I found one day, that both she and her husband Sayed Ameen el Danaf, a jeweler, were trying to sell me. I fled from them and went to the house of my former master, Sid Ahmed Al Rashash, who had returned from Syria. The day before yesterday, after my master, Sid Ahmed El Rashash, had gone to his business, Sayed Ameen El Danaf, accompanied by a slave dealer and by another person, whom I presume to be the chief Quaiter (Sheh el Hara) came into my said master's house and tried to take me from there by force. I refused to go with them, and on my master's family crying and shrieking, the neighbours came to our assistance, and they were obliged to go away. Fearing a repetition of the attempt on their part, I escaped yesterday from my master's house and came to the Consulate.

Reprinted in Great Britain Foreign Office, *Collection of Documents Relating to the Slave Trade* (London: Glazier, 1977), reel 5.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. Briefly summarize Kadam Kheir's story. Why did she run away? What was she trying to avoid? What does her protestation tell you about her awareness of her legal rights as a slave?
2. Compare Kadam Kheir's situation to that of Şemsiğül. What similarities exist between them, particularly in terms of the legal ways in which their cases were handled? Cite evidence from both texts to support your answer.

**Reading 3: Certification of the Manumission of the Slave Girl Called Halima the Black, Issued by the Islamic Court of Bani Suef**

*In Islamic law, slaves rarely became 'free' in the sense that they are set adrift in society. Upon manumission, a freed slave becomes the mawla of her former master. Mawla is a legal status in which the former slave essentially becomes treated like a distant relative, and is able to use his or her former master's status in society as collateral for business transactions, etc. Since Egypt was a society where family connections were often emphasized over personal merit, this system made it possible for former slaves to engage in business transactions and act on their own.*

In the presence of both Mohammad Effendi, son of Ali Nour al-Din of the al-Muhrossa family, and Hajj Ali, son of Mohammad Al-Munifi, chief of Bani Suef, and with both bodily witnessing [this act], I affirm that I have witnessed that Yaqoub Bey, Governor of Bani Suef and the Fayyoun, has manumitted his slave girl Halima bint 'Abd Allah, who has acknowledged herself as a slave and in a condition of servitude presently. The slave girl of this Kingdom and its territories is received of a true and immediate emancipation, and this is set forth with a sincere pronouncement from her master.

With the requisite pronouncement from my person, the designated party from His Excellency her master becomes free, leaving the bonds of ownership for the openness of the Free Person. She has joined the ranks of the free Muslims, and to her comes all that other free citizens have in freedom and justice. No one from this point onwards may enslave her or cause her to become a servant except by the clientage of her rightful *walaa*, he who freed her, because it was said by the Prophet (upon him blessings and peace) "The patronage goes to the one who manumits." After his death, she shall be guaranteed the patronage of her *walaa's* legal descendants.

She is freed on the 15<sup>th</sup> of Rajab 1281. (December 15, 1864).

Reprinted in 'Amad Ahmad Hilal, *Al-Raqiq fi Misr fi al-Qarn al-Tasi'a Ashir* (Cairo: n.p., 1999), 251.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. What is a *mawla*? Why do you think that it was deemed necessary for freed slaves to become *mawa'il* (plural of *mawla*) instead of being set free to pursue life on their own?
2. What does this document tell you about the status of slaves? What does it tell you about the social importance of freeing a slave?

## TRANSITION TO FREEDOM

### Reading 1: Post-Slavery in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Makkah

House servants are almost invariably set free at about the age of twenty, one reason being that their occupation would otherwise bring them almost daily in contact with many free and unfree women. Also the well-to-do owner feels himself bound when possible to set up the faithful servant in a household of his own, and the liberation is itself a very meritorious work; the family tie remains as before.

There is hardly an office or position that is unattainable to such freedmen. They compete with the free-born on a footing of perfect equality, and the result shows that they are not the worst equipped for the struggle as they are numerous represented among the influential burghers and the owners of houses and business establishments. A reason why his colour is no handicap to him is that the free man also rears black children from his black concubine.

C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century* (Leiden: n.p., 1931), 12-13.

### Reading 2: Low Fertility Rates among Black Slaves in Egypt

The numbers of blacks appears to decrease, notwithstanding the perpetual immigration. The black women are indeed many of them mothers, but nearly half of their offspring die.... [T]he mortality amongst black slaves in Egypt is frightful. When the epidemical plague visits the country they are swept away in immense multitudes, and they are the earliest victims of any domineering disease. I have heard it estimated that five or six years are sufficient to destroy a generation of slaves, at the end of which the whole have to be replenished ... when they marry, their descendants seldom live.

John Bowring, *A Report on Egypt and Candia*, Parliament Papers, 1840, xxi., 92.

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. According to Hurgronje, should a black slave encounter difficulty in functioning in society on his own behalf?
2. Today, Egypt's population bears little evidence that there was once a large African slave population living and working in Cairo. Why do you think that is? Cite evidence from the passages above to support your answer.

**Reading 3: Memorandum by Consul Reade Respecting Slave Trade in Egypt**

The attention of Her Majesty's Government is hereby very respectfully called to the difficulties with which Consuls in Egypt have to contend whenever they are called upon to assist refugee slaves in obtaining their liberty.

For the slave in Egypt to become a free man, it is necessary he should be provided by the police authorities with a certificate of manumission, and this is obtained, in most cases, through the intervention of the British Consul.

Although, generally speaking, very little difficulty is experienced in obtaining the required certificate, its delivery is almost invariably accompanied by conditions which render it a very questionable matter whether the social position of the recipient is at all bettered by the acquirement of such a document.

After receipt of his certificate, the slave is detained at the Zaptia, or Prefecture of Police—sometimes for a considerable period—until some person of respectable appearance presents himself there and engages to take him to his house and treat him as ordinary domestic. Now, whether engagements of this nature are, as a general rule, faithfully carried into effect it is impossible for the Undersigned to satisfactorily determine; but he has reason to apprehend, from the difficulties which have so often been thrown in his way by the police authorities with a view to thwart all endeavours on his part to ascertain what had become of a manumitted slave after his departure from the Zaptia, that in some, if not in most, cases, the slaves when freed are restored to their former state of bondage.

August 13, 1868  
Thomas F. Reade

Reprinted in Great Britain Foreign Office, *Collection of Documents Relating to the Slave Trade* (London: Glazier, 1977), reel 5.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. Consul Reade's memorandum suggests that emancipating slaves is not a cut-and-dry process. Cite examples from the text that supports this.
2. What does Reade suggest happens to most of the slaves who are freed?

## ABOLITION

### Reading 1: Noble Request to the Municipality of Rawda al-Bahreyn Concerning the Abolition of the Trade in Slaves

*This plea is one of several that were sent by the Khedive Sa'id to regional governors in Egypt and the Sudan following the official ban on the trade in black slaves by the Ottoman Sultan in February 1857. Sa'id's efforts consisted largely of sending strongly worded messages like this one, and the trade was as active at the end of his reign (in 1863) as it had been at the beginning.*

As you have learned when our commands were made public, it has been forbidden to engage in the sale of the remaining categories of slaves that had been left to sell as usual. The injustice that has been passed from hand to hand as possessions has been suspended, and they have been granted absolute freedom, and the designation of 'slave' and its equivalents have been abolished completely.

It has been observed that some of the people that were making a living from this trade and purchasing slaves before this prohibition have not desisted from doing so, and because of this it is now necessary to issue a reproach. Due to this edict, the ban on the importation of slaves from abroad has been enacted, and the esteemed officials inside the government have so ordered its enforcement. It was permitted only to allow the sale of persons who were already inside [Egypt], and now this also has been disallowed in its entirety.

It has now come to our attention that not only is the ban not enforced, but that the trade has increased. This despite that the change to the legal code is set forth to be enacted in the last month of 1272 (August 1856), and that persons who have remaining stock must conclude their business in the months remaining because following the enactment of the prohibition there can be no trade or sale. Those parties who have no intentions of complying have no place in this government, and because of this, I have set forth in writing my wishes on the subject, and am sending you this official announcement asking that the necessary measures be taken to ensure that this command is carried out.

From Alexandria, 18 Dhu-l-Qa'ada 1272 (21 July 1856).

Reprinted in 'Amad Ahmad Hilal, *Al-Raqiq fi Misr fi al-Qarn al-Tasi'a Ashir* (Cairo: n.p., 1999), 260.

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. What is the purpose of this message? Why has it been sent?
2. How effective do you think this message was in carrying out its goals? (Hint: look at the date, and compare it to the dates of the other documents in this section).

**Reading 2: Lord Cromer on Slavery in 1894**

*Sir Evelyn Baring, Lord Cromer, was the British Consul General in Egypt after the 1882 occupation of the country by Britain and France, and was in effect the head of government from that time until his retirement. This is the last mention of slavery in the annual report to Parliament by the British administration in Egypt.*

284 slaves were freed in 1893 as compared to 422 in 1892. In both years by far the greater number were Soudanese women.

The numbers of slaves who apply for manumission are steadily decreasing, a fact which shows that the possession of slaves is every day becoming less frequent.

There can be little doubt that in course of time slavery in Egypt will entirely disappear, provided continual vigilance be exercised over buyers as well as over dealers.

Sir Evelyn Baring, Lord Cromer, *Report on the Finances, Administration, and Condition of Egypt, and the Progress of Reforms*. F.O., Egypt No. 1, C-7308, 1894.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. By this time, the buying, selling, and transferring of slaves had been illegal in Egypt for nearly 20 years. How is it possible that there are still slaves in the country?
2. What does Cromer mean when he says that “in the course of time slavery in Egypt will entirely disappear.” How do you suppose he means that it will disappear?

## GLOSSARY

A **caravanserai** is a rest-house for traveling merchants and traders. *Caravanserais* functioned as hotels, restaurants, and market-places, and often included quarters for servants and families traveling with the merchants.

**Fellah** is Egyptian Arabic for non-city dwelling agricultural workers.

**Hadith** refers to quotations from the Prophet Muhammad that are used to provide legal advice and guidance for Muslims. The *hadith* are used to supplement areas in which the Qur'an, the definitive source, is unclear or does not provide specific guidelines. For example, the Qur'an tells Muslims that they should pray, while the *hadith* provides specific instructions on how to pray.

**Khedive** (Persian for "Lord" or "Viceroy") is the title of the rulers of Egypt from 1867 onward. Prior to this, leaders were technically called *vali*, or governor, but history books sometimes refer to all leaders after Mohammad Ali as *khedive*. After Egypt gained nominal independence from Britain in 1922, the leaders of Egypt assumed the title of king. The last King of Egypt, Farouk I, was deposed in 1952.

A **Mamluk** is one of the self-perpetuating class of military slaves that governed Egypt from the 13th to the early 16th centuries. The *Mamluks* were ethnically white, imported from the Turkic tribes of Central Asia, from the Georgian or Circassian peoples of the Caucasus, or from the Balkans. Similar military slave systems existed in Iraq under the Abbassid Empire, and in the Ottoman Empire itself (the Ottoman corps were called the **Janissarys**). The *Mamluks* in Egypt were considered a threat by Mohammad Ali after he came to power in 1805. The *Mamluks* power was broken in 1811 after Mohammad Ali had most of their numbers massacred after a banquet at the Cairo Citadel.

**Mawla** refers to someone who is legally attached to another person (the **walaa**) in a manner similar to kinship.

**Walaa** refers to someone who agrees to be legally bound to another person (their **mawla**) in a manner similar to kinship. A *walaa* agrees to vouch for their *mawla* in business transactions. In matters of social intercourse, the *mawla* is judged to be part of the *walaa*'s family and assumes their social standing.



CIA World Factbook, 1988.



## SLAVERY IN HAITI

Hispaniola, the island currently shared by Haiti and the Dominican Republic, was “discovered” by Christopher Columbus in 1492. Santo Domingo, as the Spanish called it, became an outpost of the Spanish Empire, important for its position as a launching place for conquests of new territory in the Americas.

The course of history for Santo Domingo was quickly set in motion: slaves were introduced in 1502 and the first sugar mill was erected in 1516. The first slaves were Taíno Indians, who dwindled from a population of hundreds of thousands in 1492 to 150 in 1550. As the indigenous population was dying of abuse and disease, African slaves were brought in; the first 15,000 Africans arrived in 1517. The Spanish settled on the eastern part of the island but focused on their more prosperous colonies in other parts of the Americas. This led, in the early 1660s, to an incursion into the western part of the island by the French.

The French originally cultivated indigo but quickly exhausted the soil, so they turned to the more profitable crop of sugarcane in the 1690s. In 1697, after decades of fighting over the territory, the Spanish ceded the western part of the island to the French, who henceforth called it Saint-Domingue (modern-day Haiti).

Now fully settled in Saint-Domingue, the French focused on sugar. More than 100 sugar plantations were established between 1700 and 1704. Sugar production was very profitable and Saint-Domingue quickly became the richest of France’s colonies. As sugar expanded, so did the slave population, necessary for the labor-intensive crop. In 1681, there had been 2000 slaves in Saint-Domingue; in 1701, there were 10,000. By 1720, the French were importing 8,000 slaves each year from Africa.

When the French began to plant coffee, around 1734, profits in Saint-Domingue soared and more slaves were needed for yet another labor-intensive crop. By the mid-18th century, Saint-Domingue was producing 60% of the world’s coffee. Crop expansion required additional labor, as did the high mortality of the slave population due to harsh working conditions. Between 1764-1771, 10,000-15,000 slaves were arriving each year; 25,000 arrived in 1786; and more than 40,000 arrived in 1787. By 1787, there were 450,000 slaves in Saint-Domingue. At this time, 60% of the French slaves in the Americas were in Saint-Domingue and two-thirds of those slaves were African-born.

With such a lopsided population—where slaves vastly outnumbered free colonists—slaves had always practiced forms of resistance. Groups of runaway slaves, known as maroons, would escape to the mountains to hide. They armed themselves and would attack plantations for supplies. François Makandal, the most famous maroon leader, led a six-year rebellion from 1751-1757 that sought to overthrow the white regime. Maroons were the most common form of resistance along with the continuing practice of voodoo, a slave religion whose practice was forbidden by law; suicide, infanticide, arson, and poison also provided slaves with ways to rebel against their masters.

Then came 1789, a decisive year in the history of France. The cry of “Liberty! Equality! Fraternity!” opened the French Revolution. The impact of the revolution reached Saint-Domingue, escalating tensions between *grands blancs* (big whites: the elites, plantation owners and the like), *petits blancs* (little whites: merchants, shopkeepers, etc.), and free *gens de couleur* (mulattoes, who were often wealthy landowners but did not have the same rights as white colonists). *Grands blancs* wanted local autonomy from France; mulattoes saw their chance for citizenship and equality; and *petits blancs* were eager to protect their position in the color-based class system. All of these groups were against freeing the slaves. Amid all of this infighting, the slaves, who outnumbered the free population more than 10 to 1, began to organize. Why was liberty and equality not meant for them as well?

In August 1791, the rebellion began with a voodoo priest predicting that a revolt would free the slaves of Saint-Domingue. The slaves set about burning plantations and killing all of the whites they encountered. Saint-Domingue was an inferno for months. The revolution had begun. During the following two years, the attacks continued and eventually France sent agents to try to quell the uprising. In 1793 the remarkable Toussaint L’Ouverture, a former slave, rose to power. L’Ouverture battled French, Spanish, and British forces and, by 1801, had control of Santo Domingo (current-day Dominican Republic), where he eradicated slavery. At this point, Napoleon tried to regain control of Saint-Domingue so as to restore French rule. L’Ouverture was captured in 1802, deported to France, and killed in 1803, but the former slaves were still strong without him. On November 18, 1803, the French were dealt a mortal blow and Saint-Domingue was no more. Independence was proclaimed on January 1, 1804 for the new country of Haiti (*hayti* was the Taíno word for “mountainous place”). Haitian independence marks the first achieved in Latin America and the only successful slave revolt in modern history.

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. Create a time line from 1492-1804 based on the overview.
2. Briefly describe the setting in Saint-Domingue at the end of the 18th century. Discuss the colony's history, economy, and societal structure.
3. How did the French Revolution play a key role in Haiti's independence?
4. Why do you think the Haitian Revolution took 13 years to achieve its goal?

## LEGAL STATUS

### Reading 1: Justification of Slavery, Bishop Bossuet, French Theologian (1627-1704)

To condemn this state ... would be not only to condemn human law [i.e., the Roman *jus gentium*] where servitude is admitted, as it appears in all laws, but also it would be to condemn the Holy Spirit which, speaking through St. Paul, ordered slaves to remain in their condition and which did not in any way oblige masters to free them.

Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1491-1800* (New York: Verso, 1997), 291.

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. On what two grounds does Bishop Bossuet justify slavery?
2. Based on this justification, how might one argue against him?

**Reading 2: From the *Code Noir*, 1685**

*The Code Noir (Black Code) established the legal framework for slavery in the French colonies. Various articles defined the condition of slavery and set up harsh controls over the slaves.*

Edict of the King:

On the subject of the Policy regarding the Islands of French America

Our authority is required to settle issues dealing with the condition and quality of the slaves in said islands. We desire to settle these issues and inform them that, even though they reside infinitely far from our normal abode, we are always present for them, not only through the reach of our power but also by the promptness of our help toward their needs. For these reasons ...we have declared, ruled, and ordered, and declare, rule, and order, that the following pleases us: ...

Article XII. Children born from marriages between slaves shall be slaves, and if the husband and wife have different masters, they shall belong to the masters of the female slave, not to the master of her husband.

Article XIII. We desire that if a male slave has married a free woman, their children, either male or female, shall be free as is their mother, regardless of their father's condition of slavery. And if the father is free and the mother a slave, the children shall also be slaves....

Article XV. We forbid slaves from carrying any offensive weapons or large sticks, at the risk of being whipped and having the weapons confiscated. The weapons shall then belong to he who confiscated them. The sole exception shall be made for those who have been sent by their masters to hunt and who are carrying either a letter from their masters or his known mark.

Article XVI. We also forbid slaves who belong to different masters from gathering, either during the day or at night, under the pretext of a wedding or other excuse, either at one of the master's houses or elsewhere, and especially not in major roads or isolated locations. They shall risk corporal punishment....

Article XVIII. We forbid slaves from selling sugar cane, for whatever reason or occasion, even with the permission of their master, at the risk of a whipping for the slaves and a fine of ten pounds for the masters who gave them permission, and an equal fine for the buyer.

Article XIX. We also forbid slaves from selling any type of commodities, even fruit, vegetables, firewood, herbs for cooking and animals either at the market, or at individual houses, without a letter or a known mark from their masters granting express permission. Slaves shall risk the confiscation of goods sold in this way, without their masters receiving restitution for the loss, and a fine of six pounds shall be levied against the buyers....

Article XLII. The masters may also, when they believe that their slaves so deserve, chain them and have them beaten with rods or straps. They shall be forbidden however from torturing them or mutilating any limb, at the risk of having the slaves confiscated and having extraordinary charges brought against them....

Article XLVII. Husband, wife and prepubescent children, if they are all under the same master, may not be taken and sold separately. We declare the seizing and sales that shall be done as such to be void. For slaves who have been separated, we desire that the seller shall risk their loss, and that the slaves he kept shall be awarded to the buyer, without him having to pay any supplement....

*Édit du Roi, Touchant la Police des Isles de l'Amérique Française* (Paris: 1687), 28–58. George Mason University, Center for History and New Media, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/335/>.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. Through which parent is the condition of slavery passed? Discuss why slavery might pass through one parent and not the other. How might the slave owners benefit from this system?
2. What prohibitions are placed on slaves by the Code Noir?
3. What rights do the masters have over the slaves in the articles above? What limitations are placed on the masters?
4. Look closely at Article XLVII (the last one listed). What does this article say? Do you think the same limitation would have been placed on the selling of livestock? Why or why not?

**Reading 3: Count Mirabeau (Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, 1749-1791) on Representation in the States-General**

*Mirabeau takes issue with how the colonists in Saint-Domingue counted their population in order to secure seats in the States-General, the assembly that advised the King of France.*

You claim representation proportionate to the number of the inhabitants. The free blacks are proprietors and tax-payers, and yet they have not been allowed to vote. And as for the slaves, either they are men or they are not; if the colonists consider them to be men, let them free them and make them electors and eligible for seats; if the contrary is the case, have we, in apportioning deputies according to the population of France, taken into consideration the number of our horses and mules?

C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. rev. (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 60.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. What are the rights of free blacks in Saint-Domingue?
2. Considering Readings 2 and 3 together, why would Mirabeau ask for clarification from the colonists about the status of slaves? What are the colonists doing that seems contradictory?
3. If slaves are not men, what are they? Why?

## SLAVE LABOR

### Reading 1: Description of Slave Duties

Those who survived [the first few years] and were fully inducted into the plantation system occupied a variety of positions. In general, slave laborers on all plantations were organized into work groups, or *ateliers*, usually one or two major ones and a smaller one. The first were composed of the strongest and healthiest slaves, both men and women, doing the heaviest and hardest work, such as the tilling and clearing of the soil, digging the ditches and canals, planting and picking on the coffee estates, or cutting the cane on the sugar plantations, as well as the cutting and clearing of trees and extraction of rocks, which were tasks undertaken by the men....

In the smaller or secondary *atelier*, then, one would find the less robust: the newly arrived Africans not yet integrated into the regular work force, women in their seventh or eighth month of pregnancy and others who were nursing infants, as well as children between eight and thirteen who were not yet ready for the major *atelier*. Work in these smaller *ateliers* was generally lighter and more varied, such as planting foodstuffs, fertilizing plants, or weeding and clearing dried leaves from the cane.... Slaves were awakened at five in the morning by the sound of the *commandeur*'s whistle or by several cracks of his whip or, on the large plantations of over a hundred slaves, by a huge bell. After the recital of perfunctory prayers by the steward, slaves began work in the fields until eight, were allowed to stop for a meager breakfast, and then returned until noon. The midday break lasted until two, when they returned at the crack of the whip to labor in the field until sundown. On many plantations slaves were forced at the end of the day to gather feed for the draft animals, often having to travel considerable distances from the plantation. Finally, firewood had to be gathered, and dinner, consisting of beans and manioc, or a few potatoes, but rarely, if ever, any meat or fish, had to be prepared. During the grinding season on the sugar plantations, slaves then faced what must have seemed like interminable hours of night work at the mills, or of husking and sorting on the coffee plantations.

Carolyn E. Fick, *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990), 27-28, 32.

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. How were slaves divided into work groups? In general, did women have easier jobs than men on the plantations? Briefly summarize the division of labor.
2. Plot out the schedule for a typical day of a plantation slave. How much free time is there? How much rest do you estimate they got?

**Reading 2: Observations from Girod-Chantrons, a Swiss Traveler, 1785**

They were about a hundred men and women of different ages, all occupied in digging ditches in a cane-field, the majority of them naked or covered with rags. The sun shone down with full force on their heads. Sweat rolled from all parts of their bodies. Their limbs, weighed down by the heat, fatigued with the weight of their picks and by the resistance of the clayey soil baked hard enough to break their implements, strained themselves to overcome every obstacle. A mournful silence reigned. Exhaustion was stamped on every face, but the hour of rest had not yet come. The pitiless eye of the Manager patrolled the gang and several foremen armed with long whips moved periodically between them, giving stinging blows to all who, worn out by fatigue, were compelled to take a rest—men or women, young or old.

C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. rev. (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 10.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. What words and phrases in this text help you form a visual image of the scene? How clear is the image in your head? What one or two adjectives best describe the feeling of that image?
2. What can you intimate about the bias of the writer of this piece? What clues in the text help you to determine bias?
3. This reading is a primary source document; the first was a secondary source. Does the primary source add to your understanding of slave labor in Saint-Domingue? Why, or why not?



**Reading 3: Observations from Moreau de Saint-Méry, a French Colonist, 1789**

In Saint-Domingue everything takes on a character of opulence such as to astonish Europeans. That crowd of slaves who await the orders and even the signals of one man, confers an air of grandeur upon whomever gives the orders. It is in keeping with the dignity of a rich man to have four times as many domestics as he needs. The women, especially, have the talent of surrounding themselves with a useless lot of their own sex. And what is difficult to reconcile with the jealousy caused to them sometimes by these dark-skinned servants is the care given to choose pretty ones and to make their costumes elegant. How true it is that vanity can take charge of everything! Since the highest good for a European man is supposedly to have servants, he rents them until he can buy them....

Moreau de Saint-Méry, "A Civilization that Perished: The Last Years of White Colonial Rule," in *Libète: A Haiti Anthology*, eds. Charles Arthur and Michael Dash (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1999), 34.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. What does this excerpt tell you about other duties performed by slaves?
2. How did the colonists show their status in Saint-Domingue?
3. How do you think the life of house slaves was different from that of field slaves?

## RIGHTS & RESPONSIBILITIES

### Reading 1: From the *Code Noir*

Article VI. We enjoin all our subjects, of whatever religion and social status they may be, to observe Sundays and the holidays that are observed by our subjects of the Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Faith. We forbid them to work, nor make their slaves work, on said days, from midnight until the following midnight. They shall neither cultivate the earth, manufacture sugar, nor perform any other work, at the risk of a fine and an arbitrary punishment against the masters, and of confiscation by our officers of as much sugar worked by said slaves before being caught.

Article XI. We forbid priests from conducting weddings between slaves if it appears that they do not have their masters' permission. We also forbid masters from using any constraints on their slaves to marry them without their wishes.

Article XXVII. Slaves who are infirm due to age, sickness or other reason, whether the sickness is curable or not, shall be nourished and cared for by their masters. In the case that they be abandoned, said slaves shall be awarded to the hospital, to which their master shall be required to pay six sols per day for the care and feeding of each slave....

*Édit du Roi, Touchant la Police des Isles de l'Amérique Française* (Paris: 1687), 28–58. George Mason University, Center for History and New Media, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/335/>.

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. What was forbidden on Sundays and religious holidays? Why? Do you think this was out of concern for the slaves? Why, or why not?
2. What particular slave “rights” are outlined above? What “rights” do the owners have?

### Reading 2: Kitchen Gardens and Markets

By allotting small plots to the slaves for their own subsistence, the owner freed himself from the cost and responsibility of feeding them; yet these “kitchen gardens,” meager as they were and with as little time as the slaves had to plant and tend to their crops, came to be seen by the slaves as their own and thus eventually contributed to the development of a sense, if not of “proprietorship,” at least of the firm notion that the land belonged to those who cultivated it....

For those slaves fortunate enough to have produced a small surplus from their gardens, Sundays and holidays meant market day, and they were allowed to sell their produce in town.... Permission to go into town was not, however, given out gratuitously to whoever wished to go. Passes were distributed selectively and in rotation, most often to creole slaves and especially to the women, on Saturday night. Those who received a pass were allowed to leave on the following Sunday morning but were required back at sundown, whereupon they were to give up their passes....

However, until 1784, the practice of allotting small pieces of land to the slaves for their own cultivation was not a legally recognized system and was not necessarily the rule on all plantations. Where this was the case, the master would be required to supply the minimum food rations stipulated in the Black Code: 2½ pots of manioc and either 2 pounds of salt beef or 3 pounds of fish per week. Rarely, if ever, were *any* of the Code’s provisions governing the conditions of the slaves enforced in Saint Domingue. In reality, an average slave’s diet provided by the master to sustain an entire day’s work amounted to little more than seven or eight boiled potatoes and a bit of water.

Under slavery, it has been written, “all is a question of practice; the will of the master is everything. It is from his will, and his will alone, that the slave may expect misery or well-being.”

Carolyn E. Fick, *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990), 32-33.

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. How did the kitchen gardens help slaves to feel a sense of ownership? How did the gardens help to sustain them?
2. Do you think that masters granted kitchen gardens as a favor to their slaves? Why, or why not? Cite reasons from the text.
3. Briefly restate the sentiment in the final quotation. What does it mean? Is there evidence of this in the reading?

**SLAVES & RELIGION****Reading 1: From the *Code Noir***

Article II. All slaves that shall be in our islands shall be baptized and instructed in the Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Faith. We enjoin the inhabitants who shall purchase newly-arrived Negroes to inform the Governor and Intendant of said islands of this fact within no more than eight days, or risk being fined an arbitrary amount. They shall give the necessary orders to have them instructed and baptized within a suitable amount of time.

Article III. We forbid any religion other than the Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Faith from being practiced in public. We desire that offenders be punished as rebels disobedient of our orders. We forbid any gathering to that end, which we declare to be conventicle, illegal, and seditious, and subject to the same punishment as would be applicable to the masters who permit it or accept it from their slaves.

*Édit du Roi, Touchant la Police des Isles de l'Amérique Française* (Paris: 1687), 28–58. George Mason University, Center for History and New Media, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/335/>.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. What religion are the slaves required to practice?
2. Who must ensure that the slaves are baptized and instructed? And must those people practice the same religion?
3. Do you think that this policy was enacted out of concern for the slaves' souls or as a way to ensure the dominance of the Church in the colony? Explain your answer.

**Reading 2: Boukman's Cry, 1791**

*On August 22, 1791, Boukman Dutty, a former slave and voodoo priest, led the first revolt of what would become the Haitian Revolution. The insurrection began with a voodoo ceremony, during which Boukman spoke the following words. This moment is considered pivotal in Haitian history.*

God who made the sun that shines on us from above, who makes the sea to rage and the thunder roll, this same great God from his hiding place on a cloud, hear me, all of you, is looking down upon us. He see what the whites are doing. The God of the whites asks for crime; ours desires only blessings. But this God who is good directs you to vengeance! He will direct our arms, he will help us. Cast aside the image of the God of the whites who thirsts for our tears and pay heed to the voice of liberty speaking in our hearts....

*Libète: A Haiti Anthology*, eds., Charles Arthur and Michael Dash (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1999), 36.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. How effective do you think conversion to Catholicism was? Explain your answer.
2. How might it have been possible for slaves to have kept religious traditions from Africa alive? [Note: look for reasons in the overview of slavery in Haiti.]
3. What juxtapositions does Boukman set up between the “God of the whites” and his God? What is the “crime” of the God of the whites?

**REBELLIONS, RUNAWAYS & EMANCIPATION****Reading 1: From the *Code Noir***

*With almost 60 articles establishing the rule for slavery, the Code Noir focuses on emancipation in only two.*

Article XXXVIII. The fugitive slave who has been on the run for one month from the day his master reported him to the police, shall have his ears cut off and shall be branded with a fleur de lys on one shoulder. If he commits the same infraction for another month, again counting from the day he is reported, he shall have his hamstring cut and be branded with a fleur de lys on the other shoulder. The third time, he shall be put to death.

Article XXXIX. The masters of freed slaves who have given refuge to fugitive slaves in their homes shall be punished by a fine of three hundred pounds of sugar for each day of refuge.

Article LV. Masters twenty years of age may free their slaves by any act toward the living or due to death, without their having to give just cause for their actions, nor do they require parental advice as long as they are minors of 25 years of age.

Article LVI. The children who are declared to be sole legatees by their masters, or named as executors of their wills, or tutors of their children, shall be held and considered as freed slaves....

*Édit du Roi, Touchant la Police des Isles de l'Amérique Française* (Paris: 1687), 28–58. George Mason University, Center for History and New Media, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/335/>.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. What are the punishments for fugitive slaves? What is the punishment for a master who gives refuge to fugitive slaves?
2. Reread Article LVI. Why would people serving in these positions be considered freed slaves?
3. Brainstorm a list of reasons, from what you know about slavery in other countries, of why slaves might be freed by their owners. Did any of those apply in Saint-Domingue? Do you think many slaves were freed in Saint-Domingue? Why, or why not?

**Reading 2: Report on the Presence of Maroons, 1775**

*Marronage*, or the desertion of the black slaves in our colonies since they were founded, has always been regarded as one of the possible causes of their destruction. . . . The Minister should be informed that there are inaccessible or reputedly inaccessible areas in different sections of our colony which serve as retreat and shelter for maroons; it is in the mountains and in the forests that these tribes of slaves establish themselves and multiply, invading the plains from time to time, spreading alarm and always causing great damage to the inhabitants.

Carolyn E. Fick, *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990), 50.

**Reading 3: Letter from a Colonist, 1763**

*François Makandal*, one of the great maroon leaders, led a 6-year rebellion to overthrow the white regime in Saint-Domingue. Maroons allowed for more than escape; they allowed slaves to organize.

The hatred which slavery aroused in them against us has given rise to extraordinary thoughts of vengeance, the sad effects of which we have suffered in seeing three-quarters of our laborers perish from sickness of a cause unknown even to doctors. When we discovered who the followers of Makandal were, they admitted that they had put to death a large number of whites and an even larger number of blacks, and that the only reason they did this was to restrict their masters to a small number of slaves in order to prevent them from undertaking production that would cause them to be overworked.

Carolyn E. Fick, *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990), 68.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. Based on Readings 2 and 3, do maroons seem like peaceful places? Was there a political quality to them? Why, or why not?
2. Reading 2 is about escaped slaves; Reading 3 is about slaves on the plantations. How might slaves still on the plantations have known about the rebellion and learned how they could participate?

## TRANSITION TO FREEDOM

### Reading 1: From the *Code Noir*

Article LVIII. We declare their freedom is granted in our islands if their place of birth was in our islands. We declare also that freed slaves shall not require our letters of naturalization to enjoy the advantages of our natural subjects in our kingdom, lands or country of obedience, even when they are born in foreign countries.

Article LIX. We grant to freed slaves the same rights, privileges and immunities that are enjoyed by freeborn persons. We desire that they are deserving of this acquired freedom, and that this freedom gives them, as much for their person as for their property, the same happiness that natural liberty has on our other subjects.

*Édit du Roi, Touchant la Police des Isles de l'Amérique Française* (Paris: 1687), 28–58. George Mason University, Center for History and New Media, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/335/>.

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. What rights did freed slaves have, according to the *Code Noir*?
2. Based on the other readings you have completed on Saint-Domingue, do you think freed slaves were given all of the rights to which they were entitled? Why, or why not? Use examples to support your answer.



**Reading 2: Historian P. Boissennade on the Treatment of Mulattoes in Saint-Domingue**

*Mulattoes were free men of color in Saint-Domingue, not former slaves. Mulattoes often had white fathers and were educated and wealthy. The following reading summarizes their treatment by white society.*

Even though [the mulattoes] possessed a quarter of the landed property, even though they rendered great services by their industry, their activity, their participation in land development, in military service and in the constabulary ... since the first third of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the government, and above all the white colonists, had multiplied the measures of distrust and molestation against them. They forbade them to practice the liberal professions and a certain number of trades. They assigned them special sections in public places. They even tried to force them to wear a special dress; finally they prohibited marriage between them and the whites.... Without scruples, the whites committed against the mulattoes all sorts of denials of justice.... As one colonist put it, these men, who still bore on their foreheads the mark of slavery, had to be reminded constantly of their origin, through the weight of scorn and opprobrium and the breaking of their spirits. The whites refused them all rights of legitimate defense, while for themselves they claimed the right to deal out justice without trial. One magistrate even dared to propose taking property rights away from the mulattoes.

Anna Julia Cooper, *Slavery and the French Revolutionists (1788-1805)*, trans. Frances Richardson Keller (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1988), 47-48.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. How were mulattoes treated by white society? Cite examples from the text.
2. If mulattoes were treated this way, how do you think freed slaves were treated?
3. Reread Articles LVIII and LIX in Reading 1. Was the law followed in Saint-Domingue? What might explain the way the white colonists treated mulattoes and freed slaves?

## ABOLITION

### Reading 1: Letter from Toussaint L'Ouverture, 1793

Brothers and friends. I am Toussaint L'Ouverture, my name is perhaps known to you. I have undertaken vengeance. I want Liberty and Equality to reign in San Domingo. I work to bring them into existence. Unite yourselves to us, brothers, and fight with us for the same cause, etc.

Your very humble and very obedient servant.

(signed) TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE,  
General of the Armies of the King, for the Public Good.

C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. rev. (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 125.

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. Briefly restate the letter in your own words. Is the message clear? Why do you think Toussaint L'Ouverture was so concise?
2. What terms from this letter are taken from the French Revolution? Do you think this was a coincidence?
3. According to this letter, how would abolition come about?

**Reading 2: Sympathy from Europe**

Historian C.L.R. James, writing in 1938, reflects on the feelings of workers in France toward the slaves in Saint-Domingue.

“Servants, peasants, workers, the labourers by the day in the fields” all over France were filled with a virulent hatred against the “aristocracy of the skin.” There were many so moved by the sufferings of the slaves that they had long ceased to drink coffee, thinking of it as drenched with the blood and sweat of men turned into brutes. Noble and generous working-people of France... These are the people whom the sons of Africa and the lovers of humanity will remember with gratitude and affection....

C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. rev. (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 139.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. Why would servants and peasants in France align with the slaves? How did they show their sympathies?
2. Does this reading seem to have bias? Why, or why not? Cite examples from the text.

**Reading 3: The Maritime Bourgeois on Abolition, 1794**

*The National Convention in France abolished slavery in the colonies in 1794. This response came from the maritime bourgeois of France, whose wealth had been amassed through the slave trade as well as trade with the colonies.*

Bravo! One hundred times bravo, our masters. This is the cry with which all our places of business resound when the public press comes each day and bring us details of your great operations. Certainly, we have all the time to read them at leisure since we have no longer any work to do. There is no longer any ship-building in our ports, still less any construction of boats. The manufactories are deserted and the shops even are closed. Thus, thanks to your sublime decrees, every day is a holiday for the workers. We can count more than three hundred thousand in our different towns who have no other occupation than, arms folded, to talk about the news of the day, of the Rights of Man, and of the Constitution. It is true that every day they become more hungry, but whoever thinks of the stomach when the heart is glad!

C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. rev. (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 142.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. What is the tone of this piece? Cite examples from the text to support your answer.
2. Why might the maritime bourgeois be unhappy about abolition?
3. Do they seem preoccupied by the conditions of slavery? What differentiates the bourgeois from the workers (see Reading 2)?

**Reading 4: From Haiti's Proclamation of Independence, 1804**

*Statement from Jean-Jacques Dessalines, hero of Haiti's war of independence and Emperor of Haiti (1804-1806). With Haiti's declaration of independence, slavery was officially abolished.*

It is not enough to have thrown out of your country those barbarians who have soaked it in blood for two centuries.... To guarantee the triumph of freedom in the country that you have seen born, you must make one last act of national authority. If the inhuman government that has held our spirits in the most humiliating torpor for so long is to give up all hope of subjugating us again, we must live free or we must die....

Generals and leaders, gathered here next to me to the delight of our country, the day has come, this day that must linger on in our glory, our independence.

*Libète: A Haiti Anthology*, eds., Charles Arthur and Michael Dash (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1999), 44.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. When did the United States achieve independence? What, if anything, in this speech reminds you of the kind of language used in the U.S.?
2. What is the tone of this speech? Why do you think Dessalines would speak this way?

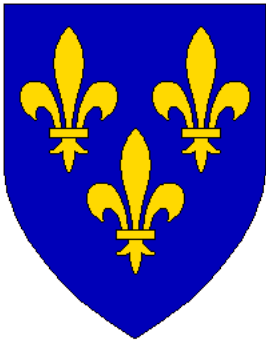
## GLOSSARY

An **atelier**, as the term was used in Saint-Domingue, was a slave work group, organized according to strength and abilities.

**Bourgeois** is a person who belongs to the middle class. The term is also an adjective for those whose attitudes and actions conform to the standards and conventions of the middle class.

A **commandeur** was a slave who served as overseer/driver of the slaves who worked on the plantations.

The **Code Noir** (Black Code) was the decree passed by France's King Louis XIV in 1685. It defined the condition of slavery in the French colonies and regulated the institution of slavery.



The **fleur de lys** was a symbol of the French monarchy and remains an unofficial symbol of France.

**Gens de couleur**, or mulattoes, were the free people of color in Saint-Domingue. They were people of mixed French and African descent who had been born free. *Gens de couleur* generally had white fathers, and were often wealthy, plantation-owners, and educated in Europe. While they enjoyed many privileges, *gens de couleur* had limits placed on their participation in colonial society.

**Grand blancs** were the elite French colonists in Saint-Domingue. They were the wealthy landowners with political power in the colony.

A **maroon** was a fugitive slave. The term maroon generally refers to a slave or group of slaves that rebelled or escaped from their owners. Communities of maroons flourished in Saint-Domingue and were often able to survive in the mountainous jungles for years.

**Marronage** refers to the act of escape on the part of the slave.

**Mulatto** – see *gens de couleur*.

**Petits blancs** were the lower class French colonists in Saint-Domingue. They were the tradespeople (overseers, skilled craftsmen, merchants, plantation managers, etc.).

**Voodoo** is a religion that combines elements of Roman Catholicism with West African religions. Haitian voodoo (or vodou) has strong elements from Central Africa, but includes traditions of many different peoples of Africa. Haitian voodoo believes that there is single creator God (often the same as that of the Catholic Church), but that other deities, saints, and ancestors respond to our requests for help and communicate with us in dreams, trances, and ritual possessions.





CIA World Factbook, 2003.



## SLAVERY IN THE SWAHILI EMIRATES OF EAST AFRICA

As the primary port of call on the Swahili Coast, as well as the seat of Omani power in the region, Zanzibar was the primary center for the slave trade in East Africa. Although the number of slaves traded in the Indian Ocean never reached the level of the West African-Atlantic slave trade, European abolitionists focused a substantial portion of their efforts in the 19<sup>th</sup> century on Zanzibar. It is estimated that 1.5 million slaves were exported from East Africa in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Approximately half of them were sent to other destinations in East Africa, while the others were sent to the Indian Ocean Islands, the Middle East, India, and Brazil.

Although the slave trade had existed on the Swahili Coast for centuries, the primary trading power in the region during the 17<sup>th</sup> century was Oman, which needed very few slaves (about 2,000-3,000 per year) internally. At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the French established colonies on Ile-de-France and Bourbon island (now Mauritius and Reunion), which exploited local sugar plantations as a main source of income. In 1776, the French signed an agreement with the sultan of Kilwa to be furnished with a supply of 1,000 slaves per year. By the end of the century, the governor of Kilwa had fallen out of favor with the new leadership in Oman, and Zanzibar became the main center for slave sale and distribution in East Africa.

Zanzibari society was Swahili and Muslim, which provided a rigid social and legal framework for the slave trade and the practice of slavery locally. Slaves have certain legal rights under Islamic law that their counterparts elsewhere did not enjoy. At the same time, however, the constrictions of society and demands of the booming Zanzibari economy in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century meant that the laws were neither evenly applied nor always followed.

The slave trade grew largely out of the same networks used for the trade in ivory, another major export from East Africa that also experienced dramatic growth during this period. Between the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the ivory trade grew by 3,000%. Large raiding parties, such as those led by the notorious trader Hamid ibn Muhammed, known as Tippu Tip, tied into local networks in the hinterlands to acquire slaves and ivory, and marched them to the coast at a considerable profit. The slaves were forcibly marched to Bagamoyo, north of the present site of Dar es Salaam on the mainland, where they were loaded onto dhows and taken to the main slave market at Zanzibar for sale. The journey from the interior to the coast was long and grueling, and it is estimated that only one in five of the captives survived until the journey's end.

Beginning around 1800, Zanzibar had begun producing cloves on plantations throughout the island. Cloves are a seasonal crop that must be picked, dried, and harvested before the fruit splits open, all of which must be accomplished in a short amount of time after ripening. The climate on Zanzibar allowed for two harvests per year, but this required a massive amount of labor. The demands were easily met with slave labor. By 1828 the income generated from the clove production was such that Sultan Seyyed Said of Oman moved his court from Muscat in Oman to Zanzibar in order to establish a royal monopoly on clove production. The Sultan himself personally owned 45 plantations on the island.

Another avenue for the slave trade was Brazil, whose need for slaves had been frustrated by British efforts to abolish the trade in the South Atlantic in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. By mid-century, Brazilian traders began rounding the Cape of Good Hope and sailing to Zanzibar to export slaves to Brazil.

Slaves comprised the largest single subgroup of the population of Zanzibar by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, being larger in number than either the Arabs or the Swahili. Estimates range wildly: one observer puts the number at about 60,000 in 1847 while another estimate is that four-fifths of Zanzibar's population of 450,000 in 1844 were slaves. Most reliable sources seem to indicate that at mid century the slave population was between 50,000 and 60,000.

Although abolition efforts were concentrated on Zanzibar from the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the trade was not abolished until 1890, and the practice was legal in parts of East Africa until 1907. Abolition led to a decline in the region's prosperity, as much of the economic activity of East Africa was dependent on slave labor. Nor were all slaves able to enjoy freedom unconditionally—in form and under Islamic law the institution of slavery continued in some measure, and among some families, well into the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. Where is Zanzibar located? What natural advantage does the Swahili coast have in tying into worldwide trade networks?
2. Research commodities traded on the Indian Ocean and create a time line depicting which commodities were important at what era.
3. Look at abolition dates around the world and identify causes and effects in the number of slaves sold in Zanzibar during the 19th century.

## LEGAL STATUS

### Reading 1: The Prophet Muhammad on the Proper Treatment of Slaves

Fear God in the matter of your slaves. Feed them with what you eat and clothe them with what you wear, and do not give them work beyond their capacity. Those whom you like, retain, and those whom you dislike, sell. Do not cause pain to God's creation. He caused you to own them and had He so wished He could have caused them to own you.

Attributed to the Prophet Muhammad. Recorded by Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, *Ihya' 'ulum al-din*, (Beirut: Dar al Ma'arifa, n.d.), 2:219.

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. Sum up this passage in a few words. What do you think the Prophet's message is? How do you think Muslims should treat their slaves, in light of this passage? Keep this in mind as you read the other passages that describe how slaves were actually treated.
2. As a comparison: what does the Bible say about slaves and how they should be treated? (Hint: look at Exodus 20:10 and Exodus 21:1-11.)

**Reading 2: Lord Hardinge on Religious Laws Governing Slavery in Zanzibar**

The following are the legal disabilities which the [Islamic] religion and law (and the two are in Zanzibar, save for a few exceptions, identical) impose upon the slave:

1. He cannot own, or acquire, or dispose of private property without the permission of his master.
2. He cannot give evidence in a Court of Justice, nor, without his Master's sanction, take an oath.
3. He cannot, without the sanction of his master, contract a legal marriage, nor, according to most of the doctors, even with the permission of his master, have more than two wives at the same time.
4. He cannot sue his Master before a Court of law unless severely mistreated. In case of ill-treatment the *qadi* (judge) may and ought to warn the master that if the complaint is repeated, and proved genuine, he will forfeit his slave. Should the slave sue his master a second time, and the charge of cruelty be established, the *qadi* may order the slave to be sold, and the purchase money paid to the master.
5. He cannot sue any other person without his master's consent.
6. He cannot, without his master's permission, engage in trade, undertake a journey, or even make the pilgrimage to Mecca, nor in general claim any legal or civil right, except through and with his master's sanction.
7. There is no legal limitation to his master's power of punishing him, and, theoretically, I believe that he might put him to death without himself being held guilty of murder, or of any more serious offense than cruelty.
8. Except for the general prohibition described above of ill-treatment or cruelty, there is no legal limitation to the amount or nature of the work which a master may impose on his slave, whether the latter be a man, woman, or a child.

These rules are contradicted by practice in two categories: by custom, and by power of the Sultan.

In practice slaves do hold property of their own and are allowed by their masters to dispose of it. It is quite a common thing for a slave to have slaves of his own, and to treat the produce of their labor as his own personal property.

In practice, moreover, the slave is always allowed to labor two days in the week (Thursday and Friday) or at least one day (Friday) for himself and his family alone, and what he earns on those days is regarded by local custom as exclusively his.

He is also permitted to retain a small portion of what he earns while working for his master, and once every six months he is entitled to new clothing (one shirt or white cotton gown for a man, two pieces of cloth for a woman).

If his master gives him neither board, lodging, nor clothing beyond the regular half-yearly allowance, he is entitled to half his earnings. Should [his master] refuse it to him, he can be summoned on the slave's complaint by the *qadi* and ordered to pay, and if he refuses, he can be imprisoned for contempt of the *qadi*'s order. If the slave gets no pay he is entitled to a portion of a room, a bed, and any food left over from his master's meal or cooked by the slaves of the house or, in place of food, to 2 annas to provide for him.

Hardinge to Kimberley, *Africa* No. 6, C-7707, February 26, 1895.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. In general, what is your impression of the legal status of a slave under Islamic law in Zanzibar? How do the rights of a slave in Zanzibar compare with the rights of a slave in the United States? Use examples from the readings to illustrate your point.
2. This passage was written by a European observer in 1895, after the slave trade in East Africa had been banned, but before the institution was abolished. What do you think the author's intentions might have been in writing this article? How can you tell? Cite examples from the text.

## SLAVE LABOR

### Reading 1: Princess Salme of Zanzibar Recalls Life in the Palace

*Princess Salme Seyyed bint Said was the daughter of Sultan Seyyed Said of Zanzibar. In later life, she eloped with a German merchant and moved to Europe, where she wrote her memoir, a fascinating account of her early life in the palace on Zanzibar. In this passage, she describes life in the palace. Bear in mind that the palace servants are domestic slaves.*

Persons of rank are roused by a slave girl with a gentle and agreeable greeting between half past four and five in the morning.

At four o'clock [in the afternoon] everyone would come together to perform the third prayer. Afterward, everyone would put on splendid dress and the entire family, including Father, would come together for the main meal.

We had no special dining room, but took our meals on the veranda. There the eunuchs spread a long *sefra* with all the food for the whole repast. A *sefra* somewhat resembles a billiard table in shape; it is only a few inches high, however, and around the top runs a wide ledge. Although we possessed a lot of European furniture—lounges, tables, chairs, and even a few wardrobes—we nevertheless sat down to eat in true Oriental fashion, upon carpets or mats next to the floor. Precedence by rank was strictly observed, the Sultan taking the head; near him were the senior children, the little ones (those over seven) coming at the end.

Upon its termination, the eunuchs would carry European chairs out upon the broad veranda, but only for the adults; the small people stood up as a mark of respect for age, which is held in greater reverence there than anywhere else. The family gathered about the Sultan, while a row of smart, well-armed eunuchs lined the background.

Half an hour after the [meal] eunuchs handed round genuine Mocha in tiny cups resting on gold or silver saucers ... The coffee is poured out immediately prior to consumption, which task requires such skill that only few servants are fitted for it. The coffee-bearer carries the handsome pot, made of tin adorned with brass, in his left hand, while in his right he holds only a single small cup and saucer. Behind or next to him an assistant carries a tray with empty cups and a large reserve pot of coffee. If the company has dispersed, these men have to follow the various members, and insure their partaking of the delicious beverage. How highly coffee is esteemed by the Orientals, everybody knows. The greatest care being bestowed upon its preparation, it is specially roasted, ground, and boiled whenever wanted, and therefore is always taken perfectly fresh. Roasted beans are never kept, nor boiled coffee, either, when in the least degree stale, being then thrown away or given to the lower servants....

Upon retiring for the night we dismissed the male servants, who joined their families, living in separate dwellings apart from the house.

Princess Salme Seyyid of Zanzibar, *Memoirs of Arabian Princess from Zanzibar*, (1888). [http://erc.lib.umn.edu/dynaweb/travel/ruetmemo/@Generic\\_\\_BookView](http://erc.lib.umn.edu/dynaweb/travel/ruetmemo/@Generic__BookView)

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. How skilled were the slaves who worked in the palace? Consider the requirements necessary to be the coffee-bearer, for instance.
2. Would the life of a domestic slave have been easy?

**Reading 2: Customs and Duties of Domestic Slaves in Lamu, Kenya**

*Lamu, like Zanzibar, was an island with one major town that depended largely on trade and plantations for its economic prosperity. Lamu was under the control of the Sultan of Zanzibar for most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the quality of life for slaves on both islands was very similar.*

A household slave had better opportunities than a plantation slave to earn independent income, and a household slave could buy cloth as well as locally made perfumes ... A female slave also used make-up, such as kohl for her eyes and henna, with which, in Arab fashion, she painted designs on her feet and hands, as her mistress did.... The wives of wealthy town slaves also dressed several cuts above ordinary domestic slaves and even adopted the free-born manner of going about under a *shiraa* carried by her own slaves.

Female [household] slaves usually made morning trips to the market and to the fishing boats to purchase the needs for the day. They first had to shop for the mistress, who never went out of the house until later afternoon (and only then to visit family members ...). Female slaves tended the children of the household, including their own. They drew water for their mistresses' baths, tended them when they were ill, served all meals, and performed special dances within the [women's quarters] to entertain them. They ate the same foods as their owners ... but they ate the leftovers—and they ate last.... Since the slaves controlled so much of the kitchen work, they could ensure that enough was left over for themselves.

Patricia Romero Curtin, "Laboratory for the Oral History of Slavery: The Island of Lamu on the Kenya Coast," *American Historical Review*, 88:4 (October 1983), 858-882.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. What was the life of a domestic slave like (bear in mind that all of the "servants" mentioned in Princess Salme's passage are slaves)? How do you think these slaves were treated?
2. How similar were the duties of a domestic slave in Zanzibar to the duties of a domestic slave in the United States? Cite evidence from the text that supports your answer.

### Reading 3: Customs and Duties of Domestic Slaves in Lamu, Kenya

On the small plantations behind the town, the slaves lived and worked in everyday contact with their masters. Weekend contact with their mistresses and the family children was frequent....

A single upper-class family typically owned two to three plantations, each with its own complement of slaves.... On large plantations, slave families lived in houses at both ends of the plantation, and sometimes there was also a small cluster of houses in the middle; thus, the living arrangements on the plantations permitted a certain degree of privacy and provided space for separate garden plots for slave families. Plantations of five to six acres were worked by two to four slaves and their families, those as large as one hundred acres by about forty slaves. For the highly labor-intensive tasks of planting and harvesting, the labor of town slaves was used to augment that of their farming counterparts; otherwise, the plantation slaves and their families performed all of the farm labor.

Among the slave women's duties was herding animals on fenceless plantations. The women also helped their husbands gather the harvest, planted and picked the fruit and vegetables for their own families, and gathered firewood to prepare their meals. They ground rice, maize, or millet each morning and daily carried from the well to the house all water used by their families. Because slave families worked hard in intense heat, their clothes had to be washed often. That burden, too, fell to the women. They had sole care of their children, who, when old enough, helped out with family chores.

The master provided clothing for his slaves once each year. Female workday dress was the *kanga*, worn in sets of two. A *kanga* was a piece of cloth, large enough for a woman to wrap herself from the armpit to below the knees; a second piece was used to cover the head and upper body. (Women covered their heads and shoulders when they prayed.) Male slaves were issued two different items of clothing. For work, each male wore a piece of heavy material (*kikoi*) wrapped around the waist and, reaching below the knees, looped through the legs; the garment thus resembled a somewhat loose pair of shorts. For sleep, he wore a *leso*, made of softer material, more like that used in the woman's *kanga*. Male and female slaves were expected to obey the Muslim standard of modesty, keeping their bodies covered at all times including during sexual intercourse.

Patricia Romero Curtin, "Laboratory for the Oral History of Slavery: The Island of Lamu on the Kenya Coast," *American Historical Review*, 88:4 (October 1983), 870-871.

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. What kinds of duties were assigned to the plantation slaves? What do you think their living conditions were like?
2. How does the life of a plantation slave compare to the life of a domestic slave?
3. What do you think might have been the relationship between plantation slaves and domestic slaves? How might each group have viewed the other?

## RIGHTS & RESPONSIBILITIES

### Reading 1: Princess Salme of Zanzibar Remembers Going to School in the Palace

*Here, the slaves attend school with the children of the royal family—not as servants, but as fellow pupils.*

We girls needed only to learn reading, but the boys had to learn writing as well. For the conduct of instruction there was one female teacher at Bet il Mtoni and one at Bet il Sahel, either having come from Oman upon my father's behest.

Everyone was permitted to bring a few slaves to school; they took position somewhere in the background, while we children arranged ourselves on the mat as we pleased.

We had no special schoolroom. The lessons took place on an open veranda, to which pigeons, parrots, peacocks, and bobolinks enjoyed unrestricted access. This veranda overlooked a courtyard, so that we could amuse ourselves by watching the lively proceedings down below. Our academical furniture consisted of one enormous mat, and equal simplicity distinguished our apparatus for study: *Koran* with its stand, a small pot of ink (domestic manufacture), a bamboo pen, and a well-bleached camel's shoulderblade. Easy to write upon with ink, this last-named serves as a slate; one's nerves are spared the screeching of the slate pencil. The camel bones were usually cleaned off by slaves. Our first task was to acquire the complicated Arabic alphabet, which done we began to practice reading in the *Koran*, our only text-book, the boys, as I have already mentioned, receiving tuition in writing as besides.

Princess Salme Seyyid of Zanzibar. *Memoirs of Arabian Princess from Zanzibar*, (1888). [http://erc.lib.umn.edu/dynaweb/travel/ruetmemo/@Generic\\_\\_BookView](http://erc.lib.umn.edu/dynaweb/travel/ruetmemo/@Generic__BookView)

### Reading 2: Celebrations and Free Days among Plantation Slaves in Lamu, Kenya

*Idd-al-Fitr is the holiday that follows the Islamic month of Ramadan, during which Muslims are supposed to fast during daylight hours. The name literally means "festival of the breaking of the fast."*

Every [plantation] has its share of poultry, goats, sheep, donkeys, and cows.... Children, even slave children, also rode the donkeys on special occasions.... On Idd-al-Fitr, masters also gave their slaves presents of new clothing or money.... Male slaves worked six days a week. On Friday, men were free to attend mosque. They were also free to carry out jobs for themselves and their families. Friday services at the mosques in town ran from 9:00 am until 2:00 p.m.; there the men recited prayers and passages from the Koran. Probably most slaves had only a nominal acquaintance with the Koran, since mosque schools were few—two or three at most—and, because they were located in town, were inaccessible to [plantation] slaves except on their days off....

Patricia Romero Curtin, "Laboratory for the Oral History of Slavery: The Island of Lamu on the Kenya Coast," *American Historical Review*, 88:4 (October 1983), 866-867.

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. Summarize Reading 1 briefly. What do you think the importance of educating slaves was? Compare the importance of educating slaves with education for the other children in the royal household.
2. What subjects do you think students in this classroom studied? How can you tell? Why would these subjects be important, for free persons as well as slaves?
3. Compare what Princess Salme says in Reading 1 with what Patricia Romero Curtin says in Reading 2. Are there similarities between the lives of domestic slaves and plantation slaves? What are the main differences? How applicable is what Princess Salme describes in Reading 1 to the slaves described in Reading 2?



## REBELLION, RUNAWAYS & EMANCIPATION

### Reading 1: Description of the Zanzibar Rebellion of 1840

One rising took place ... in about 1840.... A large part of the conspirators assembled one moonlit night on one of the plantations. They made their way ... to the seashore to the north of Zanzibar [town.] In the early hours of the morning, they boarded a number of the Arab dhows, surprised and killed or overpowered the members of the crew, raised anchor, made sail and crossed over to the mainland. The whole plan was so rapidly executed that there was no time to organize any effective resistance. Those of the revolted slaves who were not able to obtain passages in the dhows took refuge in the interior of the island, where they were joined by a number of malefactors and other malcontents. Such troops as were in the island proved quite incapable of dealing with the situation. The outbreak appears to have begun in the middle of the year, when the possibility of reinforcements arriving from Arabia or the Persian Gulf was completely out of the question. The rebellion lasted for six months. It was finally suppressed by Seyyid Said's maternal uncle, Ahmed bin Seif, who arrived with a body of mercenaries from Hadhramaut.

C.S. Nichols, *The Swahili Coast: Politics, Diplomacy and Trade on the East African Littoral 1798-1856* (New York: Africana, 1971), 256.

### Reading 2: European View of the African's Reaction to Slavery and Freedom

*Pay particular attention to the tone of this passage. It reveals quite a bit about the attitude of many Europeans toward Africans—even those Europeans working for abolition.*

A Slave in a moment of pique, or yielding to the sudden impulses to which the African, like a child, is very prone, will frequently run away from his old surroundings and afterwards repent at leisure—and thus suddenly severing his old ties with his old home toils along on the Uganda road with a weight of 60 lbs on his head, under the strict discipline of a European caravan leader, impatient of malingering or idleness, will doubt perhaps whether he was not better off in his own holding on the Zanzibar plantation and, amidst the dreary steppes of Masailand, sigh regretfully, as does every true Swahili, for the scene of the cocoa-nuts and the spice trees.

Hardinge to Salisbury, FOCP 7077/103, April 23, 1898.

### Reading 3: Pursuing Runaways in Lamu, Kenya

At least once in the 1870s, Lamu men took their slave armies to the mainland to recapture a village of runaways. The runaways, joined by local allies, defeated the Lamu force with a "rain of arrows," forcing it to beat a hasty retreat to Lamu.... Slaves were [generally] unreliable for recapturing other slaves.

Patricia Romero Curtin, "Laboratory for the Oral History of Slavery: The Island of Lamu on the Kenya Coast," *American Historical Review*, 88:4 (October 1983), 878.

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. Based on the three readings above, what were the chances that a slave could run away successfully? Why?
2. What do you think Curtin means when she says "slaves were generally unreliable for recapturing other slaves?"
3. All three of the readings seem to indicate that running away or rebellion were fairly rare. Why do you think this might be? Cite evidence from these readings, and from what you have read about the condition of slaves in East Africa.

**Reading 4: Lord Hardinge on the Religious Laws Governing Emancipation**

According to [Islamic] law, no authority whatever, except his Master, can free a slave. There are, so far as I know, only three exceptions to this rule:

1. After the death of a master, two witnesses declare before a qadi that they heard the deceased verbally pronounce the slave to be free.
2. A concubine who bears her master a child, if not actually freed by him on its birth, becomes a free woman at his death, and cannot even during his lifetime be sold. This form of emancipation is, of course, dependent on the master recognizing the child as his own, which in most [Muslim] countries he is not strictly bound to do; in Zanzibar he usually recognizes it, but the mother is not usually freed until his death.
3. A person committing certain specified sins, such as breaking the Ramadan fast, killing another [Muslim] accidentally, or other crimes, may be ordered to free a certain number of slaves as punishment.

There are three ways that a master can manumit a slave:

1. “Atak” – the verbal grant of immediate and unconditional freedom
2. “Tadbir” – a promise which confers immediate freedom upon the master’s death; this applies not only to the slave but to any children born after the promise is made
3. “Kitabah” – a written agreement to free the slave on certain conditions, such as the payment on installments of a ransom, pending completion of which the slave, under the title of “mukatib” enjoys a certain amount of personal freedom, but cannot perform any valid legal or civil act by himself.

Of the three modes, I believe “tadbir” to be the commonest in Zanzibar at present; “kitabah” is, I am told, a good deal rarer.

It should be remembered that the emancipation of slaves is a very meritorious act in the eyes of the [Muslim] religion and that it has always been common for devout [Muslims] to purchase them with this specific object, a bequest of money for this purpose by will (called “curbah” or a pious gift) being considered peculiarly commendable.

It is tradition that the Prophet Muhammad once said “Whosoever shall free a [Muslim] slave God will free every member of his body, limb by limb, from the first of hell.”

The emancipation by a stranger, such as a British Consul or other authority, of slaves purchased with this religious intention, is therefore strongly resented by their owners, as depriving them of the merits of their contemplated act, and defrauding them, so to speak, of an investment in the world to come.

To sum up, while [Islamic] law generally encourages emancipation, it requires, with a very few exceptions, that it should be the master’s own free and spontaneous act.

Hardinge to Kimberley, *Africa* No. 6, C-7707, February 26, 1895.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. Summarize the ways in which a slave in Zanzibar could gain his or her freedom.
2. What are the advantages and disadvantages to each method of emancipation for the slaves? For the slave owners?
3. How do these methods compare with the ways slaves in the United States could gain freedom? What about slaves in Brazil?
4. Based on what Lord Hardinge says in the last two paragraphs, how do you think the European abolition movement was perceived in Zanzibar? Why?

## TRANSITION TO FREEDOM

### Reading 1: Status of Owning a Slave

[Slaves are essential] as a sign of wealth and respectability, a freed [Muslim] never dreams of doing any sort of labor, but lives off his slaves.

Hamerton to Bombay, Zanzibar Archives, 2 February 1842.

### Reading 2: Pemba after Abolition

*Pemba, the sister island of Zanzibar, served as a secondary plot for plantations.*

Since the restraints imposed by the Arab masters have been removed, Pemba has become one huge brothel, the women being worse than the men. They seem to have but half-human souls, and with the subtlety of savages, the passions and physical strength of adults, they have only the intelligence of a child to restrain them.

J.P. Farler, Commissioner for Pemba. Zanzibar Archives, n.d.

### Reading 3: Lamu after Abolition

Most slaves on the mainland quickly deserted their owners' plantations. Those who stayed farmed the land as squatters, refusing to labor for their former owners. But on the island of Lamu, and in particular Lamu town emancipation changed little in the lives of the slaves.... In the eyes of the Lamu faithful, only masters had the right to free their slaves; here the secular proclamation issued by the sultan and brought to the island by British agents had little effect.

There is no way of knowing how many Lamu slaves chose freedom, when British commissioners arrived to compensate their owners and to inform the slaves of their rights under the law.... Perhaps half of the slave population—including whole families—remained under a system of *de facto*, if not *de jure* slavery....

When masters died, ex-slave men (and a few women) started a new life—concentrating on their own limited kin and frequently expressing hostility toward the upper-class. Those who had the opportunity to make money and enjoy a better lifestyle were especially hostile....

Former masters, too, had their hostilities toward the ex-slaves who stayed on. Some found them wanting in religious beliefs—religious instruction of a sort having been provided by owners. Ex-slaves did not 'belong' because they failed to accept the teachings of Islam and continued with pagan practices....

Afro-Arab men at times taunted former slaves, reminding them of their former status—making fun of them as 'freedmen.' They joked at the way former slaves took new names. Often slaves did not know who their father were; more often, they were referred to by names of former owners (example: Ali, owned by Ahmed, became Ali *mtumwa* (slave of) Ahmed).

Patricia W. Romero, "'Where Have All the Slaves Gone?' Emancipation and Post-Emancipation in Lamu, Kenya," *The Journal of African History*, 27:3 (1986), 497-512.

### Comprehension Exercises:

1. What were the challenges for slaves after gaining their freedom? Why do you think they might have existed?
2. How easy would it have been for a domestic slave to transition to a free life? What about a plantation slave? Cite evidence from the passages that supports your answer.
3. Based on what Curtin says in reading 3, how similar is the fate of former slaves in Lamu to the former slaves of the Confederacy after the Civil War?

## ABOLITION

**Reading 1: Princess Salme Defends the Institution of Slavery on Economic Grounds**

One must be careful not to judge slavery in the Orient by what one has heard about it in North America or Brazil. The slave of a [Muslim] is in a quite different and comparatively much better position. Slavery is an ancient institution of Oriental people, and I doubt whether it can ever be abolished completely.

I was still a child when the treaty between my father and Great Britain expired. After that date, the slaves of all British subjects in Zanzibar were to be set free. These were hard times for the owners concerned. Their crying and complaining would not end. Some had a hundred or more slaves for the cultivation of their estate. All these were set free on one date, and their masters were ruined.

Should the real possibility exist of slavery's abrogation, one would have to proceed with the utmost slowness and care. The Negroes must be trained to think and to work, and their masters persuaded how the employment of improved agricultural machinery would enable them to do without hundreds of labourers now needed to cultivate their fields. The proprietor must be made to recognise that no one intends his ruin, and that justice is for him as well as for the serf. This would surely be more humane, more Christian, than ostentatiously building a church in the slave market, which was superfluous, by the way, because the two churches already standing, one Catholic, the other Protestant, had small congregations.

Any such methods can only affront the Arab, who, like most other Orientals, is extremely conservative, and clings with the greatest tenacity to ancient traditions. He ought therefore not to have new ideas violently forced upon him which he finds incomprehensible and outrageous. Disagreement with European views brings upon him the immediate accusation of [Islamic] fanaticism, a thing vastly exaggerated, as was proved when I returned to Zanzibar after an absence of nineteen years. I had in the meantime turned Christian, so that, being a renegade, I deserved my countrymen's hatred worse than if I had been born one, but they all welcomed me, with frank cordiality commending me to God's protection. It is not fanaticism but the instinct of self-preservation that animates them when their cherished institutions are assailed by ignorant or unworthy representatives of Christianity.

Princess Salme Seyyid of Zanzibar. *Memoirs of Arabian Princess from Zanzibar*, (1888). [http://erc.lib.umn.edu/dynaweb/travel/ruetmemo/@Generic\\_\\_BookView](http://erc.lib.umn.edu/dynaweb/travel/ruetmemo/@Generic__BookView)

**Reading 2: Sir Lloyd Mathews, Former Commander of the Sultan's Army, Zanzibar**

From my own observation as regards charity, the [Muslims], in their quiet unostentatious manner of giving relief, practically not letting their left hand know what the right hand has done, teach us Christians and our professional philanthropists a good lesson. An earthly recompense is not looked for by them. The poorest man can enter a [Muslim] house and ask for a meal; he will not be sent away fasting, and will generally receive something for the following day. This is absolutely true, and shows that [Muslims] are not the monsters of cruelty they are painted by those who aim at publicity by preaching a 'jihad' against the Arabs from their comfortable armchairs in England. There are, of course, exceptions: I do not say all are good, but even the worst treat their slaves far better than many householders at home treat their so-called 'Slaveys,' or husbands their wives in the East End of London.

To my mind, the above shows that the gradual freeing of slaves by the Decree abolishing the legal status of slavery is a very wise method. There is no fear of slaves being ill-treated now they have the same rights in Courts of law as their masters; they are paid for the labour, and can obtain their freedom when they please. A gradual emancipation teaches them their position by giving them time to judge for themselves, to think of their future, and act when it pleases them, instead of leaving their masters without thought, becoming vagrants, and pauperized.

Mathews to Hardinge. FOCP 7401/41. 17 March 1899.

**Reading 3: Sultan Ali bin-Said's Decree Abolishing Slavery on Zanzibar, 1890**

*This edict was issued at the request of the British. Pay careful attention to what it says—and to what it doesn't say.*

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, the following Decree is published by us, Seyyid Ali bin Said, Sultan of Zanzibar, and is to be made known to, and obeyed by, all our subjects within our dominions from this date.

1. We hereby confirm all former Decrees and Ordinances made by our predecessors against slavery and the Slave Trade, and declare that, whether such Decrees have hitherto been put in force or not, they shall for the future be binding on ourselves and our subjects.
2. We declare that, subject to the conditions stated below, all slaves lawfully possessed on this date by our subjects shall remain with their owners as at present. Their status shall be unchanged.
3. We absolutely prohibit from this date all exchange, sale, or purchase of slaves, domestic or otherwise. There shall be no more traffic whatever in slaves of any description. Any houses heretofore kept for traffic in domestic slaves by slave-brokers shall be forever closed, and any person found acting as a broker for the exchange or sale of slaves shall be liable under our orders to severe punishment, and to be deported from our dominions. Any Arab or other of our subjects hereafter found exchanging, purchasing, obtaining, or selling domestic or other slaves shall be liable under our orders to severe punishment, to deportation, and the forfeiture of all his slaves. Any house in which traffic of any kind of description of slave may take place shall be forfeited.
4. Slaves may be inherited at the death of their owner only by the lawful children of the deceased. If the owner leaves no such children, his slaves shall ... become free on the death of their owner.
5. Any Arab or other of our subjects who shall habitually ill-treat his slave, or shall be found in the possession of new slaves, shall be liable under our orders to severe punishment, and in flagrant cases of cruelty to the forfeiture of all his slaves.
6. Such of our subjects as may marry persons subject to British jurisdiction, as well as the issue of all such marriages, are hereby disabled from holding slaves, and all slaves of such of our subjects as are already so married are now declared to be free.
7. All of our subjects who, once slaves, have been freed by British authority, or who have long since been freed by person subject to British jurisdiction, are hereby disabled from owning slaves, and all slaves of such person are now declared to be free. All slaves who, after the date of this Decree, may lawfully obtain their freedom are forever disqualified from holding slaves, under pain of severe punishment.
8. Every slave shall be entitled as a right at any time henceforth to purchase his freedom at a just and reasonable tariff, to be fixed by ourselves and our Arab subjects. The purchase-money, on our order, shall be paid by the slave to his owner before a *kadi* [judge], who shall at once furnish the slave with a paper of freedom, and such freed slaves shall receive our special protection against ill-treatment. This protection shall also be specially extended to all slaves who may gain their freedom under any of the provisions of this Decree.
9. From the date of this Decree every slave shall have the same right as any of our other subjects who are not slaves to bring and prosecute any complaints or claims before our *Kadis*.

Given under our hand this 15<sup>th</sup> day El Haj, 1307 [August 1, 1890], at Zanzibar.

[signed] ALI-BIN-SAID, Sultan of Zanzibar.

**Comprehension Exercises:**

1. Quickly read the Sultan's decree. What is the main purpose of the decree?
2. Why do you think that the Sultan issued this decree? How do you think the Sultan felt that people might react to it? Why?
3. Summarize the main arguments of Princess Salme's argument (Reading 1). What is her main argument against abolition? How accurate do you think her arguments might be? Cite evidence from these readings, as well as readings from the "Transition to Freedom" section that supports your arguments.
4. What do you make of the second paragraph of Reading 2? What might the author's intention be in writing this? Do you agree with his opinion? Why, or why not?
5. What do you think the economic impact of the end of slavery might have been? Consider the kinds of work that slaves did. Cite evidence from any of the readings to support your argument.

**GLOSSARY**

**Cloves** are the aromatic dried buds of a tree (*Eugenia caryophyllata* also sometimes *Syzygium aromaticum*, *Myrtaceae*) native to Indonesia, used as a spice in virtually all the world’s cuisine.



A **dhow** is a traditional boat design with one or more triangular sails, called lateens. It is indigenous to the coasts of the Arabian Peninsula, India, and East Africa. A larger dhow may have a crew of approximately thirty while smaller dhows have crews more typically ranging around twelve. The dhow above is pictured on a stamp issued by the emirate of Aden (now part of Yemen) in 1937.

A **eunuch** is a castrated human male. Eunuchs were often used as servants in the royal palace or in the women’s quarters because of their physical strength and sexual incapacity. Eunuchs were the most valuable of all slaves, and were often a sign of prestige and power for their owners. In the Ottoman Empire, considerable political power was held by the eunuchs as they had access to inner workings of the palace.



**Oman:** The **Sultanate of Oman** is a country in the southwestern part of Asia, on the southeast coast of the Arabian Peninsula. It borders the United Arab Emirates in the northwest, Saudi Arabia in the west, and Yemen in the southwest. The coast is formed by the Arabian Sea in the south and east, and the Gulf of Oman in the northeast. Oman has been a center for traders for centuries. In 1508, the main port, Muscat, was captured by the Portuguese, who held it until it was taken by the Ottomans in 1659. These were driven out in 1741, when the present line of sultans was formed by Ahmed ibn Said. In the early 19th century, Oman grew to a major power, having possessions in Baluchistan and Zanzibar, but these were gradually all lost. In 1891, Oman became a British protectorate, which lasted until 1971.

**Qadi** (in Arabic; spelled **kadi** in Swahili): A judge; specifically one acquainted with Islamic law.

**Swahili** (also called **Kiswahili**) is a Bantu language widely spoken in East Africa. Swahili is the mother tongue of the *Swahili* people who inhabit a 1500 km stretch of the East African coast from southern Somalia to northern Mozambique. There are approximately five million first-language speakers and fifty million second-language speakers. Swahili has become a lingua franca for East Africa and surrounding areas.



## **About Hemispheres**

Created in 1996, Hemispheres is the international area studies outreach consortium at the University of Texas at Austin. Hemispheres utilizes University resources to promote and assist with world studies education for K-12 and postsecondary schools, businesses, civic and non-profit organizations, the media, governmental agencies, and the general public.

Comprised of UT's four federally funded National Resource Centers (NRCs) dedicated to the study and teaching of Latin America; the Middle East; Russia, East Europe & Eurasia; and South Asia, Hemispheres offers a variety of free and low-cost services to these groups and more. Each center coordinates its own outreach programming, including management of its lending library, speakers bureau, public lectures, and conferences, all of which are reinforced by collaborative promotion of our resources to an ever-widening audience in the educational community and beyond.

Hemispheres fulfills its mission through: coordination of pre-service and in-service training and resource workshops for educators; promotion of outreach resources and activities via exhibits at appropriate state- and nation-wide educator conferences; participation in public outreach events as organized by the consortium as well as by other organizations; and consultation on appropriate methods for implementing world studies content in school, business, and community initiatives.