

The Slave Trade in the Nineteenth-Century Western Indian Ocean: An Overview

INTRODUCTION

Historically, slaves have been found in almost all strands of society in the western Indian Ocean region—from farmer's field to royal court and harem—and their main role differed from place to place. For example, the general term for 'slave' in Kiswahili is *mtumwa*, which is the passive voice of the verb (*ku*)*tuma*, meaning 'to use, dispatch', with the prefix *m* indicating the person. Thus, *mtumwa* literally means 'one who is used or dispatched', which indicates to speakers of Kiswahili that a slave was originally a domestic servant rather than an agricultural labourer.

Recent studies on Indian Ocean slavery have emphasized that the slave trade there existed long before its Atlantic counterpart. Indeed, the earliest known legal documents concerning the sale of a slave are on an Ur-Nammu tablet from c.2100–2050 BCE,¹ although the nineteenth century is recognized as the peak period of the trade. Various estimates of slave exports from the East African coast to the Gulf of Oman and the Persian Gulf, the main artery of slave trade in western Indian Ocean, agree that there was a sharp increase between the end of the eighteenth century and the first half of the following century, although certain discrepancies can be found which we will discuss later. A fundamental reason for the increase was the rise of the plantation economy, to which the Mascarene Islands, north-western Madagascar and the East African coast transitioned connecting to the global market. Once the plantation economy was on track, the profits from it were invested in both land and

manpower to facilitate greater wealth from increased production capability. In Mauritius, expansion of sugar production began about 1815, and the 1825 Trade Bill of Mauritius encouraged it, eventually allowing Mauritius sugar to compete with West Indian sugar in Britain.² Thus, figures for both acreage of sugar production and new purchases of slaves by estate holders show sharp increases in the 1820s.³

THREE MAJOR ENTREPÔTS AND MODES OF ENSLAVEMENT

There were three major entrepôts for nineteenth-century slave transport across the western Indian Ocean. Even though we must bear in mind the significance of non-African slaves circulating in the western Indian Ocean region throughout the long history of the slave trade there, as far as the nineteenth century is concerned the major entrepôts were concentrated along the African coast.⁴ One was the coastal area around the Horn of Africa, with places such as Maşşawa' (Massawa), another was the East African coast, notably Kilwa and Zanzibar, and the third was on both sides of the Mozambique Channel, including Mozambique Island.

As we shall see from the details given in Chap. 5, individual cases show that slaves' paths towards slavery were varied and intricate. Nonetheless, it might be helpful to give a general impression here. Many of the slaves brought to ports in the Horn of Africa facing the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea were transferred to the opposite coast, often purchased by Muslim pilgrims as popular souvenirs. On the other hand, a good number of slaves who had been brought to Barbara and also places south of Cape Haafun and Cape Guardafui were taken over to the Gulf of Oman and the Persian Gulf.⁵ Furthermore, substantial numbers of slaves from the Horn of Africa went to Egypt.⁶

Different ethnicities satisfied different market demands. There are a number of surviving instruction manuals on the purchase of slaves in medieval Arabic literature which confirm this, as do nineteenth-century documents. Slaves from the Horn of Africa were generally preferred, especially in the Arabian Peninsula. Often appearing as 'Hab(u)shi' in the contemporary documents, they tended to fetch much higher prices than slaves from the East African coast, who were often called 'Si(d)di'.⁷ Slaves from the Horn of Africa tended to be treated better too.

Slave transport along the East African coast changed greatly throughout the nineteenth century. In the first half, many slaves who reached the East African coast were sent to the Gulf of Oman and the Persian Gulf,

and to a lesser extent to north-west India via Zanzibar and Kilwa. Along the Arabian side of both gulfs, particularly between Baḥrayn Island and Ras al-Ḥadd, there was great demand not only for household slaves, concubines or slaves for military service (common roles in slavery), but also for slaves to work in maritime industries including fishing and ship-ping, and as sailors.⁸ In addition, slaves were needed to construct and maintain the irrigation system which supplemented a chronic shortage of rainfall, and as a labour force for the region's date cultivation, which connected the area with world markets. Pearl fishing also required a large labour force.⁹ According to a report in the early twentieth century, about a third of pearl divers were of African origin.¹⁰ As such, in this region there was high demand for a labour force from external sources,¹¹ largely because there was insufficient local labour, apart from nomads who visited the coast seasonally and provided temporary labour. In addition to the demand within the region, demand for slaves existed in the hinterlands too, including Istanbul and the Iranian plateau. There, it was widely observed that rulers, rich administrators and merchants in urban areas customarily possessed slaves, such as those of the Royal Harem of the Ottoman sultans.¹² In addition, according to the 1867 Census, slaves and servants made up 13% of total population in Tehrān.¹³ It was frequently reported that pilgrims to Makka (Mecca) and Kalbalā' purchased slaves.¹⁴ Albeit only in relatively small numbers, slaves were continuously re-exported to the Indian subcontinent.¹⁵

One important change that took place in nineteenth-century East African port towns was related to slave distribution. Large-scale cultivation of coconuts and cloves was introduced there as late as the 1830s, and triggered new demand for labour. As a result, there was an accumulation of slaves from the interior in the port towns along the East African coast, with some being re-exported overseas, but many remaining on the coast. Paul E. Lovejoy estimates the total number of slaves brought from East Africa during the nineteenth century at 1,651,000, with 769,000 (46.6%) actually employed along the coast.¹⁶ Another estimate by Abdul Sheriff shows that 19,800 per year were brought from the mainland to Zanzibar and 12,000 of them were not re-exported but remained on the island in the 1860s.¹⁷ Also, the port record between May and December of 1866, provided by the Stone Town Customs to the British Consulate in Zanzibar, states that 20,711 slaves were brought through customs during that time and 11,882 of them (57.4%) remained on the island.¹⁸

The other region important for the export of slaves in the nineteenth century was the Mozambique Channel—both sides of it. Gwyn Campbell estimates that throughout the nineteenth century Portuguese East Africa exported 1900 slaves annually while Madagascar exported over 400 slaves annually to the south-west Indian Ocean region.¹⁹ Until recently scholars believed that most slaves from Portuguese East Africa were exported via the Atlantic trade to places like the Caribbean islands,²⁰ and paid little attention to exports within the western Indian Ocean.²¹ However, as Campbell shows, a much larger number of slaves than previously thought were used to meet the demand in the Mascarene Islands as well as on Madagascar.²² Pedro Machado, meanwhile, estimates that roughly 1000 slaves a year were shipped to places in Portuguese India such as Goa, Diu and Daman.²³

Sugar production rose enormously in Mauritius during the first half of the nineteenth century, and as Vijaya Teelock has made clear that increase required a large number of slaves. In 1825, Mauritius produced 217,397 tons of sugar, but just ten years later, its output increased threefold.²⁴ Production relied largely on slave labour: slaves from Portuguese East Africa had been the largest group among this population until the 1820s, when the Creoles overtook them.²⁵ Robert T. Farquhar, the Governor of Mauritius, tried to expand agricultural production even more and, following the abolition of slavery, attempted to introduce Chinese workers from Southeast Asia as well as convicts from the Indian subcontinent. However, neither plan worked well, and eventually he was forced to rely on labour from Africa.²⁶ Both the number of imported slaves and the average price of them more than doubled between 1825 and 1829, but as a system of indentured labour had been reintroduced in the 1830s the labour force on Mauritius gradually shifted from slaves to indentured labourers.²⁷ French-controlled Réunion Island (Bourbon Island) also began to rely on indentured labour after slavery was abolished there in 1848. Although we tend to assume that this was the turning point from an African to an Asian labour force, a significant number of labourers still came from the East African coast, Portuguese East Africa and Madagascar.²⁸

Madagascar exported slaves mainly to the Mascarene Islands as well as to the East African coast. According to Pier M. Larson, Madagascar exported over half a million slaves between 1500 and 1930 and he claims that Malagasy speakers formed possibly the single largest native speech community among slaves scattered around the western Indian Ocean.²⁹ The nineteenth century is noted as the period when the trade increased dramatically,

despite a type of 'closed-door policy' during the reigns of Radama I (1793–1828, r. 1810–1827) and his successor Ranavalona I (1788–1861, r. 1828–1861).³⁰ In 1845, an insufficiency in the supply of labour for the sharply expanding sugar industry in the Mascarene Islands prompted a joint British and French force to attempt an attack on Toamasina, a Malagasy port connected to the islands.³¹ The attempt failed, and in fact strengthened the Imerina 'closed-door policy'. Campbell gives it as a cause for Mascarene plantation owners to seek new sources for their labour force.³² Although it exported slaves, Madagascar also imported slaves, for it experienced its own demand for them,³³ especially on its north-western coast. There, the influence of the Sakalava is still great today, and there are people called 'Makoa'. That name recalls the Makua who inhabit Mozambique and its environs; indeed, many of the Makoa claim that their ancestors were brought from Lake Nyasa via Mozambique Island or Kilwa.³⁴

Recently, scholars have begun to explore the links between the slave trades in the western Indian Ocean and in the Atlantic. Richard B. Allen has estimated a sharp increase in slave exports on board French ships on the Indian Ocean, from about 52,169 to 56,485 between 1670 and 1769, to 160,572–186,816 in 1770–1810, and thereafter 123,379–144,959 in 1811–1830.³⁵ The Atlantic plantation economy contributed to the increased demand for slaves in the western Indian Ocean between the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth, with Rio de Janeiro absorbing a large number of slaves from Mozambique. According to Herbert S. Klein, ever-rising demand for slaves in Brazil coincided with severe droughts (between 1790 and 1830) and the *mfecane* movement in south-eastern Africa.³⁶ Moreover, after 1811 the Portuguese government gave Brazilian slavers access to trade freely from all its East African ports, which opened the floodgates for the demand for slaves there. Klein estimated that as many as 386,000 East Africans were forced to migrate to America from 1811 onwards, and Mozambique became the nineteenth century's third largest supplier of slaves to America.³⁷

People were enslaved almost everywhere and in a variety of ways. Obvious ways included being captured in war, being kidnapped or as a result of debt bondage, and these happened often. However, we should not ignore certain natural disasters people faced such as drought or plagues of insects, or other factors, which sometimes made voluntary enslavement a relatively attractive option in order to survive. In such circumstances some people chose to surrender themselves or their families to enslavement,³⁸ so although it is possible to categorize the mode of enslavement, the reality was often more complex. A notable and

well-known example is given by Edward A. Alpers, who discovered the story of a girl called Swema in the missionary archives in Paris. Swema, a Yao girl, grew up in a relatively wealthy family. Her father died in a hunting accident and some time after that her family's arable land was severely damaged by a plague of locusts. Swema's family's neighbours lent them millet seed but the crop failed. In the end, to clear Swema's family's debt the neighbours sold her to a slave caravan heading for the coast.³⁹

TRADE VOLUME AND GENDER RATIO

While we know the main entrepôts and can confirm that demand for slaves existed throughout the western Indian Ocean world and even beyond, and link the former with the latter, it remains rather more difficult to be sure of either the route, the volume of the trade or the gender ratio in an accurate manner. We will explore routes further in Chap. 5. The volume of the trade, meanwhile, is one of the major points of disagreement in studies of the slave trade in the western Indian Ocean⁴⁰; the major estimates from the East African coast to the Gulf of Oman and the Persian Gulf are given in Table 2.1.

There are several reasons for the differing estimates. First of all, because, unlike for the Atlantic slave trade, we have no records made by the traders themselves, we are forced to rely largely on British records of their programme of suppression. However, the reliability of those records is highly questionable in many cases. They contain many exaggerations and not a few of them are based completely on rumours. A number of naval and consular records show the actual number of slaves rescued, but reading through them carefully it is clear that large numbers of slaves remained in captivity. Therefore, the records chosen by scholars for attention, and how much they were relied upon, mean there is great variation in results. The problems are rather similar to those on that arise when attempting to discover accurate trading routes. Referring to the number of slaves exported from Zanzibar and Kilwa, for example, we cannot discover their destinations. Shipping routes were changeable and in most cases ships called at several ports before reaching their final destinations. We must therefore consider the possibility that slaves were disembarked en route as well as at a ship's destination. As Chap. 5 shows, slaves themselves were often involved in the chain of reselling, thus making it even more difficult to determine what their final destinations were. That slaves were disembarked at their ship's final port of call by no means meant that they would not be transferred again elsewhere.

As for gender ratio, conventionally scholars agree that, in contrast to the trans-Atlantic slave trade, more females than males were taken as

Table 2.1 Estimates of average numbers of slaves exported from east coast of Africa to the Gulf of Oman and the Persian Gulf

| <i>Martin and Ryan 1977</i> | <i>Austen 1981</i> | <i>Sheriff 1987</i> | <i>Austen 1989</i> | <i>Ricks 1989</i> |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| | 1700–1815 2250 | | | |
| 1770 | 2500 | | | 1722–1782 500–600 |
| –1829 | | 1st half of 19c.— | | 1782–1842 800–1000 |
| 1830s | 3500 | early 1870s | 1830–1866 2700–3100 | |
| 1840s | 4000 | | decrease from 3000 to 1000 | 1842–1872 2000–3000 |
| 1850–1873 | 6500 | | | 1872–1902 50–100 |

Source Ralph A. Austen, ‘From the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean: European Abolition, the African Slave Trade, and Asian Economic Structures’, in David Eltis and James Walvin (eds.), *The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Origins and Effects in Europe, Africa and the Americas*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981; Ralph A. Austen, ‘The 19th Century Islamic Slave Trade from East Africa (Swahili and Red Sea Coasts)’, in Clarence-Smith (ed.), *The Economics of the Indian Ocean Slave Trade*, 29; Esmond B. Martin and T.C.I. Ryan, ‘A Quantitative Assessment of the Arab Slave Trade of East Africa, 1770–1896’, *Kenya Historical Review* 5 (1977); Ricks, ‘Slaves and Slave Traders in the Persian Gulf’, 67; Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices and Ivory*, 40

slaves in the Indian Ocean trade.⁴¹ However, a number of contemporary records from East Africa challenge this view.⁴² For example, the list of slaves emancipated in 1860–1861 from the Indian population in Bū Sa‘īdi East Africa by Christopher P. Rigby, the second British Consul in Zanzibar (1858–1861), shows that 53.12% were male.⁴³ That might be explained as an exception by the fact that, by the 1860s, Zanzibar had already transformed itself into a plantation-based economy, unlike many other regions in the western Indian Ocean world, and plantations generally required more males than females, as shown by Caribbean and American examples. However, considering slave demand in the East African coast was so significant in the nineteenth-century western Indian Ocean-wide context, case studies there must be considered significant when addressing the question of the gender ratio in the entire region in that period. In addition, the Persian Gulf also required a large number of males, especially for its pearl fishing industry. As far as I have been able to discover, no Persian Gulf pearling ships ever allowed females on board, pearl diving being exclusively an occupation for males. Although we have insufficient data on the slave population in the nineteenth-century Persian Gulf, data we do possess for the first half of the twentieth century confirms that there were more male slaves than female.⁴⁴ Ultimately, the question of the gender ratio requires more data; however, it is fair to say at this stage that we should not overestimate the number of female slaves in the western Indian Ocean world, especially in the nineteenth century. Considering these obstacles to any accurate knowledge of both the trade volume and its gender ratio, I am forced to admit the inherent limitations of so much estimating in this overview; however, it must be acknowledged that it would be next to impossible to reach the same sort of numerical accuracy as Atlantic studies have been able to achieve. A productive approach at this stage is a qualitative analysis which will clarify the actual condition of the slave trade with as much detail as possible. Chapter 5 addresses that challenge.

SLAVE TRANSPORT, TRADE AND USAGE

Now, as the last topic in this chapter, we can explore the actual conditions of slave transport, trade and usage in the western Indian Ocean world. These following quotations are of prime importance in tackling the question. James Felix Jones, who served as Political Agent at Bandar-e Būshehr between 1855 and 1858, wrote that:

In fact the term 'slaver' is scarcely one applicable to these vessels in its full sense, for assumedly in proportion to the general cargo, pertaining, perhaps to a variety of owners, the slaves brought in their form but a small part. They are in short quite a distinct class of vessels from those expressly fitted slavers dealing so largely in the inhuman traffic on the west coast of Africa.⁴⁵

The second quotation is from a 'report on the slave trade in the Persian Gulf extending from January 1, 1852 to June 30, 1858' compiled by Herbert F. Disbrowe, *Assistant* Political Resident for the *Persian Gulf*:

The term 'slaver', it is not unworthy of remark, is scarcely applicable to vessels that engage in slave trade between Zanzibar and the Persian Gulf. No such thing as a slavers, that is, a ship specially rigged for, or solely occupied in, the transport of human flesh, is to be found in these tracts. The slaves that may be on board constitute but a minimum part of the cargo in the vessel.⁴⁶

Certainly, carrying slaves promised large profits in the western Indian Ocean; nevertheless, slave transporters did not deal only in slaves.⁴⁷ Traders did not sail long distances directly, such as between the East African coast and the Gulf of Oman or the Persian Gulf. Non-stop sailing between those regions by trading dhow has occurred only relatively recently. Hikoichi Yajima and Ko'ichi Kamioka, who surveyed the dhow trade in the region in the 1970s, claim that such non-stop voyages by dhow are a phenomenon of 'the last few years'⁴⁸ and it is probable that they became possible only as dhows began to be motorized during the same decade. Thus, before motorization, dhows had to rely entirely on seasonal monsoon winds. It was then common for owners to maximize their use of what was a fairly reliable system of durable winds, and, to do so, they sailed from port to port and carried on trading along the way until they reached their final destination. In fact, James Christie, who was in Zanzibar in the early 1870s to investigate cholera epidemics along the East African coast, stated:

In the absence of steam communication, the trade and other connections between Zanzibar and the regions to the north and south depend entirely upon the prevalence of the north-east and south-west winds, no native craft being able to beat in either direction against the monsoons ... Many of these native vessels having trade communications with other places

besides Zanzibar, arrive with the first of the monsoon, and, after discharging, take in fresh cargo and proceed to the ports south of Zanzibar, such as Madagascar or Mozambique. At the southern ports they take in return cargo, and leave with the first of the south-west monsoon for Zanzibar, where they discharge and load for their respective ports.⁴⁹

A similar observation was made by Alan Villiers in the middle of the following century.⁵⁰ Putting together those quotations then, it should come as no surprise to us that B.W. Montrion listed coffee, grains and roof timbers, along with slaves, as general cargo on board a ship from Zanzibar to the Persian Gulf in his letter to A. Clarke, Consul at Aden, dispatched from Bandar-e Būshehr on May 3, 1854.⁵¹

Considering other contemporary sources, as well as my own interviews with local elders in Šūr, Oman, which I carried out in September 2005 and August 2009, we can list as general cargoes in the trade from the Gulf of Oman and the Persian Gulf to the East African coast notably salt, salted fish and cloth. Salted fish, locally called *mālīh* (literally ‘salted’), remains a staple in Šūr and whole of coastal Oman today.⁵² Generally, the surplus catch of shark and kingfish is salted and dried, and along the East African coast, it is called *n’gonda* and is a popular foodstuff for the coastal people. Nowadays, locally produced *n’gonda* is common; however, the older folk in Stone Town remembered imported *n’gonda*, which came from the Gulf of Oman and was common in the days before independence. Today, imported *n’gonda* from Oman or Somalia is highly valued in Zanzibar, especially by those who remember those days. Quite a number of nineteenth-century writers observed that salted fish was imported along the East African coast and some mentioned it as one of the items exported from Oman. Edmund Roberts, who visited Masqaṭ in the early 1830s, listed it, as well as salt, as export items to East Africa.⁵³ According to Charles Guillain, a French naval officer who directed a commercial survey along the East African coast in the 1840s, dhows from the Omani coast moved southward to the Banaadir coast (eastern Somali coast) and the East African coast while fishing; wherever they stopped they sold fish which had been salted on board and was an important trade item in such ports as Mombasa and Mogadishu.⁵⁴ He also stated salt was an important trading item from the Persian Gulf to east coast of Africa, and that the Somalis especially used it for preparing hides.⁵⁵ A detailed account by Samuel B. Miles reveals that salt and

salted fish from al-Hikmān Peninsula or the bay of Ghubba Ḥashīsh were carried to the East African coast.⁵⁶

Salted fish was cheap source of rich animal protein. For example, according to research on commodity prices on the market in Zanzibar, an ounce of salted shark meat cost 1 Paice per 1 oz piece, which was almost the same price as one of the coconuts that were abundant on the island.⁵⁷ Therefore, salted shark meat was one of the staples of the diet there, especially for the slaves.⁵⁸ Another interesting observation was made in Zanzibar by William H. Ingrams, who was the Colonial Administrator there between 1919 and 1927. He recorded that while the local inhabitants knew how to produce salt,⁵⁹ they actually relied entirely on imported salt except in cases of emergency, such as when trade was suspended for some reason.⁶⁰ Similar reports of the dependency of Zanzibar on exported salt are found in accounts from the middle of the nineteenth century.⁶¹

As indicated in Chap. 1, technically any dhow could be a 'slaver'. In fact, the term 'dhow' in English represents, as Gilbert explains, various types of local vessels.⁶² As far as the documents related to the slave trade are concerned, types of dhows frequently mentioned are buggalow (also spelled by European and American travellers baghla, bghala, bugala, bugalow, bugara, bugarah, buggarah), bateel (batel, batillah), bedan and kotia. Clearly, arriving at any sort of typology for dhows has a certain difficulty, as Dionisius A. Agius discusses,⁶³ not least because usage of terms differs from place to place. For example, in Suez, Richard F. Burton recorded that there were two types of local vessel ('sambuk' and 'baghlah') and people distinguished between them according to size rather than design. Thus, while modern scholars usually differentiate between 'sambuk' (or *sanbūq* in Arabic) and 'baghlah' (or *baghla*), since the former is categorized as a fishing boat and the other is an ocean-going cargo vessel, in Suez when Burton was there a 'sambuk' was merely smaller version of 'baghlah'.⁶⁴ Therefore, the following summary for each type of dhows can be no more than a general one.

The buggalow can be identified with the Arabic *baghla*, which was the largest type of Arab dhow,⁶⁵ often rigged with two or three masts and ocean-going. Agius emphasizes its size in his detailed study of dhows on the Arabian side of the Gulf of Oman and the Persian Gulf, listing some ancient *baghlas* as over 500 tons.⁶⁶ Likewise, modern scholars tend to give relatively large tonnages for the type.⁶⁷ However, as far as the

nineteenth century is concerned, standard *baghlas* seem to have been much smaller. Using statistics from 1893 for the local trading boats Gilbert suggests that ocean-going vessels were usually between 50 and 150 tons.⁶⁸ Guillain also supposed that most of the vessels of his time were around 50 or 60 tons.⁶⁹

The kotia or *kūtiyya* resembled the buggalow in size and shape, but in the Persian Gulf, because of the similarity between two, the name *baghla* often replaced the name *kūtiyya*.⁷⁰ There is a suggestion that the Arabic term *kūtiyya* is etymologically derived from Indian languages,⁷¹ and certain scholars claim that an Indian influence can be discerned in the vessels themselves.⁷²

The name bateel is *battīl* in Arabic, and in the Persian Gulf the bateel was known as a pirate ship as well as a man-of-war.⁷³ A double-ended boat, this dhow was renowned for its speed, while a shallow draught enabled cargo-carrying examples to escape from British patrolling ships, which were usually too large to enter shallow water.⁷⁴ George L. Sullivan, a naval officer who saw repeated action in the suppression campaign, stated it was the largest type of ship engaged in the slave trade. As Aḥmad al-Bishr al-Rūmī and Gilbert claim, that type of dhow is no longer found today, so it is difficult to confirm Sullivan's observation. While Miles stated the average size is between 100 and 200 tons,⁷⁵ al-Rūmī claims that the general size of sailing bateel is between 15 and 20 tons.⁷⁶

Finally, the bedan (*badan*) was generally used for fishing, but could withstand long-distance sailing. It carried two sails for use when carrying cargo, but fishing was done under oars.⁷⁷ Generally, it was smaller than other types. According to the description of a bedan included in the album published after Guillain's French expedition along the East African coast, the range of tonnage for a bedan was from 15 to 20 tons, similar to the average tonnage estimated by Miles.⁷⁸ Apart from those types, a dhow called a *mtepe*—of so-called 'sewn' construction, actually a method of using timber, and with a square sail—was reported as being used for slave transport along the East African coast.⁷⁹

As well as considering the various sizes of these different types of dhow, it must be remembered that slaves were only one of the types of cargo which might have been found on board ships in the region. Furthermore, the overall scale of slave transport by dhow should not be overestimated: Table 2.2 shows that the average number of slaves on board each dhow was 36 and the majority carried fewer than 20 at a time.

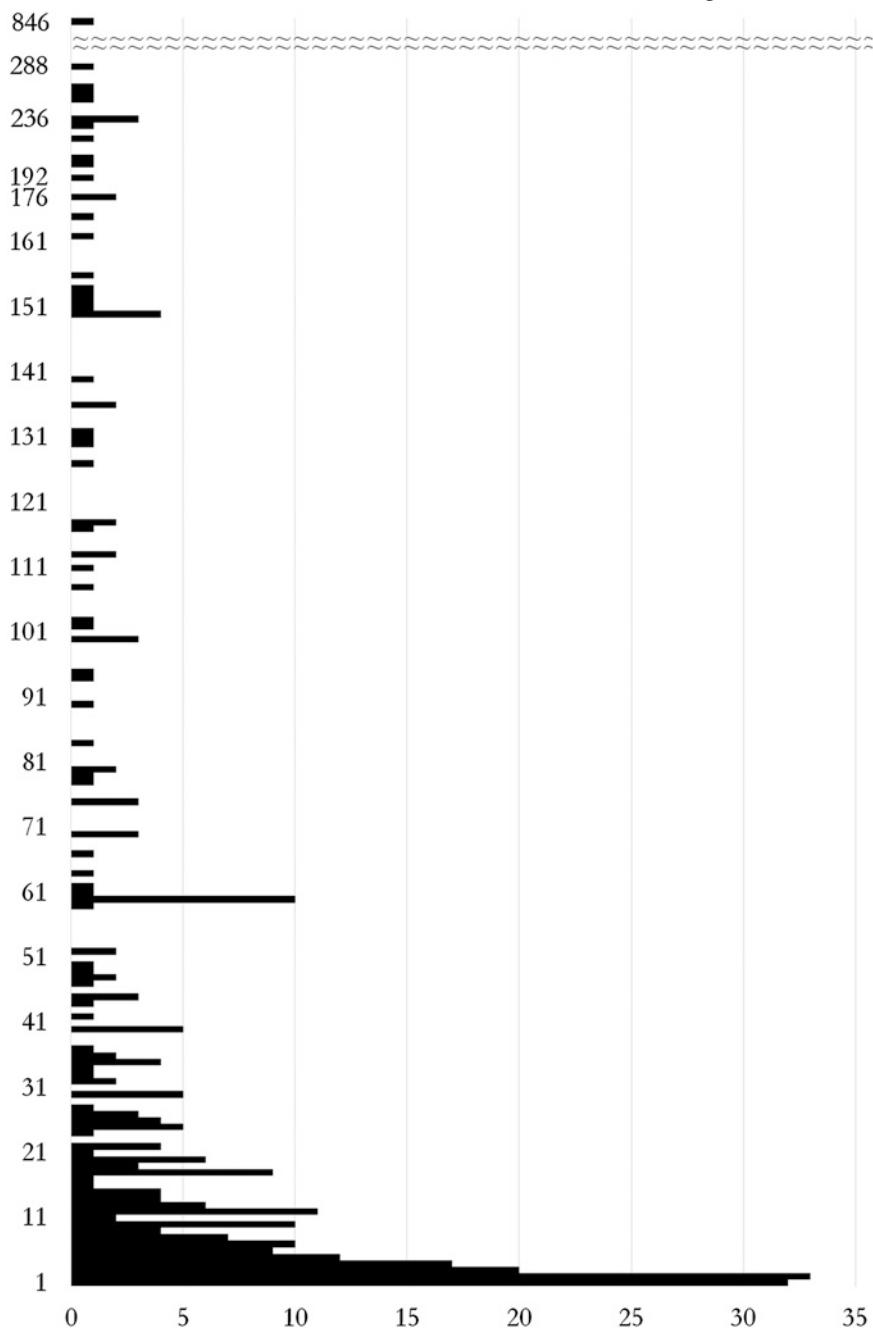
Table 2.2 Numbers of slaves on board dhows, 1837–1880, featuring 326 dhows*(Continued)*

Table 2.2 (*Continued*)

Source BPP, Slave Trade, Vol. 24, Class D, 28, 33, 69, 380; *ibid.*, Vol. 25 Class A, 363–364, 380–381, 383–384, 386, 388, 423–424; *ibid.*, Vol. 39, Class B 198, 203–205; *ibid.*, Vol. 40, Class B, 367, 371–375; *ibid.*, Vol. 41, Class B, 292–294, 304; *ibid.*, Vol. 46, Class A, 85–88; *ibid.*, Vol. 48, Class A, 12–13, 29–31, 164; *ibid.*, Vol. 49, Class A, 42–43, 188, Class B, 73, Class C, 64–65, 68, 180, Class D, 120, 125; *ibid.*, Vol. 50, Class A, 15, 17–18, 91, 99–100, 102, 104–105; *ibid.*, Vol. 51, Class A, 10, 68, 71; *ibid.*, Vol. 52, Class A, 86; *ibid.*, Vol. 91, 138, 187–189, 198–199, 203, 488; MAHA PD/1837/78/854/393-400; MAHA PD/1855/1457/93, 115; MAHA PD/1856/93/28/203; MAHA PD/1864/54/704/279; MAHA PD/1864/54/942/14; MAHA PD/1865/52/780/13; MAHA PD/1877/149/689/66; NAUK ADM123/179/n.d.; NAUK FO84/1090/86-98, 105; NAUK FO84/1224/205; NAUK FO84/1245/189; NAUK FO84/1325/166; NAUK FO84/1344/139; NAUK FO800/234/66, 93; NAUK FO881/1703/3, 6; NAUK FO881/3342/5-7; OIOC IOR/L/P&S/9/42/349-351; OIOC IOR/L/P&S/18/B84/65, 72, 81; OIOC IOR/R/15/1/123/13, 14, 17, 22, 25, 26, 27, 29–30; OIOC IOR/R/15/1/127/3, 22, 25, 27; OIOC IOR/R/15/1/134/1, 5; OIOC IOR/R/15/1/143/306-314; OIOC IOR R/15/1/157/226; OIOC IOR R/15/1/168/119; OIOC IOR R/15/1/177/11; OIOC IOR R/20/A1A/255/9; OIOC IOR R/20/A1A/255/26; OIOC IOR/R/20/A1A/285/77; OIOC IOR R/20/A1A/318/90-91, 143; ZZBA AA12/2/9-10; ZZBA AA12/29/32; Jerome A. Saldanha, 'Précis on Slave Trade in the Gulf of Oman and the Persian Gulf, 1873–1905 (With a Retrospect into Previous History from 1852)', in Jerome A. Saldanha (ed.), *The Persian Gulf Précis*, 8 vols, Gerrards Cross: Archive Editions, 1986 (1st. in 18 vols., Calcutta and Simla, 1903–1908), Vol. 3, 90

As to the price of slaves, the principle rule was that the longer it took to transport them, the higher the price. Comparing the prices at Zanzibar and at Bandar-e Būshehr in 1842, for instance, at Zanzibar, a slave cost 14–25 Maria Theresia Thaler (MT\$),⁸⁰ while at Būshehr the price was 35–40 MT\$.⁸¹ The rise in the price of slaves in line with the distance they had to be moved was, in fact, quite frequently remarked on.⁸² One of the reasons for it was simply cost. A greater distance obviously required much more time and that implied more food for the slaves, for one thing. In fact, as Hopper shows,⁸³ owners and captains of dhows did indeed receive higher transport fees for long journeys. Another reason for higher prices was the intermediate margin. As Chap. 5 shows, slaves were a commodity and could be seen as an investment to gain profit from resale. Finally, there was risk of capture by naval patrols or consulate staff, including native agents.

From the traders' point of view, the main threat to the value of slaves as an investment was that they might become too old to be sold, or might simply die. In fact, in the western Indian Ocean, it was rare for slaves over 30 to be sold⁸⁴; the majority of slaves for investment were likely to be children, something discussed further in Chap. 5. Although there is no solid quantitative dataset that would enable us to say anything definitive on the question at present, there are plenty of contemporary

observations showing that purchasers preferred children.⁸⁵ An important background point to this was that host societies tended to assimilate slaves,⁸⁶ and that, apart from in a few spots along the East African coast and the Persian Gulf, slaves were not used in industries requiring a large-scale labour force. As a matter of fact, even in those places such industries had appeared only relatively recently considering how long slavery had flourished there. Rather than merely a labour force, slaves, in a sense, represented their master's standing. They would be required to accompany their masters and to accede to their every demand. Assimilation, specifically, means acquiring the language, customs and manners of a host society, so if a slave acquired such knowledge and developed skills to a level high enough to meet his master's requirements, he or she could expect to be treated much better than others who perhaps could not.⁸⁷ In order to facilitate the assimilation process, purchasers thus preferred children to adults as slaves, because, of course, children are much more adaptable.

NOTES

1. Adolf Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*, rev. Erica Reiner, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 282; Jack Goody, 'Slavery in Time and Space', in James L. Watson (ed.), *Asian and African Systems of Slavery*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980, 18.
2. For the impact of the 1825 Trade Bill, see Vijaya Teelock, *Bitter Sugar: Sugar and Slavery in 19th Century Mauritius*, Moka: Mahatma Gandhi Institute, 1998, 42–46.
3. *Ibid.*, 72, 83–84.
4. The data on non-African slaves in the nineteenth-century western Indian Ocean is still insufficient. However, the limited available sources do reveal their distribution (as Chap. 3 examines), while the National Archives of the United Kingdom (hereafter NAUK) FO84/1325/89 [Kirk to Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Zanzibar, 15 February 1870] report the existence of Turkish and Georgian slaves in Zanzibar. See also Mirzai, 'Slavery, the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and the Emancipation of Slaves', 18–63.
5. OIOC IOR/R/20/A1A/318/85 [Memorandum for the guidance of Mr. Rutherford, I.N., Commanding HMS *Fanny*, 9 March 1861].
6. Al-Qāhira (Cairo) held not only slaves imported by sea. For example, according to Terence Walz, who investigated Sub-Saharan habitants in this city based on the 1848 census, the number of Ethiopians brought via the Red Sea was lower than those brought along the Nile, including

from southern Kurdfān or Dārfūr (Terence Walz, 'Sketched Lives from the Census: Trans-Saharan Africans in Cairo in 1848', paper presented at Tales of Slavery Conference, University of Toronto, 20–23 May 2009, n.p.).

7. 'Hab(u)shi' derives from *habashī* in Arabic and *habsī* in Persian (Henry Yule and Arthur C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive*, 1886; London: James Murrey, 1903 (1st. 1886), 428, s.v. Hubshee), while 'Si(d)di' derives from *śādī* in Hindi, which means 'master', 'ruler', 'owner' and 'descendent of prophet', or *sayyid* in Arabic. According to Yule and Burnell, 'Si(d)di' was used for Africans at the ports and in the ships in West India (ibid., 806, s.v. Seedy). Burton explains that 'Si(d)di' indicates 'Negro Muslim' (Richard F. Burton, *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, ed. Leonard C. Smithers, 12 vols, London: H.S. Nichols, 1894, Vol. 4, 231). As for these terms, see Shihan de S. Jayasuriya and Richard Pankhurst, 'On the African Diaspora in the Indian Ocean Region', in Jayasuriya and Pankhurst (eds.), *The African Diaspora*, 8. See also James R. Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, 2 vols, London: J. Murray, 1838, 388–389.
8. For example, see James S. Buckingham, 'Voyage from Bushire to Muscat, in the Persian Gulf, and from Thence to Bombay', *Oriental Herald* 22–67 (1829), 93; William Heude, *A Voyage up the Persian Gulf and a Journey Overland from India to England in 1817*, London: Longman, 1819, 22; Robert Mignan, *Winter Journey through Russia, the Caucasian Alps, and Georgia; thence across Mount Zagros, by the Pass of Xenophon and the Ten Thousand Greeks, into Koordistaun*, 2 vols, London: Richard Bentley, 1839, Vol. 2, 240; Samuel B. Miles, *The Countries and Tribes in the Persian Gulf*, London: Bentley, 1919, 401; OIOC IOR/L/P&S/18/B84/72 [Report by Mr. Rothery respecting Dhows lately captured by Her Majesty's ships 'Peterel' and 'Nymphé'].
9. As for slave usage in the Persian Gulf, see also Thomas M. Ricks, 'Slaves and Slave Traders in the Persian Gulf, 18th and 19th Centuries: An Assessment', in Clarence-Smith (ed.), *The Economics of the Indian Ocean Slave Trade*, 65. Furthermore, Matthew S. Hopper clarified the contribution of pearl fishery and date cultivation to connect the Persian Gulf region to the world economy as well as to the (slave) labour demand of these industries, which continued until the early twentieth century. See Hopper, *Slaves of One Master*. In addition, recent work done by Benjamin Reilly shows the large-scale employment of African slaves in agricultural areas of the Arabian Peninsula. See Benjamin Reilly, *Slavery, Agriculture, and Malaria in the Arabian Peninsula*, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2015.

10. Abdul Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices and Ivory in Zanzibar: Integration of an East African Commercial Empire into the World Economy, 1770–1873*, Oxford: James Curry, 1987, 37.
11. However, unlike conventional assumptions associated with the ‘revolt of Zanj’, that the lower basin of both the Tigris and the Euphrates historically contained a large population of agricultural slaves, Albertine Jwaideh and James W. Cox claim that as far as the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are concerned, few African slaves were employed in agriculture in either place. (Albertine Jwaideh and James W. Cox, ‘The Black Slaves of Turkish Arabia during the 19th Century’, in Clarence-Smith (ed.), *The Economics of the Indian Ocean Slave Trade*, 50–51.)
12. For example, according to his study on slavery and its abolition in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Middle East, Ehud R. Toledano claimed that a majority of slaves from east coast of Africa were female, and in general they were less valued than female slaves from other regions such as Georgia, the Caucasus and Ethiopia (Ehud R. Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998, 13). In addition, referring to a report made by Kemball in 1856, in the case of slaves who were brought from Kuwayt to Ottoman Arabia, those from the east coast of Africa were sold with a 50% mark-up of their original price, while Ethiopian slaves were sold at three times their original price (OIOC IOR/R/15/1/130/292-293 [Kemball to Malet, Bushire, 12 November 1856]).
13. Thomas Ricks, ‘Slaves and Slave Trading in Shi’i Iran, AD 1500–1900’, in Maghan Keita (ed.), *Conceptualizing/Re-Conceptualizing Africa: The Construction of African Historical Identity*, Leiden: Brill, 2002, 84.
14. For example, *British Parliamentary Papers*, Slave Trade, 95 vols, Shannon: Irish University Press, 1968–, Vol. 24, Class D, 26 [Kemball to Robertson, Karrak, 8 July 1842] (hereafter known as *BPP*); OIOC IOR/R/15/1/143/353-354 [Kemball to Anderson, Bushire, 12 April 1854]; *ibid.*, 355 [Abdool Nubbee to Kemball, s.l., received 9 April 1854].
15. *BPP*, Vol. 24, Class D, 71–72 [Memorandum explanatory of the cases cited by the Earl of Aberdeen, in his note to Ali Bin Nasir, dated 6 August 1842]; Dady R. Banaji, *Slavery in British India*, Bombay: Taraporevala Sons, 1933, 74–76; Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf*, 416–417. As Philip H. Colomb, who engaged in naval suppression as a captain, reported, on the Indian subcontinent with its large population, generally speaking demand for labour from outside was not high (Philip H. Colomb, *Slave-Catching in the Indian Ocean: A Record of Naval Experiences*, New York: Negro Universities Press, 1873, 100). See also Graham, *Great Britain in the Indian Ocean*, 152–153; Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices and Ivory*, 40.

16. Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa: Third Edition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 151.
17. Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices and Ivory*, 226–231.
18. NAUK FO84/1279/43–46 [Tables settling for the legitimate slave trade at the port of Zanzibar].
19. Calculated by the author, based on Gwyn Campbell, *An Economic History of Imperial Madagascar, 1750–1895: The Rise and Fall of an Island Empire*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 238, Table 9.3.
20. The latest study by Pedro Machado shows a dramatic increase in Mozambique slave exports to Brazil from the early 1810s due to increasing demand for sugar production (Pedro Machado, *Ocean of Trade: South Asian Merchants, Africa and the Indian Ocean, c.1750–1850*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, 218).
21. Campbell, *An Economic History of Imperial Madagascar*, 213–214.
22. *Ibid.*, 213–242.
23. Pedro Machado, ‘A Forgotten Corner of the Indian Ocean: Gujarati Merchants, Portuguese India and the Mozambique Slave-Trade, c. 1730–1830’, in Campbell (ed.), *The Structure of Slavery*, 19–26. It should be noted that Machado’s estimate excludes slaves exported to other regions of India, such as Kachchh.
24. Teelock, *Bitter Sugar*, 82–83.
25. *Ibid.*, 63.
26. *Ibid.*, 64–73.
27. *Ibid.*, 73; Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas 1830–1920*, 1974; London: Hansib, 1993 (1st. 1974, London: Oxford University Press), 53–56. Prior to abolition of slavery in 1835, the Indian population of Mauritius was quite small. For example, in 1826/7 Indians amounted to only 6.4% of the total population; however, in 1871 they numbered 216,258 while the Creole population was 99,784 (Tinker, *A New System of Slavery*, 56. See also, Richard B. Allen, ‘The Mascarene Slave-Trade and Labour Migration in the Indian Ocean during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries’, in Campbell (ed.), *The Structure of Slavery*, 36).
28. Hai Quang Ho, *Histoire économique de l’île de la Réunion (1849–1881): Engagisme, croissance et crise*, Paris: L’Harmattan, 2004, 69–88; Edith Wong-Hee-Kam, *La diaspora chinoise aux Mascareignes: le cas de la Réunion*, Paris: L’Harmattan, 1996; Sudel Fuma, *L’esclavagisme à La Réunion 1794–1848*, Paris: L’Harmattan, 1992, 184–185; Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, 220. For example, in Bourbon, between 1848 and 1859, 7500 indentured labourers were brought from Madagascar and the surrounding islands yearly (Campbell, *An Economic History of Imperial Madagascar*, 215–216). For similarities between the living and labour conditions of indentured labourers and slaves, see Tinker, *A New System of Slavery*. In addition, until 1858, the

- contracts of African indentured labourers did not include an end date (Ho, *Histoire économique de l'île de la Réunion*, 89).
29. Pier M. Larson, 'Enslaved Malagasy and "Le Travail de la Parole" in the Pre-Revolutionary Mascarenes', *Journal of African History* 48 (2007), 457–479.
 30. Campbell, *An Economic History of Imperial Madagascar*, 215. Campbell, *An Economic History of Imperial Madagascar*, 213–215.
 31. Export of sugar from Mauritius continued to expand steadily until the middle of the 1860s. See Table 2.1 in Richard B. Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen, and Indentured Laborers in Colonial Mauritius*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 23.
 32. Campbell, *An Economic History of Imperial Madagascar*, 215.
 33. *Ibid.*, 229.
 34. For recent studies of them, see Klara Boyer-Rossol, 'Le stigmatisation des *Makoa* ou *Masombika*: les séquelles de l'esclavage à Madagascar (XIXe–XXe siècles)', in Laurant Médéa (ed.), *Kaf: Etude pluridisciplinaire*, Sainte-Clotilde: Zarlou éditions, 2009, 31–37; Klara Boyer-Rossol, 'L'histoire orale de Makoa: un pont entre les deux rives du canal de Mozambique', paper presented at Tales of Slavery Conference, University of Toronto, 20–23 May 2009.
 35. Richard B. Allen, 'Satisfying the "Want for Laboring People": European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500–1850', *Journal of World History* 21, 1 (2010), 67. He revised his estimate later, but still sharp increase is found (Richard B. Allen, *European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500–1850*, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014, 23).
 36. Herbert S. Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010 (1st. 1999), 71.
 37. *Ibid.*, 72. See also, Edward A. Alpers, '"Moçambiques" in Brazil: Another Dimension of the African Diaspora in the Atlantic World', in José C. Curto and Renée Souloff-La France (eds.), *Africa and the Americas: Interconnections during the Slave Trade*, Trenton and Asmara: Africa World Press, 2005, 44.
 38. Edward A. Alpers, 'The Story of Swema: Female Vulnerability in Nineteenth-Century East Africa', in Claire C. Robertson and Martin A. Klein (eds.), *Women and Slavery in Africa*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983, 190, n. 5; Campbell, *An Economic History of Imperial Madagascar*, 220; Frederick Cooper, *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa*, Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1997 (1st. 1977, New Haven: Yale University Press), 126–129; Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, London: W.H. Allen, 1883, 300.
 39. Alpers, 'The Story of Swema'.
 40. Clarence-Smith, *The Economics of the Indian Ocean Slave Trade*, 1.

41. Hopper, 'The African Presence in Arabia', 10.
42. Cooper, *Plantation Slavery*, 221–222; Sheriff, 'Localisation and Social Composition of the East African Slave Trade, 1858–1873', in Clarence-Smith (ed.), *The Economics of the Indian Ocean Slave Trade*, 139–141.
43. For details of this list, see Hideaki Suzuki, 'Enslaved Population and Indian Owners along the East African Coast: Exploring the Rigby Manumission List, 1860–1861', *History in Africa* 39 (2012).
44. Hideaki Suzuki, 'Baluchi Experiences under Slavery and the Slave Trade of the Gulf of Oman and the Persian Gulf, 1921–1950', *Journal of the Middle East and Africa* 4, 2 (2013).
45. OIOC IOR/R/15/1/157/208 [Jones to Anderson, Bushire, 28 August 1856].
46. OIOC IOR R/15/1/171/22–23.
47. Joseph Miller, 'A Theme in Variations: A Historical Schema of Slaving in the Atlantic and Indian Ocean Regions', in Campbell (ed.), *The Structure of Slavery*, 176.
48. Kamioka and Yajima, *Indo-yō nishi-kaiiki*, 45.
49. James Christie, *Cholera Epidemics in East Africa; An Account of the Several Diffusions of the Disease in that Country from 1821 till 1872*, London: Macmillan, 1876, 8–9. See also, *ibid.*, 102, 111; Cooper, *Plantation Slavery*, 32; Victor Fontanier, *Voyage dans l'Inde et dans le Golfe Persique par l'Égypte et la Mer Rouge*, 2 vols, Paris: Paulin, 1844, Vol. 1, 264; Arnold B. Kemball, 'Paper Relative to the Measures Adopted by the British Government, between the Years 1820 and 1844, for Effecting the Suppression of the Slave Trade in the Persian Gulf', in R. Hughes Thomas (ed.), *Arabian Gulf Intelligence*, Bombay: Bombay Education Society's Press, 1856, 651; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, Vol. 1, 23–24.
50. Alan Villiers, 'Some Aspects of the Arab Dhow Trade', *Middle East Journal* 2, 4 (1948), 399–416.
51. OIOC IOR/R/15/1/143/319. See similar cases in NAUK FO84/1279/83–84 [Majid to Seward, s.l., 9 Shawwāl 1283].
52. John Malcolm, *Sketches of Persia*, 2 vols, London: J. Murray, 1849, Vol. 1, 9; Joseph B.F. Osgood, *Notes of Travel or Recollections of Majunga, Zanzibar, Muscat, Aden, Mocha, and Other Eastern Ports*, Salem: George Creamer, 1854, 76; Edmund Roberts, *Embassy to the Eastern Courts of Cochin-China, Siam, and Muscat; in the U.S. Sloop-of-War Peacock*, David Geisinger, *Commander, during the Years 1832–3–4*, Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1972 (1st. 1937, New York: Harper), 353; David Wilson, 'Memorandum Respecting the Pearl Fisheries in the Persian Gulf', *Journal of Royal Geographical Society of London* 3 (1833), 283.
53. Roberts, *Embassy to the Eastern Courts*, 351, 361. See also, Bennett and Brooks, *New England Merchants*, 157 [Roberts to McLane, Washington,

- 14 May 1834]; Richard F. Burton, *Zanzibar; City, Island, and Coast*, 2 vols, London: Tinsley Brothers, 1872, Vol. 2, 415; Lewis Pelly, 'Remarks on the Tribes, Trade and Resources around the Shore Line of the Persian Gulf', *Transaction of Bombay Geographical Society* 17 (1863), 66–67; Osgood, *Notes of Travel*, 76, 82; OIOC IOR/R/15/1/143/258 [Kemball to Anderson, Bushir, 1 July 1854].
54. Charles Guillain, *Documents sur l'histoire et le commerce de l'Afrique Orientale*, 2 parts, Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1856–1858, Part 2, Vol. 2, 335.
 55. Guillain, *Documents*, Part 2, Vol. 1, 537; Burton, *Zanzibar*, Vol. 2, 415; Nicholls, *The Swahili Coast*, 78.
 56. Miles, *The Countries and Tribes*, 489, 542.
 57. Burton, *Zanzibar*, Vol. 2, 422. According to *ibid.*, 418, 8 Paica was equal to 1 Anna and 16 Anna was equivalent to 1 MT\$. The coconut price was calculated here based on the price of coconuts in the same report (*ibid.*, 422), 1000 coconuts for 7.5 MT\$.
 58. ZZBA AA12/29/44 [Hamerton to Secretary to Bombay Government, Zanzibar, 2 January 1842].
 59. For local method in the middle of the nineteenth century to obtain salt, see Richard F. Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa: A Picture of Exploration*, 2 vols, California: The Narrative Press, 2001 (1st. 1860, London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts), Vol. 2, 342.
 60. William H. Ingrams, *Zanzibar: Its History and its People*, London: Taylor & Francis, 1967, 285.
 61. Mahārāshtra State Archives (hereafter MAHA) PD/1859/188/1123/82 [Rigby to Anderson, Zanzibar, 10 May 1859 (Report on the Dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar and Sowahil, agreeably to Mr. Hart's Circular No. 3391 of 1859 dated 16 November 1855); Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*, Vol. 2, 342.
 62. Gilbert, *Dhows and the Colonial Economy*, 37.
 63. Dionisius A. Agius, *In the Wake of the Dhow: The Arabian Gulf and Oman*, Ithaca: Reading, 2002, 183–189.
 64. Richard F. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina*, 3 vols, Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1874, Vol. 1, 171.
 65. Agius, *In the Wake of the Dhow*, 49; Miles, *The Countries and Tribes*, 412.
 66. Agius, *In the Wake of the Dhow*, 51.
 67. Aḥmad al-Bishr al-Rūmī's work on Kuwayti dhows claims that this type of dhow never exceeded 400 tons (Aḥmad al-Bishr al-Rūmī, *Mu'jam al-muṣṭalaḥāt al-baḥrīya fī al-Kuwayt*, Kuwayt: Markaz al-Buḥūth wa al-Dirāsāt al-Kuwaytīya, 2005, 15), while Ya'qūb Yūsuf al-Hijjī identifies the range of tonnage of this type between 120 and 400 tons (Ya'qūb Yūsuf al-Hijjī, *Ṣinā'at al-sufun al-sharā'īya fī al-Kuwayt*, Kuwayt: Markaz al-Buḥūth wa al-Dirāsāt al-Kuwaytīya, 2001, 40).

68. Gilbert, *Dhows and the Colonial Economy*, 37.
69. Guillaing, *Documents*, Part 2, Vol. 2, 357.
70. Agius, *In the Wake of the Dhow*, 55.
71. Yajima, *The Arab Dhow Trade*, 29, n. 14.
72. Agius, *In the Wake of the Dhow*, 56–57.
73. Ibid., 63; al-Hijjī, *Šinā‘a al-sufun al-sharā‘īya*, 30.
74. Agius, *In the Wake of the Dhow*, 63.
75. Miles, *The Countries and Tribes*, 412.
76. Al-Rūmī, *Mu‘jam al-muṣṭalahāt al-baḥrīya*, 15.
77. Agius, *In the Wake of the Dhow*, 102.
78. Guillaing, *Documents*, album, pl. 51–52; Miles, *The Countries and Tribes*, 413.
79. William C. Devereux, *A Cruise in the ‘Gorgon’; or, eighteen months on H. M. S. ‘Gorgon’, engaged in the suppression of the slave trade on the east coast of Africa. Including a trip up the Zambesi with Dr. Livingstone*, London: Dawsons, 1869, 122.
80. Bennett and Brooks, *New England Merchants*, 253 [Memorandum of Richard P. Waters dated 18 October 1842].
81. *BPP*, Vol. 24, Class D, 30 [Edwards to Kemball, Bushire, 9 July 1842].
82. *BPP*, Vol. 25, Class A, 363 [The Acting Resident in the Persian Gulf to Secretary to Bombay Government, Karrac, 6 October 1840]; *BPP*, Vol. 24, Class D, 26 [Kemball to Robertson, Karrak, 8 July 1842]; *BPP*, Vol. 51, Class B, 131 [Pelly to Anderson, Bandar Lenge, 5 December 1863].
83. Hopper, ‘The African Presence in Arabia’, 42; Hopper, *Slaves of One Master*, 49.
84. *BPP*, Vol. 24, Class D, 32 [Wilson to Government, n.p., 28 January 1831].
85. See also, Alpers, ‘The Story of Swema’; Fred Morton, ‘Small Change: Children in the Nineteenth-Century East Africa Slave Trade’, in Gwyn Campbell, Suzanne Miers and Joseph C. Miller (eds.), *Children in Slavery though the Ages*, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009.
86. Campbell, ‘Introduction’, xviii–xix.
87. Hideaki Suzuki, ‘Distorted Variation: Reconsideration of Slavery in the Nineteenth Century Swahili Society from Masters’ Perspective’, in Alice Bellagamba and Martin Klein (eds.), *African Slaves, African Masters: Politics, Memories and Social Life*, Trenton: Africa World Press, 2017.

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