



Surnames as a passport to social mobility?

Pelckmans, Lotte

Published in:
African Slaves, African Masters

Publication date:
2017

Document version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Document license:
[Other](#)

Citation for published version (APA):
Pelckmans, L. (2017). Surnames as a passport to social mobility? Renaming practices of Fule slave descendants in Central Mali. In *African Slaves, African Masters: Politics, memories, social life* (pp. 255-286). Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Introduction

SLAVES AND MASTERS: POLITICS, MEMORIES, SOCIAL LIFE

Alice Bellagamba, Sandra E. Greene, and Martin A. Klein

(to quote this contribution: Alice Bellagamba, Sandra E. Greene, Martin A. Klein, "Introduction. Slaves and Masters: Politics, Memories, Social Life," in Alice Bellagamba, Sandra E. Greene, Martin A. Klein, *African Slaves, African Masters. Politics, Memories, Social Life*, Trenton NJ. Africa World Press, Harriet Tubman Series on the Africa Diaspora, 2017: pp. 1-14).

For two millennia, Africa entered into economic relations with other parts of the world largely as a supplier of slave labor. The Atlantic trade saw the most massive export of African men, women, and children, but the enslaved were also moved across the Sahara, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean. For much of Africa, the enslavement of human beings and the trade in them was an economic activity second in importance only to subsistence. This could not help but have a profoundly transformative effect on the innumerable cultures of Africa and on the societal structures of those African societies that became important suppliers of slaves. Perhaps most important was the development of militarized states, the expansion of trading networks capable of moving slaves over long distances, and the use of slaves within Africa. African societies, in fact, became some of the most important users of slaves in the world. They engaged in slave raiding; they participated in both the internal and external trade in enslaved bodies; and they did so in ways that have continued to shape contemporary political and social dynamics.

Today, Africa continues to be a provider of both a skilled and an unskilled workforce for the global market, and since the 1990s, the world has become conscious of the resurgence of slavery and the slave trade in new guises both within Africa and globally. At the same time, within Africa, the stigma of slave origins persists, even for those who have done well by societal standards. In some areas, traditional forms of exploitation are alive while new ones have cropped out. Antislavery activists and organizations have talked of "modern

slavery” in relation to the civil wars in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Sudan, the sub-Saharan migrants in Saharan oases and North African cities, domestic laborers in Ghana, Benin, Gabon, South Africa, Madagascar, and Ethiopia, and the boys and girls recruited for mines and plantations throughout the African continent. What accounts for this situation? Is it the result of the lingering influence of past systems of slavery?¹ Alternatively, are the more contemporary forms of slavery the result of new economic and social conditions, and different motivations?² How do we understand Africa’s historical systems of slavery and their enduring political, economic, and cultural consequences? This volume addresses these questions.

Debates about the nature of African slavery began in the 1970s. Scholars looked at local African ideas of the slave and compared them with the American systems of plantation slavery. It soon became clear that the then dominant idea of the slave as property did not conform to the ways in which African societies understood their own forms of indigenous slavery.³ In African plantation systems, as in the Americas, slaves were seen as property and as labor, but slaves played many other roles. As chiefs, administrators, and soldiers, though still property in an abstract sense, they could exercise power and accumulate wealth.⁴ Within merchant families, slaves were entrusted with commercial missions and, if successful, often became well off.⁵ The majority of slaves in Africa were women, and while most were exploited for manual labor or sexual service, women could become wives, valued concubines, mothers of kings, or harem officials.⁶ Scholars then sought to understand the impact of colonial legislation outlawing slave raiding and the slave trade on the life of African slaves and slaveholders in the early colonial period.⁷ Some colonial regimes abolished slave raiding and trading, but not slavery itself. Most were reluctant to abolish slavery until late in the colonial period, and if they did so, they rarely interfered with local social relationships. The result was at first a struggle to control the labor of former slaves, but when economic change and migration eroded the slave economy, it became a struggle to

maintain status distinctions.⁸

From these earlier steps, discussion has broadened out geographically and conceptually. Geographically, the initial focus on West, Central, and coastal East Africa has expanded to include North Africa, Southern Africa, the Great Lakes, and Madagascar, as well as the worlds of the Atlantic, Mediterranean, and Indian Ocean slave trades.⁹ Though the demands of the Atlantic trade dominated a huge area, research has enabled us to see different slaves as being unconnected or only marginally connected with the Atlantic, for example, through studies of the highlands of East Africa¹⁰ and of slave systems linked to the Saharan and trans-Saharan trades.¹¹ Gwyn Campbell has depicted an Indian Ocean world with different patterns of trade and slave use.¹² Simultaneous with these developments was the emergence of an interdisciplinary study of postabolition societies in Africa. Historians and social and cultural anthropologists expanded their original focus on the nineteenth century and the early colonial period to include an analysis of how African societies have chosen in more recent times to manage the legacies of slavery through heritage tourism, public memorials, land distribution, citizenship decisions, migration, and the enactment (or not) of laws concerned with the management of sexual slavery and debt peonage. This research has prompted scholars to ask even more questions. Have those of slave ancestry within Africa faced discrimination since the abolition of slavery? Have former slaves and their descendants resisted traditional forms of hegemony and if so, how? In what ways have former masters and former slaves reconfigured their relations with one another? The essays in this volume address these issues as well. The period covered extends from the early nineteenth century to contemporary times.

This publication is the result of a process of reflection and collaboration begun in 2007 with Carolyn Brown. We organized a workshop entitled “Finding the African Voice: Narratives of Slavery and Enslavement” at the Bellagio Center of the Rockefeller Foundation. Our objective was to explore the African experience of slavery, the slave trade,

and abolition by collecting African sources. We felt that existing histories were based too heavily on European sources and that we needed to explore how Africans themselves remembered their experiences of slavery, the trade, and the violence that accompanied this commerce. The sources turned out to be more substantial than we expected. As a result, in 2009, we held a second conference at the University of Toronto. Our initial focus was to make available the African sources we discovered and to define the methodologies most useful for analyzing them. This we did with *African Voices on Slavery and the Slave Trade* (published in two volumes).¹³ Since then our focus has shifted. In this volume, we examine slavery to better understand larger historical, institutional, and cultural practices in Africa. We embark on this new direction to expand the ways in which scholars study African slavery. Since the 1960s and 1970s, a considerable body of literature has emerged, produced by a small but determined community of scholars. Much has been accomplished, but silences remain. In 1982, Igor Kopytoff wrote about how social anthropologists working in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s overlooked the legacies of African slavery and the slave trade.¹⁴ Despite the growing body of theoretical insights and empirical case studies on this topic since then, this under-visibility has continued. Researchers interested in postabolition Africa have discussed the phenomenon of former slaves migrating to different areas to take advantage of new economic opportunities, but these studies rarely mention the fact that these migrants also seek to escape the stigma of their slave origins, a stigma that explains in large part why they are poor or socially marginal in the first place. Migration—as well as other topics explored in this volume—chieftaincy, democratization, and naming practices—are rarely studied with reference to the slave past.

Another unexplored area involves slaveholders and their descendants: their ideas, their practices. Many researchers have long known that the twentieth-century descendants of nineteenth-century slave owners and traders are proud of the deeds of their ancestors; and thus, questions have needed to be raised about the effect that their attitudes have had on the

economic, social, and political lives of the descendants of former slaves. What actions did former masters take to maintain their privileges? Were they successful? If so, why? If not, why not? These questions are also among those addressed in this volume.¹⁵

The Politics of Abolition

The abolition of slavery and slave trading came to Africa as a result of colonial intervention. Religious and humanitarian interest groups, based in Europe, worked for decades to get their governments in Britain, France, Portugal, and Germany to end their own involvement with both slavery and the slave trade. When European powers claimed colonial control over various territories in Africa, they were expected to extend their abolitionist policies to these new colonies. Outlawing the slave trade and slavery, however, proved to be more than a humanitarian act. It struck at the heart of the way many in Africa had organized their societies. How did Africans respond to European efforts to abolish slavery and the slave trade? How did these African responses, in turn, affect the implementation of European abolition efforts?

In his essay in this volume, Bruce L. Mouser describes how British efforts in Sierra Leone—a colony the abolitionists founded in the eighteenth century as a haven initially for the resettlement of former slaves from Nova Scotia and the United Kingdom—precipitated a struggle between the old and the new. Different ideas about what constituted morally acceptable actions and what was to be condemned as both reprehensible and illegal emerged very quickly, as was evident in the case of Dala Modu. Considered an ignominious slave owner and slave trader by the British colonial administration, Dala Modu, in contrast, considered himself a respectable African merchant hailing from a prestigious family, who was being forced by the British to defend both his family's reputation and his wealth. Prior to

abolition, he had regularly traded with the British, yet, upon abolition, he was vilified. By reconstructing his biography, and by carefully following his unfolding relationship with the British administration in Freetown, Mouser is able to use the Dala Modu case to deepen our understanding of the tensions and contradictions that prevailed in the early days of abolition and the problems the British faced in creating an abolitionist-inspired settlement in an area where human beings were a normal item of commerce.

In exploring a more recent historical period, Pierluigi Valsecchi addresses a topic that has also been much researched, in this case chieftaincy and the related issues of power, prestige, and control. Despite the popularity of these topics, they have rarely been studied with reference to slavery. In most centralized polities in precolonial Africa, slaves could become wealthy and powerful, but only as agents of established authority. Using both written records and oral histories, Valsecchi indicates that among the Nzema, men of servile origin could aspire to the highest offices within their local political communities. He shows that the exclusion of candidates from chieftaincy because of slave ancestry was an innovation that developed in colonial times. Only after independence from British colonial rule did the Nzema revert to a system in which those of slave descent could aspire to the highest offices in their community. By documenting this history, Valsecchi is able to challenge the widely received wisdom about chieftaincy in Ghana.

While Mouser and Valsecchi have used micro-history techniques (in-depth analyses of a specific place or event) to explore how slavery influenced the ways in which institutions evolved over time, Ahmadou Sehou takes a biographical approach. He follows the career of Iyawa Adamou, Lamido of Banyo, who was a chief in the Adamawa region of Cameroon, a member of the national assembly, and a defender of French interests in the region. As a slave

owner, Iyawa Adamou used the weakness of the French colonial administration and its reluctance to interfere with the authority of chiefs to defend his own interests, and those of his fellow slave owners. He worked assiduously to protect his status, much of which was based on his use of slave labor at a time when slavery had virtually disappeared in other parts of Africa. When, in the 1950s, the local French administrator decided to intervene to ameliorate the status of the enslaved and to reduce Iyawa Adamou's authority, Adamou vigorously opposed these initiatives. With the support of the central administration, he was successful. His biography brings an important level of specificity to our understanding of how colonial administrative priorities helped perpetuate slavery in Africa.

While Sehou's contribution illustrates how the French supported chiefs like Iyawa Adamou in his fight to maintain the existence of traditional forms of slavery, Eric Allina explains how the Portuguese in Mozambique developed new forms of servitude after abolition. Faced with the demand for labor from its colonial plantation system, the Portuguese administration allowed European settlers and their local African agents to use extreme violence to recruit labor. Technically, the slave trade was over, but forced labor—described as necessary to improve African moral and material well-being—proved to be just as devastating as chattel slavery had been. By focusing on the postabolition labor situation in Mozambique, Allina reinforces our understanding of how European abolitionist laws prohibiting slavery and the slave trade often meant little in Africa when these laws clashed with other political and economic interests. With a focus on even more recent times, Eric K. Hahonou's essay deals with the contemporary politics of slave ancestry. Northern Benin—like Mauritania, Mali, Niger, and northern Cameroon—was an area where the French tolerated the perpetuation of traditional forms of slavery during the colonial period. Beginning

in the 1990s, slave descendants have been mobilizing themselves to demand an end to surviving forms of servility and their general mistreatment.¹⁶ This was necessary because politicians had given little or no attention to their concerns up to that time. The anticolonial struggle in the 1950s and 1960s made use of the metaphorical legacy of slavery—feelings of humiliation, subjugation, and marginality that large sections of society felt at the hands of the colonial order—to oppose metropolitan control of the colonies, but political activists downplayed the social, economic, and political divisions within the local communities that arose from the long-standing actual existence of slavery, so as not to undermine national unity. In the 1970s and 1980s, most Africans focused their attention on the enormous political and economic challenges their countries faced during this period. This, too, forced into the background any discussion of local inequalities. Only with the return of electoral politics in the 1990s with its accompanying emphasis on decentralization did events lead to the opening of a debate about what rights should be accorded to all, no matter their social origins.¹⁷ The increasing awareness of their voting rights among marginal groups for the first time allowed their fuller participation in the political life of their communities. Empowered by the ballot, minorities began asserting their rights as citizens. As discussed by Hahonou, the Gando of Northern Benin, traditionally subject to discrimination as the slaves of the Fulbe, seized this opportunity. They have elected candidates of Gando origin to public office and, in so doing, have been able to take control of many local institutions. These victories, however, are tempered by their knowledge that much still needs to be done for them to win full recognition of their rights in the eyes of the former dominant sections of society. Hahonou's focus on politics in contemporary Benin expands in a particularly exciting way the study of democratization in Africa by exploring the much overlooked impact this development has had

on the legacies of slavery in that country.

The Impact of Social Memories on People's Lives and Experiences

Researchers have long made use of oral histories and social memories to reconstruct and understand the histories and cultures of the African communities they study. Those who focus specifically on slavery, however, are often met with self-censorship and silence. Slavery is a sensitive topic. The existence of these public silences does not mean that privately shared memories do not exist. They do; and they have continued to shape the thoughts, the feelings, and the actions of people across the generations. All memories, whether public or private, those having to do with slavery or other topics, must be handled with care. People, for their own reasons, may offer false statements. An informant's values, insecurities, and perceptions can influence his or her memories. Invented recollections, once passed on to others, can become accepted truth. Such influences are especially common when they concern an emotionally laden subject like slavery. A person's origin shapes that individual's identity, how he or she sees him- or herself, how others perceive him or her.

Silence about such matters is a common strategy used by the descendants of both the enslaved and the slave owners. Saying nothing hides uncomfortable realities. Some in the community are the descendants of those who used great violence to enslave the ancestors of others who live in the same community. Silence removes this past from the present business of daily interactions.

In the section on social memories, the contributors discuss the different strategies they have used to analyze informants' narratives, while probing the silences that can be found in these same accounts. In her contribution, Felicitas Becker explores the complex character of

memories. In an earlier publication, she noted that almost none of the residents of Mingoyo in Tanzania were willing to acknowledge that they were the offspring of slaves, but when she began exploring their histories, they constantly referred to the experience of slavery.¹⁸ In her chapter here, she explains how ex-slaves “had overcome or perpetuated the heritage of slavery in their own lives.” She looks in particular at the intersection of slavery and gender. She argues that slave masters denied enslaved males the right to operate according to the societal norms for men, and that only after emancipation did they recover the opportunity to see themselves and be seen by others according to their appropriate gender. Their quest for recognition received support from a colonial regime anxious to preserve the social order, an order that believed men should exercise authority over women. This, in turn, meant that for female slaves, emancipation often involved moving from one form of subordination to another.

Ann O’Hear’s chapter deals with a formal kind of memory, in *oriki*, praise poems, which she analyzes to understand slavery and its end in Ilorin, a Muslim city in northwestern Yorubaland. The use of *oriki* requires an intimate knowledge of the language and culture of the Yoruba people. *Oriki* are full of obscure allusions, archaic phrases, and imaginative imagery. Like other oral texts, they must be handled with care when used to understand the history of slavery, since they often conflate different events and individuals, while they also suppress information about the slave origins of powerful chiefs. Still, they are valuable as a source. O’Hear demonstrates how praise poems, rarely used to study slavery, can reveal a great deal, despite the silences and omissions. Her chapter points the way for other scholars to explore similar sources for understanding the history and culture of slavery in the societies where they work.

While O’Hear focuses on formal praise poems, Francesca Declich deals with complex memories in the Querimbas Islands and Northern Mozambique, integrating her analysis of those memories with information found in early Portuguese sources. The Querimbas Islands participated in both the Indian Ocean and the Portuguese colonial economy. Though the population was small, it was divided by religion, class, race, and language, yet united by miscegenation and involvement with slavery. One result, according to Declich, was that “the local perception of the criteria for stratification and relations of dependency [was] based not so much on the color of the skin as on wealth, the prestige of one’s lineages, links to foreign trade, the need for protection, and the maintenance of one’s networks.”

In her essay on how the memory of slavery has affected the perceptions of self and others in The Gambia, Alice Bellagamba emphasizes that “the idea of slavery continues to haunt people’s minds and morals.” Concerned as much with silences as with what people say, she notes that, for the descendants of both the enslaved and the masters, silence has become a strategy to preserve social stability and the self-respect of the different members of the community. She argues that the researcher often has to respect these silences, but if she or he listens patiently, memories can slip through the self-imposed imperative that what is revealed must be censored. Such silences do not erase the past, however. Rather they keep it alive by relegating it to the realm of the private.

By interrogating the traces of slavery that people have explicitly or implicitly kept alive, these four essays contribute to a newly emergent field that explores the nature of postslavery African societies.¹⁹ All focus on the interconnections between memories, personal lives, and lived experiences. Freed slaves of Mingoyo strove to overcome the limitations of their slave past by achieving the moral and social qualities that their masters’

ideology denied them. In The Gambia, the silences around the topic of slavery became a strategy that has enabled the descendants of former slaves and former masters to live together without erasing the differences between them. In Ilorin, the legacies of slavery remain evident in the praise poems composed to honor socially prominent men and women despite the silences about the social origins of certain chiefs. Oral histories about slavery from the Querimbas Islands and Northern Mozambique also reveal the gender and social differences that continue to exist within the community of the formerly enslaved.

The Social Life of Slaves, Masters, and Their Descendants

Wherever slavery existed, slaves could be exploited in different ways. Even the privileged among the enslaved could face arbitrary treatment. Yet differences did exist, depending on one's master and the location and cultural context of one's enslavement. In the section on social life, Suzuki's chapter focuses on the cultural norms established and upheld by slave masters on the Swahili coast of East Africa.²⁰ For them, the most important social distinctions were based not on slave or free origins, but rather on the extent to which one could be defined as civilized or barbaric. Such classifications depended on the extent of one's education and the acquisition of Swahili clothing and manners. To be defined as a civilized slave meant, from the master's perspective, being obedient and knowing how to serve, a view that many among the enslaved also came to accept.²¹

But what happened after abolition? Did former slaves and their descendants accept, reject, or alter relations with their former masters? Marie Rodet addresses these questions by examining a court case that took place in the French Soudan (Mali). The former slave Mariam Sam brought Boubakar, her ex-master and husband, to court in order to defend what

she believed were her economic interests and marital rights. In French West Africa, however, the colonial rulers were disconcerted when freed slave women took advantage of French law to free themselves from both their masters and the male slaves to whom they had been assigned as wives. As with the British in Mingoyo, the French feared that independent women would be a threat to order and, thus, reinforced their subjugation. Rodet's research demonstrates that it was Mariam Sam and other slave women who were in the forefront of emancipation struggles.²²

The postabolition struggles between former masters and former slaves took place in colonial courtrooms and in the communities where they lived together, as each sought to assert what they felt were their economic, social, and family rights. Yet, these were not their only concerns. Former slaves also challenged naming practices. Family names are very important in the savannah zones of West Africa. Each family has its own name that signifies its social status. If someone were to move to a different language or cultural area, that person would often change his or her name to a local one that corresponded with his or her status in the home community. During the era of legal slavery, masters who acquired slaves gave new names to those they owned. These names were usually distinctive and often insulting. The abolition of slavery meant that many former slaves decided to move, to leave their former masters, to seek better social and economic opportunities. In her contribution to this volume, Lotte Pelckmans looks at naming and name changes among the Fulbe of Central Mali. She finds that for many former slaves, emancipation meant that for the first time they could change their names to more respectable Muslim ones. Having this change accepted, however, often meant that the former slave had to relocate to an area in which he or she was not known. This was one way in which the formerly enslaved sought to escape the stigma of their slave

origins. Pelckmans' findings push the study of naming practices in the savannah zones of West Africa in a totally new direction.

Migration as a means of escaping the stigma of origins is a topic discussed more fully by Paolo Gaibazzi. His focus is on the Soninke, a group whose social structure is quite rigid. Men moving into Soninke villages in the upper Gambia in order to grow peanuts during the early twentieth century were often presumed by their hosts to be of slave origin and were given slave women as wives. They and their offspring were thus considered slaves and were accordingly restricted in how they could behave in the village, even though they were allowed to earn and keep their own money as farmers and could participate freely like others in labor migration. Those who did migrate were able to profit from Soninke networks, despite their social status, and could do quite well financially. Those who migrated most often maintained their links to the villages, but the formerly enslaved and their descendants were also more likely than others to set up their primary residence in Gambia's capital, Banjul, or abroad. Gaibazzi explores in a nuanced fashion the options available to this group, the strategies they have used, and the ways in which they have opted to live in both the villages and the cities to which they have moved.

Conclusion

In societies where slavery was important, it did not die or disappear. Its historic significance has continued to live on in the values, the identities, the experiences, and the cultures of former slaves, former masters, and their descendants. Even those who were neither master nor slave became caught up in the culture of slavery. For many, even today, who you are is shaped by who your father and (or) mother were. Emancipation was real, however.

Many former slaves took advantage of the opportunities that came their way after they were freed. They did well, but liberation was never complete, except for those who moved away from the areas where they were known. For those in the savannah zones of West Africa, the self-renaming described by Pelckmans proved crucial for the development of a new identity. Slaves resisted, and their descendants still resist in their own ways. So do the children of former masters, as they too often reject the values of their slave-owning ancestors. Yet how one is defined by the society at large can still be influenced by whether one's ancestors were slave or free. This, in turn, shapes whom one can marry and which local status positions are open or not. Chinua Achebe, for instance, in his novel *No Longer at Ease* tells the story of a man who falls in love with a woman who is educated, but is of cult slave (*osu*) origin. He does not tell his parents of his intended bride's status as an *osu* because, as Achebe writes, "one [doesn't] write about such things." When the parents find out from a third party, they refuse to approve the marriage.²³ This is an example of the silences, the self-censorship, and the invented traditions that exist in many communities, often unseen by the outsider but around which the researcher must tread carefully when collecting information about slavery. It is the reason why such research on slavery can be quite challenging. Yet, the benefits from delving deeply into this topic are innumerable. Not only can one learn more about the history of slavery and the slave trade in Africa and their legacies, but also other topics that scholars appear to have exhaustively researched can yield completely new insights when examined through the lens of slavery.

¹ M. Dottridge, "Trafficking in Children in West and Central Africa," *Gender and Development* 10, 1 (2002), 38-42; S. Miers, *Slavery in the Twentieth Century: The Evolution*

of a Global Problem (Walnut Creek, CA: 2003); R. Botte, “Les Habits neufs de l’esclavage: Métamorphoses de l’oppression au travail,” *Cahiers d’études africaines* 45, 179-180 (2005), 651-666; M. Dottridge, “Types of Forced Labour and Slavery-Like Abuse Occurring in Africa Today,” *Cahiers d’études africaines* 45, 179-180 (2005), 689-712; J. M. Jok, *War and Slavery in Sudan* (Philadelphia: 2001); B. N. Lawrance and R. L. Roberts, eds., *Trafficking in Slavery’s Wake: Law and the Experience of Women and Children in Africa* (Athens, OH: 2012).

² G. Lebaron and A. Ayers, “The Rise of a ‘New Slavery’? Understanding African Unfree Labour through Neoliberalism,” *Third World Quarterly* 34, 5 (2013), 873-892.

³ C. Meillassoux, ed., *L’Esclavage en Afrique précoloniale* (Paris: 1975); S. Miers and I. Kopytoff, eds., *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison, WI: 1977); F. Cooper, *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa* (New Haven, CT: 1977); P. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge: 1983); P. Manning, *Slavery and African Life: Occidental, Oriental, and African Slave Trades* (Cambridge: 1990).

⁴ S. Stilwell, *Paradoxes of Power: The Kano “Mamluks” and Male Royal Slavery in the Sokoto Caliphate, 1804-1903* (Portsmouth, NH: 2004); J. Bazin, “État guerrier et guerres d’État,” in J. Bazin and E. Terray, eds., *Guerres de Lignages et Guerres d’État en Afrique* (Paris: 1982); R. L. Roberts, *Warriors, Merchants and Slaves: The State and the Economy in the Middle Niger Valley, 1700-1914* (Stanford, CA: 1987).

⁵ B. Hall and Y. Daddi Addoun, “The Arabic Letters of Ghadames Slaves in the Niger Bend, 1860-1900,” in A. Bellagamba, S. E. Greene, and M. A. Klein, eds., *African Voices on Slavery and the Slave Trade, Vol. 1: The Sources* (Cambridge: 2013), 485-502.

⁶ C. Robertson and M. A. Klein, eds., *Women and Slavery in Africa* (Madison, WI: 1983); G. Campbell, S. Miers, and J. C. Miller, eds., *Women and Slavery* (Athens, OH: 2007).

⁷ F. Cooper, *From Slaves to Squatters: Plantation Slavery and Squatters in Zanzibar and Coastal Kenya, 1890-1925* (New Haven, CT: 1980); J. Grace, *Domestic Slavery in West Africa* (London: 1975); S. Miers and R. Roberts, eds., *The End of Slavery in Africa* (Madison, WI: 1988); M. A. Klein, *Slavery and Colonial Rule in French West Africa* (Cambridge: 1998); P. Lovejoy and J. Hogendorn, eds., *Slow Death for Slavery: The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria, 1897-1936* (Cambridge: 1993); T. Getz, *Slavery and Reform in West Africa: Toward Emancipation in Nineteenth-Century Senegal and the Gold Coast* (Athens, OH: 2004); J.-G. Deutsch, *Emancipation without Abolition in German East Africa, c. 1884-1914* (Oxford: 2006); A. A. Sikainga, *Slaves into Workers: Emancipation and Labor in Colonial Sudan* (Austin, TX: 2010); D. R. Goodman, "Expediency, Ambivalence, and Inaction: The French Protectorate and Domestic Slavery in Morocco, 1912–1956," *Journal of Social History* 47, 1 (2013), 101-131.

⁸ For instance, B. Rossi, *Reconfiguring Slavery: West African Trajectories* (Liverpool: 2009); P. Gaibazzi, "The Rank Effect: Post-Emancipation Immobility in a Soninke Village", *Journal of African History* 53, 2 (2012), 215-234; L. Pelckmans, "Moving Memories of Slavery among West African Migrants in Urban Contexts (Bamako, Paris)," *Revue européenne des migrations internationales* 29, 1 (2013), 45-67; B. Rossi, "Migration and Emancipation in West Africa's Labour History: The Missing Links," *Slavery and Abolition* 35, 1 (2014), 23-46; S. Evers, "Expropriated from the Hereafter: The Fate of the Landless in the Southern Highlands of Madagascar," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 33, 3 (2006), 413-444; D. Regnier, "Clean People, Unclean People: The Essentialisation of 'Slaves' among the Southern Betsileo of Madagascar," *Social Anthropology* 23, 2 (2015), 152-168; J. Brachet and J. Scheele, "A

‘Despicable Shambles:’ Labour, Property and Status in Faya-Largeau, Northern Chad,”
Africa 86, 1 (2016), 122-141.

⁹ G. Campbell, ed., *The Structure of Slavery in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia* (London:2004);
H. Médard, M.-L. Derat, T. Vernet, and M. P. Ballarin, eds., *Traites et esclavage en Afrique
Orientale et dans l’Océan Indien* (Paris: 2013); N. Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*
(Cambridge: 1985); J. Mason, *Social Death and Resurrection: Slavery and Emancipation in
South Africa* (Charlottesville, VA: 2003).

¹⁰ H. Médard and S. Doyle, eds., *Slavery in the Great Lakes Region of East Africa*
(Oxford:2007).

¹¹ U. P. Ruf, *Ending Slavery: Hierarchy, Dependency and Gender in Central Mauritania*
(Bielefeld, Germany: 1999); E. A. McDougall, “The View from Awdaghust: War, Trade and
Social Change in the Southwestern Sahara from the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century,” *Journal
of African History* 26, 1 (1985), 1-31; R. S. O’Fahey and J. L. Spaulding, *Kingdoms of the
Sudan* (London: 1974); S. Beswick, “South Sudanese Systems of Slavery: State Expansion
and Slave Mobility among the Bari and Azande of South Sudan (c. 1700-1900),” in J. L.
Spaulding and S. Beswick, eds., *African Systems of Slavery* (Trenton, NJ: 2010); B. Hall, *A
History of Race in Muslim West Africa, 1600–1960* (Cambridge: 2011); T. Walz and K. M.
Cuno, eds., *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: Histories of Trans-Saharan Africans in
19th-Century Egypt, Sudan, and the Ottoman Mediterranean* (Cairo: 2010); C. El Hamel,
Black Morocco: A History of Slavery, Race, and Islam (Cambridge: 2013).

¹² Campbell, ed., *The Structure of Slavery*.

¹³ This will be the fourth volume to emerge from the two conferences and several workshops
we have conducted. The first two volumes were collections of documents: A. Bellagamba, S.

E. Greene, and M. A. Klein, eds., *African Voices on Slavery and the Slave Trade, Vol. 1: The Sources* (Cambridge: 2013); and A. Bellagamba, S. E. Greene, and M. A. Klein, eds., *The Bitter Legacy: African Slavery Past and Present* (Princeton, NJ: 2013). The third volume is a collection of essays on researching African slavery: *African Voices on Slavery and the Slave Trade, Vol. 2: Essays on Sources and Methods* (Cambridge: 2016).

¹⁴ I. Kopytoff, "Slavery," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 11 (1982), 207-230.

¹⁵ For a discussion of these questions about slaveholders, see Sandra E. Greene, *Slave Owners of West Africa: Decision Making in the Age of Abolition* (Bloomington, IN: 2017).

¹⁶ E. K. Hahonou and L. Pelckmans, "West African Antislavery Movements: Citizenship Struggles and the Legacies of Slavery," *Stichproben: Vienna Journal of African Studies, Special Issue on Social Movements in Africa* 20 (2011), 141-162.

¹⁷ For a similar argument, see B. Rossi, "African Post-Slavery: A History of the Future," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 48, 2 (2015), 303-324.

¹⁸ F. Becker, "Common Themes, Individual Voices: Memories of Slavery around a Former Slave Plantation in Mingoyo, Tanzania," in Bellagamba, Greene, and Klein, *African Voices, Vol. 1*, 65-70.

¹⁹ B. Lecocq and E. Hahonou, "Introduction: Exploring Post-Slavery in Contemporary Africa," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 48, 2 (2015), 181-192.

²⁰ C. Velten, *Desturi za Wasuabeli na Khabari za desturi za Wasuabeli* (Göttingen, Germany: 1903).

²¹ L. Fair, *Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community and Identity in Post-Abolition Urban Zanzibar, 1890-1945* (Athens, OH: 2001).

²² M. Rodet, *Les migrantes ignorées du Haut-Sénégal (1900-1946)* (Paris: 2009).