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Along the Shoreline of Southeastern Africa: Coastal Towns, Circuit of Trade and Enslaving Operations, 1790-1860

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Resum:

Les ciutats costaneres i els punts de partida de les illes del sud-est d'Àfrica des dels quals es transportaven els africans esclavitzats als mercats regionals i de llarga distància es torben al centre d'aquest article de recerca. Les rutes comercials costaneres, les societats litorals i

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insulars i les múltiples xarxes de treballadors que es dediquen al comerç de béns i persones es discuteixen aquí per interrogar el desenvolupament, les fluctuacions i la importància de les operacions d'esclavització vinculades als treballadors esclavitzats ''Moçambics'' que van marxar el continent africà des de la costa sud-est. Es tracten dues qüestions principals: Com es va connectar l'organització del trànsit a la costa del sud-est d'Àfrica amb altres zones d'esclavitud costaneres de la regió de l'Àfrica oriental i amb altres mercats intra-oceànics situats tant a l'oceà Índic com a l'Atlàntic? I aquest patró va canviar amb el temps?

Paraules clau: Sud-est d'Àfrica, Moçambic, Zanzíbar, ciutats costaneres, comerç, esclavitud, operacions d'esclavitud.

Abstract:

The coastal towns and islands departure points in southeastern Africa from which enslaved African people were transported to regional and long-distance markets are at the center of this research article. The coastal trade routes, the littoral and island societies and the multiple networks of workers engaged in the trade of goods and people are discussed here to interrogate the development, fluctuations, and significance of the enslaving operations linked to the enslaved "Mozambiques" workers who departed the African continent from the southeastern coast. Two main questions are discussed: How did the organization of the traffic on the coast of southeastern Africa connect to other coastal enslaving zones in the region of eastern Africa and with other intra-oceanic markets located in both the Indian and Atlantic oceans? And did the pattern change over time?

Keywords: Southeastern Africa, Mozambique, Zanzibar, coastal towns, trade, slavery, enslaving operations

Introduction

At the center of the argument of this article is the global history of labour in connection with the local, regional and intra-oceanic trade in "Mozambiques" –a generic ethnonym designation

applied to enslaved Africans from a wide region of eastern and southeastern Africa–.[2] The trade in enslaved persons from the Swahili coast of East Africa to the south of Cabo Delgado and as far south around the Lourenço Marques Bay impacted and transformed the dynamics of the local African societies. These regions have been historically interconnected through the intra-regional network of cross-crossing enslaving zones found at inland, littorals and insular settings, the systems of transportation better represented by the vessels equipped for the trade in bondage individuals, the mobility of labourers, and multiple actors from diverse provenance: enslaved Africans, merchants, official and religious representatives, translators, adventurers, and other types of contract workers. Moreover, the recent discussions on "asymmetrical dependencies" developed at the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies supports the theoretical framework of this article.[3]

The epoch of analysis coincided with the latter stages of the development, escalation, decline and re-escalation of the global trade in enslaved Africans that had prompted debate among metropolitan powers about the commerce in "humans in chattel bondage," which was itself an integral part of the expansion and consolidation of the European capitalist system. The historical framework corresponds with the significant growth in the traffic from the coast of southeastern Africa to the Indian Ocean islands as well as to the Atlantic enslaving zones in the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries, particularly between 1790 and 1860. The forced movement of bonded southeastern African people was also associated with the creation of a plantation complex in the western Indian Ocean world, producing agricultural commodities (cloves, coconuts, grain, date, copra, oil, and sugar) for global consumption.[4] As

[2] Edward Alpers, "Mozambique and 'Mozambiques': Slave Trade and Diaspora on a Global Scale," in *Slave Routes and Oral Traditions in Southeastern Africa*, eds., Benigna Zimba, Edward A. Alpers and Allen Isaacman (Maputo: Filsom Enterteinment, Lda, 2005), 39-61.

[3] Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS), www.dependency.uni-bonn.de; www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/research (accessed December 12, 2023); Julia Winnebeck (with O. Sutter, A. Hermann, C. Antweiler, and S. Conermann), "The Analytical Concept of Asymmetrical Dependency," *Journal of Global Slavery* 8, No. 1 (2023), 1-59. Also see Michael Zeuske, "Historiography and Research Problems of Slavery and the Slave Trade in a Global-Historical Perspective," *International Review of Social History* 57 (2012), 87-111.

[4] Malyn Newitt, "Angoche, the Slave Trade and the Portuguese c. 1844-1910," *Journal of African History* 13, no. 4 (1972), 659-672; Edward A. Alpers, *Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975); Frederick Cooper, *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977); Abdul Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices & Ivory in Zanzibar: Integration of an East African Commercial Empire into the World Economy, 1770-1873* (London: James Currey, 1987); Richard B. Allen, *European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014); Gwyn Campbell, "The Question of Slavery in Indian Ocean World History," in Abdul Sheriff and Engseng Ho, eds., *The Indian Ocean: Oceanic Connections and the Creation of New Societies* (London: Hurst & Company, 2014), 123-149; Campbell, "The East African Slave Trade, 1861-1895: The "'Southern' Complex," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 22, No.1 (1989): 1-26.

Edward A. Alpers has shown this period includes the intensification of the trade in the Mozambique Channel in enslaved African persons and the "exportation" of the "free labour" or "*libre engagés*" from southeastern Africa (in what is today Mozambique) to the Comoro Islands, western Madagascar, the Seychelles, Mascarene Islands and beyond due to the rise of plantations economies in those enslaving zones.[5] All of this was also in the context of increasing measures to abolish the traffic, for example, in Cuba, Brazil, Rio de la Plata, United States, the Portuguese possessions of southeastern Africa, and Zanzibar. The period between 1790 and 1860 is characterized by multi-layered contexts which need to be properly understood in order to explain why the expanding markets in the western Indian Ocean and Atlantic enslaving settings increasingly relied on enslaved labourers from southeastern Africa at a time when a number of nations, led by Great Britain, were trying to force the closure of enslaving ports throughout the Atlantic and western Indian Ocean.

In such global, regional, and local contexts, the proposed historical framework follows the assumption that dependencies "between actors are based on the ability of one actor to control the actions and the access to resources of another."[6] It is shown through the histories of the southeastern African enslaving zones and the system of transportation; for example, the caravans of trade that ended in the port towns, littoral and insular societies established on the eastern and southeastern coast of Africa, and elsewhere in the continent.[7] Moreover, the "control over actions and access to resources," but more specifically, the control over labour is often expressed in asymmetric disjunctures as shown across the region.[8] It means, that conditions of enslavement or other forms servitude can be explained centering the historical contours on this problematic due to the "strong asymmetric" differences reflected in the multilayered and multidirectional relations between, and among actors, which showed changes and transformations over time. As history has shown, the historical variations in the use of African free and unfree labour reflected the complicated circumstances in which asymmetric

[5] Edward A. Alpers, "A Complex Relationship: Mozambique and the Comoro Islands in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in *East Africa and the Indian Ocean*, ed. Edward A. Alpers (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2009), 152; Alpers, "Madagascar and Mozambique in the Nineteenth Century: The Era of the Sakalava Raids (1800-1820), in *East Africa*, 131-146.
[6] BCDSS; Winnebeck, "The Analytical."
[7] Abdul Sheriff, "Slave Trade and Slave Routes of the East African Coast," in *Slave Routes and Oral Traditions in Southeastern Africa*, eds. Benigna Zimba, Edward A. Alpers and Allen Isaacman, 13-48. Maputo: Filsom Enterteinment, Lda, 2005.
[8] BCDSS; Winnebeck, "The Analytical."

power relations took place within the enslaving zones.[9] This is evident in the nineteenth century through the transitions from enslaved Africans, freed Africans (*libertos*), indentured workers to forced contract workers employed in the agricultural, mining industries and coastal trading businesses in Portuguese southeastern Africa.[10] These transitions in the labour relations at inland, littorals, and insular settings also explain the employment and mobility of multiples type of individuals, such as enslaved southeastern African people employed as dockworkers and the *criados* (type of servants) of the Afro-Portuguese traders, in the trade between the ports of southeastern Africa and Zanzibar. In East and Central Africa, the patron-client labour economy developed between the Nyamwezi commercial elite and immigrants of Tutsi origins demonstrated how their labour mobility through the translocal circuits of commerce are two interconnected factors reflecting different levels of power dynamics and dominance between actors, as Stephen J. Rockel has shown.[11] Comparatively, these historical processes of labour relations linked to coastal and insular trading showed similar pattern in the southeastern African portion of the region.

The complex social scenarios which emerged during the historical development of the African, European, Omani Arabs and Indian settlements located in eastern and southeastern Africa allow for the analysis of issues of labour, "race" relations, and space mobility beyond the contours of fixed physical –including coastal zones and islands' societies – and epistemological borders. These socio-historical relations can also be understood as translocal and contested spaces impacting social and cultural performance between individuals at the local, regional and

[9] John Thornton, "How Useful is the Concept of Slaving Zones? Some Thoughts from the Experience of Dahomey and Kongo," in *Slaving Zones.Cultural Identities, Ideologies, and Institutions in the Evolution of Global Slavery*, eds. Jeff Fynn-Paul and Damian Alan Pargas (Brill: Leiden, 2018), 151-168. More recently Henry B. Lovejoy, Paul E. Lovejoy, Walter Hawthorne, Edward A. Alpers, Mariana Candido, Matthew S. Hopper, "Redefining African Regions for Linking Open-Source Data," *History in Africa* 46 (2019), 5-36; and, Henry B. Lovejoy, Paul E. Lovejoy, Walter Hawthorne, Edward A. Alpers, Mariana Candido, Matthew S. Hopper, Ghislaine Lydon, Colleen E. Krigger, John Thornton, "Defining Regions of Pre-Colonial Africa: A Controlled Vocabulary for Linking Open-Source Data in Digital History Projects," *History in Africa* 48 (2021), 9-34.

[10] Daniel B. Domingues da Silva and Edward A. Alpers, "Abolition and the Registration of Slaves and Libertos in Portuguese Mozambique, 1856-1876," *The Journal of African History* (2022), 1-17; doi:10.1017/S0021853721000554, accessed 17 February 2024; Éric Allina, *Slavery by Any Other Name: African Life under Company rule in Colonial Mozambique* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2012).

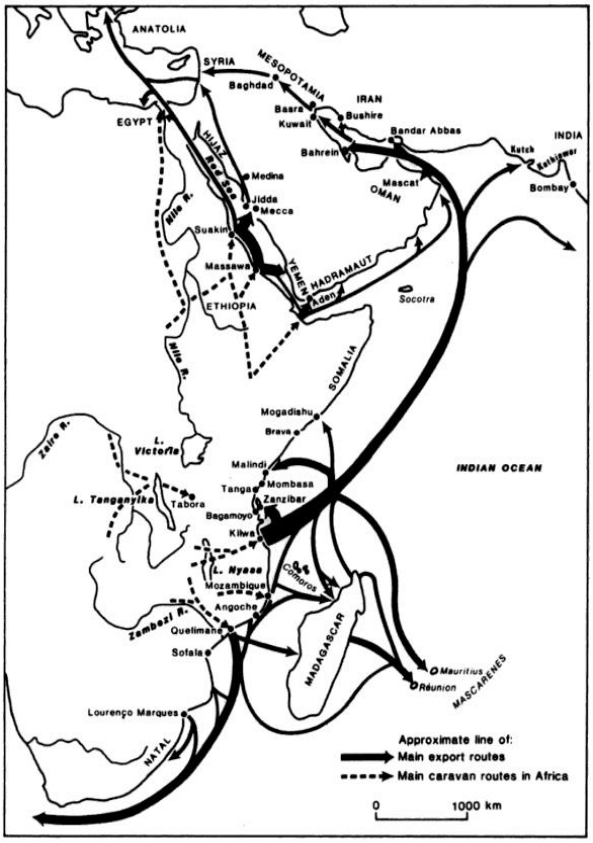
[11] Stephen J. Rockel, "The Tutsi and the Nyamwezi: Cattle, Mobility, and the Transformation of Agro-Pastoralism in Nineteenth-Century Western Tanzania," *History in Africa* 46 (2019), 231-261; Stephen J. Rockel, *Carriers of culture: labor on the road in nineteenth-century East Africa* (Portmouse, N.H.: Heinemann, 2006); and, Rockel, "Between Pori, Pwani and Kisiwani. Overlapping Labour Cultures in the Caravans, Ports and Dhows of the Western Indian Ocean," in *The Indian Ocean: Oceanic Connections and the Creation of New Societies*, eds. Sheriff and Engseng Ho (London: Hurst & Company, 2014), 95-122.

global levels.[12] Within these lines of thought, can be placed a body of interdisciplinary scholarly works focusing on the study of the diverse societies settled in southeastern Africa which actively engaged the seasonal trades and created a lasting impact in the littoral societies, including the societies located further north in eastern Africa, like the one in Zanzibar. Thus, Michael Pearson's notion of "littoral society as a transitional and fungible space, neither land nor water," is an epistemological framework to engaged with.[13] It means the maritime, and commercial currents created by local and diasporic communities were "land and sea mixing" spaces of power and control, but which can also be explained as hydrocolonized societies in Isabel Hofmeyr's terms. [14] A hydrocolonial perspective suggests, as a new oceanic study seeks, the possibility to engage the materiality of the oceans, through the lens of actors and multiple historical sources. As such, custom house officers' reports, censors' minutes, and dockworkers' correspondences can explain the multiple transitions of a port town or minor towns by the sea, a littoral society, the labour relations in place, and the colonial settings in transformation. In this sense, the inland trade routes, the small and large seaports across the Swahili coast, and the coastal and islands' trading people in southeastern Africa created a complicated world of commerce which included an intense interaction between villages on the littoral and islands societies. These interactions went beyond enslaved transactions to include a variety of goods, the creation of merchant houses, the development of local shipping industries and an intense monetary circulation which attracted merchants far beyond the Indian and Atlantic Oceans, including those managing the traffic in enslaved southeastern Africans workers to far away enslaving settings.[15]

[12] Geert Castryck, "Living Islam in Colonial Bujumbura-The Historical Translocality of Muslim Life between East and Central Africa," *History in Africa* 46 (2019), 263-298.
[13] Michael Pearson, "Places in the Indian Ocean World," *Journal of Indian Ocean World Studies* 1 (2017), 11; and, Pearson, "Littoral Society: The Concept and the Problems," *Journal of World History* 17, no. 4 (2006), 353-373.
[14] Pearson, "Places in the Indian Ocean World," 11. Isabel Hofmeyr, *Dockside Reading. Hydrocolonialism and the Custom House* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2022). Also, Hofmeyr, "The Black Atlantic Meets the Indian Ocean: Forging New Paradigms of Transnationalism for the Global South-Literary and Cultural Perspectives," *Social Dynamics; A journal of African Studies* 33, No. 2 (2007), 3-32; Hofmeyr, Uma Dhupelia-Mesthrie & Preben Kaarsholm, "Durban and Cape Town as Port Cities: Reconsidering Southern African Studies from the Indian Ocean," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 42, No. 3 (2016), 375-387.

[15] Jane Hooper and David Eltis, "The Indian Ocean in Transatlantic Slavery," *Slavery & Abolition* 34, No. 3 (2013), 353-375.

Map 1
The Slave Trades of the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea in the 19th Century



Source: William Gervase Clarence-Smith, ed., *The Economics of the Indian Ocean Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century*, 2.

Southeastern African coastal towns and enslaving operations

The supply network that sought southeastern African enslaved workers –whether they were intended for local, regional or the Swahili coastal markets or markets further farther afield in the Indian and Atlantic Oceans– changed during the period under review. While the Afro-Portuguese merchants in the Zambezi continued to depend on the expeditions to the interior to obtain enslaved individuals, those who were located close to the shores of the western

Mozambique Channel obtained an increasing quantity of enslaved labourers at the end of the routes from the interior. The intensification of the enslaving ventures across the littorals and islands in the western Indian Ocean was also part of the capitalist enterprise of Indian, Swahili, and a variety of local merchants as well as European companies engaged in trade networks at southeastern African port towns of Sofala, Quelimane, Angoche (to the north of the Zambezi River delta), Mozambique Island and in the Cabo Delgado web of islands, particularly Ibo Island.[16] The competing markets for Malagasy bonded workers traded from northwestern Madagascar were in constant upheaval in the first half of the eighteenth century. Among other reasons, this was due to the increasing interest in and demand for enslaved southeastern Africans. This was to the advantage of the Cape Delgado region and Kilwa where the Omanis were actively involved.[17] In southeastern Africa, the northern enslaving zones including the areas between Mozambique Island and Cabo Delgado Islands, and the central enslaving zones around the Zambezi River and the port town of Quelimane became the main centers of exportation of the forced African labourers at the turn of the eighteenth century, maintaining this centrality during the nineteenth century.

The western Indian Ocean increasingly witnessed conflictual commercial transactions among European powers and, between them and the regional African, Swahili and Arabs traders. Conflicts emerged about the use of historical loading locations around the sea and river lines and the building of multipurpose seaports that in various instances of their history became not only passenger ports but also enslaving ports. In these inter-imperial contexts developed around the regional ports can be placed the analysis of the extension to which the seaports across the southeastern African can be understood as intra-oceanic enslaving zones, which at the site of embarkation and disembarkation included the involvement and employment of multiple types of workers. This was expressed in an intricate relationship among multiple merchants, shipbuilders, insurance companies, military officials, dwellers, passengers, adventures, merchandise and service handlers, custom house clerks, dock workers and porters, who at some point were all linked to the commercialization of local regional produce for the international market.

[16] Alpers, "Indian Ocean Africa: The Island Factor," in *East* Africa, 39-54.
[17] Thomas Vernet, "Slave trade and slavery on the Swahili coast (1500-1750)," in *Slavery, Islam and Diaspora*, eds. Behnaz A. Mirzai, Ismael Musah Montana, and Paul E. Lovejoy (Trenton: African World Press, 2009), 48-49; José Capela and Eduardo Medeiros, *O Tráfico de Escravos de Moçambique para as Ilhas do Índico, 1720-1902* (Maputo: Núcleo Editorial da Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1987), 15-16.

The rise of strategic southeastern African enslaving ports such as Mozambique Island and later Quelimane was directly connected with the commercial interest and increase of the exportation of bonded African individuals for local and regional markets since the late eighteenth century. These and other regional towns linked to the sea trade were an important part of the continuous transformation of the economy of the southeastern coastal areas based on the exportation of enslaved southeastern Africans labourers. This discussion allows placing the southeastern African ports as interconnected enslaving zones influenced by local and international factors. José Capela recentered the discussion of power struggles through the enslaving ports around the analyses of the "*interdição dos portos*" (interdiction of ports) which was the exclusive right of the Portuguese to control merchandise through the ports under their control in southeastern Africa.[18] Nevertheless, there was an increasing presence of non-Portuguese merchants and ships equipped for the trade in enslaved Africans in southeastern Africa particularly to get access to the enslaving zones that were nominally under Portuguese control.[19] This argument allows for comprehension of the administrative contours of the workings of the seaports, the life of the people trading in small towns by the sea, and the complex social interactions in place at towns located in the nearby islands which were directly linked to major enslaving zones in the inland territories. The littoral societies which were settled in these towns shared the challenges of trade in spaces that were at the same time land, maritime and island oriented. It included group settlements of diverse origins, capital interest, and involved in social clashes. In this context, important political changes were introduced by the Portuguese within the borders of its territories in southeastern Africa to achieve some level of control and organization of the trade within its areas of influence.

Mozambique Island became the new headquarters of Portuguese dominance in the Indian Ocean becoming a separate government from that of the Governor-General in the Viceroyalty of India, after 1752. Years later, an observer described Mozambique Island as a place where

[18] Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU, hereafter), Moçambique, 1a Secção, Cx. 63, Doc. 05, "Martinho de Mello e Castro para D. Diogo de Sousa," 02 July 1792. For a later period, Cx. 164, Doc. 65, "De João da Costa e Brito Sanches para Conde dos Arcos," 10 October 1819; Cx. 164, Doc. 04, "De João da Costa e Brito Sanches para Conde dos Arcos," 10 October 1819. Also Arquivo Histórico de Mocambique (AHM, hereafter), Fundo do Século XIX - Cabo Delgado, Governo do Distrito - Cx. 8/28, Maço 3, Doc. 210**,** "From Duarte Antonio Lobos, Official Maior para Rafael Antonio de Carvalho (Comandante Militar do 6to Distrito)," 24 October 1844.
[19] "Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database," 1999 - 2024, www.slavevoyages.org (accessed February 17, 2024).

commerce flourished, well cultivated agricultural plots were seen, and the custom house generated income for the government treasury.[20]

The metropolitan policies imposed to control the foreign commerce in the region, through the imposition of taxes and authorization of trade by the governors by means of a newly created custom house in Mozambique Island did not stop the interest of those local and foreign merchants in supporting the continuation and expansion of the enslaving business.[21] Towards the end of the eighteenth century, enslaving voyages to the port cities of Montevideo and Buenos Aires in Río de la Plata, Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, and the French portion on the island *La Española*, in Saint Domingue, were organized by male and female traders resident in coastal cities involved, mainly, in mining (gold and silver trade), agriculture and shipbuilding. At the turn of the eighteenth century, Mozambique Island was the main southeastern African port for the direct transatlantic trade in enslaved Africans to the ports of Montevideo and Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Louisiana, and later Havana and Matanzas in Cuba. Alex Borucki noted that approximately 12,600 enslaved Africans were transported from Mozambique Island to Montevideo and Buenos Aires in Río de La Plata. Other eastern and southeastern African ports like Kilwa and Quelimane embarked 3,400 enslaved Africans to the Rio de la Plata. At least 18,000 enslaved Africans were sent from southeastern Africa to southeast Brazil between 1797 and 1812. Borucki also noted that during the same period between 16,000 and 23,000 enslaved Africans were embarked from the ports of southeastern Africa to Río de la Plata.[22] Merchants based in Cuba benefited from all these commercial networks with Mozambique Island.[23]

The administration, management and control of the business of trafficking enslaved individuals turned to be challenging for the Portuguese authorities in the southeastern African region since some of them were involved themselves in the traffic of forced labour for external markets.[24]

[20] AHM, Fundo do Século XIX - Secção Especial, S.E a.III, 9, Doc. 216, [Bartolomeu dos Mártires de Maia], "Memória chorográfica da província ou capitania de Moçambique na Costa d'África Oriental conforme o estado em que se achava no ano de 1822," 1823; AHU, Avulso de Moçambique, Maço 24 "Xavier Botelho a Conde de Subserra," 30 December 1825; Newitt, "Mozambique Island: The Rise and Decline of an East African Coastal City, 1500-1700," *Portuguese Studies* 20 (2004), 21-37.

[21]Patrick Harries, "Mozambique Island, Cape Town and the Organisation of the Slave Trade in the South-West Indian Ocean, c.1797-1807," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 42, No.3 (2016), 411; doi: 10.1080/03057070.2016.1178000.

[22] Alex Borucki, "The Slave Trade to the Rio de la Plata, 1777-1812: Trans-Imperial Networks and Atlantic Warfare," *Colonial Latin American Review* 20, No. 1 (2011), 94-95.

[23] Abubacar Fofana León, "In-Between Spaces of Memory and Resistance. Enslaved "Macuá" Women in Colonial Cuba," *Canadian Women Studies/Le Cahiers de la Femme* 37, No. 1-2 (2024), 7-12.

[24] Capela, *As burguesias portuguesas e a abolição do tráfico da escravatura, 1810-1842* (Porto: Afrontamento, 1979), 117-191.

Also, there were the regional and international laws of commerce that complicated the trafficking operations. [25]

Up to around 1814, the Portuguese regulations required all foreign embarkations to use Mozambique Island as their first port of call in the region. Navigation between Mozambique Island and the so-called subaltern ports required authorization for each voyage. This authorization was dependent on a visitation document and a cargo manifest in all ports where the ships operated. All ships had to go first to Mozambique Island and pay the entry and exit duties for the goods including the advance of payment for the transactions related to the movement of enslaved African labourers in the subaltern ports yet to be visited. The transportation of goods distributed by the department of commerce (fazendas de lei) and the goods distributed by all merchants (fazendas livres) were moved from and to Mozambique Island connecting local markets and communities located along the shorelines of southeastern Africa. The movements of these goods were centrally regulated and seasonally operated but there were fissures in its management which allowed those engaged in the traffic to take advantages of these maritime and coastal operations.[26]

The circuit of regional navigation for the trade to subaltern ports was organized yearly, with official embarkations departing from Mozambique Island to the northern islands in Cabo Delgado, and towards the southernmost ports of Inhambane and Lourenço Marques Bay.[27] At least twice in the year the "fazendas de lei" were transported from Mozambique Island to the ports of Quelimane and Angoche, and every other year to Sofala. The maritime journeys from the central government to the coastal towns were accompanied by local functionaries carried on local *dhows* navigated by experienced Swahili, Banyans (Indian merchants) and free African sailors.[28] Merchants and friars were able to trade some of the merchandise left from the "fazendas de lei" with traders from the interior. Within this context, enslaved African persons became some of the most important "merchandise" to be transported across the

[25] Capela, *O Tráfico de Escravos nos Portos de Moçambique, 1733-1904* (Porto: Afrontamento, 2002), 27-133.
[26] Capela, *O Tráfico de Escravos*, 209; Boletim do Governo Geral da Provincia de Moçambique, "Embarcacões Entradas – Embarcões Sahidas," 1854-1860.
[27] *Delagoa Bay*, in British and US American historiography.
[28] The Indian merchants "if Hindu, were usually generically termed Banyans." Newitt, *A History of Mozambique* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), 181; Alpers, "Gujarat and the Trade of East Africa, c.1500-1800," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 9, No. 1 (1976), 22-44; Pedro Machado, *Ocean of Trades. South Asians Merchants, Africa, the Indian Ocean, c.1750-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); and Luis Frederico Antunes, "A margem da escrita: Formas de comunicação entre mercadores indianos e autoridades portuguesas de Africa oriental," *Cultura. Revista de Historia e Teoria de las Ideas* 24 (2007), 76 and 84.

interconnected littoral societies in southeastern Africa at the turn of the eighteenth century. According to Fr. Bartolomeu dos Mártires, Prelate of Mozambique (1819-1828), in 1819, sixteen ships operated by Brazilian traders left Mozambique Island with cargos of enslaved African people.[29]

The islands of Cabo Delgado, also known as Querimba Islands, located in the northernmost part of what is today Mozambique, offered another set of opportunities for the traffic of enslaved persons. The islands that form this archipelago included numerous islets and rocky outcrops. This maritime section of the northern enslaving zone of southeastern Africa is close to the coast, linked by sandbars, coral reefs and mangrove forests forming an intricate network of commerce and communication between the inhabitants in the islands and communities settled on the littoral. Historically, these islands were associated with the trade in silk and cotton cloth, coir, ivory, meat, millet, rice, beans, and palm products of which the central government was based at Mozambique Island depended. [30]

The significant number of Muslim communities who lived in the region of the Querimba Islands had close ties with merchant-families in Kilwa, Zanzibar, Malinde (in modern Kenya), Mozambique Island, Angoche, Quelimane, Bazaruto Islands, Inhambane, Lourenço Marques and other small towns located both in the coastal line and the interior hinterland.[31] The commercial experience accumulated by island merchants allowed traffickers of all nations who approached the coast to understand the know-how of the traffic in the region and how to escape the pursuit of the British and Portuguese naval forces. Arab dhows, American and European built ships equipped for the traffic found isolated spaces and secluded areas to escape the patrolling forces in the Querimba Islands. The coastal waterways, creeks and sheltered harbors were ideal for trade activities linked to the traffic which, in turn, stimulated the commercial life within the interrelated network of islands and dhows operations. Within the northern enslaving zone of southeastern Africa, Ibo Island became second only to Mozambique Island in the development of a strategic and prosperous center of mercantile life.[32]

[29] AHM, Fundo do Século XIX - Secção Especial, S.E a.III, 9, Doc. 216, [Bartolomeu dos Mártires de Maia], "Memória chorográfica,"1823.
[30] Eduardo Medeiros, *História de Cabo Delgado e do Niassa, c.1836-1929* (Maputo: Central Impressora, 1997).
[31] Alpers, *Ivory and* Slaves, 172-208; G. S. P Freeman-Grenville, *French at Kilwa: An Episode of the Eighteenth-century East African History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).
[32] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, 192; Francesca Declich, "Transmission of Muslim practices and women's agency in Ibo Island and Pemba (Mozambique)," *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 7, No. 4 (2013), 588-606.

The Querimba Islands, particularly the larger of them like Querimba, Ibo, Matemo and Amisa, became well-known strongholds for the business of enslavement by which those who engaged in the traffic with the Indian and Atlantic dealers benefitted. For example, the maritime corridors between Zanzibar Island and Ibo Island received an increased number of ships which originated in Cuba after the Anglo-Spanish negotiations which made the trade in enslaved Africans illegal in the Spanish colonies after 1820. The purchase of eastern and southeastern African enslaved workers for the buoyant Cuban markets was kept relatively steady up to the early 1860s. The networked enslaving zones near Cabo Delgado Islands and Mozambique Island became the principal spots to purchase southeastern Africans who were enslaved and transported to Cuba between 1790 and 1860.[33]

The trading towns of Quelimane located in the central enslaving zone in southeastern Africa and Inhambane in the southern portion of the region attracted a significant number of foreign merchants at the turn of the eighteenth century but also witnessed the reinvigoration of the trafficking carried by local Muslim traders established in both port towns.[34] Until then, these Portuguese villages were associated with long distance trade in gold, ivory, and other local goods. During the second decade of the nineteenth century, these two port-cities witnessed the increased demand for enslaved workers due to the liberalized trade regime established by the Portuguese and implemented in the region through the official authorities located at Mozambique Island. The liberalization of the trade from other ports like Quelimane, ameliorated but did not amend the historical contradictions between resident merchants, landowners, religious representatives, and other official authorities such as governors, military personnel and administrative clerks who also owned enslaved African people. The combination of ineffective official regulatory orders to avoid the widespread smuggling of enslaved African people and the involvement of Portuguese official representatives with foreign and local sale agents based in the main ports across eastern and southeastern African littoral increased the rapid insertion of its enslaving zones into the global market of enslaved persons identified as enslaved Mozambique workers. The alarming corruption within the trading houses linked to government officials which was evident in all ports used for the trade of the enslaved Africans in the continent, and elsewhere, was also observed in southeastern Africa through the nineteenth century. As Capela has argued both male and female enslavers were ship proprietors

[33] León, "In-Between," 7-12.
[34] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, 139.

who became active and avid negotiators at custom houses of the region where duties had to be paid for every enslaved person transported in their embarkations.[35]

Quelimane which was historically connected with the system of *prazos da Coroa* –lands granted in tenancy by the Portuguese Crown to private individuals– and located in the delta of the Zambezi River became an important trading center in which official authorities were, directly, involved in the traffic of bonded persons. [36] Natural and social conditions in the Zambezi Valley such as drought and famine in the early nineteenth century increased the supply of enslaved individuals to the coast.[37]

Governor-general Manuel Joaquim Mendes de Vasconcelos e Cirne memorialized his observation of the strategic importance of the port of Quelimane for long distance maritime trade, specifically for the trafficking of enslaved workers, which was carried on by the Brazilian dealers. The commercial reputation of the merchandise traded from the villages of Tete, Sena, and the *prazos* in the Zambezi Valley through the port of Quelimane attracted dealers of various places who also procured enslaved persons. Those sailing from an Atlantic outpost on the coast benefited for the commercial web of trafficking sustained by Quelimane dealers. During the first period of the government of Vasconcelos e Cirne between1814 and 1820, the seaport of Quelimane acquired more autonomy from the society on Mozambique Island. At the same time, the rapid expansion of the traffic had a direct impact in the development of the mercantile economy in Quelimane. It included the improvement of the technology and the operation systems of the ships which navigated to distant places of embarkation in the western Indian Ocean.[38]

Quelimane became an important trade center for merchants who invested in the shipbuilding industry. In 1817, the Quelimane custom house registered the construction of large ships for long voyages, and with even more space to accommodate the enslaved African people. Some of the ships registered as built in the proximities of the port of Quelimane in 1817, were the brig *S. Marcos*, with a capacity for transporting 450 enslaved persons; the *Constitucional*

[35] Capela, *As burguesias*, 117-191.
[36] Allen Isaacman, *Mozambique: The Africanization of a European Institution: The Zambezi Prazos, 1750-1902* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972); Eugénia Rodrigues, *Portugueses e Africanos nos Rios de Sena. Os Prazos da Coroa em Moçambique nos Séculos XVII e XVIII* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2013).
[37] Machado, *Ocean of Trade*, 225-227.
[38] Capela, *O Tráfico*, 221.

Africano, for 780; the *Nossa Senhora de Guia Morgada de Olmedo*, for 548, and the galley *Philonela*, for 700.[39]

Still, there were fluctuations in the numbers of enslaved persons embarked at Quelimane due to the international prohibitions from the central government in Mozambique Island on the traffic and competing local measures to prevent movement of the trade in subaltern-ports. After 1811, Brazilian traffickers could sail directly to Quelimane without first calling at Mozambique Island, but they did so more frequently after 1817. The latter year saw more than 3000 enslaved persons embarked in the secluded areas near the delta of the Zambezi Valley. Brazilian ships went straight to Quelimane but had still to maneuver through the custom regulations of the Portuguese authorities.[40]

The trading network of Quelimane reached local markets in Zanzibar and Kilwa, regional markets in Gujaratand long-distance trading ports in Rio de Janeiro in Brazil and Havana in Cuba. Quelimane doubled its exports in enslaved African persons between 1811 and 1816. It has been estimated that the numbers of southeastern Africans persons exported from this port increased from 5000 to 6000 between 1819 and 1825 and from the late 1820s to the 1840s, the exports went from 5,000 to 10,000 annually.[41] This multilayered system of captivity included barracoons and stone-type warehouses which were built along the shorelines connecting the main enslaving zones in southeastern Africa to other secret and inaccessible spaces of embarkation, kept far from the eyes of some official authorities.[42]

The development of the market in enslaved Mozambique workers in the southern portion of the region impacted the economy of the village of Inhambane by expanding its regional and international trading networks.[43] The commercial activities in the nearest areas of this port town pre-date the Europeans in the region. The Portuguese settlement of this port town was established around 1728. The settlers engaged in local and external trade with the Swahili,

[39] Capela, *As burguesias*, 144.
[40] Capela, *O Tráfico*, 220-224.
[41] Machado, *Ocean of Trade*, 227; Gherard Liesegang, "A First Look at the Important and Export Trades of Mozambique," in *Figuring African Trade: Proceeding of the Symposium on the Quantification and Structure of the Import and Export and Long Distance Trade in Africa, 1800-1913*, eds. Gherard Liesegang, H. Pash and A. Jones (Berlin: D. Reimer Verlag, 1986), 463.
[42] Capela, *O Tráfico*, 223.
[43] Cándido Texeira, "A Fundação de Inhambane e a sua Estructura Administrativa e Governamental nos Meados do Século XVIII." *Revista Arquivo* 8 (1990), 5-54.

Indian merchants, and southern Tonga towns.[44] There were instances of distrust between the Portuguese settlers and the Islamized trading groups of merchant-families located on the coast. As a result, the Portuguese started using Africans like the *mussambazes* (traders) of Zambesia and the *patamares* (merchant enslaved person) in Mozambique Island for their trade to the interior.[45] By mid-nineteenth century, bonded labourers and free individuals who worked as porters carrying loads of ivory, pitch, amber, rice and pearls from Inhambane to Bazaruto Islands were part of the expansion of the commerce of the former. Some of the bonded individuals were retained in the village and employed in domestic servitude, while others ended up transported to enslaving zones in the Indian and Atlantic Oceans.[46]

The export from Inhambane accounted for 400 enslaved workers sold in 1762. Around 1,500 enslaved workers were exported in 1768.[47] During this period, Inhambane became the principal port which provided enslaved to Mozambique Island. However, Inhambane was far away in the south, away from the strong control of the Portuguese authorities, which allowed space for the traffic. [48] There was a regular and increasing presence of French dealers known locally as "mafutri" from the 1780s to about the 1840s.[49]

At Inhambane, the trade in ivory continued after a brief period of stagnant trade in the early 1780s due to an inefficient custom regime, lack of Portuguese settlers, and shortage of transport.[50] Adding to this commercial scenario were the contradictions in existence with the trading communities of Muslims, which at some point relocated their mercantile operations from the village to the zone of Pomene, in the north. At the turn of the eighteenth century, the control of important areas of trade with the interior and the coast continued at the center of the economic and military conflicts between local Portuguese settlers, administrators, and the local African communities. Some members of the native population took advantage of the alliances with the Portuguese. Political divisions and rivalries which emerged between African chiefs of the same family saw the Portuguese troops aligned with one against another. With the help of the local Portuguese army, Chief Makwakwa confronted his uncle Chief "Dovo" (Dzovo),

[44] Liesegang, "Achegas para o Estudo das Biografias de Autores de Fontes Narrativas e Outros Documentos da Historia de Mocambique, II, III: Três Autores Sobre Inhambane: Vida e Obra de Joaquim de Santa Rita Montanha (1806-1870), Aron S. Mukhombo (ca. 1885-1940) e Elias S. Mucambe (1906-1969)," Revista *Arquivo* 8 (1990), 68.
[45] Also, *musambadzi*. Rodrigues, *Portugueses e* Africanos, 941.
[46] Liesegang, "Achegas," 70.
[47] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, 165.
[48] Capela, *O Tráfico*, 226.
[49] Liesegang, "Achegas," 70.
[50] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, 160-166.

between 1812 and 1813, in 1817 and again in 1821. In such circumstances, Chief Makwakwa extended his radius of influence 200 km southwest from the coastal village.[51] In times of war, the ivory roads and the march of the enslaved Africans to the coast were blocked. However, re-routing the caravans was among the options chosen to deliver the "merchandise" to the coastal merchants. During the same period, a Nguni group appeared in the proximities of Inhambane around 1824. [52] Both, the traffic of enslaved persons and the ivory trade from Inhambane was public and notorious during the following decades. Historians have shown that while the port Quelimane became the most important for the enslaving zone of Zambezia after the 1820s, Inhambane "became the most significant slave port for southern Mozambique."[53] The creation of the Exclusive Ivory Commercial Company of Inhambane and Lourenço Marques contributed to the expansion of the enslaving operations. In 1824, this business enterprise was chartered in Lisbon to contribute to the Portuguese trade in Africa, particularly with the southern region of southeastern Africa. However, much of the commercial activities of the Exclusive Ivory Commercial Company of Inhambane and Lourenço Marques were directly linked to the trade in enslaved Africans persons to regional markets, such as those in Brazil.[54]

The contours of this regional traffic had another set of difficulties when analyzing the regional dynamics of the enslavement and the trade in enslaved Africans from the nearest port of Lourenço Marques, toward the south. The increasing demand of southeastern African workers quickly incorporated Lourenço Marques Bay into the international circuit of the traffic. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century, vessels operating from these ports were linked to trading houses in Trieste, Lisbon, Inhambane, Mozambique Island, Comoro Islands, India, and other commercial enclaves in the Indian Ocean. Embarkations frequently sought refuge due to bad weather conditions and the need for refreshment in the southern enslaving zones from the Port of Natal to Lourenço Marques. Local inhabitants interacted with whalers and trade agents of diverse provenance including those located in the United States and Spanish Americas.[55]

[51] Liesegang, "Reconstruções de Complexos Políticos no Sul e Centro Sul de Moçambique cerca 1250-1850," [unpublilshed material], Maputo: Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, [2013-2014], 18-19.
[52] Liesegang, "Reconstruções," 18-19.
[53] Linell Chewins and Peter Delius, "The northeastern factor in South African history: Reevaluating the volume of the slave trade out of Delagoa Bay and its impact on its hinterland in the early nineteenth century," *The Journal of African History* 61, No. 1 (2020), 96.
[54] Chewins and Delius, "The northeastern factor," 102.
[55] Capela, *O Tráfico*, 228-231.

Commercial voyages in the interior of the Lourenço Marques Bay were mainly carried out by local indigenous Africans, and some Banyans working for merchant houses in Inhambane, Diu, and Bombay. Among these local sailors were free individuals who became sailors aboard the ships in the trade with India. Guogoma, Malambe, Manguetsabe, Chicânguo, Mucárie, Manuel Xacarias, Mananca Chiungue and "Posham Inioquão" were some of the proprietors of local embarkations who engaged in the maritime movement of local produce like millet, chopped wood, beads, ivory, and enslaved persons. Banyan Rama Xeque, a broker with long experience in the trade in Lourenço Marques Bay, Bazaruto and Bombay, negotiated the terms of the transportation of local ivory through the association with the business venture organized by merchant William Bolts which was supported by the Austrian Crown. According to Bolts' mercantile correspondence, as result of this commercial association, the *Squirrel* arrived at Lourenço Marques Bay carrying 19,165 rupias on 10 March of 1778.[56] Likewise, the *Conde de Prolli*, under the command of Captain Burton, entered in the bay with 29,965 rupias, while the *Expedition*, under the control of Captain Cahill, completed its first expedition of that year carrying back ivory, and with it some local African *marinheros* (sailors), and enslaved Africans to work in the warehouses of Hunter, Fell & Ivenson in Bombay.[57] During the following years, Dutch, Batavian and Chinese merchandise was transported to the exchange market that existed at the southern port city of Lourenço Marques. Nevertheless, as Alexandre Lobato noted the trade in "ivory absorbed all the preoccupations of every merchant at Delagoa."[58]

The port town of Lourenço Marques experienced years of abandonment and reoccupation during the 1790s. The town was almost destroyed due to the local rivalries between indigenous Africans and Portuguese settlers. On the north bank of the Lourenço Marques Bay, some of the principal villages led by local chiefs Chibanzana, Milengue Matola, Magaia and Nkaxa of Nwamalungo, and the smaller ones such as Mpfumu (Mafumu), Libombo, Sanguano next to the valley of the Umbeluzi River, were engaged in alliances to preserve their territories.[59] But also, these villages were involved in local rivalries with the Portuguese and Banyans for the control the commercial areas next to the Bay. Internal wars for the control of the chieftaincy of Matola depopulated areas nearby and produced some enslaved African people for trade at the Bay. Gerhard Liesegang suggested that by the turn of the eighteenth century and during the

[56] Alexandre Lobato, *Os Austríacos em Lourenço Marques* (Maputo: Arquivo Histórico de Mocambique, 2000), 17-206.
[57] Lobato, *Os Austríacos*, 17-206.
[58] Lobato, *Os Austríacos*, 17-206.
[59] Liesegang, "Introduction, *Os Austríacos*," 12.

period of the British abolition of the traffic there were an increasing social instability around the Lourenço Marques Bay, which included warfare within the southern enslaving zones, such was of the case of the Mfecane period.[60]

The Mfecane means "destruction" or "crushing" in the Zulu-Nguni language. It was a process of political change and the accompanying wars and migrations of Bantu-speaking groups in southern Africa, which had an intensive period from 1810s to the 1840s. The Mfecane was partly caused by changes in the Nguni groups that resulted in the development of the Zulu nation. The Sotho people call it the "Difaqane" or "Lifaqane", which mean "forced migration" and "hammering." The Mfecane spread its influence over an extensive area stretching from Cape Colony to East and Central Africa. [61] In this context, the 1810s saw the local polities of Dzovo and Makwakwa claiming more areas of dominance in Lourenço Marques Bay, contending between them, or siding with the Portuguese.[62] In the 1820s, the governor of Inhambane, Izidro Manoel de Carrazedo, ordered two military expeditions, probably through territories near Chibuto, Inhassune, and Guambe, against the followers of chief "Dzovo" and the "Massuitas," and "in favour" of chief Makwakwa.[63] As a result of these confrontations, enslaved individuals belonging to these local groups ended up at the markets both at Inhambane and Lourenço Marques Bay. In the 1820s, during a period of severe drought, clusters of groups under the denomination of Nguni began a trek to the interior from the south of present-day Mozambique toward the north to what is today Tanzania. There were disruptions of local villages and chieftaincies including the ones around the areas near the Zambesi River and the establishment of fortified strongholds at the confluence of the rivers increasing numbers of enslaved engaged in military armies. By the 1830s, the formation of the Gaza kingdom resulted from those internal and external factors.[64]

Recent discussions on the place of trade in enslaved persons in the southern enslaving zones have been taken further by Linell Chewins and Peter Delius.[65] When reconstructing the trade in enslaved Africans from Lourenço Marques Bay while incorporating Portuguese historical

[60] Liesegang, "Introduction," *Os Austríacos*, 12.
[61] Neil Parsons, "Prelude to Difaqane in the Interior of Southern Africa, 1600-c.1822," in *The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive Debates in Southern African History*, ed. Carolyn Hamilton (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995), 323-349; Gerhard Liesegang, "Nguni migration between Delagoa Bay and the Zambezi, 1821-1839," *African Historical Studies* 3, No. 2 (1970), 317-337.
[62] Liesegang, "Reconstruções," 18-19.
[63] Liesegang, "Reconstruções," 18-19.
[64] Liesegang, "Reconstruções," 18-19.
[65] Chewins and Delius, "The northeastern factor," 89-110.

sources to the analysis, Chewins and Delius demonstrated how increased numbers of African people were caught in "local warfare and systematic raiding" in the early nineteenth century. They concluded that the principal source for obtaining them was through the local military campaigns.[66]

Yet, it was known that during the first half of the nineteenth century many of the ports in eastern and southeastern Africa were still open to business even with suppressive measures in place.[67] This was the case for the period of intense Anglo-Portuguese negotiations between 1836 and 1842 to end the traffic, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Exports of enslaved African workers from southeastern African ports, 1836-1841/42

Year	Quelimane	Mozambique Island and minor ports	Total
1836	1,700	4,400	6,100
1837	4,300	10,600	15,000
1838	2,100	5,400	7,500
1839	4,900	12,200	17,100
1840	3,500	8,300	11,800
1841/1842	2,000	5,400	7,400

Source: Gerhard Liesegang, "A First Look at the Import and Export trade on Mozambique, 1800-1914," 464.

The commercial interaction of the traders located at the port-villages -from south to north- of Lourenço Marques, Inhambane, Quelimane and Mozambique Island also included the enslaving business with Muslims traders along the coast, with stronghold at Angoche, Ibo,

[66] Chewins and Delius, "The northeastern factor," 109.
[67] Valentim Alexandre, "Portugal e a abolição do tráfico de escravos (1834-51)," *Análise Social* 26 (Quarta Série), No. 111 (1991), 293-333; Alexandre, *Origens do colonialismo português modern (1822-1891)* (Lisboa: Sa da Costa, 1979); J. Almada, *Apontamentos históricos sobre a escravatura e o trabalho indígena nas colónias portuguesas* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1932).

Tungi, and further north in Zanzibar. [68] As noted, the merchants who operated from the islands of Cabo Delgado played an important role in the development of the enslaving operations of southeastern African people to regional markets of the western Indian Ocean and those far distant markets in the Atlantic.

Zanzibar's commercial circuit with southeastern African coastal towns

The historical linkages between the island of Zanzibar, as a translocal and glocal business in eastern Africa and the port towns in southeastern Africa like Ibo Island, Mozambique Island, Quelimane, Angoche, Quelimane and Inhambane strengthened during the nineteenth century. This led to an almost seamless integration between the local and global markets connected to Zanzibar which included the micro-historical connectedness between islands, the southern ports in the mainland under direct or nominal Portuguese administration and its people.[69] The workings of monsoon winds made it possible for merchants to sail along the coast on a seasonal basis that integrated inland, littoral and island societies of the eastern and southeastern African littoral into the capitalist trading network of the western Indian Ocean.[70]

As Zanzibar developed under the Omani rule the demand for eastern and southeastern African enslaved people, ivory and plantation products grew, attracting traders of varied provenance to the island.[71] Also, in the Mascarene Islands the upsurge in the demand for enslaved Africans workers increased after 1811, a trend that continue during the 1820s and early 1830s.[72] During this period, ships equipped for the traffic operated between Zanzibar and the Mascarene Islands in defiance of the international regulations against the trade in enslaved Africans. An example could be identified in the story of the French brig *Le Succès*. This ship was engaged in the traffic in Zanzibar between 28 June and 30 August 1820.[73] In October of the same year, *Le*

[68] AHM, Fundo do Século IX - Cabo Delgado, Governo do Distrito - Cx. 8/28, Maço 3, Docs. 87/92, "De Joaquím Pereira Marinho, Brigd. Gov. Geral de Moçambique para Domingo Francisco de Abreu, Commandante Militar de Cabo Delgado," 20 November 1840; Cx. 8/28, Maço 3**,** Doc. 107, "De Duarte Antonio Lobos, Oficcial Maior, Secretario do Governo Geral de Moçambique para Custodio de Jesús Lopes Camano, Comandante Militar do 6to Distrito, Ilhas Cabo Delgado, 14 June 1841; and Doc. 227, "De Rodrigo Luciano d'Abreu de Lima, Governador Geral para Rafael Antonio Carvalho, Comandante Militar del 6 Distrito Ilhas de Cabo Delgado," 4 August 1845.
[69] Rockel, "Between *Pori*, *Pwani* and *Kisiwani*," 95-122; Sheriff, *Dhow Culture and the Indian Ocean: Cosmopolitanism, Commerce and Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010); Capela, *O Tráfico*; Gwyn Campbell, "A Estructura do Comércio Marítimo de Inhambane nos Meados do Século XIX." *Arquivo. Boletim do Histórico de Moçambique* 8 (Outubro de 1990), 151-162.
[70] Alpers, "Indian Ocean Africa: The Island Factor," 43.
[71] Alpers, *Ivory and Slaves*; Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices & Ivory in Zanzibar: Integration of an East African Commercial Empire into the World Economy, 1770-1873* (London: James Currey, 1987); Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, 267.
[72] Allen, *European Slave* Trading, 153.
[73] Allen, *European Slave Trading*, 152-153.

Succès's ship captain and the ship supercargo disembarked 215 enslaved African individuals in Île Bourbon (in what is today La Réunion) who were purchased at Zanzibar. Some enslaved individuals and the *Le Succès*'s crew were interrogated by French colonial authorities. *Le Succès* engaged in a second voyage from Île Bourbon to Zanzibar in January 1821. Two months later, and during the return voyage, a British antislavery vessel forced *Le Succès* to enter Port Louis, Mauritius.[74] A series of interrogations followed which were organized by the British colonial authorities in Mauritius. *Le Succès* was transporting 324 enslaved persons of the "Mozambique caste."[75] It meant that the provenance of these enslaved individuals could be found in different locations in East Africa mainland, spoke different languages and represented different cultural groups.[76] In East Africa most of the enslaved Africans who were forcibly transported to Zanzibar and Pemba came from Kilwa, the main receiving-point for caravans from the Lake Nyasa interior and others enslaving ports further down the coast.[77]

On September 10, 1822, the Sultan of Muscat, whose dominions included the enslaving zone of Zanzibar, "entered" into "engagements" with the British crown to prohibit the exports of enslaved individuals by Europeans in East Africa and establishes a British observer at Zanzibar. Britain recognizes the Omani claims in East Africa including the existence of slavery.

The Moresby Treaty –named after Royal Navy Officer Fairfax Moresby who negotiated the treaty of behalf of Britain– "prohibited all slave trade to the south of Cabo Delgado."[78] According to Abdul Sheriff, "the Sultan of Zanzibar claimed that the concession had cost him MT$50,000, but considering a duty of MT$12, this would amount to about 4,000 slaves."[79] The Moresby Treaty included the protection of British properties, subjects and facilitated the regional expansion of the British regional trade northward to Zanzibar. These negotiations included the British right to seizure of any vessels and dhows suspected of trafficking enslaved Africans; ratified by Britain and Oman (Zanzibar) in 1845. The Treaty also restricted the trade in enslaved persons to Oman's possession in Arabia and East Africa.

[74] Allen, *European Slave Trading*, 153. Sue Peabody, "Slaves as Witnesses, Slaves as Evidence: French and British Prosecution of the Slave Trade in the Indian Ocean," in *Voices in the Legal Archives in the French Colonial World: "The King Is Listening,"* eds. Nancy Christie, Matthew Gerber, and Michael Gauvrea (Montreal: McGill-Queens Press, 2021), 281.
[75]Sue Peabody, "Slaves as Witnesses, Slaves as Evidence," 291-292.
[76] Alpers, "Mozambique and 'Mozambiques'," 39-61.
[77] Sheriff, "Slave Trade,"13-38.
[78] Sheriff, "Slave Trade,"26.
[79] Sheriff, "Slave Trade,"26. The Austrian Maria Theresa Thalers (MT$) was a trading currency on the coast which had an equivalence of two Indian Rupees or a fifth of a pound sterling [£].

The political struggle over succession, after the death of the Sultan Seyyid Said in 1856, the separation between Oman and Zanzibar, and the ratification of treaties between Britain and Zanzibar in 1861 for the suppression of the trade in enslaved in the Indian Ocean, did not stop the increasing traffic in enslaved people of eastern African origin. Moreover, Zanzibar and its enslaving operations with the port towns in southeastern Africa were central to the creation of the massive nineteenth plantation complex in the western Indian Ocean world. The production of agricultural commodities for both domestic and global consumption led to an increased demand for enslaved persons throughout eastern Africa; they were forcibly moved both to the coastal towns and to offshore islands, contributing to the populations of growing urban centres.

Zanzibar was the most important centre of dhow shipping in East Africa. There was a great deal of relatively unknown local trade with *mtepes* and small dhows entering creeks and lesser ports along the southeastern African coast.[80] The seasonal commercial activities of the dhows included the transportation of eastern African forced labourers to the enslaving zones in Zanzibar, Pemba, Mombasa, Malindi and to southern secluded areas of embarkation at Ibo, Sancul, Quintangonya Island, and the Quizungo river which enters the sea between Quelimane and Angoche.[81] In 1859, a British commissioner at Cape Town reported: "This Trade is chiefly carried in dhows, conveying from 30 to 140 slaves each, and we are informed there can be no pretence for styling this portion of the operation at least a voluntary emigration."[82] Local Muslim rulers, administrative officers, missionaries, prisoners, porters, smugglers, criminals, villagers, Indian merchants, dwellers, agricultural and household enslaved labourers, dockside custom officials, stevedores and other multiple types of workers were involved in all kind commercial transactions linked to the traffic. According to the journals and dispatches of British Consul at Zanzibar Christopher Palmer Rigby (1858-1861), Zanzibar's commercial network, local communities and particularly its enslaving business attracted the attention of traders in southeastern Africa and merchant-firms both in the Indian and Atlantic enslaving

[80] The *mtepe* was a boat associated with the Swahili people. The mtepe's planks were held together by wooden pegs and coir. It was a sewn boat designed to be flexible in contrast to the rigid vessels of western technique. Robert Marshall Adams, "Construction and qualitative analysis of a sewn boat of the Western Indian Ocean," MA thesis, Texas A&M University, College Station, 1985.

[81] Nancy Hafkin, Nancy, "Trade, Society and Politics in Northern Mozambique, c. 1753- 1913," PhD thesis, Boston University, 1973.

[82] "Her Majesty's Commissioners to the Earl of Malmesbury," Cape Town, January 23, 1859. In "Correspondence with the British Commissioners at Sierra Leone, Havana, The Cape of Good Hope, and Loanda; and from British Naval Officers, relating to the Slave Trade," April 1, 1859-March 31, 1860, no. 114 (London: Foreign Office, 1860), 105.

zones.[83] In 1859, Rigby commented on these connections: "Eboo [Ibo Island] appears to be the chief market from which they [enslaved Mozambiques] are shipped and it must be in the connivance of the Portuguese authorities at that Port."[84]

On August 4th, 1859, Rigby who relied in information provided by coasting vessels and custom houses reported from Zanzibar that an American ship under the Spanish flag purchased 1,200 enslaved Mozambique persons from nearby the enslaving port of Ibo Island in the region of Cabo Delgado. Rigby noted that:

> A few days ago, letters were received here from Eboo [Ibo] stating that two large slavers under Spanish colors had arrived at that Port and after making contracts and all arrangements for receiving cargoes of slaves, had stood out to sea, and were to return in about 20 days to ship the slaves.
>
> On these occasions the slave ships having previously made all arrangements with local agents seldom remain more than a few hours in the port; some spot on the coast is agreed upon, the slaves and provisions are collected at the appointed time, and within a few hours after the arrival of the slaver, they are all shipped, and the vessel leaves the coast.
>
> The slaves which are provided by the Agents at the Portuguese port of Eboo [Ibo Island] are taken by land about thirty miles to the south, and shipped in a small bay called Poona, it is described as having a very narrow entrance, and ships inside it cannot be seen by a vessel out at sea.[85]

Rigby's diplomatic documentation on Zanzibar offers the underlying interlinkages between the translocal enslaving zones located inland, the villages on the littoral and the islands entrepôts of southeastern Africa. Enslaved African persons were brought to Zanzibar from eastern and southeastern Africa in "open boats, packed so closely that there were exposed day and night to sun, wind and rain, with only sufficient grain to keep them from starvation."[86] The provenance of these enslaved Africans are also evident in the "List of slaves unlawfully held in slavery by British Indian subjects at Zanzibar & its dependencies, who have been emancipated at the Consulate," also known as the Rigby Manumission List (1860-1861). A large proportion of enslaved Africans released at Zanzibar by Rigby originated in the Lake Nyasa region and

[83] Zanzibar National Archives (ZNA, hereafter) AA 3/19, Outward Letter Book 1859-1861, "Rigby to Anderson," Secret Department/Slave Trade/July 25, 1859.
[84] ZNA, "[Captain Rigby to Mr.Anderson]," 1859. Also see the copy of a dispatch addressed to the Secretary of State for India: "Captain Rigby to Sir C. Wood," Zanzibar, September 1, 1859, inclosure 86. In "Correspondence with the British Commissioners at Sierra Leone, Havana, The Cape of Good Hope, and Loanda; and Reports from British Naval Officers, relating to the Slave Trade, April 1, 1859 to March 31, 1860 (Class A), inclosure 86, and inclosures 2 and 5, no. 87 and 88. *Accounts and Papers of the House of Commons*. London: Harrison and Sons, 1860, 66-78.
[85] ZNA, "[Captain Rigby to Mr. Anderson],"1859.
[86] Mrs. Charles E. B. Rusell, ed. *General Rigby, Zanzibar and the slave trade, with journals, dispatches, etc*. London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1935, 131.

northern Mozambique.[87] These multilayered spaces of enslavement and asymmetric power relations witnessed the complicated contours of the local, regional, and global enslaving operations which connected Zanzibar and a variety of towns in southeastern Africa.

Conclusion

The inland territories, villages on the littoral, port cities, island entrepôts and multiple small towns by the sea as enslaving zones were linked through a variety of interconnected historical processes and events leading to the enslavement and the trade of local southeastern African populations known as enslaved Mozambiques. Moreover, the inland, littorals, and insular regions in southeastern Africa can be seen as intra-oceanic enslaving zones which were in constant social transformation due to the advent of new methods of exploitation brought by local, regional, and other international foreign traders. As noted, there was an increased incorporation of internal markets and enslaving coastal and insular zones of southeastern Africa into regional and global markets of goods and bonded African labour between 1790 and 1860. These historical processes support the argument that also the seaside towns – which mixed inland, littorals and insular spaces –, witnessed and engaged with economic disjunctures, asymmetrical power relations, and socio-cultural processes by which human beings located in the region of what is today Mozambique were enslaved (as opposed to simply "being slaves"). Arguably, there was an extension of those processes into all commercial circuits with connected coastal and insular zones in southeastern Africa with other in eastern Africa and beyond. Also, unto the ships, the dhows, the mtepes and within the plantations, garrisons, and a variety of trans-local and contested spaces where there were relentless processes of *enslaving* individuals whose origins, in this case, was southeastern Africa.

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[87] Hideaki Susuki, "Enslaved Population and Indian Owners Along the East African Coast: Exploring the Rigby Manumission List, 1860-1861," *History in Africa* 39 (2012), 209-239.

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