

Children of Ham

Freed Slaves and Fugitive Slaves
on the Kenya Coast, 1873 to 1907

Fred Morton



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Tom Smith, Bombay African, freed slave resident of Frere Town, near Mombasa, and Chief Engineer of the "Dove," the Church Missionary Society's steamer, ca. 1875

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To

Rob Gregory, Rod Macdonald, and Alan Smith



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FRONTISPIECE

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(from the Binns photograph albums, Kenya National Archives)

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Fred Morton

Introduction

On the Kenya coast, slavery was a brand transmitted as a birthmark. It was, as the Miji Kenda of the coastal hinterland would say, *k'autsuka hiraka*, not quickly cleansed. To the Muslim Swahili and Arab, the slave was *hayawana* (a brute) and *'adua 'Ilahi u Rasul* (an enemy of God and the Prophet), who was owned and ruled in accordance with God's will. Slaves and their descendants were *watoto wa Hami* (the children of Ham), cursed by God to be the slaves of the children of Shem and Japhet.

The notion that slaves were ordained inferiors was also popular among European Christians. One Protestant bishop's comment about freed slave children in Mombasa is typical of European attitudes toward coastal slaves and ex-slaves in general: "From their earliest," he asserted, "[they] have been taught and grown up in all possible wickedness."¹ Christian and Muslim alike thought of slaves and ex-slaves as God's children but as those children who stood furthest from His Grace. All Christians or Muslims, apart from a rare individual or two, presumed the children of Ham to be incapable of salvation, felt no responsibility for their suffering, and opposed steps toward their unconditional freedom. Slaves and ex-slaves were expected to receive their blessings insofar as they served their superiors.

Slaves were the means by which coastal Kenya was attached to the commercial empire of the Busaidi of Zanzibar, whereas slaves and freed slaves were used by British officials and missionaries in establishing themselves in the same territory. Under the Busaidi, slaves raised grain on the Kenya coast to feed Busaidi-controlled Zanzibar and Pemba. British officials and missionaries then campaigned against the slave trade to gain leverage over the Busaidi. Slavery itself was a side issue. Crown officials and missionaries needed slaves and freed slaves to build their stations, swell lists of converts, man caravans, and staff junior positions. Slaves and ex-slaves possessed value insofar as they advanced powerful interests, just as quests for power overrode saving lives and protecting individuals. Political contenders on the coast--whether Busaidi sultans and governors, British officials and missionaries, or coastal leaders and communities--regarded slaves and ex-slaves as laborers or followers to be used. Protection was offered on terms equivalent to servitude. On the Kenya coast, the powerful coerced the weak and treated them as rank inferiors.

Before slavery was abolished in 1907, slaves and "freed" slaves had to seize their own freedom. They had to capture and control their own land and establish their own communities. Opportunities arose because of the political and military

¹ Hannington to Stock, 8 May 1885, G3A5/02, Church Missionary Society Archives, London (CMS).

conflicts raging in the late nineteenth century. Fugitive slaves (*watoro*) established settlements beyond territories controlled by coastal slave owners or imperial officials and in the crevices separating hinterland groups. Freed slaves also took control of mission stations neglected by European missionaries and admitted *watoro*. Freed slaves and *watoro* formed organized, self-governing communities that expanded through agriculture, trade, and fresh intakes of *watoro*.

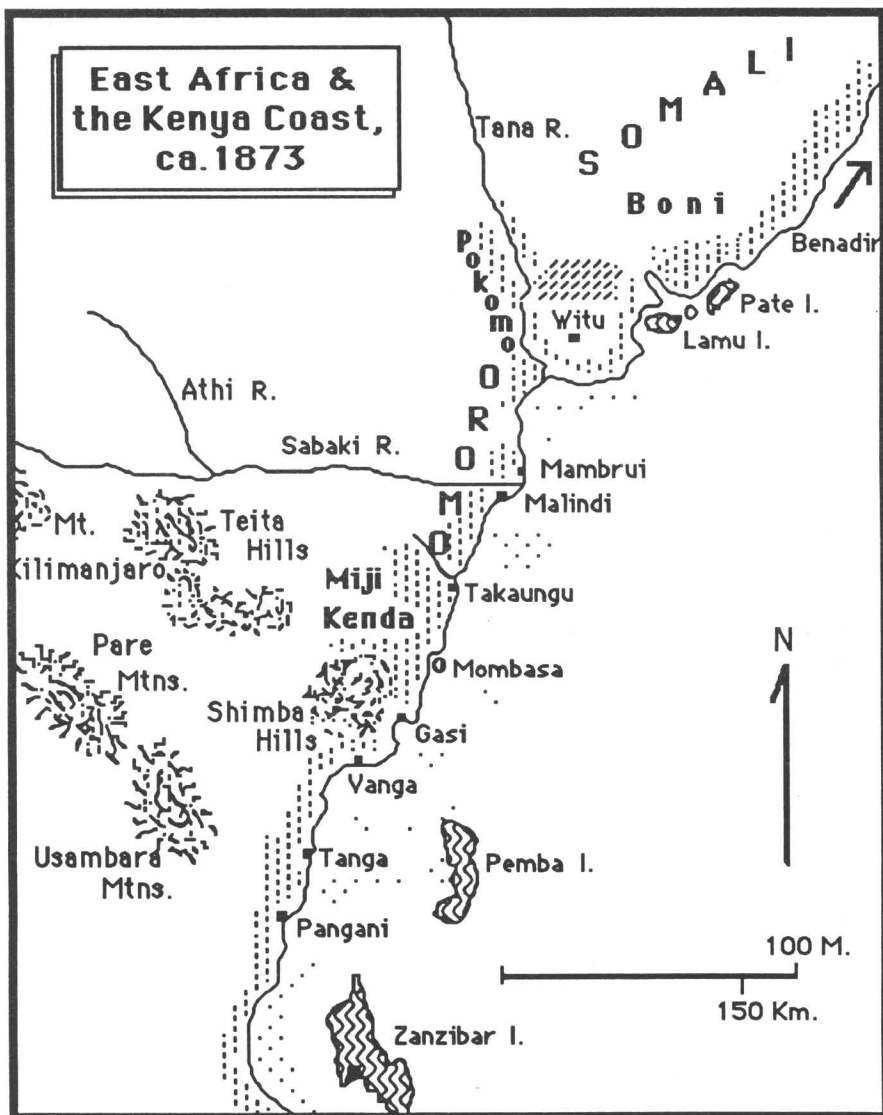
Their success, though limited, was sufficient to make them pariahs. Independent communities such as these upset calculations of the powerful, who counted obedient slaves or freed slaves as assets and discounted runaway slaves or assertive freed slaves as liabilities. As a rule, European missionaries distanced themselves from maroons,² while British and Muslim officials reviled them as the "worst characters on the coast" and sent combined forces against them. Protecting and sustaining these enclaves was a constant challenge. Maroons and freed slaves met it by communicating with one another, forging alliances with neighbors, making treaties with enemies, acquiring arms, and going to war.

Children of Ham: Freed Slaves and Fugitives Slaves on the Kenya Coast, 1873 to 1907 is a chronological account of the repeated bids for freedom made by slaves and ex-slaves on the Kenya coast and of the obstacles placed in their way by the British, the Busaidi Arabs, and the peoples of the coast. Efforts to escape slavery are as old as slavery itself on the Kenya coast, but the principal story begins in 1873, when Britain pressured the sultan of Zanzibar to abolish the ocean-going slave trade. Thereafter, political and military conflict intensified on the coast, while opportunities for slaves to escape increased accordingly. This period, ending roughly with the abolition of the legal status of slavery in 1907, corresponds to the imperial scramble from its earliest stages to the effective establishment of European rule.

Chapter One argues that coastal slavery was harsh and the desire to escape it strong, with opportunities for flight determined by changing external circumstances. It challenges the standard accounts, based on Frederick Cooper's arguments, which portray nineteenth-century coastal slavery as fundamentally benign and the Kenya coast during this period as static. Other, methodological, differences with regard to emphasis, sources, and chronology are highlighted.

Chapter Two relates the stories of three communities of *watoro* that flourished during the violent era of the slave trade. The oldest and largest *watoro* group was that of the Goshu, who settled on the banks of the Juba river in Somaliland. The other two were the *watoro* attached to Ahmed b. Fumo Luti ("Simba") of Witu and to Mbaruk b. Rashid of Gasi. The combined population of these three groups totalled in the thousands. In the decades they survived, *watoro* suffered great hardship and inflicted great harm on others. At constant risk of being recaptured, *watoro* often became marauders themselves; they attacked

² Maroon, meaning a fugitive slave, especially one belonging to a settlement of other fugitive slaves, is a term borrowed from the Americas. It was not used as a designation by observers in East Africa at the time.



coastal plantations, killed and raided for slaves, defied coastal authorities, flirted with imperialists, and ultimately confronted the British. Their stories demonstrate the extremes to which runaways were prepared to go to avoid slavery. Their experiences, nevertheless, underscore themes common to all ex-slaves.

Chapter Three is an account of how freed slaves became disenchanted with the Church Missionary Society (CMS) at Frere Town, East Africa's most ambitious experiment for the settlement of recaptives of the British Naval Patrol in the Indian Ocean. Missionary racism and authoritarianism, and the missionary alliance with Busaidi and British officials, were underlying factors, as was the missionaries' persecution of the freed slave elite known as the "Bombay Africans." Frere Town declined within years of its founding in 1874, abandoned its support of adult freed slaves, and, after an abortive uprising in 1880, lost the confidence of coastal slaves, who had thought European missionaries had come to help fight their battles.

Chapter Four recounts the relationship between missionaries and fugitive slaves in the Mombasa, Takaungu, and Malindi hinterlands, climaxing with the emergence of Fuladoyo, a *watoro* Christian community. *Watoro* expected help from missionaries, but ultimately they alone faced their former owners and Busaidi troops in a sequence of battles in the 1880s.

Chapter Five tells the story of one of Kenya's most remarkable personalities, the ex-slave deacon William Henry Jones, and his efforts in the 1880s to create a freed slave community at Rabai that incorporated *watoro* and indigenous Africans of the hinterland. Rabai's rapid growth under Jones's leadership illustrates how the children of Ham attempted to gain acceptance on something approaching their own terms. Rabai's success was temporary, not from want of imagination or effort, but because Jones's community challenged the might of the coastal slave owners, undermined white control of the Church Missionary Society, and threatened the legitimacy of the new Imperial British East Africa Company.

Chapter Six reassesses the role of the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEACO) in its relations with *watoro*, freed slaves, and slaves. From its establishment in November 1888 to its withdrawal from the coast in July 1895, the IBEACO reinforced the military power of slave owners, stimulated demand for slave labor, and ignored slave trading. The IBEACO participated in attacks on maroon villages, fomented the destruction of Witu, and tracked down *watoro* for their owners. Though the IBEACO expected slave owners to ameliorate conditions of slavery and though they enforced laws to that effect through Busaidi officials, the Company discouraged manumission and opposed abolition.

Chapter Seven measures the cost to ex-slaves and slaves of the establishment of the East Africa Protectorate in July 1895. Under Arthur Hardinge, the Protectorate followed the IBEACO's policies on slavery and runaway slaves and actively undermined attempts to have the legal status of slavery abolished. Perhaps the greatest tragedy in the history of slavery of the Kenya coast was

occasioned by the manner in which the Protectorate established its authority. Hardinge's first step--putting down armed Mazrui resistance in Takaungu and Gasi districts--led straight to the Anglo-Mazrui War of 1895-96. Thousands of innocent slaves suffered as war victims. British and Mazrui combatants regarded slaves as potential allies or enemies and their crops as having potential value to the other side. Slaves were therefore coerced, dispersed, attacked, or killed and their crops and trees destroyed. The war, together with the pro-slave owner policy of the Protectorate, led to a mass exodus of slaves from coastal plantations.

Chapter Eight challenges Frederick Cooper's argument that with abolition slaves became squatters on old plantations. Evidence shows that in the 1890s only a few ex-slaves remained in plantation districts, whereas the vast majority fled. The post-abolition experience is too diverse to be served by the squatter paradigm. The chapter examines ex-slave groups and the lives of individual ex-slaves--farmers, town dwellers, mission adherents, chiefs, and administrators--to demonstrate their creative efforts to divest themselves of the mark of slavery, reduce their vulnerability, and, in some cases, continue fighting their old enemies. Distilling their stories into a single conclusion risks overlooking countless variables of time, personality, and place, but one thing can be said: following abolition, some children of Ham gained opportunities to improve their material lives, but the abolition of the legal status of slavery enabled few to alter their status as social and political inferiors.



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1

Slavery and Escape

William Jones, 1861:

Cruelly did the other fellow creatures suffer who came with me from my country; but I was free....¹

1. *Slavery on the Kenya Coast*

Modern plantation slavery was introduced on the Kenya coast no earlier than the 1820s, but within decades slaves made up nearly 25 per cent of the population. Of an estimated 168,000 people living between Tanga and the Lamu archipelago in 1887, slightly more than 40,000 were slaves.² Since the early nineteenth century, when the slave markets in Kilwa and Zanzibar expanded, coastal Kenya had become a slave-importing region in which all coastal groups--Arab, Swahili, Miji Kenda, Oromo, Pokomo, Somali, and Wata--used slave labor. Slaves of the Kenya coast performed a variety of tasks and roles, such as artisans, soldiers, and domestics, but the large majority worked as field hands near the coastline and became the mainstay of a lucrative grain-export trade. Furthermore the majority of slaves lived in areas suitable for farms and plantations. Three such areas of importance had emerged by 1873. The first was the *barani* (mainland), opposite the Lamu archipelago. The *barani* was developed as a millet-, rice-, and sesame-producing region in the 1820s by the Bajuni, and other island dwellers, after Sultan Seyyid Said of Zanzibar established Busaidi rule in the archipelago and improved Lamu's port.³ The second slave area was established at Takaungu by the Zaheri Mazrui following their eviction from Mombasa in 1837 by the forces of Sultan Said.⁴ The third was the Malindi hinterland, developed in the

¹ From the autobiography of William Jones, CI3/067, Church Missionary Society Archives, London (CMS).

² Figures from R.F. Morton, "Slaves, Fugitives, and Freedmen on the Kenya Coast, 1873 to 1907" (Syracuse: Syracuse University Ph.D. dissertation, 1976), 46, 398-402.

³ Lamu also became the seat of Said's governor. M. Ylvisaker, *Lamu in the Nineteenth Century: Land, Trade, and Politics* (Boston: Boston University African Studies Center, 1979), 109-110.

⁴ Morton, "Slaves, Fugitives, and Freedmen," 57-60; P. L. Koffsky, "History of Takaungu, East Africa, 1830-1896" (Madison: University of Wisconsin Ph.D. Thesis, 1977), 31-95. See ch. 2.

1860s by Said's successors as Zanzibar's breadbasket. In addition to Lamu, Takaungu, and Malindi, small numbers of agricultural slaves were located in the rural suburbs of Mombasa and other southern ports, and in the southern coastal hinterland.⁵

Slavery preexisted the plantations, but in mild form. In the early nineteenth century slaves were owned by leading townsmen. The Mazrui governors of Mombasa were the largest slave owners, prior to their ouster by the Busaidi, and turned out large groups of slaves for public works and military service. Male slaves were especially important to the Mazrui and to the rival political groups in Mombasa as personal retainers who could be called upon for military support. Such slaves, along with the children of slave concubines, were grafted onto existing lineages.⁶ In later years, slavery underwent considerable change as a result of the expansion of grain production in Lamu, Takaungu, and Malindi. Large-scale slave importation resulted in more pernicious forms of slavery based on coercion and on exclusion from coastal society.

By the 1840s, the burgeoning slave community constituted a large and differentiated underclass on the coast. Collectively they were known as *watumwa* or *waja*. Those recently arrived, called *mateka* or *waja na ngoma*, occupied the bottom rung. New slaves were regarded as *wajinga* ("fools," "ignoramus"), whose unfamiliarity with the Swahili language and culture suited them only to the simple, unskilled tasks. They worked primarily in the fields, but some fished, worked as boatmen, or provided general labor in the towns. Slaves who had lived for a while on the coast and their offspring (*vivyalia* in Mombasa, *wazalia* in Lamu) performed domestic chores or became skilled artisans in the towns. Male Slaves (*watwana*), or young lads (*vitwana*) ranked from the domestics (*watumwa wa nyumba*), working as pages, personal attendants, and messengers, up to the *mafundi*, who were the artisan builders, tailors, carpenters, and metalworkers. Women slaves (*wajakazi*, girls *vijakazi*) not employed in the fields worked mainly in their owners' domiciles. Slave concubines (*masuria*, sing. *suria*), ranked above other female slaves in the home and, alone among slaves, were liable to have their children regarded by the father as free. The daughter of a *suria*, however, could be made a *suria* herself.⁷ Slaves distinguished among themselves according to dress and their owners' social status. They used the term *mjoli* ("fellow slave") to refer to their rank peers rather than to any *mtumwa*.⁸ Regardless, the freeborn regarded slaves collectively as an inferior, nonassimilable group.

⁵ Morton, "Slaves, Fugitives, and Freedmen," 61-9; F. Cooper, *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 81-102.

⁶ T. Boteler, *Narrative of a Voyage of Discovery to Africa and Arabia*. 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1835), II, 208; J. Gray, *The British in Mombasa, 1824-1826* (London: Macmillan, 1957), 124.

⁷ See the case of Kaizuia in Mohamed b. Sudi b. Mbaruk to Craufurd, 14 Dec. 1898, CP 67/ 14, Kenya National Archives, Nairobi (KNA).

⁸ Slave terminology is derived from L. Krapf, *A Dictionary of the Suahili Language* 2nd ed. (Ridgewood: Gregg Press, 1964); A.H.J. Prins, *The Swahili-Speaking Peo-*

Legally slaves had mere chattel status. Islamic law, of which the Sunni school was used along the coast, enjoined owners to treat slaves well, provide for their upkeep, respect their rights of property and family, and manumit them as a pious act. But the law was not consistently enforced until 1890; no higher authority was prepared to censure owners except in cases of extreme cruelty.⁹ To the freeborn, slaves were kinless persons. A common term for slaves, *waja*, underlines their plight: newcomers, those without local roots or families.¹⁰ The exercise of full privileges within coastal Muslim society depended on freeborn legitimacy and the relative position of one's family within the freeborn community. Freed slaves (*wahuru*) thus lacked the family ties necessary for leaving the slave class. *Uhuru* was an unprotected, though legal, status that carried no importance in the social sphere, and manumitted slaves were commonly re-enslaved. Slavery was itself an inherited, though kinless, status for which association with the owner's family determined one's home. The children of slaves (*wazalia*, lit. "those born here") became the dependents, if not slaves, of their parents' owner and his or her family.

As a class, slaves were identified exclusively with manual labor and dark skin color. "Work is the badge of the slave," noted Charles New who lived in the Mombasa area in the 1860s. In the estimate of freeborn Swahili, work was "disgraceful."¹¹ Debasement of manual labor among freeborn Muslims is a trend noted by other contemporary observers.¹² Among freeborn women, seclusion (*utawa*) represented a parallel development. Spending time outdoors was for slaves, an attitude observed as well by New during his visit in 1865 to Takauungu, where he chatted with two young married Arab women and an old female slave attendant. When New criticized the practice of seclusion, which, he claimed had "blanched [the women's skin] to a sickly whiteness," it was not the Arab women who rebutted him, but the slave:

ples of Zanzibar and the East African Coast (Arabs, Shirazi and Swahili) (London: International African Institute, 1952), 69; F. Johnson, ed., *A Standard English-Swahili Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939); H.K. Binns, *A Swahili-English Dictionary* (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1925).

⁹ Cooper, *Plantation Slavery*, 25; Hardinge to Kimberley, 26 Feb. 1895, C.7707, 27-31; M. Beech, "Swahili Life" (Fort Jesus Library typescript, n.d.); M.K. Mazrui, *Historia ya Utumwa katika Uislamu na Dini Nyingine* (Nairobi: n.p., 1970).

¹⁰ New Arab settlers, usually Hadrami, who arrived steadily in small numbers, were *waja na maji*, 'newcomers from over the water'. Though freeborn persons with Arab clan connections, they were normally barred from marrying into older coastal Muslim families.

¹¹ C. New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa*, 3rd ed., (London: Frank Cass, 1971), 64. See also Krapf to Venn, 7 Jun. 1845, CA5/M1, 613, and Krapf's "Memoir on the East African Slave Trade," CA5/016, CMS.

¹² H. Greffulhe, "Voyage de Lamoo a Zanzibar," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie et d'Etudes Coloniale de Marseille*, 12(1878), 212; Wilson to de Winton, 10 Aug. 1890, FO 403/138, 161; Gissing to Kirk, 14 Sep. 1884, FO 541, 243.

"Ah," she said, "that may be, but it is not so here. The Waungwana [free-born persons] must remain indoors, while the slave woman only go out into the sun, and on this account," said she, "look at me. I am black, while these children are almost white."¹³

Cooper has argued that, because many freeborn persons were black, color lines did not correspond with class division, but this was not so.¹⁴ What appears to have been the case was that slaves, being as they were black Africans, imbued their skin color with inferior social rank and encouraged dark-skinned, freeborn Swahili to pose as non-Africans.

Race consciousness among coastal freeborn is revealed in their notions of group descent. During the nineteenth century on the Kenya coast, the historical traditions of many established clans began to affirm southern Arabian or Omani origins. Many accounts of "Shirazi" or other, usually Africanized, origins were submerged or eliminated. The ascendancy of the Arab ancestral myth followed the period of the post-Portuguese influx into East Africa of Shafi Arabs from the Hadramaut, which according to J.S. Trimmingham, "was responsible for remolding Swahili culture and imprinting it with the dominant stamp it bears today." Trimmingham claims that the "Arab racial myth, together with the strong Arabism of Hadrami influence, caused the Arab element to dominate, whereas the earlier exotic traditions had succumbed to both Arabism and Bantuization."¹⁵ Evidence that the Arab myth was accepted on the Kenya coast exists in the *Kitab al-Zanuj* ("Book of the Blacks"), a late nineteenth century account which relates the story of the founding of towns on the Kenya coast by Yemini Arabs of the "Tubba' himyarite."¹⁶ The *Kitab al-Zanuj* places emphasis on several important clans of Mombasa, such as Changamwe, Kilifi,

¹³ S.B. Barton, "Extracts from the Journals and Letters of the late Rev. Charles New," *UMFC Magazine* (1878), 27-8. See also Tritton to commissioner, 30 Jan. 1903, CP 85/111, KNA.

¹⁴ Cooper, *Plantation Slavery*, 12, 27, 199, 267 (Cooper's work is discussed in this chapter's section, "The Historiography of Coastal Slavery," below). For the ideology of Arab "whiteness" and Arab racism, see J.P. Glassman, "Social Rebellion and Swahili Culture: the Response to German Conquest of the Northern Mrima" (Madison: University of Wisconsin Ph.D. dissertation, 1988), 107-8, 176-7.

¹⁵ *Islam in East Africa* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964), 22. "Among freemen there was a distinction between those free in origin (*asili*), having a genealogy (*nisba*), and the 'freedmen' (freed by a document, *kartasi*), and his descendants whose status was that of client to the former master's family." *Ibid.*, 146. See also A.H. El-Zein, *The Sacred Meadows: a Structural Analysis of Religious Symbolism in an East African Town* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1974), 51f.

¹⁶ The *Kitab al-Zanuj* originated most likely in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In the early twentieth century versions were located in Mogadishu, Kismayu, Witu, and Malindi. A full text of the *Kitab*, combining the first three above mentioned versions, is printed in Arabic together with an Italian translation in E. Cerulli, *Somali: Scritti vari Editi Ed Inediti*, 2 vols. (Rome: Istituto poligrafico, dello stato P.V., 1957), I, 233-92.

Mtwapa, and Mombasa, the names of which are alleged to represent certain places in southern Arabia. In light of earlier Mombasa clan traditions, which attest to "Shirazi" origins, the *Kitab al-Zanuj* version appears to be spurious, likely written to promote locally the notion of Arab descent.¹⁷ Of greater importance here, the *Kitab al-Zanuj* encouraged members of established clans not only to claim Arab origins, but to distinguish themselves racially, as well as in terms of descent--i.e., historically--from Africans. According to the *Kitab al-Zanuj*, the origin of the Africans is accounted for in the legend of Ham, the accursed son of Noah:

Ham was very handsome in appearance and gracious of feature, but God changed his color and [that] of his progeny because of the curse of Noah, who cursed Ham with the blackening of the features and blackening the faces of his progeny. And that his children were the slaves of the children of Sham and Japhet.

And he made them numerous and he multiplied them. When the Prophet of God (Noah) divided the land among his sons, Africa was dealt to Ham. The latter begat sons who are the blacks, whose hair does not go beyond their ears as we now see them.¹⁸

It was perhaps a natural outcome in a Muslim society in which ancestry played a vital role that the growing presence of a black slave class would lead to the acceptance of the Hamitic myth in popular ideas of race. In 1845 Ludwig Krapf heard it circulating in Mombasa:

I did not know before, that the name of Ham is known to the Suahelees. [To them] Ham signified a black man and a slave. If for instance a slave would take too much liberty in the presence of his master, the latter would say to him: get thee hence, thou son of Hami, thou art a slave and no Ungwana [*mngwana*], which means a free man, or a Lord. All the white people, the Wasungo, Arabs, and Indians are called Ungwana, in opposition to the blacks and slaves, or watoto wa Hami [children of Ham].¹⁹

Rendered inferior by color, birth, and occupation, slaves were reduced to objects of abuse. European observers, mostly resident missionaries, witnessed many incidents of severe punishment and cruelty inflicted on slaves, especially in the towns. In Mombasa the means of demanding obedience were harsh. "The instruments by which household discipline is maintained," remarked Charles

¹⁷ For an elaboration of these points in the context of Miji Kenda historiography, R.F. Morton, "New Evidence regarding the Shungwaya Myth of Miji Kenda Origins," *IJAHS*, 10, 4(1977), 628-43.

¹⁸ Cerulli, *Somali*, I, 254 (from the Italian translation).

¹⁹ Journal from 13 to 27 Mar. 1845, CA5/M1, 577, CMS. *Wasungo* (*wazungu*) = European. Krapf used the Swahili term for freeborn status, *ungwana*, instead of for free born persons (*mwungwana*, pl., *waungwana*). For the myth of Ham as part of Lamu's free born oral tradition, see Zein, *Sacred Meadows*, 199-213.

New, "are the stick, fetters, manacles, chains, and kongo [long forked stick] and the stocks, and they are not infrequently used."²⁰ Other observers of New's time bear him out. W.S. Price, a CMS missionary who arrived in Mombasa in 1875 to establish the Frere Town settlement, felt that "[although] some are kind in their treatment of their slaves, others are simply brutal."²¹

"Even here in one day," from my own window I have seen 1. a poor woman with heavy chains on her legs, so that she could only jerk herself along a few inches at a time, and carrying a load on her head; 2. a little girl of about 8 or 9 with an iron chain on her neck several feet in length, which was coiled up in a basket on her head, and at the same time carrying a burden in her hands, 3. a little boy of the same tender age, in similar condition, 4. a poor man emaciated and covered with sores, who in consequence of his heavy chains and extreme weakness, could only move along in a sitting posture on his hands!

Price wrote of a slave carpenter who, when trying to visit his wife in another part of town, was set upon by a mob of persons "who thrashed him with sticks within an inch of his life. He was truly in a pitiable state." Price appealed to the Governor, who took action against the offenders, but, as Price noted, "there are some scores of similar cases every week in Mombasa, in which poor wretches have no appeal."²² Price's experiences were not isolated. Until the late 1880s missionaries at Frere Town and other outlying stations recorded many cases of slaves who had fled to the missions in chains, manacles, or bearing physical evidence of severe beatings.²³ Europeans outside the mission also commiserated with the slaves' suffering. "That many of the Mombasa slave owners are cruel masters," wrote the British consul in Zanzibar, "needs no proof."²⁴

Punishment for slaves who tried to run away could be particularly harsh, even for children. New once encountered two youths heavily fettered and forced to carry heavy loads because they had tried to escape. In Lamu, in the 1880s slave children were "dragging about the streets a great pole fastened by a ring to their necks as a punishment," presumably for running away.²⁵ Adults were dealt with more severely. In 1882 one particularly gruesome incident occurred in

²⁰ New, *Life*, 503. For similar forms of punishment in the 1840s, Krapf, "Memoir on the East African Slave Trade," CA5/016, CMS, and idem, *Dictionary of the Suahili Language*, cv *mkatale* ("stocks").

²¹ Price to Wright, 29 May 1875, CA5/M4, 92, CMS.

²² Price journal, 25 Mar. 1876, CA5/023, CMS.

²³ Handford quarterly report, 25 Mar. 1876, CA5/011, CMS; Price journal, 22 Apr. 1876, CA5/023, CMS; Ramshaw to Bushell, 2 Feb. 1881, *UMFC Magazine*, Jul. 1881, 149; Howe to Editor, 19 Jun. 1896, *Missionary Echo*, 3(1896)--regarding an Mgingo slave who ran away in the 1880s. See also the extracts of letters from Menzies and Felkin in Hutchinson to Granville, 14 Jan. 1881, FO 541/49, 200-01.

²⁴ Kirk to Granville, 4 Apr. 1881, FO 541/49, 246.

²⁵ F. Jackson, *Early Days in East Africa*, 2nd ed. (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1969), 21.