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A Comparative Study of Anti-Slavery in 19th Century Middle East and North Africa: The Cases of the Egyptian Khedivate and the Husaynid Beylik of Tunis

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By

Seong Hyun Kim

Under the supervision of

Dr. Pascale Ghazaleh

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Introduction

Among the polities in the Middle East and North Africa during the nineteenth century, the Khedivate of Egypt and the Husaynid Beylik of Tunis shared similar aspects in dealing with the matter of slavery. Certainly, all polities in the Middle East and North Africa in the nineteenth century faced the same external pressure to abolish slavery and the slave trade. This pressure came from the British Empire, the prime mover of abolitionism in the nineteenth century. From the early nineteenth century, the British took the lead in the abolition of the slave trade and slavery. Britain abolished the slave trade inside the British Empire in 1807, and slavery in 1833. Then, it started to impose diplomatic pressure on other countries to follow the lead of it. After European and Latin American Countries, the polities in the Middle East and North Africa also encountered the same sort of pressure.

Egypt and Tunisia were no exception. From 1837, the Khedivate of Egypt began to face British insistence that the raids to capture slaves have to be ceased.[1] From the 1860s, British involvement intensified. As for the Husaynid Beylik of Tunis, the British also attempted to stop the slave trade across Tunisia from the 1830s and the *Miltiades* affair of 1841 brought increased intervention.[2]

Foreign intervention was not the only motive for the rulers of Egypt and Tunisia to implement the restriction or abolition of the slave trade. Internal causes also played a part.

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[1] Reda Mowafi, *Slavery, Slave Trade and Abolition Attempts in Egypt and the Sudan 1820 - 1882* (Stockholm: Esselte Studium, 1981), 45.

[2] The *Miltiades* was a Greek ship transporting black slaves from Tunis to Istanbul. It was detained by Greek port authorities in 1841. See Ismael M. Montana, "The Ordeals of Slaves' Flight in Tunisia," in *African Voices on Slavery and the Slave Trade: Volume 1: The Sources*, ed. Alice Bellagamba, Sandra E. Greene, and Martin A. Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 241.

While other polities, including the Ottoman central government, also regarded the restriction on slavery as a part of their projects for change,[3] Egypt and Tunisia had more specific reasons to restrict the practices of slavery and these internal causes were another common feature.

In case of the Khedivate of Egypt, while Saʿid (r. 1854-1863) tried to prohibit the slave trade in part because of his European culture and liberal education,[4] Ismaʿil (r. 1863-1879) justified expansion into Africa by asserting the need to suppress the slave trade. European figures including Speke and Saunders widely supported this argument.[5] He also attempted to get financial support from the European powers by emphasizing his engagement in anti-slavery actions. Ahmad Bey of Tunisia (r. 1837-1855) also sought Britain's support to stave off a French takeover in Tunis by abolishing the slave trade.[6]

Egypt and Tunisia in the nineteenth century also had a similar political status. Although both of them were under the nominal suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire, they enjoyed political autonomy to a large extent. Therefore, they made their own decisions through autonomous administrative systems while being influenced by the suzerain. This combination was not common in other fully independent neighbors or less autonomous and reconquered provinces of the empire. Except non-Muslim principalities in the Balkans patronized by Russia, the Khedivate of Egypt and the Beylik of Tunis were the only privileged provinces recognized by the Ottoman Empire; Ottoman provincial laws did not

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[3] Ehud R. Toledano, *The Ottoman Slave Trade and its Suppression, 1840-1890* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 1982), 108.
[4] Muhammad Fuʾad Shukri, *The Khedive Ismail and Slavery in the Sudan (1863-1879)* (Cairo: Librairie la Renaissance d'Egypte, 1937), 110; P. M. Holt and M. W. Daly, *The History of the Sudan: From the Coming of Islam to the Present Day*, 3rd ed. (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1979), 71.
[5] Mowafi, *Slavery, Slave Trade and Abolition Attempts*, 61.
[6] Ismael M. Montana, *The Abolition of Slavery in Ottoman Tunisia* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2013), 135.

apply to them.[7] Both of them were autonomous political units sharing a common politico-religious heritage with the Ottoman Empire.[8]

However, the similar internal and external circumstances did not lead to the same process. Saʿid and Ismaʿil took many measures against slavery and the slave trade. However, their orders or decrees lacked detailed plans before the ultimate termination of the slave trade was announced in 1877, as a result of the Anglo-Egyptian convention. That convention was arranged only two years before the abdication of Ismaʿil and the convention did not specify the full abolition of slavery itself. As for the anti-slavery process of the Tunisian Beylik, Ahmad prohibited the slave trade in 1841 and abolished slavery itself in 1846. He gradually took measures against slavery until the final abolition of 1846 at a quite rapid pace. The immediate and complete liberation of all slaves in 1846 was not attempted in the Khedivate of Egypt before it became a protectorate of the British Empire although Saʿid once issued a decree that superficially permitted freedom to all the slaves who want to leave the service of their masters of their own accord.[9]

Previous studies on slavery and anti-slavery in the MENA region gave details about the circumstances and conditions related to anti-slavery in each country, but comparative explanations regarding the differences between countries have been lacking. In this thesis, I will compare Egypt and Tunisia, two major states involved with anti-slavery in the region during the nineteenth century, in order to examine the reasons for the

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[7] Fujinami Nobuyoshi, "Between Sovereignty and Suzerainty: History of the Ottoman Privileged Provinces," in *A World History of Suzerainty: A Modern History of East and West Asia and Translated Concepts*, ed. Okamoto Takashi (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 2019), 56.
[8] L. Carl Brown, *The Tunisia of Ahmad Bey, 1837-1855* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974), 6
[9] Shukri, *The Khedive Ismail and Slavery in the Sudan*, 111.

differences between them. Although these two polities had many similar characteristics in their reform projects, their anti-slavery programs have scarcely been compared with each other, although they are often mentioned together.[10] A comparison of the anti-slavery policies in two states that otherwise have multiple similar conditions will suggest the reasons for different paces and procedures of state-led anti-slavery efforts that can be applied to other polities. In addition, this comparison may reveal to some extent how a state project during this period could be influenced by other state projects, their specific characteristics, and the interest groups related to those projects. Thus, the comparison may help us explain developments in other institutions of the region during the nineteenth century.

Therefore, the main objective of this research is to examine the factors accounting for the differences in practical measures taken against slavery and the slave trade in Egypt and Tunisia during the nineteenth century despite similar motivations and conditions. For this purpose, the anti-slavery projects of Khedive Ismaʿil will be compared mainly to those of Ahmad Bey because of similarities in the situations, motivations, and final outcomes. Other Egyptian rulers will be discussed to explain the background of the anti-slavery programs in Egypt. I will not be discussing economic or social changes such as population growth and the emergence of unregulated labor markets as these changes occurred long after Isma'il and Ahmad declared their support for abolitionism. As these rulers took measures against the slave trade and slavery although it was an entrenched

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[10] For example, Toledano briefly mentions the Tunisian anti-slavery measures in a few lines while the Egyptian anti-slavery process is explained in the Ottoman context by two chapters in his book *The Ottoman Slave Trade and its Suppression, 1840-1890*. As for the similar aspects shared by two polities in their reforms, Brown appropriately presented them in his introduction in Khayr al-Din al-Tunisi, *The Surest Path: The Political Treatise of a Nineteenth-Century Muslim Statesman*, trans. L. Carl Brown (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967). See Ibid., 7.

custom of the society, we can conclude that, for them, the imperative of reform outweighed social acceptance of slavery.

The different paces and procedures of anti-slavery programs in Egypt and Tunisia seem related to the practical circumstances of the slave trade. For example, the scale of the slave trade might be one cause that influenced the differences. It is evident that the scale of Tunisia's slave trade was smaller than that of Egypt. When the size of a specific trade is smaller, the revenue from it is lower, and therefore it is easier to renounce this trade. In addition, even if the government is not much concerned about the revenue, different sizes of the trade may result in different trade networks and dissimilar interest groups. In chapter one, the different trade volumes and their influence on the slave trade as an important business will be discussed.

The presence of organized and influential slave traders was another important reason for the aforementioned differences. The Sudan under the rule of the Egyptian Khedivate was geographically wide and the slave merchants in that territory secured a huge amount of money while maintaining private troops. Some of them including the famous al-Zubayr Rahma al-Mansur (d. 1913) even became merchant-warlords who took de facto control of specific regions in the Sudan. Along with the deeply-rooted custom of slavery in the Sudan, the presence of these local powers was an impediment to abolition. In the Tunisian Beylik, slave traders never acquired the influence that the merchants in the Sudan had. The geographical area that had to be covered by the anti-slavery plans of the Beylik of Tunis was also not so wide. The influential traders in the Sudan may have slowed or obstructed the enforcement of Khedival anti-slavery projects although ultimately they did not pose a decisive deterrent to the will of the Khedival government

when Isma'il combined his expansionist projects with the anti-slavery policy. In chapter two, the different characteristics of these slavers and their influence on the pace of the anti-slavery polices will be the main subject.

The third factor that controlled the pace of anti-slavery projects was the difference in government demand for slaves. The Khedivate of Egypt continuously required Sudanese soldiers. Although Egyptian peasants constituted a major part of the Khedival army, Sudanese soldiers also had been an important part of the army throughout the nineteenth century since the time of Muhammad ʿAli (r. 1805-1848). They were needed to maintain order in the annexed territories in Africa. In addition, Isma'il pursued expansionism and therefore needed many soldiers. These Sudanese soldiers were recruited through slavery in most cases. Even Saʿid, who tried to restrict slavery by issuing multiple orders to that effect, caused a great demand for imported slaves to form his bodyguard staffed by them. As for Ismaʿil, while acknowledging that continuous slave raids harmed his public relations campaign with Europe, he ended large-scale government-sponsored raids, yet still paid dealers to acquire slaves and recruited new soldiers from them even in 1876.[11] A tax in slaves imposed upon Sudanese subjects also continued into the 1870s and no form of official manumission for slave soldiers can be found.[12]

Therefore, it can be stated that Isma'il depended on slavery to maintain his military and continue his expansionist policy. The reasons for which the slave trade was finally prohibited in 1877 may be understood in this context as well. It was one year after the

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[11] John P. Dunn, *Khedive Ismail's Army* (London: Routledge, 2005), 33.
[12] Douglas H. Johnson, "Sudanese Military Slavery from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century," in *Slavery and Other Forms of Unfree Labour*, ed. Léonie J. Archer (London: Routledge, 1988), 146, 148.

Battle of Gura in 1876, which ended the Egyptian-Ethiopian wars. Due to its defeats in the Horn of Africa, the Khedival army was weakened. Furthermore, Egypt's already considerable indebtedness increased. This meant that the Khedivate could not continue expansionist projects while negotiations with foreign creditors became urgent. Hence, the ultimate abolition of the slave trade with detailed plans and regulations that did not occur before 1877 might result from the changed situation.

The Beylik of Tunis did not face the same circumstances. Although it attempted to modernize its army, the size of the military was small. The Beylik also did not pursue expansionism. In contrast, it only endeavored to ensure its survival between expanding powers. Therefore, it did not require a constant flow of black slaves who would be recruited into the military. Meanwhile, the procurement of slaves was incompatible with diplomatic efforts to gain the goodwill of the British. Therefore, it can be said that the main direction of anti-slavery policies in Tunisia was not affected by the state's need for slaves as it was in Egypt.

Thus, it seems that different state strategies and demand for slaves had decisive effects on the evolution of anti-slavery measures in Egypt and Tunisia. However, previous approaches to the motives of anti-slavery policies under Khedive Isma`il and Ahmad Bey have not paid enough attention to this difference. This thesis will thus compare Egypt and Tunisia while emphasizing the different strategies and projects of the Egyptian Khedivate and the Tunisian Beylik in a period of change as an important factor that influenced the final decisions of the rulers on anti-slavery. In doing so, the way that anti-slavery was adopted and adjusted as a part of their reform projects may be presented. In chapter three, the aforementioned aspects in the state policies of two polities will be addressed.

This research is based on an analysis and review of accessible primary and secondary sources written in English and Arabic. A few French sources are also consulted. The primary sources used in this paper include published travelogues, memoirs, reports, history books, and several materials extracted from the British Foreign Office records at the National Archives and the Egyptian National Archives ('Abdin Archives).

British archival records were extracted from Cambridge archival editions such as *Slave Trade into Arabia: 1820–1973* edited by A. L. P Burdett and digitized materials from the National Archives' online collections while Egyptian archival records were consulted through *Ismaʿil kama tuṣawwiruhu al-wathaʾiq al-rasmiya* edited by Jurj Jindi and Jak Tajir and the appendices of *al-Hukm al-Misri fi'l-Sudan 1820-1885* written by Muhammad Fuʾad Shukri. The archival sources including letters, orders, and edicts were mainly used to analyze the intentions and directions of the rulers but they also shed light on trade volumes and social conditions.

It is a limitation of this thesis that Tunisian archival records could not be consulted even though British archival records related to Tunisia were used. As for Tunisia, however, the comprehensive chronicle named *Ithaf ahl al-zaman bi-akhbar muluk Tunis wa-ʿahd al-aman* written by Ahmad Ibn Abi al-Diyaf (d. 1874) provides a detailed account of the Beylik of Tunisia in the nineteenth century and also illustrates the circumstances surrounding slavery and anti-slavery in the Beylik. It is an important source to examine the intentions and policy directions of Ahmad as well as the internal and external reactions to his anti-slavery policy.

Chapter 1: Engagement in the Trans-Saharan Slave Trade: Egypt and Tunisia in the Nineteenth Century

In this chapter, I will discuss the volume of the slave trade in the Khedivate of Egypt and the Husaynid Beylik of Tunis. The volume of a specific trade can be associated with the policies regarding that trade for several reasons. Not only can it generate meaningful revenues, but that trade volume can be intertwined with the formation of interest groups and the presence of particular demand. Slaves were one of the main commodities traded between North Africa and the interior of Africa, and therefore any restriction on the slave trade or slavery could not be simply implemented because of the aforementioned factors. Hence, we need to examine the engagement levels of nineteenth century Egypt and Tunisia in the trans-Saharan slave trade before discussing the related conditions. The first section of this chapter will discuss the sources of slaves brought into nineteenth Egypt and Tunisia while later sections will examine the volumes of the trans-Saharan slave trade of each country in more detail.

Sources of Slaves Brought into Nineteenth Century Egypt and Tunisia across the Sahara

In the nineteenth century, the majority of slaves in the Middle East and North Africa came from the interior of Africa. Although white slaves from the Balkans or the Caucasus have been an important part of the history of slavery in this region, the inflow of slaves from such regions during the nineteenth century decreased dramatically. The Russian occupation of Georgia and Circassia during the nineteenth century decisively influenced

the reduction in the supply of white slaves from these areas and the continuous conflicts between the Circassians and the Russian Empire also disrupted the trade with the Caucasus, the main source of white slaves.[13] According to the calculation of Toledano, the number of Circassian slaves coming into the Ottoman Empire might have been 1,000-2,000 a year during the nineteenth century, and the number of Circassian and Georgian slaves sent to Egypt was quite small.[14] Therefore, even though the highest classes including the monarchic families still procured white male slaves as retainers and white female slaves as concubines, dwindling supplies of them led to the severe decline of the white slave trade in the nineteenth century.

As supply decreased, demand from regional polities under nominal Ottoman suzerainty dwindled as well. White mamluks had occupied significant positions in the military and the government in both Egypt and Tunisia until the nineteenth century. However, although they still held major positions in both states, the employment of native-born Egyptians and Tunisians constantly increased until they replaced the mamluks in public office during the nineteenth century.

Even after Muhammad ʿAli killed over 450 high-ranking mamluks – the mainstays of Egypt's eighteenth-century military and political system – the remnants still could hold positions as officers in the army or governors in provinces.[15] However, their days were numbered as native Egyptians gradually rose through the ranks of the military and the

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[13] Mowafi, *Slavery, Slave Trade and Abolition Attempts*, 8; Gabriel Baer, "Slavery in Nineteenth Century Egypt," *The Journal of African History* 8, no. 3 (1967): 424.

[14] Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East*, 90.

[15] Baer, "Slavery in Nineteenth Century Egypt," 417; Khaled Fahmy, "The Era of Muhammad ʿAli Pasha, 1805-1848," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt: Volume 2: Modern Egypt, from 1517 to the End of the Twentieth Century*, ed. M. W. Daly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 146.

government. Muhammad ʿAli started to appoint members of the rural notability to public bodies and ʿAbbas Hilmi I (r. 1848-1854) elevated a limited number of native Egyptians to posts in the central government.[16] Saʿid also promoted descendants of notables to the rank of colonel in the military and made a few native Egyptians provincial governors.[17] As for Ismaʿil, he promoted Egyptians to cabinet positions, elevated rural notables to provincial governorships, and created the consultative chamber staffed with local notables.[18] The native notables and a growing corps of technocrats took more positions inside the administration and replaced Turkish officials as well as mamluks.[19]

The situation of the Husaynid Beylik of Tunis in the nineteenth century was not much different. The bureaucracy was nearly totally staffed by native Tunisians and the importance of their positions was made explicit.[20] The new curriculum of the military school also made it easier to integrate some natives into the officer corps.[21] While the highest offices were still held by Turks or mamluks, their number constantly decreased and the recruitment of mamluks stopped completely.[22] In both Egypt and Tunisia, the number of white slaves serving the governments was small and gradually decreasing as in other polities in the region.[23]

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[16] Hassan Ahmed Ibrahim, "The Egyptian Empire, 1805-1885," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt: Volume 2: Modern Egypt, from 1517 to the End of the Twentieth Century*, ed. M. W. Daly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 192.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Beth Baron, "The Making of the Egyptian Nation," in *Gendered Nations: Nationalism and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann and Catherine Hall (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 140.
[20] Brown, *The Tunisia of Ahmad Bey*, 46, 65.
[21] Ibid., 295.
[22] Ibid., 52, 75.
[23] Ehud R. Toledano, "Late Ottoman Concepts of Slavery (1830s-1880s)," *Poetics Today* 14, no. 3 (1993): 495.

The majority of slaves brought into Egypt and Tunisia during the nineteenth century were from the interior Africa rather than the other sources of the Ottoman slave trade. While they were generally used for domestic service, they were also in demand for various other purposes. For example, some of them became eunuchs in the Ottoman or Moroccan courts. They were also employed as soldiers or agricultural workers, and the demand for slave soldiers will be examined in greater detail in the third chapter. According to the British diplomat's, John Bowring, 1840 report, there were 12,000 black and Ethiopian female slaves in Cairo while the numbers of black male slaves, mamluks, and white female slaves were 4,500, 2,000, and 3,000 respectively.[24] A French diplomat named Félix Mengin also presented the same figures, except that the number of female black and Ethiopian slaves was 20,000.[25] Even though these figures do not seem to provide the exact numbers, it is explicit that the number of black slaves outnumbered that of white slaves. As aforementioned, white slaves were part of highest echelon of society and their prices were also the highest. Although the presence of a district administrator who was originally an Ethiopian slave was reported in Egypt,[26] most black slaves and freed black slaves belonged to the lower social classes as they were laborers and ordinary soldiers.

While there was constant demand for black slaves for multiple purposes, the supply was not disrupted in the nineteenth century and various supply sources of black

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[24] John Bowring, "Report on Egypt and Candia," *Parliamentary Papers* 21 (1840), 9-10; Among 4,500 black male slaves he mentioned, 2,500 served in the army.

[25] Félix Mengin, *Histoire sommaire de l'Égypte sous le gouvernement de Mohammed-Aly* (Paris: Firmin Didot Freres, 1839), 157, 159.

[26] ʿAli Mubarak, *al-Khitat al-tawfiqiya al-jadida li-Misr al-Qahira* (Bulaq: al-Matbaʿa al-Kubra al-Amiriya, 1886–89), 9:39; Lorne M. Kenny, "ʿAlī Mubārak: Nineteenth Century Egyptian Educator and Administrator," *Middle East Journal* 21, no. 1 (1967): 36-37.

slaves existed in Africa. Therefore, the volume of the trans-Saharan slave trade was naturally high. Certainly, the major sources of black slaves differed for each polity. As Gabriel Baer found, there were five main sources of black slaves in the case of nineteenth century Egypt. The most important source was the south and west of Darfur due to the quantity and reliability of supply. Ongoing wars between the Sultanate of Darfur and neighboring tribes guaranteed a constant supply of slaves who were captured in these wars.[27] The slave raiding system was also well organized and many notables and slave traders in Darfur participated in raids. Sennar was another major source of slaves and the area along the White Nile between Darfur and Sennar also provided slaves who were taken captive in tribal wars. Major tribes in this area including the Dinka and Nuer frequently waged war against each other and the captives from the wars were mostly sold to slave merchants.[28] In addition to the aforementioned geographical areas, Bornu nearby Lake Chad and Wadai in the eastern part of modern-day Chad also provided slaves to Egypt through the Western Desert.[29] The oases scattered between Libya and Egypt were important stations on this route. The fifth and last source was the East African coast and Ethiopia. The slaves from these regions were conveyed on vessels that sailed through the Red Sea to the ports of Massawa or Zeila.[30] The 1848 census taken in Egypt also revealed these sources by identifying members of trans-Saharan African groups living in Egyptian cities and villages. A large portion of them were slaves or former slaves. Their origins were recorded differently such as Bilad al-Sudan, Bilad al-Habasha, Bilad al-

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[27] Baer, "Slavery in Nineteenth Century Egypt," 424.
[28] Douglas H. Johnson, "Tribal Boundaries and Border Wars: Nuer-Dinka Relations in the Sobat and Zaraf Valleys, c.1860-1976," *The Journal of African History* 23, no. 2 (1982): 188. Johnson described the way of wars and feuds between Dinka and Nuer from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century in this article.
[29] Baer, "Slavery in Nineteenth Century Egypt," 425.
[30] Ibid.

Takrur, and Darfur. Bilad al-Sudan includes Sennar and the areas alongside the Nile or the Nuba Mountains. Bilad al-Habasha indicates the areas south and west of the Ethiopian highlands while Bilad al-Takrur signifies Western Africa including Chad and Hausaland.[31]

As there were many sources of slaves located in diverse geographical areas in Africa, various regional centers for the slave trade existed in Egypt. Asyut can be mentioned as the most flourishing hub of the Sudan trade until the middle 19th century because the caravans from Darfur annually visited there.[32] This city developed due to its geographical position being suitable for engaging in transit trade between the Sudan and Cairo, in addition to a vast plain for prosperous agriculture surrounding the city. Asyut had grown since the early eighteenth century and it was a major city of Upper Egypt at the turn of the century. A Coptic historian named Michail Sharubim (d. 1920) stated that a local notable al-Wazir, who was temporarily entrusted to administer Upper Egypt after the French army retreated from Egypt, was stationed in Asyut.[33] It became the capital of Upper Egypt in 1811 and ʿAli Mubarak (d. 1893), a famous minister of the Khedival government, mentioned that there were approximately 20 *wakālas* (trade houses) in the city.[34] As Darfur was a major source of black slaves, the caravans from there carried

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[31] For the composition of trans-Saharan Africans living in Cairo and Egypt that appeared in the 1848 census and records of European visitors, see Terence Walz, "Sudanese, Habasha, Takarna, and Barabira:Trans-Saharan Africans in Cairo as Shown in the 1848 Census," in *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: Histories of Trans-Saharan Africans in Nineteenth-Century Egypt, Sudan, and the Ottoman Mediterranean*, ed. Terence Walz and Kenneth M. Cuno (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2010), 43-76.

[32] Mubarak, *al-Khitat*, 17:32.

[33] Mikhaʾil Sharubim, *al-Kafi fi tarikh Misr al-qadim wa al-hadith* (Bulaq: al-Matbaʿa al-Kubra al-Amiriya, 1900), 4:15.

[34] Terence Walz, "Family Archives in Egypt: New Light on Nineteenth-Century Provincial Trade," in *L'Egypte au XIXe siècle*, ed. Robert Mantran (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1982), 16; Mubarak, *al-Khitat*, 12:103.

many slaves to Asyut. Although the merchants from Darfur tended to carry slaves to Cairo instead of selling them in Asyut to get more profits, Asyut was an important station where the majority of slaves from Darfur into Egypt passed.[35] Asyut had maintained its active trade until the early 1870s, when the conquest of Darfur ended trade along the *darb al-arbaʿīn* which connected Darfur to Asyut through the desert and oases.[36] Despite its importance, Asyut was not the only trading station carrying slaves into Egypt. For example, the slaves from Bornu or Wadai entered Egypt through Siwa and the slaves sailing through the Red Sea reached Suez to be transported into Egypt.[37] Daraw was also an important transit point where the inhabitants were actively engaged in the slave trade, one of the major means of living for them.[38] This town, along with Esna and Aswan, was a major entrepôt for the slaves transported from Sennar or Shendi.[39]
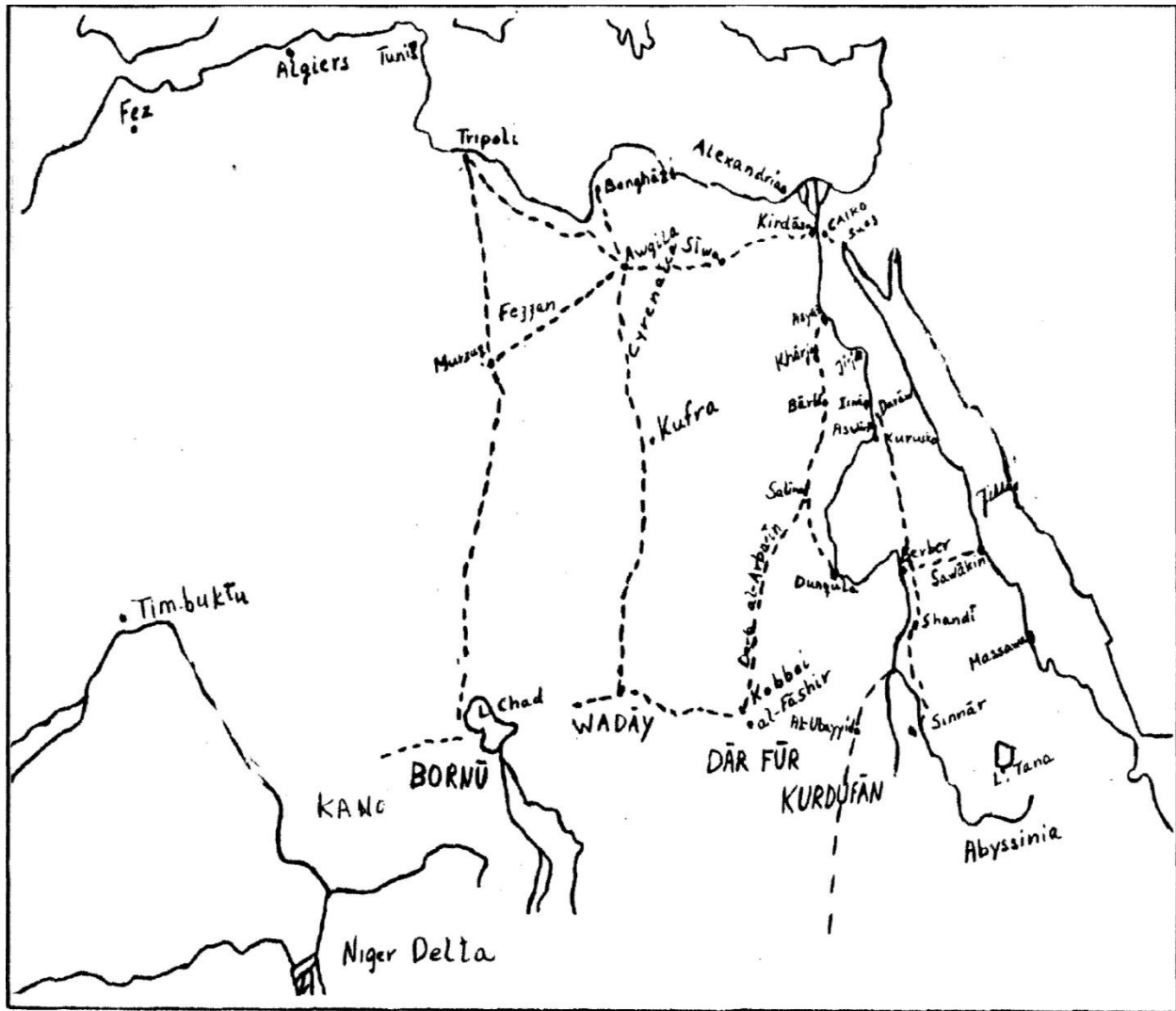
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[35] Terence Walz, "Asyūṭ in the 1260's (1844-53)," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 15 (1978): 120.

[36] Walz, "Family Archives in Egypt," 33; Mubarak, *al-Khitat*, 17:32.

[37] Mubarak, *al-Khitat*, 12:112; Mowafi, *Slavery, Slave Trade and Abolition Attempts*, 31.

[38] Mubarak, *al-Khitat*, 11:2

[39] Mowafi, *Slavery, Slave Trade and Abolition Attempts*, 31.

Map 1: Main slave trade routes around Egypt in the nineteenth century

Source: Reda Mowafi, *Slavery, Slave Trade and Abolition Attempts in Egypt and the Sudan 1820 – 1882* (Stockholm: Esselte Studium, 1981), 139.

In Tunisia, the main sources of black slaves were Borno and Hausaland. While the trade route from Borno to North Africa flourished during the late eigtheenth century and the majority of slaves sold in Tunis came from there, the city of Kano located in Hausaland became the main commercial center for North African trade around the 1830s because of the political instability in Borno caused by the Fulani jihad and wars with Wadai and

Bagirmi.[40] Timbuktu was another important source of slaves although its contribution to the trans-Saharan trade was less than the Central Sudan share of the trade.[41] Regardless of source, commodities, including slaves, imported into Tunisia converged on Ghadames on the borders of modern-day Tunisia, Algeria, and Libya. Ghadames was a significant staging post, where caravans gathered and departed to various destinations in North Africa, such as Tunis and Tripoli. The Ghadames merchants also operated major trade routes starting from the important sources of slaves including Kano and Timbuktu. They supplied most black slaves to the Beylik of Tunis.

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[40] Montana, *The Abolition of Slavery in Ottoman Tunisia*, 45, 65-66.
[41] Paul E. Lovejoy, "Commercial Sectors in the Economy of the Nineteenth-Century Central Sudan: The Trans-Saharan Trade and the Desert-Side Salt Trade," *African Economic History*, no. 13 (1984): 107.
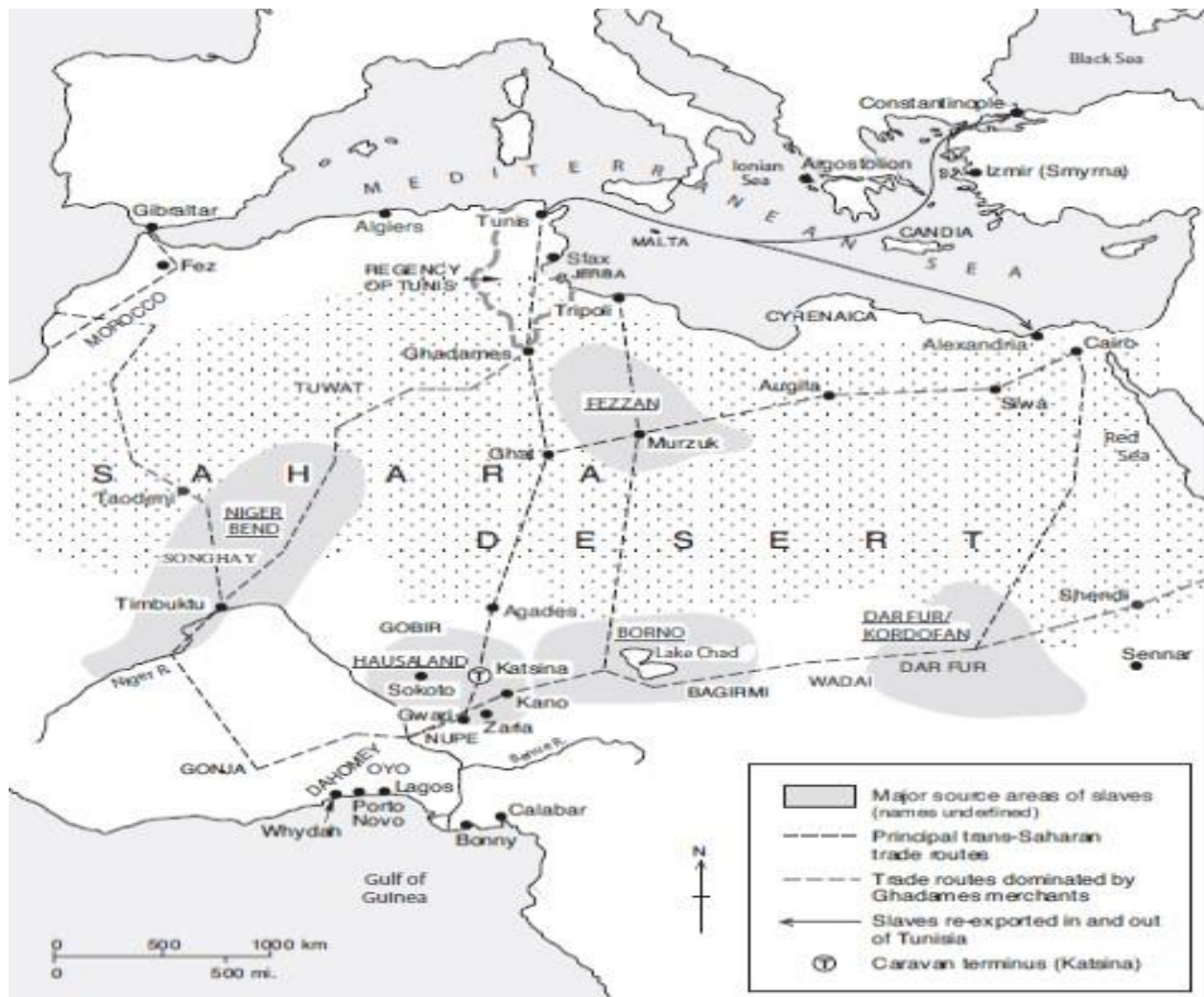
Map 2: Main slave trade routes across the Sahara in the nineteenth century

Source: Ismael M. Montana, *The Abolition of Slavery in Ottoman Tunisia* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2013), 43.

These facts show the important differences between nineteenth century Egypt and Tunisia in the patterns of the slave trade. Egypt had more sources of black slaves than Tunisa and different groups of merchants were involved in the slave trade, while the importation of black slaves into Tunisia was almost exclusively handled by the Ghadames merchants. As it can be seen below, these differences would result in the different volumes of the slave trade.

The Slave Trade Volume of Nineteenth Century Egypt

Although it is not possible to make an exact estimate of the number of imported slaves at a specific time, the average volume of the trade can be inferred based on several estimates made by European observers of the trade. Certainly, estimated numbers of imported slaves vary. Those observations were generally made by travelogues and diplomatic reports. For example, a British traveler named William George Browne, who accompanied the caravan travelling from Darfur to Egypt in 1796, stated that the number of slaves imported by that caravan was 5,000, even though he mentioned that a caravan from Darfur to Egypt transporting 1,000 slaves was considered large.[42] This estimate corresponded with what Pierre-Simon Girard, a French mathematician who accompanied Napoleon on the expedition to Egypt, mentioned in his work on his experiences in the French Expedition to Egypt. He estimated that the number of slaves imported annually from Darfur ranged between 5,000 and 6,000 while the number from Senner was not more than 150.[43] A French traveler named Mercure Joseph Lapanouse, presented a different figure. According to his estimate, the caravan departing from Darfur in 1800 carried 12,000 slaves, although he mentioned that this was exceptional.[44] He also noted that the number of slaves annually imported from Sennar ranged from 300 to 400.[45] Louis

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[42] W. G. Browne, *Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria from the year 1792 to 1798*, 2nd ed. (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies; and Longman Hurst Rees and Orme, 1806), 282, 343.

[43] P. S. Girard, "Mémoire sur l'agriculture, l'industrie et le commerce de l'Égypte," in *Description de l'Égypte, État Moderne*, vol. 2, pt 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1812), 632, 637.

[44] M. J. Lapanouse, "Mémoire sur les caravanes qui arrivent du royaume de Darfurth," in *Mémoires sur l'Égypte, publiés pendant les campagnes du general Bonaparte*, vol. 4 (Paris: Imprimerie de P.Didot l'aine, 1802), 81.

[45] M. J. Lapanouse, " Mémoire sur les caravanes venant du royaume de Sennâar," in *Mémoires sur l'Égypte, publiés pendant les campagnes du general Bonaparte*, vol. 4 (Paris: Imprimerie de P.Didot l'aine, 1802), 98.

Frank, a French physician and traveler, did not agree with other estimates and stated that the annual number of imported slaves was between 3,000 and 4,000. [46] He also mentioned that when he arrived in Cairo in 1797, the number of imported slaves in that year was just 1,200 because of the additional tax; in contrast, he indicated that in earlier times each caravan had carried 1,000-1,500 slaves but the number then decreased to 600 or fewer.[47] Although these sources presented different estimates, it can be supposed that Darfur was more important than Sennar as a source of slaves and the annual number of imported slaves was several thousand around the year 1800. Walz adopted Frank's estimate and concluded that an annual average of 3,000-4,000 slaves might come from Black Africa to Egypt and the number of slaves sold in Cairo may have ranged from 1,000 to 3,000 at the end of the eighteenth century.[48]

Estimates varied during the nineteenth century. A Swiss traveler named Johann Ludwig Burckhardt travelled in Shendi in 1814 and described this town as the principal market for slave traders. He estimated that the number of slaves annually sold in Shendi was approximately 5,000, of whom about 2,500 were carried by the merchants from Suakin and 1,500 were transported by those from Egypt.[49] He also stated that Suakin annually imported 2,000-3,000 slaves from Shendi and Sennar.[50] According to his record, Esna and Asyut in Egypt imported the same number, and the annual supply of slaves

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[46] Louis Frank, "Mémoire sur le commerce des Negres au Caire, et sur les maladies auxquelles iis sont sujects en y arrivent," *Mémoires sur l'Égypte, publiés pendant les campagnes du general Bonaparte*, vol. 4 (Paris: Imprimerie de P.Didot l'aine, 1802), 136.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Terence Walz, *The Trade between Egypt and Bilād as-Sūdān, 1700-1820* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1978), 34.
[49] J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia* (London: John Murray, 1819), iv, 324.
[50] Ibid., 442.

from the interior of Africa to Egypt and Arabia ranged from 15,000 to 20,000.[51] John Bowring, during his stay in Egypt in 1837-1838, made various estimates regarding the importation of slaves into the major centers for the slave trade in Egypt and the Sudan. He estimated that the number of slaves imported into Egypt every year was between 10,000 and 12,000.[52] He also stated that the caravans from Darfur and Sennar brought thousands of black slaves to Asyut annually and a single caravan carried 2,820 slaves in 1827; he mentioned that the number of slaves carried by caravans to Asyut had increased from 500 to 5,000.[53] In addition to these estimates, he also remarked that from 10,000 to 12,000 slaves arrived in Kordofan every year.[54]

As for the middle nineteenth century, the records of the British Foreign Office provide several estimates. For instance, one memorandum mentioned that the number of slaves transported to Cairo annually during the late 1850s was between 3,000 and 4,000.[55] During the 1860s, the estimated number was high. One letter stated that 10,000 slaves came through the desert to Egypt, while others traveled up the Nile. Another correspondence reported that 10,000 to 15,000 slaves were brought up the Nile to Cairo every year, while an equal or even greater number of slaves found their way to Suakin or the Red Sea.[56] The reason for the increase has been presented as the cotton boom and the need for agricultural slaves. The number of slaves imported into Egypt every year during the 1860s based on the aforementioned records must have ranged between

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[51] Ibid., 442-43.
[52] Bowring, "Report on Egypt and Candia," 100.
[53] Ibid., 85.
[54] Ibid., 89.
[55] Memorandum on the Slave Trade by Mr Coulthard, enclosed in Colquhoun to Russell, 8 June 1860, F.O. 84/1120.
[56] Stanton to Clarendon, Alexandria, 9 May 1866, F.O. 84/1260; Reade to Stanley, Alexandria, 9 August 1867, F.O. 84/1277.

25,000 and 35,000.[57] By the early 1870s, observers were reporting that over 1,000 slaves were being trafficked into Cairo every year, while the estimate for all Egypt was 10,000 per annum.[58] The major figures striving to implement the anti-slavery policies of the Khedivate, Samuel White Baker and Charles George Gordon, recorded their estimates of the amount of slaves exported from the Sudan, most of whom were transported to Egypt or Arabia. Baker stated that at least 50,000 slaves were captured annually and sent via the White Nile and the various routes overland by Darfur and Kordofan.[59] Gordon mentioned that from 80,000 to 100,000 captured slaves died during the years 1875-1879,[60] and this record indicates that the number of exported slaves was also high despite mortality rates because the total amount of captives was so high. However, although these observations can present a general trend of the slave trade, they have obvious shortcomings. These observers, temporary visitors in most cases, were not in a position to conduct empirical or mathematical analyses of their data and the data itself was based on anecdotal evidences.[61] Their sources of information have not been found in many cases and not a noticeable number of the observers did not specify their evidences as well.

Despite these points, the trend of imports of slaves sketched by these observations made at different times can be compared to the census data which specified the slave

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[57] Baer, "Slavery in Nineteenth Century Egypt," 426; Mowafi, *Slavery, Slave Trade and Abolition Attempts*, 34.

[58] Memorandum on the Present State of the Slave Trade and Slavery in Egypt, 17 December 1872, enclosed in Frere to Granville, 1 Januray 1873, F.O. 881/2270.

[59] Samuel W. Baker, *Ismailia: A Narrative of the Expedition to Central Africa for the Suppression of the Slave Trade* (London: Macmillan and CO., 1874), 1:4.

[60] Charles George Gordon, *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa, 1874-1879 from Original Letters and Documents*, ed. George Birkbeck Hill (London: Thos. de la Rue & Co., 1881), 369.

[61] Justin A. McCarthy, "Nineteenth-Century Egyptian Population," *Middle Eastern Studies* 12, no. 3 (October 1976): 24; Mowafi, *Slavery, Slave Trade and Abolition Attempts*, 32.

population. The Khedival government took major censuses in 1848 and 1868 that offered the accounts of the Egyptian population and household compositions broken down by age, religion, ethnicity, free or slave status, and occupation.[62] Certainly, it is difficult to track the exact number of slaves based on the censuses. The households of the notables which held many slaves and servants were merely asked to submit the number of males and females, adults and minors, living in their houses instead of intrusive inquiries being taken and black soldiers serving in the military were not included in the censuses.[63] However, it is possible to find how the composition of slaves as part of the Egyptian population changed. While the slave population increased by around 1 percent from 1848 to 1868, it is noticeable that blacks (Sudanese) became the largest minority in 1868 and accounted for 5% of the population of Cairo and Alexandria.[64] As the majority of free blacks were freed slaves and so were their descendants, it can be said that there was a constant flow of black slaves into Egypt. In addition, the rural villages showed the surge in slave ownership, especially those related to cotton cultivation. For example, the number of slaves of four villages of Damas, Ikhtab, Sandub, and Zafar increased from 24 in 1848 to 378 in 1868 and in case of Damas located in prime cotton growing area, there were no slaves in 1848, but in 1868 there were 182 slaves who accounted for 5.5 percent of the population.[65] The majority of the slaves appeared in the 1868 census were males. This

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[62] Kenneth M. Cuno and Michael J. Reimer, "The Census Registers of Nineteenth-Century Egypt: A New Source for Social Historians," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 24, no. 2 (November 1997): 209; Mohamed Saleh, "A Pre-Colonial Population Brought to Light: Digitization of the Nineteenth Century Egyptian Censuses," *Historical Methods* 46, no. 1 (2013): 5; The 1868 census was not country wide although it included many provinces. For the omitted provinces, see Saleh, "A Pre-Colonial Population Brought to Light," 9.
[63] Walz, "Sudanese, Habasha, Takarna, and Barabira," 45-47.
[64] Saleh, "A Pre-Colonial Population Brought to Light," 11, 13.
[65] Kenneth M. Cuno, "African Slaves in Nineteenth-Century Rural Egypt: A Preliminary Assessment," in *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: Histories of Trans-Saharan Africans in Nineteenth-Century Egypt,*

change is matched with the European accounts of importation of black slaves mentioning the surge in imports of black slaves during the 1860s.

The imported slaves were a part of the population growth in Egypt, especially in the 1860s, but it is assumed by some scholars that the population growth until the 1850s before the cotton boom resulted in lower demand for black slaves mainly used for domestic work. In the 1848 census, the number of free servants appeared higher than that of slaves and Ghislaine Alleaume and Philippe Fargues mentioned that the transition from slavery to free labor was represented in the census.[66] Kenneth M. Cuno also indicated that the number of imported slaves from Africa during the 1840s and 1850s was low while the internal movement of labor was brisk and even the demand for agricultural and household labor in the 1860s appeared to have been met first by internal migration, and only secondarily by slavery.[67] While it is more obvious that the development of a free labor market in the late nineteenth century contributed to the disappearance of slavery, it is somewhat uncertain whether a similar process happened in the middle nineteenth century. Although it is true that the population of Egypt in 1848 reached around 4,500,000, increasing from around 3,800,000 in 1800, the number of slaves as part of the population had not been mentioned before 1848.[68]

Sudan, and the Ottoman Mediterranean, ed. Terence Walz and Kenneth M. Cuno (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2010), 80-81.

[66] Ghislaine Alleaume and Philippe Fargues, "La naissance d'une statistique d'État: Le recensement de 1848 en Egypte," *Histoire et Mesure* 13, nos. 1-2 (1998): 181.

[67] Cuno, "African Slaves in Nineteenth-Century Rural Egypt," 79-80; Kenneth M. Cuno, "African Slaves in 19th-Century Rural Egypt," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 41, no. 2 (May 2009): 186-87.

[68] Alleaume and Fargues, "La naissance d'une statistique d'État," 156; McCarthy, "Nineteenth-Century Egyptian Population," 6. Although Edme-François Jomard who accompanied the expedition of Napoleon as a member of the corps of engineer-geographers presented the population of Egypt in 1800 as 2,488,950, this was an underrepresented estimate due to the methodological problems. See McCarthy, "Nineteenth-Century Egyptian Population," 3-6; M. A. El Badry, "Jomard et la démographie de l'Egypte," *Population* 46, no. 5 (1991): 1274.

In any case, several thousand black slaves were imported into Egypt annually during the nineteenth century and the total number of slaves captured in the Sudan was certainly much higher. Even during the 1870s when the anti-slavery policy of Ismaʿil gained momentum, the traffic of slaves in Egypt and the Sudan was brisk. However, these high trade volumes did not seem to result in the high tax revenue. Bowring stated that the average duty on slaves was 105 piasters and the abolition of the slave trade would bring with it a negligible sacrifice, not exceeding 10,000 or 12,000 pounds per annum.[69] The tax on slaves also did not continue long since Sa`id abolished customs on goods coming from the Sudan to Egypt to facilitate commerce.[70] Saʿid and Ismaʿil implemented policies designed to restrict the slave trade, and therefore it is unlikely that the trade had any pecuniary interest to the government.

Hence, although it is true that many slaves were imported into Egypt and a number of slaves were exported from the Sudan, the volume of the trade itself hardly influenced the policies of the Khedivate. However, the high volume of trade and number of supply sources formed influential interest groups of slave traders, and the constant supply means that there was a specific demand. These factors influenced the process of policy implementation as I will show subsequently.

The Slave Trade Volume of Nineteenth Century Tunisia

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[69] Bowring, "Report on Egypt and Candia," 85.
[70] Shukri, *The Khedive Ismail and Slavery in the Sudan*, 112.

When it comes to the Husaynid Beylik of Tunis in the nineteenth century, not many sources mentioned the number of slaves imported into Tunisia. There was no census data and only a few European observers presented the figures for imported slaves. For instance, Louis Frank stated that the annual number of imported slaves into Tunisia in the early nineteenth century was from 1,000 to 1,200.[71] He also mentioned that three caravans came per year and the slaves transported to Cairo on the same route crossing the Sahara from West Africa were much less in number although many caravans came to Cairo from different parts of Africa.[72] Another observer also reported that about 1,000 out of a total of 1,300 slaves gathered in Ghadames reached Tunis.[73] Another estimate was given by a British merchant named Thomas MacGill, who mentioned that three caravans annually came from Ghadames to Tunisia and some of them brought 200 slaves.[74] He did not reveal the total number of imported slaves per annum, but it can be inferred that the caravan with 200 slaves was considered large according to his record because he commented that the caravans were not reckoned rich and those bringing 200 slaves were exceptional cases.[75] This remark contradicts the Frank's statement, because he mentioned that when the caravans brought 200 slaves they were considered unimportant.[76] Therefore, it can be supposed that the number of imported slaves fluctuated sharply and sometimes only several hundred slaves came to Tunisia.

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[71] Louis Frank, *Précédée d'une description de cette régence* (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1851), 116.
[72] Ibid., 116, 122.
[73] See Montana, *The Abolition of Slavery in Ottoman Tunisia*, 45.
[74] Thomas MacGill, *An Account of Tunis: Of Its Government, Manners, Customs, and Antiquities; Especially of Its Productions, Manufactures, and Commerce* (Glasgow: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1811), 148.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Frank, *Précédée d'une description de cette régence*, 122.

For the Ghadames merchants, Tunisia was not the only destination and there were other important importers of slaves, especially Tripoli. However, it seems that their major trading partner was Tunisia in many cases. As aforementioned, there was a report stating that 1,000 out of 1,300 slaves in Ghadames were destined for Tunisia and M. Subtil also stated that the major destination of the Ghadames caravans was Tunisia:

> The Traffic in slaves was formerly one of the most important branches of the commerce of Gadames. This city received a great part of those who were brought by the caravans of Soudan, and kept there as a depot of merchandise, which it distributed afterwards upon the different points of the coast of Barbary, but principally Tunis, which itself exported 7,000 or 8,000 per annum for the markets of Smyrna and Constantinople.[77]

Although the amount of exports attributed to Tunis seems to be exaggerated, his remark that the main destination of the Ghadames merchants was Tunis is worth noticing. Even though Paul E. Lovejoy stated that Tripoli was the final destination for the routes passing through Ghadames and the bulk of trade was exported through there while some trade flowed to Tunisia, Algeria, and Egypt,[78] it is not possible to estimate the exact numbers of slaves transported from Ghadames to Tunis and Tripoli respectively. According to his calculation, the annual number of imported slaves into Tripoli and Libya from 1810 to 1830 ranged between 3,000 and 6,000.[79] He also suggested that the estimate made by Ralph A. Austen, concluding that the Libyan imports of slaves from the interior of Africa amounted to an average of 4,000 per year, referred to the number of slaves imported into Tripoli exclusive of other terminals in Libya, such as Benghazi.[80] However, as Lovejoy himself stated, the sources of slaves from the interior of Africa to

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[77] "Slave Trade in North Africa," in *The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. 5 (London: Lancelot Wild, 1844), 219.
[78] Lovejoy, "Commercial Sectors in the Economy of the Nineteenth-Century Central Sudan," 86-87.
[79] Ibid., 89, 94.
[80] Ibid., 89.

Tripoli were diverse and Ghadames was not the only transit point before arriving at North African destinations. As for Tripoli, Murzuk and Ghat were also important transit points for the slave trade while they have not been mentioned as a transit point to Tunis. Therefore, it can be mentioned that Tunis took a significant portion of imported slaves through Ghadames while the caravans from this town reached various termini in North Africa.

It is difficult to say how much tax was levied on the slave trade in nineteenth century Tunisia. The observers rarely mentioned the tariffs. Athough MacGill stated that the people of the country paid eleven per cent on all the goods they imported, it is not clear if the same tax was levied on the slaves imported through Ghadames.[81] One reference can be found in the record of Ahmad Ibn Abi al-Diyaf. In his chronicle, he wrote that when Ahmad Bey abolished the tax levied by the government on the sales of slaves, the amount was more than 30,000 riyals per year.[82] It is not clear if that amount included all the taxes on sales including resale inside Tunis. In any case, the tax revenue from the slave trade does not seem to have been high in nineteenth century Tunisia and this factor therefore probably did not influence Ahmad Bey's anti-slavery policy. Thus, he easily decided to abolish the tax on sales of slaves.

It can therefore be said that the volume of the slave trade and the revenue derived from it did not directly influence anti-slavery policies in nineteenth century Tunisia or Egypt during the same period. However, the volume of the Tunisian slave trade was far smaller

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[81] MacGill, *An Account of Tunis*, 111-12.
[82] Ahmad Ibn Abi al-Diyaf, *Itḥaf ahl al-zaman bi-akhbar muluk Tunis wa-ʾahd al-aman*, ed. Lajna min Wizarat al-Shuʾun al-Thaqafiya (Tunis: al-Dar al-ʿArabiya lil-Kitab, 1999), 4:86-87.

than that of Egypt and that difference seemed to influence other conditions. In Tunisia, the Ghadames caravans were the only conspicuous transporter of slaves from the interior of Africa. Although some slaves came from Tripoli to Tunis, the Ghadames merchants still dominated the trade.[83] Although they used many routes to procure black slaves, the slaves transported into Tunisia were gathered in Ghadames in most cases. The traders did not have their own military power and they had to pay customs to the Tuareg in exchange for their protection. Therefore, their circumstances were different in many ways from the traders based in the Sudan who controlled the slave trade in Egypt and the Sudan. These differences will be discussed further in Chapter Two.

Conclusion

It is evident that the volume of the slave trade in Egypt was larger than that in Tunisia during the nineteenth century. This difference was a corollary of the difference in the trade networks. Many slave trade routes were used to reach Egypt and the traders did not meet in a specific place before entering Egypt. They gathered in various commercial centers located in the Sudan or the Horn of Africa. From those places, the slaves they transported were brought into Egypt, a major destination. The Sudan was especially important as a source of slaves and the Khedivate of Egypt extended its direct influence over it in the second half of the nineteenth century, while other sources also continually provided slaves to the territories of the Khedivate. Multiple sources of slaves and slave trade routes assured this regular large supply. As for Tunisia, Ghadames was

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[83] Montana, *The Abolition of Slavery in Ottoman Tunisia*, 61-62.

the only major terminus for imported slaves into Tunisia in most cases. Although the traders from this town procured slaves from diverse places, they gathered in Ghadames and the slaves imported into Tunisia were transported from there. Except for re-exported slaves from Tripoli, hardly any slaves were observed arriving through other routes.

However, this difference in trade volumes did not directly influence the anti-slavery policies of both polities. Both Sa'id Pasha and Aḥmad Bey abolished the tax on the slave trade without hesitation and endeavors to restrict the slave trade were made in both Egypt and Tunisia. Despite this fact, the difference in the trade volumes seemed to be associated with other conditions that were closely related to different outcomes in the process of abolition. Different groups of traders connected to the different trade networks had dissimilar characteristics and influences. In addition, specific demands for slaves could be met when the constant and enough supply was ensured. Those demands could be an important factor influencing abolition.

Chapter 2: Influence of Slave Traders and Their Organization in Nineteenth Century Egypt and Tunisia

In this chapter, the influence of slave traders who supplied slaves to Egypt and Tunisia during the nineteenth century and their characteristics will be discussed. The slave traders who supplied slaves to various polities were important interest groups in the region. They organized the trade networks and transported slaves along with other commodities from the interior of Africa. Because slaves were a major source of revenue for these traders, they would not meekly accept restrictions on the slave trade. They might find other routes or markets and, if they had the power to resist the restrictions, they would not be easily deterred by restrictive government policies. Therefore, the influence of specific groups of traders was related to the success of anti-slavery measures in each polity and the characteristics of these traders are worth discussing. In the first section, the types of slave traders in the nineteenth century will be discussed. In the second section, the slave traders in the Sudan, the main supplier of slaves to Egypt, will be examined while the third section will concentrate on the Ghadames traders, the main supplier of slaves to Tunisia.

Types of Traders

Different interest groups were involved in the slave trade, as mentioned in the previous chapter. The slave traders who supplied slaves to the region during the nineteenth century differed in their organization, but they may be roughly divided into two

sorts. One is itinerant merchants engaging in long-distance trade and the other is armed slavers.

The latter had their own armed forces, fortified bases, and in some cases territories under their de facto control. They themselves procured slaves through raids or interference with tribal feuds and transported their captives to the markets. Therefore, they did not rely upon other groups to procure slaves and they could also defend their interests by force of arms. The trade routes they used were diverse and some slave merchants became influential figures controlling specific geographical areas.

The Arab and Swahili slave traders of East Africa are a good example of this sort of slavers. During the nineteenth century, traders from the Swahili coast dominated the slave trade in East Africa and their scope of activities extended to the Congo basin. They raided villages or allied with local tribesman in plundering to procure slaves and their bases for commerce and raids were entrenched. Tabora and Ujiji are examples of these bases and the traders from the coast saw themselves as the political and social overlords in the Manyema region.[84] Tippu Tip, the most remarkable figure among these merchants, dominated the African inland from the Tanganyika coast to the northeastern Congo, controlled the slave and ivory trade in the region, and intervened in the internal affairs of local kingdoms, such as the Kingdom of Kazembe.[85] In the late nineteenth century, the Arab and Swahili traders united against the Congo Free State; although they were

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[84] Melvin E. Page, "The Manyema Hordes of Tippu Tip: A Case Study in Social Stratification and the Slave," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 7, no. 1 (1974): 74.

[85] Michelle Decker, "The 'Autobiography' of Tippu Tip: Geography, Genre and the African Indian Ocean," *Interventions* 17, no. 5 (2015): 745; A. E. Atmore, "Africa on the Eve of Partition," in *The Cambridge History of Africa: Volume 6: From c. 1870 to c. 1905*, ed. J. D. Fage and Roland Oliver (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 74; Shula Marks, "Southern Africa, 1867-1886," in *The Cambridge History of Africa: Volume 6: From c. 1870 to c. 1905*, ed. J. D. Fage and Roland Oliver (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 415-16.

ultimately defeated, the Belgians could not quickly subdue them. These merchant-warlords could mobilize approximately 100,000 men, although their manpower could not be concentrated.[86]

Slaves were not just a commodity for these merchants. They were also needed as soldiers and porters. This type of slave traders needed to transport ivory, the main item they sold along with slaves, to the coastal areas while an increasing traffic in slaves also required larger numbers of retainers to manage transfers to the coast or Zanzibar.[87] These merchants also needed military capabilities to assure the regular supply of slaves and ivory through raids and interventions in tribal affairs. They maintained the security of the trade routes by using force as well. Therefore, slaves were necessary for their business and any restriction on the slave trade ordered from a remote political authority could not fully deter slave raiding. In addition, restrictions on the trade could not be implemented when the slavers had their own military might and used various trade routes to transport slaves through their networks. Hence, these traders were an impediment to the fulfillment of restrictions on the slave trade. The slave traders in the Sudan from the 1850s who supplied slaves to neighboring areas and Egypt can also be categorized as this sort of armed slavers.

The other group of slave traders engaged in long-distance trade without their own military might and outposts were found along the trans-Saharan trade routes. In many cases, they have not been specifically classified but lumped under the name of Saharan

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[86] Mario Draper, "The *Force Publique*'s Campaigns in the Congo-Arab War, 1892-1894," *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 30, nos. 4-5 (2019): 1026.
[87] Page, "The Manyema Hordes of Tippu Tip," 71.

traders or caravans. Generally, the scale of their commercial operations was smaller than that of armed slavers and they did not obtain slaves directly from the source. They also lacked military power, although several armed men accompanied the caravans. Therefore, they relied upon other groups in case protection was needed. The Tuareg, who were closely associated with the trans-Saharan trade, exacted protection money from all caravans coming to North Africa from Kano, an important point of departure for slaves.[88]

In some cases, specific group of traders were centered in the major towns or transit points located along the trade routes. They used those places as commercial hubs, but constructed no outposts or fortified bases. Sokna merchants are one example of these traders. Sokna was located in Fezzan and the Sokna merchants from there were the main carriers of slaves between Fezzan and the Mediterranean coast.[89] Tuati merchants based in the Tuat oases can be mentioned as another example. They frequented the Ghat market to buy slaves and transported them to Algeria and Morocco.[90] They supplied some of Algeria's demand for black slaves and other Sudanese goods, and also a large part of Morocco's demand for slaves and other products.[91] The Ghadames merchants, the main suppliers of black slaves to Tunisia, can be also classified as this type of traders. However, their commercial networks were wider than that of the aforementioned traders.

In any case, this sort of trader could not effectively resist the restrictions imposed upon the slave trade even when those imposing such restrictions were far away. They had no military power to control their autonomous domains and they were centered in

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[88] Toledano, *The Ottoman Slave Trade and its Suppression*, 29.
[89] John Wright, *The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade* (London: Routledge, 2007), 72.
[90] John Wright, "Morocco: The Last Great Slave Market?," *The Journal of North African Studies* 7, no. 3 (2002): 60-61; Wright, *The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade*, 100.
[91] Wright, *The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade*, 143.

specific points along the trade routes that connected the sources of slaves to the major destinations in North Africa. Therefore, when restrictions on the slave trade precluded slave traders from conveying slaves through established trade routes, their only option was to find new alternative routes. Hence, the differences between types of slave traders were related to the success of abolitionism in each region. The suppression of the slave trade in nineteenth century Egypt and Tunisia was also associated with the presence of specific slave traders; this circumstance will be examined below.

Slave Suppliers to Nineteenth century Egypt and the Sudan

Arab traders moved along the caravan routes that connected the interior of Africa to North Africa and the ports on the Red Sea Coast or East Africa to supply black slaves and other commodities to the markets of Egypt and Arabia. The term *jallāba* was used to indicate these traders.[92] The word *jallāba* was a collective Arabic term for petty traders and it seems that this term entered Egyptian usage in Mamluk times.[93] It became the word used to indicate the merchants participating in the trade across the Sudan, whose ethnic composition was diverse. Upper Egyptian *jallāba* joined by Syrians and North Africans dominated the trade between Sennar and Egypt during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the Sudanese *jallāba* increased their participation in the trade during the eighteenth century.[94] According to Browne and Burckhardt, the Sudanese

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[92] Yusuf Fadl Hasan, "Some Aspects of the Arab Slave Trade from the Sudan 7th - 19th Century," *Sudan Notes and Records* 58 (1977): 90, 95.
[93] Ibid., 95.
[94] Anders Bjørkelo, *Prelude to the Mahdiyya: Peasants and Traders in the Shendi Region, 1821–1885* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 26.

dealers from Dongola played a major role in commercial activities in the north-eastern Sudan.[95]

Until the mid-nineteenth century, the slave trade across the Sudan was mainly conducted by these *jallāba*. Different groups of *jallāba* managed the various trade routes between major commercial centers. For instance, the *jallāba* who traded between Kobbei and Kordofan were different from those who came to Shendi, and the Egyptian *jallāba* who visited Shendi were different from those who went to Sennar.[96] Although some of these merchants organized or financed trade caravans carrying slaves from remote places, they did not directly procure slaves from the sources in most cases. As for Sennar, dealers bought slaves captured by raids into the areas of the Nuba Mountains and Ethiopia and transported them to Sennar.[97]

Other slave trade routes were also associated with multiple actors, especially in case where large caravans were involved. The trade between Darfur and Egypt was representative of this collaboration. The main source of slaves gathered in Darfur was south and southwest of Darfur, an area called Dar Fartit, while relatively small numbers of slaves were captured on the border with Wadai. While the Baqqara Arabs captured slaves on their own and continuous wars with Wadai or neighboring tribes resulted in the enslavement of captives, the bulk of slaves seems to have been procured by raiding parties sponsored by the sultans of Darfur and these parties conducted the largest raids covering wide geographical areas.[98] Although the sultan himself hardly conducted any

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[95] Browne, *Travels in Africa*, 272; Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, 298.
[96] Bjørkelo, *Prelude to the Mahdiyya*, 27.
[97] Baer, "Slavery in Nineteenth Century Egypt," 424.
[98] Walz, *The Trade between Egypt and Bilād as-Sūdān*, 32; R. S. O'Fahey, "Slavery and the Slave Trade in Dār Fūr," *The Journal of African History* 14, no. 1 (1973): 31; Mohamed Ibrahim Nugud, *Slavery in the*

raids, he issued a permit named *salaṭīya* which was used to indicate licensed raids as well.[99] In principle, any of the sultan's subjects could request permission to do a raid, but a specific class of professional slave raider existed.[100] After completing the *salaṭīya*, one fifth of the captured slaves were taken by the sultan.[101] It seems that from 50 to 70 commissioned raids were conducted annually.[102]

Although the *jallāba* most often did not participate in those raids directly, they generally advanced the credit required by the organizers of raids and some *jallāba* also accompanied the expeditions to gain more slaves than if they chose to remain behind.[103] Other *jallāba* also bought slaves from local merchants or natives in Dar Fartit. Burckhardt reported that some inhabitants sold their own children to the merchants to acquire grains.[104] The slaves exported to other regions from Darfur were procured by such raids and purchases. The trade route starting from Darfur involved different groups of traders (*jallāba*) and the settled traders in Darfur or Kordofan acted as middlemen between the traders of the north and the sources of slaves located in the south.[105] Although the riverine *jallāba* seem to have opened direct communication between Egypt and Darfur, some Darfur or Kordofan merchants also brought slaves to al-Ubayyid where other Kordofan

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Sudan, trans. Asma Mohamed Abdel Halim, ed. Sharon Barnes, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 54.

[99] The term *salaṭīya* was also used to mention a broad-bladed spear associated with the Baqqara. YF Hasan, "Some Aspects of the Arab Slave Trade," 106; O'Fahey, "Slavery and the Slave Trade in Dār Fūr," 32.

[100] O'Fahey, "Slavery and the Slave Trade in Dār Fūr," 32.

[101] Browne, *Travels in Africa*, 343.

[102] Nugud, *Slavery in the Sudan*, 54. Lawrence Mire, "Al-Zubayr Pasha and the Zariba Based Slave Trade in the Bahr al-Ghazal 1855-1879," in *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa: Volume 2: The Servile Estate*, ed. John Ralph Willis (London: Frank Cass, 1985), 105.

[103] YF Hasan, "Some Aspects of the Arab Slave Trade," 98.

[104] Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, 324.

[105] YF Hasan, "Some Aspects of the Arab Slave Trade," 99.

merchants took them to Shendi and sold them to Egyptian traders.[106] While the sultan assumed ultimate control of the long-distance caravans, and dispatched his own caravan to Cairo at times, the *jallāba* still played a key role in this long-distance trade and acted as financers or organizers of caravans in many instances.[107]

The *jallāba* trading across the northern part of the Sudan and Egypt were similar to the trans-Saharan traders who were involved in the trade between West Africa and North Africa. First of all, neither of these groups captured slaves themselves. They were also basically itinerant traders without self-sufficient bases although they frequented major commercial centers and some of them were mainly concentrated in those centers. In addition, they lacked their own military might in most cases and relied upon other powers when they needed protection. For example, the Ababda tribesmen received protection fees from the caravans going through the Nubian Desert and traders without their protection were exposed to attacks from local tribes.[108] They also usually had to pay tolls to tribal chiefs when they passed through the territories controlled by these chiefs.

However, the main pattern of the slave trade across the Sudan changed after the 1850s. The change resulted from the opening up of the White Nile to merchants, assuring free navigation and commerce and the development of the ivory trade. In 1839, Egypt formally designated Khartoum as the capital of the Sudan, and many European and Levantine merchants were attracted to this trading center. As steamers penetrated the vast swamp named Sudd, sources of ivory along the White Nile became easily accessible.

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[106] Browne, *Travels in Africa*, 272; Bjørkelo, *Prelude to the Mahdiyya*, 27.
[107] YF Hasan, "Some Aspects of the Arab Slave Trade," 97, 99-100.
[108] Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, 236; Ignatius Pallme, *Travels in Kordofan* (London: J. Madden and Co., 1844), 35.

As early as 1844, the river was opened for navigation and commerce.[109] At first, ivory was mainly collected by government expeditions and the governor of the Sudan dispatched small annual trading enterprises to obtain ivory while the monopoly was sustained.[110] However, European traders appealed to their consuls to abolish the monopoly and consular pressure resulted in freedom of navigation in 1852. Many European, Levantine, Egyptian, and northern Sudanese Arab merchants rushed to the South to obtain ivory, the most profitable item in the region. They were based in Khartoum and some of these early traders, such as Alexandre Vaudey and John Petherick made their establishments in Bahr al-Ghazal and Bahr al-Arab.[111] Petherick also reported the development of the ivory trade: according to his account, written in 1860, the quantity of ivory annually transported down the White Nile to Europe had increased from 20 to 100 tons.[112]

Because of this development, the ivory traders demanded more slaves. Ivory was a heavy item to transport and therefore many porters were needed while traders wanted to minimize transport costs. Using slaves as porters was ideal for this purpose because they could be sold in Khartoum or coastal commercial towns after they conveyed ivory.[113] Slaves were also helpful in obtaining a large amount of ivory. In addition to hunting elephants, the ivory traders had to raid hostile local tribes who had little or no experience in trade to obtain ivory from them. They also had to secure cattle by force, to purchase

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[109] Shukri, *The Khedive Ismail and Slavery in the Sudan*, 100.
[110] Mowafi, *Slavery, Slave Trade and Abolition Attempts*, 47; Shukri, *The Khedive Ismail and Slavery in the Sudan*, 102-3.
[111] Shukri, *The Khedive Ismail and Slavery in the Sudan*, 104; Mire, "Al-Zubayr Pasha and the Zariba Based Slave Trade," 107.
[112] John Petherick and Katherine Petherick, *Travels in Central Africa, and Explorations of the Western Nile Tributaries* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1869), 2:83-84.
[113] Mowafi, *Slavery, Slave Trade and Abolition Attempts*, 49; R. W. Beachey, "The East African Ivory Trade in the Nineteenth Century," *The Journal of African History* 8, no. 2 (1967): 275-76.

ivory or commodities necessary for the traders and their retainers. In this process, the traders also became to have many captives and those who enslaved were useful for their business. In some cases, they were ransomed back to their people at the price of more ivory tusks.[114] They were also given to the armed retainers as wages. Certainly, some of the slaves were recruited by the traders as well. Therefore, the captured slaves were directly and indirectly useful for the traders to maintain their business and maximize profits.

While the ivory traders conducted raids to get cattle and slaves, they also built *zarības* to effectively manage their business. The term *zarība* was used before these traders constructed their fortified bases. For instance, the slave raiders of Darfur also built *zarības* to keep the captured slaves. However, the *zarības* constructed by the slave traders from Khartoum were multifunctional, and cooperative networks were also formed between them. These *zarības* were fortified enclosures and used as temporary holding camps, as entrepôts from which slave raids and ivory collection expeditions were conducted, and as permanent or semi-permanent settlements.[115] The number of *zarības* increased as the slave trade became the biggest business in the region, replacing the ivory trade.

From 1854, the ivory traders became involved in trading slaves because the supply of ivory had decreased. Because of the high price ivory commanded, regular expeditions to hunt elephants were organized and the number of elephants decreased as a result of this trade. In addition, the natives' stocks of elephant tusks were also depleted. As a result,

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[114] Beachey, "The East African Ivory Trade," 279.
[115] Paul Lane and Douglas Johnson, "The Archaeology and History of Slavery in South Sudan in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*, ed. A. C. S. Peacock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 518.

the ivory traders could no longer meet the expenses of their expeditions and they had to resort to trafficking in slaves to make up their losses.[116] After 1854, the ivory traders became chiefly slave traders although they still collected ivory. They focused on capturing slaves instead of elephants when ivory became rare.[117] Another important transition happened in the early 1860s. European traders had withdrawn from the Sudan in this period for several reasons. As the scale of the slave trade increased, all the European traders in the Sudan were suspected of complicity in the traffic of slaves and they faced serious accusations from the abolitionists while the scarcity of ivory became clear.[118] The competition between European and Sudanese merchants as well as the policies of favoring local traders over foreign merchants also frustrated the European traders. Such policies included the imposition of heavy duties on both exports and imports and the establishment of checkpoints along the White Nile.[119] While foreigners were vulnerable to the caprices of the Khedival government, local traders found ways of evading high taxes and did not rely on river transport.[120] Therefore, the European traders left the region and were replaced by northern Sudanese merchants.

While these changes happened, the *zarība* system also developed. During the 1850s, Alphonse de Malzac, a French ivory trader who constructed a *zarība* on the Bahr al-Jabal in 1856, established the first set of rules for the internal administration of

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[116] Mowafi, *Slavery, Slave Trade and Abolition Attempts*, 48-49; Shukri, *The Khedive Ismail and Slavery in the Sudan*, 107-8.

[117] Shukri, *The Khedive Ismail and Slavery in the Sudan*, 108.

[118] Ibid., 109, 118.

[119] Ahmad Alawad Sikainga, "The Legacy of Slavery and Slave Trade in the Western Bahr al-Ghazal, 1850-1939," *Northeast African Studies* 11, no. 2 (1989): 79.

[120] Ibid.; Alice Moore-Harell, "Decline in European Trade in the Sudan from the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Middle Eastern Studies* 39, no. 3 (July 2003): 70-71.

zarības.[121] These rules designated the way of separating territories and routes managed by each company and later commercial companies and traders adopted them. From 1853 to 1863, more than eighty *zarības* were constructed between the Biri and the Rohl.[122] The companies formed by the Khartoum traders managed these *zarības* and had exclusive rights in certain regions. The specific geographical areas were controlled by the *zarības* owned by each company and inhabitants near these *zarības* became dependent on the *zarības*. Although some local chiefs allied with the traders and supplied them with necessary staples in return for their goods or support in the power struggle with other tribes, the traders exploited tribal warfare to obtain captives. As for the indigenous people of the agricultural communities under the sphere of influence of *zarības*, they were virtually in a state of vassalage. These settlements around *zarības* resulted from raids by the controllers of these *zarības*. They raided the villages in the vicinity of their *zarības* and captured the survivors, enlisting the fittest in their private armies and selling the rest as slaves.[123] Georg August Schweinfurth, the German botanist and explorer who visited the Bahr al-Ghazal in 1869, wrote that the area between the Tondy and the Dyoor rivers was devastated in three years and the once populous district with many huts had only a few scattered habitations.[124] Once violence subsided, the scattered locals started to settle around the *zarības* and they cultivated and supplied the food and served as porters in the expeditions of the traders.[125] In this manner, the geographical areas controlled by the

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[121] Mowafi, *Slavery, Slave Trade and Abolition Attempts*, 49; Lane and Johnson, "The Archaeology and History of Slavery," 518.
[122] Mire, "Al-Zubayr Pasha and the Zariba Based Slave Trade," 108.
[123] Mowafi, *Slavery, Slave Trade and Abolition Attempts*, 51.
[124] Georg August Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa: Three Years' Travels and Adventures in the Unexplored Regions of Central Africa from 1868 to 1871*, trans. Ellen E. Frewer (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low, and Searle, 1874) 1:343.
[125] Sikainga, "The Legacy of Slavery and Slave Trade in the Western Bahr al-Ghazal," 81.

zarības expanded and the Bahr al-Ghazal was divided among six major trading houses based in Khartoum and about half-a-dozen smaller trading groups associated with them.[126] Schweinfurth described the organization of *zarības* as below:

> As the various associations were entering upon mutual competition, in order to prevent disagreements, there was laid down a kind of Seriba [*zarība*] law, which was pretty well the same everywhere. First of all, the territories immediately dependent were distinctly designated. Then it provided that the approaches to a meshera [landing port] should only be used by those who could establish a claim to it. Nearly every Seriba has its separate avenues, upon which it levies a toll, and an avenue without tolls is not a legitimate highway at all. . . . Each separate company had its own route and its own train of captains, who purchased the ivory and procured a market. No new-comers were allowed to intrude themselves into an established market, or to infringe upon its trade. Fresh marts could only be established by pressing farther onwards into the interior. These new establishments in their turn were subject to monopoly, and were rigidly protected.[127]

The *zarība*-based merchants also absorbed the *jallcba* into their system. The *jallāba* started to join the traders based in *zarības* and acted as their agents or partners. In the Bahr al-Ghazal, where the influence of the *zarība*-based traders was clearest, many *jallāba* eagerly adopted the new system. They could find protection and opportunities for trade around the *zarības* and by the late 1860s, their association with the owners of the *zarības* resulted in an extensive slave trade which supplied slaves to the markets of Kordofan, Darfur, and Egypt.[128] Local chiefs who had taxed the *jallāba* were also subdued. For example, the Kredy chieftains who compelled the *jallāba* to pay the heavy imposts were reduced by the Khartoumers to a subordinate position.[129] As these Khartoumers penetrated into Dar Fartit, the *jallāba* in that region also cooperated with them, while the sponsored raiders from Darfur were gradually expelled. Although the *jallāba* were

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[126] Ibid., 79; Mire, "Al-Zubayr Pasha and the Zariba Based Slave Trade," 109.
[127] Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, 1:225-26.
[128] YF Hasan, "Some Aspects of the Arab Slave Trade," 102.
[129] Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, 2:366.

reduced to middlemen under the *zarība* system, they were freed from paying tolls and being subject to control by the indigenous communities.[130] They were also freed from the necessity of maintaining their few armed retainers while they could expand into the areas newly opened up by the *zarība*-based merchants.[131] As the *zarības* secured the routes for expeditions and trade, the *jallāba* could also easily move to their final destinations. Prominent *zarība*-based merchants such as al-Zubayr established and protected overland routes through Kordofan. The *jallāba* transported slaves through these routes to important commercial centers including Sennar and Khartoum.

Therefore, it can be said that the Khartoumers who completed the *zarība* system and expanded their network could control the slave trade from capture to transportation. As a corollary, some of these traders greatly expanded their influence and became notorious in the Sudan. Examples of these merchants are ʿAli Abu ʿAmuri, Muhammad Ahmad al-ʿAqqad, Mahjub al-Busaili (Biselli), Muhammad Abu Samad from Egypt or the northern part of the Sudan, a Coptic merchant called Ghattas, and a Turk named Küçük Ali. It was reported that Abu ʿAmuri, al-Busaili, and Küçük Ali were especially well known in the Bahr al-Ghazal and they formed a triumvirate around 1862.[132] The geographer Alvan S. Southworth, who visited the Sudan in 1871-2, wrote about the military power of these merchants. According to his record, a single trader could employ as many as 5,000 soldiers; al-ʿAqqad had over this number on the White Nile while Küçük Ali and Ghaṭṭas had 4,000 soldiers respectively and al-Busaili had 800 soldiers.[133] As Schweinfurth stated,

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[130] Mire, "Al-Zubayr Pasha and the Zariba Based Slave Trade," 108.
[131] Ibid., 108-9.
[132] Étienne-Félix Berlioux, *La traite orientale: histoire des chasses à l'homme organisées en Afrique depuis quinze ans pour les marchés de l'Orient* (Paris: Librairie de Guillaumin et Cie, 1870), 112-113.
[133] Alvan S. Southworth, "The Soudan and the Valley of the White Nile," *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* 5 (1874): 99.

the number of soldiers stationed in *zarības* kept increasing.[134] He also wrote about the influence of the prominent slave merchants, such as Ghaṭṭas, in detail. For instance, he mentioned as below:

> The district between Ghattas's six Seribas [*zarības*] in the northern Bongo country and immediately under his authority, extends over an area of about 200 square miles, of which at least 45 miles are under cultivation. The total population, to judge by the number of huts and by the bearers stationed in different parts, can hardly amount to much less than 12,000. This domain, worth millions of pounds were it situate in Europe, might, I believe, at any time be bought from its owner for 20,000 dollars.[135]

Samuel Baker, who strove to suppress the slave trade while serving as a pasha of the Khedivate, also spoke of the influence of the slave traders he encountered. He spoke mainly about his major opponent, al-ʿAqqad & Company, and its local agent in the Upper Nile, Muhammad Abu Suʿud Bey al-ʿAqqad (Abu Suʿud).[136] According to Baker, Abu Suʿud managed 90,000 square miles in Central Africa through a contract from the government.[137] According to the same source, Abu Suʿud commanded 2,500 armed men and his stations including Fatiko, Fabbo, Faloro, and Farragenia were crowded with slaves.[138] Al-ʿAqqad & Company and Abu Suʿud appeared to be involved in the internal politics of the Kingdom of Bunyoro as well. Baker described their interference:

> Kamrasi died about two years ago. His sons fought for the succession, and each aspirant sought the aid of the traders. This civil strife exactly suited the interests of the treacherous Khartoumers. The several companies of slave-hunters scattered over the Madi, Shooli, and Unyoro countries represented only one interest, that of their employers, Agād [Aqqad] & CO. . . .
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> . . . Each company, commanded by its independent vakeel [agent], arrived in Unyoro, and supported the cause of each antagonistic pretender to the

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[134] Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, 2:443.
[135] Ibid., 1:175.
[136] Abu Suʿud was also a son-in-law of Muḥammad Ahmad al-ʿAqqad and he became the successor of al-ʿAqqad & Company.
[137] Baker, *Ismailia*, 1:232.
[138] Ibid., 2:122-123.

throne, and treacherously worked for the ruin of all, excepting him who would be able to supply the largest amount of ivory and slaves. . . .

 . . . The companies of Abou Saood [Abu Suʿud] supported all three, receiving ivory and slaves from each as the hire of mercenary troops; . . . and securing the throne to Kabba Réga.[139]

Baker also had to admit that the contracts between the slave traders and the Khedival government limited his activities and he himself made an arrangement with Abu Suʿud so that this merchant would supply him with provisions, porters, and even a contingent from the 1,800 irregular troops under the command of Abu Suʿud.[140] Baker could not completely subdue them until his departure from the Sudan.

Although all of those aforementioned merchant-warlords were influential in the Sudan, the most famous and influential slave merchant in the region was al-Zubayr Rahma al-Mansur. He started his career as an employee of Abu ʿAmuri in 1856. He soon became an independent merchant and gradually increased his power in the region. During the 1860s, he became to control the main overland trade route passing through Darfur and Kordofan. He also started to rule a wide territory in Bahr al-Ghazal and made his main *zarība* named Daym al-Zubayr the capital of his realm. In 1866, he opened the overland trade route between Bahr al-Ghazal and Kordofan by cooperating with the Rizayqat Arabs. This route could replace the route on the Nile, which the Khedival government monitored closely. In addition to his caravans, many travelers and merchants from different places, even including Jedda, Massawa, and Tripoli, used this trade route.[141] In a single year, more than 2,000 *jallāba* reached Daym al-Zubayr.[142] Al-Zubayr

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[139] Ibid., 2:137-138.
[140] T. Douglas Murray and Arthur Silva White, *Sir Samuel Baker: A Memoir* (London: Macmillan and CO., 1895), 166.
[141] al-Zubayr and H. C. Jackson, *Black Ivory, or the Story of El Zubeir Pasha, Slaver and Sultan, as Told by Himself* (Oxford: B.H. Blackwell, 1913), 32.
[142] Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, 2:356-57.

mentioned that his troops numbered 12,000 around the year 1869.[143] This number seems to be reliable because he mobilized 7,000-8,000 soldiers in the expedition to Darfur.[144] He regarded himself as a king and used the words 'kingdom' or 'country' to describe his zone of influence.[145] His influence reached its pinnacle during the early 1870s. Although al-Zubayr defeated the expedition organized by the Khedival government in 1869, he was officially recognized as the governor of Bahr al-Ghazal and Shaqqa in 1873 before he participated in the conquest of Darfur.

Therefore, it is evident that the slave traders based in the Sudan in the mid-nineteenth century were influential in the region. Their presence seemed to hamper the anti-slavery policies developed by the Khedival government. Saʿid introduced many restrictive measures on the slave trade and slavery. He issued orders prohibiting the importation of slaves into Egypt and the sale of slaves. He also declared that in case of slaves being clandestinely introduced, they should be considered entitled to claim their freedom, and be restored whenever possible to their family and friends.[146] He even stated that all the slaves in Egypt who wanted to leave the service of their masters of their own accord could get full freedom.[147] However, these policies were unsuccessful. Despite his decrees, the slave trade was brisk in the Sudan and the importation of slaves into Egypt continued. Although the slave market of Khartoum was closed, a new market was opened in Kaka and the slave traders found new overland routes. The official prohibition of the

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[143] al-Zubayr and H. C. Jackson, *Black Ivory*, 51.
[144] Dunn, *Khedive Ismail's Army*, 91; R. S O'Fahey, "The Conquest of Darfur, 1873-1882," *Sudan Notes and Records*, n.s., no. 1 (1997): 57; Shukri, *The Khedive Ismail and Slavery in the Sudan*, 229.
[145] al-Zubayr and H. C. Jackson, *Black Ivory*, 30, 49.
[146] Bruce to Clarendon, Cairo, 17 January 1855, F.O. 84/974.
[147] Shukri, *The Khedive Ismail and Slavery in the Sudan*, 111.

sale of slaves merely meant that slave sales were no longer recorded in official court registers.[148]

The fundamental reason for this failure was the lack of control of the regions where slaves were captured and/or gathered. If the slave merchants had remained itinerant petty traders and depended on the riverine route, the restrictive measures by Saʿid might have had some success. However, due to the geography of the Sudan and the changes in the slave trade, it was not possible to prevent slave traders from importing slaves into the territory of the Khedivate without solid control of the regions where the slave trade was conducted. The *zarība*-based merchants increased their strength in the regions outside Khedival control and absorbed the *jallāba* into their networks. As a result, they could maintain the constant flow of slaves from sources in the interior of Africa to the destinations in Egypt and the Sudan. The Khedival government during the era of Saʿid could not monitor the overland routes used by the slavers; nor could it disturb their raids and transportation of slaves. In addition, these influential slave traders easily bribed the administrators appointed by the Khedival government in the Sudan. Saʿid himself also contributed to the failure of his anti-slavery policies. He divided the Egyptian Sudan into four independent provinces and this decentralized administration hampered the efficient implementation of government policies. Moreover, he continually procured slaves to recruit them into his guard or the troops stationed in the Sudan regardless of his anti-slavery policies. This circumstance will be discussed further in the next chapter. Therefore, even though Saʿid seemed to act in good faith with respect to the abolition of slavery,[149]

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[148] Terence Walz, "Black Slavery in Egypt during the Nineteenth Century as Reflected in the Mahkama Archives of Cairo," in *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa: Volume 2: The Servile Estate*, ed. John Ralph Willis (London: Frank Cass, 1985), 138.

[149] Slave Trade No. 3, Green to Malmesbury, Alexandria, 31 December 1858, F.O. 84/1060.

his anti-slavery policies were not successful for several reasons and the presence of influential slave traders who had de facto control of the main centers and routes of the slave trade was especially decisive.

These slave traders remained influential in the era of Ismaʿil. As aforementioned, the most influential slave trader in the Sudan, al-Zubayr, had his heyday during the early 1870s. One report even stated that Bahr al-Ghazal was in the hands of slave dealers until 1878.[150] However, the Khedival government's control of various regions in the Sudan was gradually strengthened and the slave traders faced more pressure from the government. Ismaʿil combined expansionism with anti-slavery policies and justified the expansion of the Khedivate into the interior of Africa as a necessary step to terminate the slave trade. He gave orders that the slave trade should end and imported slaves should be freed and entitled to take government documents assuring their freedom.[151] He emphasized that one of the most important tasks of the governor-general of the Sudan was suppressing the slave trade. Ismaʿil also declared a monopoly on ivory and major goods from the Sudan to weaken the *zarība*-based slave traders.[152] He formed a river patrol and employed Europeans including Samuel Baker and Charles George Gordon as high-ranking officials in charge of suppressing the slave trade. These European officials eagerly undertook their tasks and contributed to the expansion of the Egyptian Khedivate in sub-Saharan Africa. Many Europeans supported the expansion of the Khedivate as an

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[150] Frank Lupton and Malcolm Lupton, "Mr. Frank Lupton's (Lupton Bey) Geographical Observations in the Bahr-el-Ghazal Region: With Introductory Remarks by Malcolm Lupton," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* 6, no. 5 (May 1884): 245.

[151] The Khedive to the Governor-General of Sudan (Ismaʿil l Ayyub Pasha), Daftar 1946 Arabi no. 16, page 65, 18 May 1873, ʿAbdin Archives, reproduced in Muhammad Fuʾad Shukri, *al-Ḥukm al-Misri fi'l-Sudan 1820-1885* (Cairo: Dar al-Fikr al-ʿArabi, 1947), 309-10.

[152] The Khedive to the Special Council, Daftar 1870 Maʿiyya ʿArabi no 73, page 115, 8 September 1874, ʿAbdin Archives, in Shukri, *al-Hukm al-Misri fi'l-Sudan*, 314-16.

effective way to suppress the slave trade. As a directly involved participant in the expansionist projects of Ismaʿil, Baker stated that the annexation of the Nile Basin would be necessary to suppress the slave trade and protect the natives.[153] The British consul Sidney Saunders also stated before the accession of Ismaʿil that if the Khedive could be induced to extend his rule to Gondokoro by annexing the White Nile to Egyptian territory, an effective blow would be struck to the slave trade.[154] By emphasizing his intention to suppress slavery, Ismaʿil also could get diplomatic support from Britain in obtaining and affirming privileges granted by the Ottoman court, such as financial autonomy and the removal of restrictions on the size of Egypt's army.

The combination of expansionism and anti-slavery measures not only drew support from Europeans, but also resulted in the expansion of the Egyptian Khedivate and the weakening of slave merchants. Although the slave traders maintained their business until the khedive's abdication, the geographical scope of their activities was reduced and government control over the Sudan was strengthened. Some traders were evacuated from Equatoria and the Upper Nile while others were punished or detained. The Khedival government constrained even the most influential traders. Baker defeated Abu Suʿud at Fatiko and drove all the slave traders out of the regions under his nominal command.[155] Abu Suʿud was then arrested and a special tribunal composed of high-ranking officials from the Khedival government was formed to judge him.[156] Although Gordon hired him after Baker's departure, he was dismissed in 1874 and it was the end

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[153] Baker, *Ismailia*, 1:8.
[154] Slave Trade no. 5, Saunders to Russell, Alexandria, 31 July 1862, F.O. 84/1181.
[155] Murray and White, *Sir Samuel Baker*, 203.
[156] Baker, *Ismailia*, 2:495.

of his career.[157] Al-Zubayr, the most successful slave trader in the Sudan, also could not be free of the influence of the Khedival government. He came into conflict with the governor-general of the Sudan and the Khedive in such issues as the administration of Darfur and the poll tax. Therefore, he was compelled to visit Cairo to resolve the conflicts. Instead, however, he was virtually detained in Cairo. Although his son Sulayman continued to manage his realm, al-Zubayr's absence was followed by a power vacuum. Sulayman's later rebellion also failed and the *zarība* system collapsed. Hence, it can be said that the influential *zarība*-based traders including al-Zubayr could not ultimately prevent the will of the Khedival government even though they could slow the process of its anti-slavery and expansionist policies.

However, it should be also noted that Ismaʿil's commitment to anti-slavery projects was ambivalent. As aforementioned, he combined abolitionism with expansionist projects and easily justified the expansion of the Khedivate by emphasizing the need for the suppression of the slave trade. However, the actual implementation of the anti-slavery projects seemed to concentrate on suppressing the traders, especially the influential figures among them, rather than suppressing the trade itself. As the example of Abu Suʿud showed, punishments of the traders were not properly applied. Other influential traders such as Küçük Ali and Ghaṭṭas were also released despite plans to jail and bankrupt them.[158] This means that weakening the influence of the slave traders was considered important while the imposition of punishments on these traders was secondary. Before signing the 1877 convention, Ismaʿil did not specify the punishments

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[157] Murray and White, *Sir Samuel Baker*, 218.
[158] Charles George Gordon, *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa, 1874-1879 from Original Letters and Documents*, ed. George Birkbeck Hill (London: Thos. de la Rue & Co., 1881), 53, 56.

to be meted out to the slave traders. In addition, although he implied that abolition was necessary, he did not take any measure against slavery itself except encouraging the governors to free slaves. His decrees against the slave trade just specified the general principles against the slave trade such as strengthened monitoring of the rivers while detailed steps were assigned to European officials Baker and Gordon. Although government control of the regions in the Sudan was strengthened, the overland slave trade routes passing through them were not monitored. Therefore, it can be said that Ismaʿil's anti-slavery policy could weaken the influence of the *zarība*-based merchants but struck no decisive blow against slavery and the slave trade.

This might be partly due to his focus on expansionism rather than on anti-slavery. However, another important factor seems to have been the constant demand for slaves. T. Douglas Murray and Arthur Silva White stated that the measures taken by the Khedivate and its officials including Baker did not strike at the root of the slave trade and as long as there was a demand for slaves, there was bound to be a constant supply.[159] Although demand for slaves in Egypt varied, it seems that the demand for military slaves by the rulers of Egypt, especially Ismaʿil, played a major role throughout the nineteenth century. This factor will be the main subject of the third chapter.

Slave Suppliers to Nineteenth Century Tunisia

As for nineteenth century Tunisia, the suppliers of slaves were mainly gathered in Ghadames. Although Grenville Temple, who visited Tunis in 1833, also mentioned Tripoli

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[159] Murray and White, *Sir Samuel Baker*, 203.

as a major entrepôt for the slaves brought into Tunisia,[160] the number of slaves imported via Tripoli was hardly mentioned while it has been reported that Ghadames supplied at least several hundred slaves to Tunisia per annum. In addition, other observers only mentioned Ghadames as a major entrepôt for the slaves brought into Tunisia in most cases.[161] Therefore, it can be stated that the majority of black slaves brought into Tunisia came through Ghadames in the nineteenth century before the abolition of the slave trade. As mentioned in the first chapter, most of the slaves procured by the Ghadames merchants reached Tunis although some went to other destinations in North Africa. The Ghadames merchants were the major slave traders of Tunisia in the nineteenth century and other petty slave traders were not specifically noticed even though they may have transported a small number of slaves into Tunisia. Hence, these Ghadames merchants are the main subject in our discussion of slave suppliers to nineteenth century Tunisia.

The Ghadames merchants had an exceptional status in the trans-Saharan trade. Ghadames was first mentioned in the Roman era and it became a major trading center after the Islamization of North Africa. In Timbuktu, the Ghadames merchant community was considered the most flourishing one in the city as early as 1591.[162] It is evident that the Ghadames merchants started to form their trading network long before the nineteenth century and their diasporas could be found in various towns located along the trans-

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[160] Grenville Temple, *Excursions in the Mediterranean: Algiers and Tunis* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1835), 1:248.

[161] For example, Louis Frank and Thomas MacGill who visited Tunisia in the early nineteenth century only mentioned Ghadames when they described the importation of black slaves into Tunisia. Frank, *Précédée d'une description de cette régence*, 122-23; MacGill, *An Account of Tunis*, 148-49. Subsequent reports during the 1840s by M. Subtil and E. Pellissier de Reynaud also did not mention Tripoli as s slave trading entrepôt while they presented Ghadames as a major entrepôt. "Slave Trade in North Africa," 219; E. Pellissier de Reynaud, *Description de la régence de Tunis: Exploration scientifique de l'Algérie* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1853), 6:151-52.

[162] Ulrich Haarmann, "The Dead Ostrich Life and Trade in Ghadames (Libya) in the Nineteenth Century," *Die Welt des Islams* 38, no. 1 (1998): 25.

Saharan trade routes between the West African mainland and North Africa. In the nineteenth century, they played an important role in the trans-Saharan trade. By using their tribal relationships with the inhabitants of commercial towns, the Ghadames merchants set up their own trading establishments and gained control over shorter routes to the major West African commercial centers such as Hausaland and Timbuktu.[163] Some of these merchants married local women to secure their economic status while some others even married into the families of the local rulers, such as those of Bornu and Kano.[164]

The Ghadames merchants carried various commodities with the aid of their networks and communities. In the north-bound trade, these merchants carried gum, ostrich feathers, resin, gold dust, ivory and slaves. They also transported North African merchandise such as sugar, paper, copper, beads, and textiles to the Sahel. The Ghadames merchants used multiple routes to transport their goods and had a dominant position on the Kano-Aïr-Ghadames route and the Timbuktu-Tuat-Ghadames route.[165] They frequented Bornu, Ghat, various towns in Hausaland, and the harbor cities of Tunis and Tripoli, where they led commercial activities. As mentioned, the Ghadames merchants had a de facto monopoly on the lucrative trans-Saharan trade routes.[166]

The Ghadames merchants usually transported slaves from the south to Tunis and Tripoli. As mentioned in the first chapter, these Ghadames merchants were the main supplier of slaves to Tunis. The Ghadames merchants also organized the major caravans

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[163] Gustav Nachtigal, *Tripoli and Fezzan, Tibesti or Tu*, vol. 1 of *Sahara and Sudan*, trans. Allan G. B. Fisher and Humphrey J. Fisher (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1974), 120.
[164] Haarmann, "The Dead Ostrich Life," 29-30.
[165] Montana, *The Abolition of Slavery in Ottoman Tunisia*, 58, 63, 66.
[166] Haarmann, "The Dead Ostrich Life," 33.

carrying West African goods to Tunisia, especially after the Constantine caravans ceased their visit to Tunis. While various sorts of caravans visited other North African destinations such as Tripoli and Morocco, the Ghadames merchants carried slaves and other West African goods into the Beylik of Tunis mainly because of Ghadames's geographical vicinity to the territory of the Beylik. Therefore, it was natural that the Ghadames merchants mainly used the Tunisian riyal as their currency.[167]

Although the Ghadames merchants had a major role in the trans-Saharan commerce and formed a large trading network, they had limitations in their activities. First of all, they were dependent upon other groups to protect their caravans and trade routes. They had no military power except a small number of armed retainers. As a result, they had to pay tolls to other groups to assure the safety of their journeys. For example, the Tuareg levied heavy toll taxes on the Ghadames merchants in return for their exclusive permission to these merchants to pass on the caravan routes under the protection of them.[168] The relationship with the Arab Bedouins of Shaamba was also important. They levied tolls in return for ensuring safe passage of the Ghadames caravans nearby Tunisia.[169] The Ghadames merchants also depended on other groups to procure the main items of their trade including slaves and ivory. For instance, the Tuareg acting as agents for the kingdoms in the Sahel conducted raids to capture slaves and also sold slaves to

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[167] C.H. Dickson reported in 1859 that the current medium of exchange of Ghadamis (Ghadames) is the Tunisian piaster, equal to 6*d.* sterling. C. H. Dickson, "Account of Ghadamis," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 30 (1860):259. Ulrich Haarmann also stated that the Tunisian riyal had a clear predominance over other currencies among the Ghadames merchants before 1860 by referring to the letters written by the Ghadames merchants. Haarmann, "The Dead Ostrich Life," 55. It should be noted that the Tunsian currency was used among the Ghadames merchants as the main currency even after the 1840s when the slave trade conducted by them in Tunisia severely declined.
[168] Montana, *The Abolition of Slavery in Ottoman Tunisia*, 42, 65.
[169] Ibid., 38; Haarmann, "The Dead Ostrich Life," 33.

caravan traders including the Ghadames merchants.[170] In any case, the Ghadames merchants procured slaves in West African cities and they were not directly involved in slave raids. As the Ghadames merchants had no military power or independent means of securing goods, they could not open new trade routes although they could take a dominant position in the existing routes. Therefore, when the main route to their destination was interrupted, they hardly found new routes to that destination. Instead, they headed to other destinations in most cases.

Their slave trade to Tunisia clearly reveals this group's characteristics. In 1841, Ahmad Bey abolished the slave trade. In the following years, he introduced additional measures to implement the abolition effectively and slavery itself was also abolished in 1846. This change no doubt influenced the traffic of slaves through Ghadames. The observers of the trade, such as M. Subtil and James Richardson, stated that the prohibition of the slave trade in Tunisia severely damaged the slave trade conducted by the Ghadames merchants.[171] As aforementioned, the Ghadames merchants transported slaves into Tunisia via Ghadames and the Tunisian Beylik could easily monitor this route. The Ghadames merchants could not open an alternative route to the territory of the Beylik and they diverted the traffic of slaves to other destinations such as Tripoli and Morocco.[172] It was also reported that the slave traders moved their business south to Ghat and the Ghadames merchants also transported slaves from there to Tripoli.[173] The slave trade conducted by the Ghadames merchants gradually declined in the following years.

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[170] Toledano, *The Ottoman Slave Trade and its Suppression,* 16; Montana, *The Abolition of Slavery in Ottoman Tunisia*, 68.

[171] "Slave Trade in North Africa," 219; Montana, *The Abolition of Slavery in Ottoman Tunisia*, 63-64, 67.

[172] Wright, *The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade*, 65; Donald C. Holsinger, "Trade routes of the Algerian Sahara in the XIXth Century," *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 30, no. 1 (1980): 66.

[173] Montana, *The Abolition of Slavery in Ottoman Tunisia*, 67.

Ghadames was occupied by the Ottomans in 1843 and their heavy taxes and encouragement of other merchants to compete with the Ghadames merchants disrupted the trading activities through Ghadames, while the remaining slave traffic was also partly diverted by small groups of freebooters.[174]

In addition, the Ottoman regime of Tripoli promulgated a new law to prohibit the slave trade in 1856 and the British C.H Dickson reported in 1859 that the prohibition was enforced regardless of opposition.[175] As a result, slave merchants could no longer frequent Tripoli, a key emporium for the slaves transported by the Ghadames merchants especially after the Beylik of Tunis prohibited the slave trade,[176] as they had done before. The Ghadames merchants chose to adapt to the new circumstances instead of maintaining slaves as their main article of commerce. They contrived to compensate for the collapse of the slave trade with the new booming business in ivory and ostrich feathers, which were in demand in Europe, and they also sold imported goods including British cotton cloth from Europe to Central Africa at a high profit.[177] For example, the Ghadames merchants established their new communities at Djadjidouna in Damergu to procure ostrich feathers on a stable basis.[178]

After the Ghadames merchants diverted their slave trade away from Tunisia, the slave trade only lasted in rural areas on a relatively small scale. As Ibn Abi al-Diyaf reported, the residents of Djerba, the Bedouins, and the peasants opposed the abolition

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[174] Wright, *The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade*, 92-93; Amal M. Altaleb, "The Social and Economic History of Slavery in Libya (1800- 1950)" (PhD diss., The University of Manchester, 2015), 69.
[175] Dickson, "Account of Ghadamis," 260.
[176] Haarmann, "The Dead Ostrich Life," 37.
[177] Ibid., 42, 80.
[178] Paul E. Lovejoy and Stephen Baier, "The Desert-Side Economy of the Central Sudan," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 8, no. 4 (1975): 558.

of slavery.[179] However, the constant supply of hundreds of slaves was not reported after the Ghadames merchants were prevented from transporting slaves into Tunisia. As aforementioned, they did not have their own military power or territorial bases and therefore they could not organize alternative trade routes on their own. In addition, the territorial extent of the Beylik of Tunis was not large compared to the neighboring polities. Hence, when the sole main route through Ghadames became unavailable in transporting slaves, it was hard to find any alternative transit point connected to Tunisia. As a result, the Ghadames merchants did not try to carry slaves into Tunisia after the abolition of the slave trade and slavery. As mentioned above, they transported slaves to other destinations or found new profitable merchandise.

Conclusion

As stated in the first section of this chapter, different groups of slave merchants had different methods of trading. Although all of these traders were engaged in the long-distance slave trade, itinerant traders depended on other groups to protect their caravans and trade routes while armed slavers could protect their trade by their own military power and self-sufficient bases controlling nearby tribes. Therefore, while armed slavers could have a considerable influence in local politics and resist external pressure, itinerant merchants could not do the same. In addition, the armed slavers directly procured slaves from the sources while the itinerant traders got slaves through other raiders or traders. R.

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[179] al-Diyaf, *Ithạf*, 4:89.

S. O'Fahey named these sorts of armed slavers and itinerant traders as an East African pattern and a West African pattern respectively.[180]

As for the slave merchants who bore the slaves into the territory of the Egyptian Khedivate, the majority of them were itinerant *jallāba* at first. However, as the ivory trade became combined with the slave trade and fortified *zarības* were constructed from the 1850s, the transition to the East African pattern of armed slavers occurred. Both the *zarība*-based merchants in the Sudan and the East African slave traders needed slaves not only as merchandise, but as retainers. They also endeavored to procure as much ivory as possible and expanded their influence to ensure commercial stability. The *zarība*-based merchants started to concentrate on the slave trade as the amount of ivory decreased and their presence in the Sudan, especially in Bahr al-Ghazal, was a major obstacle to the anti-slavery policy of the Khedivate. The *zarība*-based merchants organized and protected their trade routes from the sources of slaves to the destinations and they also could make alternative routes when the specific trade routes were restricted. In addition, they autonomously controlled a vast territory by using their own military might and therefore their activities were not severely disturbed unless the government control of their territory was strengthened. As a result, the anti-slavery policy of Saʿid was not effectively implemented because of their presence and Ismaʿil's anti-slavery projects took much time to weaken these slavers.

When it comes to the Ghadames merchants who were the main slave supplier to the Beylik of Tunis, they followed the West African pattern in conducting the slave trade.

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[180] O'Fahey, "Slavery and the Slave Trade in Dār Fūr," 31.

Although they had a dominant position in the trans-Saharan trade routes between the Sahel and North Africa, they relied upon other groups such as the Tuareg to ensure the stable trade. Moreover, they had no autonomous base. Even though they were centered in Ghadames, they did not have military might or territorial control of the town. As a corollary, they could not effectively resist the external pressure. For instance, the occupation of the city by the Ottomans and the heavy taxes imposed by them disturbed the trading activities through Ghadames. It was also not difficult to prevent the Ghadames traders from transporting slaves into the territory of the Tunisian Beylik. When the trade route through Ghadames into Tunisia was restricted, the Ghadames merchants could not make alternative routes because of the aforementioned conditions. In addition to the fact that the slave market of Tunisia was small, the presence of slave suppliers without their own power bases seemed to be related to the effective implement of the anti-slavery policy of the Tunisian Beylik. Hence, it can be said that the existence of different types of slave suppliers influenced diverging processes of implementing anti-slavery policies.

However, the pace of policy implementation seemed to be influenced more by another factor, a specific and constant demand for slaves. As aforementioned, although Ismaʿil eagerly tried to subdue the influential slavers and strengthen the control of the regions in the Sudan, he did not introduce detailed measures to punish the slave merchants and block the flow of slaves before he signed the 1877 convention. In addition, as European observers indicated, constant demand for slaves from Egypt contributed to the continuous trading activities of the slave merchants. As for the Beylik of Tunis, although the characteristics of the Ghadames merchants made it easier to prevent them from transporting slaves into Tunisia, the flow of slaves would have been maintained to

some degree if there had been a specific and constant demand for a number of slaves.

In the next chapter, the decisive difference in the demand of military slaves between Egypt

and Tunisia during the nineteenth century will be discussed.

Chapter 3: State Projects of Egypt and Tunisia in the Nineteenth Century and Their Consequences for the Slave Trade and Slavery

In this chapter, I will discuss demand for slave soldiers in nineteenth century Egypt and Tunisia and related strategies. Differences in demand levels were an important reason for the differences in the success of anti-slavery measures in the two polities. Egyptian and Tunisian societies during the nineteenth century both had requirements for slaves, generally for domestic service. Slaves were also used in agricultural labor. Agricultural slaves were used in the rural areas and oases in Tunisia, and could also be found in various Egyptian villages and towns, especially in Upper Egypt during the nineteenth century. During the 1860s, the cotton boom in Egypt considerably increased demand for agricultural slaves; these slaves remained after the temporary boom ended and demand was reduced.[181] Therefore, in the nineteenth century Egypt and Tunisia had similar demands for slaves but in different numbers.

However, only in Egypt were slaves required for military purposes. During the nineteenth century, the Khedivate required regular supplies of slaves who were trained as soldiers. They constituted an important part of its army and Ismaʿil was preoccupied with ways of procuring slave soldiers. He recruited theses slaves into his army so that his expansionist policy could be effectively implemented despite his open opposition to slavery. In contrast, the Beylik of Tunis did not recruit black slaves while it tried to modernize and reorganize the army. Other types of demand for slaves (domestic and agricultural) were not directly derived from the government or the ruler, and therefore did not seem to affect anti-slavery policies of the Egyptian and Tunisian governments

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[181] Baron, "The Making of the Egyptian Nation," 140; Baer, "Slavery in Nineteenth Century Egypt," 421.

although the population of these countries resisted restrictions on slavery and the slave trade. Demand for slaves to serve in the military and related state projects will be discussed in this chapter as a decisive factor influencing the difference between nineteenth-century Egypt and Tunisia in the move towards abolition.

Khedival Military Projects and the Demand for Slave Soldiers

Black slaves began to be recruited into the Egyptian army from the early stages of its formation. The main reason that Muhammad ʿAli invaded and incorporated the Sudan was securing gold mines and black slaves who would be enlisted into the army. He intended to form the new army consisted of the soldiers personally loyal to him and therefore he intended to procure black slaves to recruit these soldiers. Initially, he did not consider conscripting Egyptian peasants because that would have meant moving productive labor from the agricultural sector and instead, he paid attention on the Sudan to find obedient soldiers.[182] According to Burckhardt, the Turkish officers enlisted black slaves into their corps during the 1810s and bought from 600 to 800 slaves a year.[183] He also mentioned that Muhammad ʿAli had formed the plan of organizing a body of black troops and of drilling the soldiers in the European manner, but opposition from his principal officers frustrated the plan.[184] However, Muhammad ʿAli actually put his plan into operation, contrary to the observation of Burckhardt. In 1819, before starting the conquest of the Sudan, he established a training camp in Farshut. In 1820, another camp

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[182] Khaled Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali Pasha, His Army and the Founding of Modern Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 86.
[183] Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, 341-42*.*
[184] Ibid.

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was established in Aswan and it would be known as the Military School of Aswan. In the course of 1820-1821, captured black slaves were sent to Upper Egypt and 1,900 slaves arrived at Aswan in August 1821.[185] It was also reported that 6,000 slaves from Sennar or Kordofan arrived at Aswan in 1822.[186] The total number of black slaves transported from Sennar and Kordofan was reportedly 30,000.[187] Although a large number of the Sudanese slaves perished on the way to Egypt, the black slave soldiers formed the bulk of the soldiery in the initial stage of Muhammad ʿAli's military reform.[188] In 1823, six regiments composed of black soldiers were formed. Each regiment consisted of four or five battalions and a total regimental strength ranged between 3,000 and 4,000.[189] It was stated that the first regiment was sent to Arabia and the second regiment was stationed in Sennar while the other four regiments were dispatched to Greece.[190] As Muhammad ʿAli's military campaigns developed, he withdrew the majority of armed forces from the Sudan, and therefore black slaves were continually recruited during the 1830s so that the strength of the Sudanese units could be maintained and enhanced. It is hard to estimate the number of conscripted slaves among the whole imported slaves. The census data did not include the slaves serving in the military and the slaves specifically imported for military purposes were not related to the ordinary imported slaves found in European reports in most cases. In addition, many black slave soldiers were directly conscripted

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[185] Emad Ahmed Helal, "Muhammad Ali's First Army: The Experiment in Building an Entirely Slave Army," in *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: Histories of Trans-Saharan Africans in Nineteenth-Century Egypt, Sudan, and the Ottoman Mediterranean*, ed. Terence Walz and Kenneth M. Cuno (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2010), 23.

[186] Ibid., 24.

[187] ʿUmar Tusun, *Safha min tarikh Misr fi 'ahd Muhammad 'Ali: al-Jaysh al-Misri al-barri wa'l bahri* (Cairo: Matba'at Dar al-Kutub al-Misriya, 1940), 38.

[188] Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men*, 88-89.

[189] Richard Hill, *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820-1881* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 26; Helal, "Muhammad Ali's First Army," 24-25.

[190] Tusun, *Safha min tarikh Misr*, 6.

into the Sudan army and therefore their presence did not appear in the censuses or reports only covering Egypt. Nevertheless, it was suggested that the surge in imports of slaves happened during the 1830s because of the high demand of slave soldiers.[191]

Black slaves were procured in different ways. Purchase was one method. For instance, in 1822, Muhammad ʿAli ordered the governor of Girga to purchase all male slaves capable of military service from a caravan carrying several thousand slaves.[192] Certainly, it was not possible to procure enough slave soldiers only by purchase. Therefore, the government conducted frequent raids (*ghazwa*) on the borderlands of the Sudan to capture black slaves. From several hundreds to 3,000 captives were taken in each raid, but not all of them were considered fit for military service.[193] In addition to purchase and raids, taxation was also a way of procuring black slaves. The tribes in the Sudan, especially nomadic peoples, were required to pay their tax in slaves. The Khartoum government ordered the chieftains or village shaykhs to provide adult male slaves as part of the annual taxes.[194]

These black slave soldiers constituted an important part of the army. Although Egyptian peasants eventually came to make up the main body of the army, the presence of black soldiers recruited from slaves was still significant, especially in the Egyptian Sudan. The garrisons stationed in the Sudan were mostly composed of black soldiers, and they were also the main force behind expansion in Africa.[195] As will be discussed below, the rulers conscripted black slaves into the army regardless of their public

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[191] Walz, "Sudanese, Habasha, Takarna, and Barabira," 79.
[192] Walz, *The Trade between Egypt and Bilād as-Sūdān*, 235.
[193] Bowring, "Report on Egypt and Candia," 83, 97; Hill, *Egypt in the Sudan*, 63-64.
[194] Mowafi, *Slavery, Slave Trade and Abolition Attempts*, 22.
[195] Ibid., 20; Johnson, "Sudanese Military Slavery," 143.

antipathy to slavery. Muhammad ʿAli himself also tried to stop the governmental slave-raiding in his later years, but the governors in the Sudan did not follow his orders. Moreover, he admitted that blacks were taken by force in Sennar as soldiers. During a meeting with Charles John Barnett, the British consul-general, he added that he had no other means of recruiting the regiments which he was obliged to keep in that country.[196] Therefore, it can be said that Muhammad ʿAli continuously needed slave soldiers and thus connived to violate his own restrictive measures against slave-raiding.

The successors of Muhammad ʿAli also recruited slave soldiers for military purposes. In the era of ʿAbbas Hilmi I, black soldiers were continuously recruited and used to maintain the Egyptian government's authority over the Sudanese population.[197] ʿUmar Tusun, a Khedival prince and historian, reported in his book that the number of soldiers in the Sudanese infantry regiment was 8,230 while the whole number of infantry soldiers was 69,748 in 1853.[198] The next viceroy, Saʿid, also continued to conscript black slaves, although he took measures against slavery and the slave trade. As mentioned previously, he gave orders to prohibit the sale of slaves and end the traffic. However, Saʿid himself did not stop importing slaves, mainly for military purposes. Although he ended government raids to capture slaves and forbade paying tax in slaves, he still recruited black soldiers through slave dealers or tax-collecting chieftains and shaykhs. The size of the Egyptian army was reduced during the era of Saʿid, but the garrisons in the Sudan were relatively less disturbed. Although he decreased the number of military personnel to less than 10,000 in the early 1860s, the Sudan garrisons were excluded from reduction

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[196] Barnett to Aberdeen, Alexandria, 1 August 1843, F.O. 84/486.
[197] Shukri, *The Khedive Ismail and Slavery in the Sudan*, 95.
[198] ʿUmar Tusun, *al-Jaysh al-Misri fi al-harb al-Rusiya al-mʿarufa bi harb al-Qirim, 1853–1855* (Cairo: Hindawi Foundation for Education and Culture, 2012), 34.

and they maintained around 27,000 soldiers.[199] Therefore, black slaves were still recruited into the Sudan army and some black soldiers were conscripted into the army immediately after being freed by anti-slavery patrols. In this period, the governor of Khartoum was ordered to form two brigades of Sudanese slaves.[200] In addition, Saʿid formed his personal guards of black soldiers in the period 1859-1860. He employed slavers to supply black slaves who would be drafted into his guard and a great demand for slaves generated by Saʿid gave a new impetus to the capture of slaves.[201] In 1863, Saʿid also dispatched black troops to Mexico at the request of Napoleon III, who established Maximilian I as the emperor of Mexico. Therefore, Saʿid required black slaves for multiple military purposes despite his anti-slavery measures.

This irony continued into the era of Ismaʿil. The difference was that he skillfully used anti-slavery rhetoric to enforce his expansionist policy. Ismaʿil eagerly sought the expansion of the Khedivate into Africa. From 1866 to 1873, Ismaʿil obtained firmans from the Ottoman Sultan of the Empire that allowed him to reaffirm the autonomous status of the Khedivate, increase the size of the army, and assert territorial rights over the coastal areas on the Red Sea including Suakin and Massawa.[202] In addition to the aforementioned ports, Zeila was also ceded to the Khedivate in 1875. Ismaʿil also gradually increased the size of the army that was reduced by Saʿid. The number of soldiers stationed in the territory of the Khedivate grew to approximately 90,000 in

[199] Edwin De Leon, *The Khedive's Egypt; or, the Old House of Bondage under New Masters* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1877), 374; Ismail Sarhank, *Haqaʾiq al-akhbar ʿan duwal al-bihar* (Bulaq: al-Matbaʿa al-Amiriya, 1896), 2:275; Shukri, *The Khedive Ismail and Slavery in the Sudan*, 135.
[200] Helal, "Muhammad Ali's First Army," 42.
[201] Shukri, *The Khedive Ismail and Slavery in the Sudan*, 118; Dunn, *Khedive Ismail's Army*, 25.
[202] For more on the contents of those firmans, see G. Douin, *Histoire du Règne du Khédive Ismaïl* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1933-1941) 1:218-20, 227-28, 421-53; 2: 645-66, 711-42.

1873.[203] They were equipped with Remington carbines, revolvers, and rifle-muskets, as well as Krupp cannon.[204] The strengthened Khedival army was mobilized for territorial expansion and the maintenance of public order. During the 1870s, Egyptian authority was imposed on the Red Sea littoral and in the Sudanese provinces. Darfur, Bogos, and Harar were also conquered. A naval expedition against the Zanzibar Sultanate resulted in the occupation of several Swahili ports, such as Brava and Kismayu, as well. The institutional developments in the military and bureaucracy contributed to this expansion. Ismaʿil's new military schools produced many junior officers needed for military operations.[205] The Khedival Geographical Society was also established to explore the interior of Africa and promote the expansionist projects. Provincial administrative system staffed by provincial and district governors was also applied to the annexed territories so that they could be ruled by the Khedival laws.[206] Economic gains through taxation and exploitation of resources in the annexed territories to maintain those institutions and alleviate foreign debts was one of the motives of the expansionist plans in addition to dominance in the Red Sea having geopolitical importance and manifestation of Egypt as a civilizer.[207]

While Ismaʿil pursued expansionism in Africa, he pronounced that the civilizing mission and anti-slavery were important reasons for expansion. He claimed that Egypt led civilization on the African continent.[208] Therefore, the civilizing mission into Africa

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[203] Dunn, *Khedive Ismail's Army*, 32; Charles P. Stone, "Military Affairs in Egypt," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* 5 (1884): 172, 174.

[204] Stone, "Military Affairs in Egypt," 172-73.

[205] Juan R. I. Cole, *Colonialism and Revolution in the Middle East: Social and Cultural Origins of Egypt's Urabi Movement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 102.

[206] F. Robert Hunter, *Egypt under the Khedives, 1805-1879: From Household Government to Modern Bureaucracy* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1984), 42, 45; Hill, *Egypt in the Sudan*, 106-7.

[207] Dunn, *Khedive Ismail's Army*, 82-83; Cole, *Colonialism and Revolution in the Middle East*, 107.

[208] Memorandum of Conversation with His Highness the Khedive, 17 December 1872, enclosed in Frere to Granville, 1 January 1873, F.O. 881/2270.

would bring order and progress in his view.[209] In this context, abolitionism was a main part of the mission. When Ismaʿil appointed Samuel Baker as the governor-general of Equatoria, he clearly stated that an expedition into the interior of Africa was intended to subdue the countries situated to the south of Gondokoro, to suppress the slave-trade, and to introduce commerce.[210] As mentioned in the second chapter, the expansion of the Khedivate could be justified in the eyes of Western abolitionists due to anti-slavery measures. One British memorandum explicitly stated that the Khedivate of Egypt as a civilized country made progress in suppressing slavery and the slave trade:

> I believe that neither do our officials find any want of careful attention to their representations on the part of the Egyptian Government officials, nor do the latter complain of undue officiousness or causeless interference on our part. . . .
>
> . . . A proposal for making Egypt or any part of it free soil may appear to many who have known Egypt well, even of late years, a very wild idea. I confess it would, till lately, have so appeared to me, for I had not realized the progress made by Egypt in most branches of Western civilization, the growth of her real power in Africa, and the influence which I think she deserves and will probably possess amongst the civilized nations. . . .
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> . . . An Egyptian expedition to the East Coast of Africa in connection with His Highness' efforts to extinguish the Slave Trade on the White Nile, can hardly fail to be looked on by Her Majesty's Government with approving interest.[211]

As the cases of Baker and Gordon showed, Western officers were employed to assist the expansionist project of Ismaʿil. While their military skills and performance were important, it was also significant that their presence and missions in the Sudan helped bring favorable responses from the West to the expansion of the Khedivate.

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[209] Alice Moore-Harell, *Egypt's African Empire: Samuel Baker, Charles Gordon & the Creation of Equatoria* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2010), 13.

[210] C. Chaille Long, *Central Africa, Naked Truths of Naked People* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1877), 311.

[211] Memorandum on the Present State of the Slave Trade and Slavery in Egypt, 17 December 1872, enclosed in Frere to Granville, 1 January 1873, F.O. 881/2270.

However, expansion into Africa required troops and, as Charles Pomeroy Stone stated, the Sudan had infinite sources for recruiting black slaves.[212] They could be easily and quickly supplied into the Sudanese provinces of the Khedivate from these sources. Slave soldiers were also accustomed to the climate of the interior of Africa and were reputed to be immune to the diseases endemic in the region. In addition, Egyptian troops hated being stationed in the southern part of the Khedivate and they thought of this as a punishment. Ismaʿil himself recognized these necessities and mentioned that Egyptian soldiers were not fit to be deployed in distant regions in the Sudan. The recruitment of Sudanese slave soldiers eliminated the enormous cost of sending those Egyptian soldiers to the Sudan as well.[213] As a result, the Khedival army stationed in the Sudan and the Horn of Africa was mainly composed of black soldiers. Although Ismaʿil relocated some Sudanese regiments to Egypt, the black troops still constituted the majority of the Sudan army.

Although payment of taxes in slaves was officially abolished, tribal chieftains and village shaykhs were occasionally required to supply a number of men for the army and this sort of tax continued into the 1870s.[214] Even in 1876, it was reported that the tax collectors brought slaves for recruitment into the army.[215] Another method for recruitment was confiscating slaves from arrested slave merchants and enlisting them into the army. It was ordered that the physically fit male slaves confiscated from the slave traders would

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[212] Stone, "Military Affairs in Egypt," 175; Charles Stone was the chief of staff of the Khedival army from 1870 to 1883.

[213] Ismail to Gordon, Dossier 4/71, Période Ismail, 23 July 1875, ʿAbdin Archives, reproduced in Jurj Jindi and Jak Tajir, *Ismaʿil kama tuṣawwiruhu al-wathaʾiq al-rasmiya* (Cairo: Matbaʿat Dar al-Kutub al-Misriya, 1947), 255.

[214] Shukri, *The Khedive Ismail and Slavery in the Sudan*, 135; Johnson, "Sudanese Military Slavery," 148; Baer, "Slavery in Nineteenth Century Egypt," 420.

[215] Vivian to Derby, Cairo, 8 December 1876, F.O. 84/1450.

be enrolled into the army.[216] The officially manumitted slaves were also drafted into the Khedival army in many cases. It was reported that when the manumitted slave knew nobody who would maintain him, he was sent to military service.[217] When these sorts of occasional enlistments could not secure enough soldiers, Ismaʿil employed slave merchants to procure the slaves who would be recruited into the Khedival army. For example, 1,500 slaves were obtained for 800-1,000 piasters each through slave dealers in 1876,[218] although some of these slavers were the targets of the suppressive expeditions against the slave trade when they traded for their own benefit.[219] While Ismaʿil recruited the slaves procured by these dealers into the Khedival army, he tried to avert suspicions from Europeans by asserting that the enlisted Sudanese were regular soldiers.[220] In addition to the aforementioned ways of procuring black soldiers, one British report showed that the regular army was still used to capture slaves even in 1876, although this seemed to be an infrequent occurrence:

> [T]he provinces that are being opened up are at the same time being depopulated and devastated by slave trading and slave hunting. The Khedive, it appears, offers from £7.10 to £8 for soldiers for his army in these provinces. These soldiers are recruited by attacks made by his troops upon peaceful tribes of negroes in which many lives are lost and the captives are sent off chained or with ropes around their necks to Khartoum as "volunteers" to recruit his army.[221]

Therefore, it was evident that Ismaʿil used various ways to procure slave soldiers despite his anti-slavery policy. As a result, the main body of the punitive forces against the slave

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[216] Gerard Prunier, "Military Slavery in the Sudan during the Turkiyya, 1820–1885," in *The Human Commodity: Perspectives on the Trans-Saharan Slave Trade*, ed. Elizabeth Savage (London: Frank Cass, 1992), 135.
[217] Omar Bey to Reade, Cairo, 28 May 1868, F.O. 84/1290.
[218] Dunn, *Khedive Ismail's Army*, 33.
[219] Prunier, "Military Slavery in the Sudan," 136.
[220] Ibid.
[221] Vivian to Derby, Cairo, 8 December 1876, F.O. 84/1450.

merchants was ironically composed of slave soldiers. Even Gordon, who vigorously endeavored to suppress the slave trade, admitted that it would be difficult to have a sufficient force without recruiting black slaves: "The 25,000 black troops I have here are either captured slaves or bought slaves. How are we to recruit if the slave-trade ceases?"[222]

These black soldiers had an ambiguous status. There does not seem to have been any form of comprehensive official manumission for these slave soldiers although several instances of discharge or manumission were reported.[223] However, it does not mean that their status was equal to ordinary slaves personally belonging to individuals. Rather, they were treated as free men having slave origins and their social status as soldiers was considered more important than their vague legal status. As Ronald M. Lamothe stated, a slave soldier's condition as true slave was not permanent and manumission became for him a matter of insignificance.[224] What was really important for slave soldiers was the presence of a patron. Regardless of their legal status, detribalized and uprooted soldiers needed a patron so that they could remain in organized bodies. Many slave soldiers in the Khedival army remained loyal to the Khedive as their patron when they could be provided with necessities. Otherwise, they had to find a new patron and transfer their allegiance. As a Sudanese veteran in the Khedival army, Ali Jifun narrated, these men needed a master and they knew no other trade except being soldiers.[225] Therefore, it was

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[222] Gordon, *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa*, 351.
[223] Johnson, "Sudanese Military Slavery," 146; Ronald M. Lamothe, *Slaves of Fortune: Sudanese Soldiers and the River War, 1896-1898* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey, 2011), 45.
[224] Lamothe, *Slaves of Fortune*, 45.
[225] Ali Gifoon, "Memoirs of a Soudanese Soldier," trans. Percy Machell, *Cornhill Magazine*, n.s. 1 (1896): 484.

natural that the Mahdist State could attract slave soldiers from the disbanded Sudanese regiments of the Khedival army.

To sum up, the rulers of Egypt, from Muhammad ʿAli to Ismaʿil, regularly recruited black soldiers through slavery. These black soldiers constituted the main body of the Egyptian army stationed in the Sudan and therefore played an important role in maintaining security there. They were also dispatched to the different battle fronts in Africa while some of them were sent to overseas lands such as Mexico. These black soldiers were important for the expansionist policy of Ismaʿil, and therefore he did not stop recruiting black slaves despite espousing anti-slavery measures in public. While his troops suppressed the influential slave merchants, the major part of these troops was also comprised of slaves and he even employed several slave dealers. Therefore, it can be said that the constant demand for military slaves generated by Ismaʿil's expansionism seemed to hamper the progress of the anti-slavery policy in the realm of the Egyptian Khedivate. However, Ismaʿil finally signed the 1877 convention which set out detailed measures against the slave trade and created effective outcomes in suppressing it. Hence, although Ismaʿil showed a cooperative attitude to the British efforts to suppress the slave trade, his final decision to sign the convention may have been related to the changes in his policy and the reduced demand for military slaves. The next section will concentrate on these changes.

The End of Expansionism, Changes in State Policy, and the 1877 Convention

Ismaʿil signed the Anglo-Egyptian Convention for the suppression of the slave trade on 4 August 1877. This convention stipulated that the trade in black or Ethiopian slaves would be forbidden within any part of the territory of the Khedivate of Egypt. Any person engaged in the traffic would be severely punished and the slaves owned by slave dealers would be freed. It was also stated that British cruisers in the Red Sea were allowed to visit, search, and detain any Egyptian vessel found to be engaging in the traffic.[226] The Khedival decree on the same date also stipulated that the punishment of slave traders would be imprisonment with hard labor for from five months to five years while the sale of slaves from one family to another would be also prohibited in Egypt by 1884, and in the Sudan by 1889.[227]

It is certain that the convention did not stop the commerce in slaves. Although Gordon, appointed by the Khedive as the governor-general of the Sudan, crushed the slave traders, especially in Bahr al-Ghazal, and the obligations stipulated by the convention were fulfilled to some degree, the success was partial and temporary in most cases.[228] However, the 1877 Convention set out a framework for later conventions and the application of its clauses decreased the supply of black slaves. The public traffic in black slaves was also disrupted. Therefore, it can be said that the demand for military slaves decreased around the year 1877 and this change led to the application of the convention. Although the Khedival government made a draft convention in 1873, it was not decided when the convention would be concluded. In addition, as the first article of

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[226] Slave Trade Convention of the British and Egyptian Government for the Suppression of the Slave Trade, 4 August 1877, ADM 234/16.

[227] Amin Sami, *Taqwim al-Nil* (Cairo: Matbaʿat Dar al-Kutub al-Misriya, 1936), 3:1489.

[228] Alice Moore-Harell, "Slave Trade in the Sudan in the Nineteenth Century and Its Suppression in the Years 1877-80." *Middle Eastern Studies* 34, no. 2 (April 1998): 125; Baer, "Slavery in Nineteenth Century Egypt," 435.

that draft showed, the target was the export of slaves from Egypt rather than the importation of slaves into it.[229] It was also reported that Nubar Pasha, the prime minister of the Khedivate, showed a very evident preference for prohibiting the export, rather than the import, of slaves.[230] Therefore, Isma'il did not seem to be willing to agree on the contents of the 1877 convention in the initial stage of negotiations. He remarked that time was required for the total suppression of the slave trade.[231] While this seemed to indicate the difficulty of suppressing a well-organized business, it might also imply that the Khedivate did not need to rush into signing a comprehensive anti-slavery convention. Hence, there seem to have been decisive changes in Khedival policy that made Isma'il decide to sign the convention in 1877 which stipulated more comprehensive restrictions on the traffic of slaves than the 1873 draft.

Important factors that influenced Isma'il can be found in his policy changes. First of all, his expansionist project was ruined in 1876. From 1875, the Khedival army experienced failures in military operations in the Horn of Africa. In 1875, Werner Munzinger, the governor-general of the eastern Sudan covering the Red Sea and the Somali coast, was killed by the troops of Aussa. In the same year, the Ethiopian armed forces severely defeated the Khedival military units commanded by Soren Adolph Arendrup. Among 4,000 soldiers mobilized for this expedition, around 2,000 were killed or captured in Gundet and the Ethiopian troops obtained weapons, ammunition, and cash possessed by the Khedival Egyptian troops.[232] This defeat was followed by a more

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[229] Project of Convention between Great Britain and Egypt for the Suppression of the Slave Trade, enclosed in Elliot to Granville, Therapia, 12 July 1873, F.O. 84/1371.

[230] Elliot to Granville (Confidential), Therapia, 8 July 1873, F.O. 84/1370.

[231] Stanton to Granville, Cairo, 25 April 1873, F.O. 84/1371.

[232] Czeslaw Jesman, "Egyptian Invasion of Ethiopia," *African Affairs* 58, no. 230 (January 1959): 75-76; Dunn, *Khedive Ismail's Army*, 123.

devastating failure as Ismaʿil sought to restore his pride. An expeditionary force composed of 11,120 soldiers was dispatched from Massawa to the Ethiopian hinterland in 1876 and the entire force that penetrated into the territory of Ethiopia was nearly 12,000.[233] It was the largest mobilized force after the era of Muhammad ʿAli, but the result was unsuccessful. Although the Khedival army did not experience a definite defeat in the Battle of Gura compared to that of Gundet, the losses were considerable. More than 4,500 soldiers were killed or captured at Gura and the total losses of men in 1875-1876 were estimated to be around 14,000.[234] The Ethiopian forces also seized considerable military supplies and valuables and the Khedival army's morale received a severe blow. In this situation, the expansionist policy Ismaʿil was pursuing could not be sustained. The size of the army was reduced because of consecutive defeats in the Horn of Africa. In addition, Egyptian officers started to show their discontent with the expansionist policy as they thought that the defeats by the Ethiopians revealed the inefficiency of Turkish and American officers.[235] Even more significantly, these defeats dealt additional blows to the already weakened financial condition of the Khedivate. Aggressive expeditions could not be supported anymore and a new policy was needed to handle urgent financial matters.

During the 1870s, the finances of the Khedivate gradually deteriorated. Ismaʿil needed funds to finance public works and expansionist projects, and therefore had to rely on foreign loans. As a result, the entire bonded and floating debt reached £91,000,000 in

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[233] William M. Dye, *Moslem Egypt and Christian Abyssinia* (New York: Atkin & Prout, 1880), 155; Jesman, "Egyptian Invasion of Ethiopia," 79; Hill, *Egypt in the Sudan*, 121.

[234] Jesman, "Egyptian Invasion of Ethiopia," 81; Dunn, *Khedive Ismail's Army*, 150-51.

[235] Ghada Hashem Talhami, *Suakin and Massawa under Egyptian Rule, 1865–1885* (Washington, D. C.: University Press of America, 1979), 171.

1876, a major increase from around £3,300,000 in 1862.[236] The failures in the Horn of Africa aggravated the situation. Edwin de Leon stated that the expeditions to Central Africa and Ethiopia were works of dubious necessity and of no immediate utility although they cost £2,000,000.[237] James Carlile McCoan also mentioned that the cost of the war with Ethiopia was believed to be much more than £1,000,000 and it contributed to swelling the overall debt.[238] Therefore, Ismaʿil desperately needed material support in 1876 when the bankruptcy of the Egyptian Khedivate was declared. He sought to satisfy the British government in order to get support that would alleviate the pressure on him by his creditors. Signing a comprehensive anti-slavery convention certainly suited this purpose as the British government endeavored to conclude it with the Khedivate. Signing the convention also helped garner support from European countries and strengthen the position of the Egyptian Khedivate in the European financial markets.[239] Therefore, it was natural for Ismaʿil to reveal his eagerness to make a specific treaty with the British government regarding the suppression of the slave trade from 1876.[240]

The conclusion of the convention had another merit as well. As the convention allowed the British ships to search the ships suspected of carrying slaves in the Red Sea, the territorial right of the Egyptian Khedivate in the Red Sea had to be clarified. As a corollary, the British government recognized the right and jurisdiction of the Egyptian

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[236] John Marlowe, *Anglo-Egyptian Relations: 1800-1953* (London: The Cresset Press, 1954), 94; J. C. McCoan, *Egypt as It Is* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1877), 129-30, 136. For the detailed account of the financial condition of the Khedivate of Egypt and its influence, see David S. Landes, *Bankers and Pashas: International Finance and Economic Imperialism in Egypt* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958).

[237] De Leon, *The Khedive's Egypt*, 366.

[238] McCoan, *Egypt as It Is*, 134.

[239] Moore-Harell, "Slave Trade in the Sudan," 117.

[240] Sharif Pasha to Stanton, Dossier 6/72, Période Ismail, 7 February 1876, ʿAbdin Archives, in Jindi and Tajir, *Ismaʿil kama tusawwiruhu al-wathaʾiq al-rasmiya*, 248.

Khedivate in the waters of the Red Sea and the Somali coast as far as Ras Hafoun despite Ottoman opposition.[241] Hence, it can be said that the demise of Khedival expansionism and financial difficulties made Ismaʿil focus on diplomatic means to break the crisis and bolster territorial rights.

To sum up, when Ismaʿil could not maintain his expansionist policy due to the weakened army and financial problems, he chose to concentrate on making political and economic gains by satisfying the British government. Signing the anti-slavery convention 1877 might result from this circumstance. As the expansionist projects were ruined, Ismaʿil did not need to procure many soldiers compared to the past decade. Therefore, although the 1877 convention stipulated heavy restrictions on the public traffic of black slaves, it did not seem to pose a big problem for him. In contrast, Ismaʿil could obtain British recognition of his rights in the Red Sea and taking strong measures against the slave merchants in accordance with the convention also helped strengthen control over the southern parts of the Khedival Sudan. In addition, the procurement of black soldiers was still possible through enlisting the liberated slaves taken from the slave traders. The 1877 convention itself allowed conscripting freedmen into the military if they so wished.[242] Of course, consent could be interpreted arbitrarily; Gordon also applied this clause to recruit slaves rescued from traders throughout 1877-79.[243] In addition, the 1877 convention did not prohibit slavery itself. Therefore, although the public traffic of black

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[241] Sublime Porte to Musurus Pasha, 4 October 1877, F.O. 84/1482; Agreement between the British and Egyptian Governments Respecting the Jurisdiction of His Highness the Khedive over the Somali Coast, 7 September 1877, F.O. 78/3189.

[242] Annexe A of Slave Trade Convention of the British and Egyptian Government for the Suppression of the Slave Trade, 4 August 1877, ADM 234/16.

[243] Alice Moore-Harell, *Gordon and the Sudan: Prologue to the Mahdiyya, 1877–1880* (London: Frank Cass, 2001), 134-35.

slaves was disturbed, the Khedive could procure black slaves if he needed. It was actually reported that Isma'il privately procured slaves after the conclusion of the 1877 convention. He prevented any inconvenient diminution of the supply of slaves and authorized the caravans carrying slaves destined for the palace.[244] He just did not need to procure a large number of soldiers for expansionist projects, and therefore disruptions to the trade could be accepted because the supply of slaves was reduced but not eradicated. Hence, it can be concluded that the reduced demand for slave soldiers due to the demise of expansionism and the aggravated financial conditions of the Khedivate changed the policy directions of Isma'il, and therefore the 1877 convention could be signed at that moment.

State Policies for Reform, Survival of the Husaynid Beylik of Tunis, and its Relations to Abolition

The military project of the Husaynid Beylik of Tunis in the nineteenth century was different from that of the Egyptian Khedivate. Although military modernization was promoted conscientiously in the reign of Ahmad Bey, expansionism was not adopted. He focused on acquiring a self-reliant defense capability and the circumstances of the Beylik were not suitable for expansion, as will be discussed below. When demand for soldiers was not high, black slaves were not specifically required for the army. Along with the relatively low supply of black slaves mentioned above, the low demand for military slaves

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[244] Malet to Granville, Cairo, 10 November 1880, F.O. 84/1572; Lascelles to Salisbury, Cairo, 12 September 1879, F.O. 84/1545.

seemed to be related to the anti-slavery movement in Tunisia, especially under the reign of Ahmad Bey.

Certainly, Ahmad Bey's predecessors had sought to implement reforms. In 1831, Husayn Bey created a new *niẓāmī* army and drafted some native Tunisians into it. They were stationed in Muhammadiya and trained by a French official to serve as artillery units.[245] Husayn's successor, Mustafa Bey, planned to take a census to conscript the native Tunisians, but he failed due to stiff popular resistance in the capital.[246] Despite such efforts, a comprehensive reform plan was introduced in the era of Ahmad Bey. He established the Bardo military school and armament factories to manufacture small arms, cannons, and shells. Many European military advisors were also employed to manage these factories and train the *niẓāmī* troops. The new army was organized into seven infantry regiments, two or four artillery regiments, and one cavalry regiment.[247] Although conscription based on a comprehensive census was not attempted, native Arabs were conscripted from various regions and the new army was almost exclusively made up of them.[248] They were stationed in major cities inside the Tunisian Beylik, but they were not deployed for offensive operations. The only exception was the expedition to Crimea in 1854-55 to aid the Ottoman Empire against Russia.

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[245] al-Diyaf, *Ithaf*, 3:179-80.
[246] Ibid., 3:208-9.
[247] E. Pellissier de Reynaud, *Description de la régence de Tunis*, vol. 16 of *Exploration scientifique de l'Algérie* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1853), 372-73; al-Shibani Binbilghith, *al-Jaysh al-Tunisi fi ahd Muhammad al-Sadiq Bey (1859-1882)* (Sfax: Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines Université de Sfax, 1999), 51; Brown, *The Tunisia of Ahmad Bey*, 268. The number of soldiers was differently estimated and L. Carl Brown neatly presented these estimates. See Brown, *The Tunisia of Ahmad Bey*, 268-69.
[248] J. Clark Kennedy, *Algeria and Tunis in 1845* (London: Henry Colburn, 1846), 2:167; Binbilghith, *al-Jaysh al-Tunisi*, 54-55.

The main cause of military reforms as a part of the comprehensive reform project in the era of Ahmad was his sense of crisis. The French army conquered the Deylik of Algiers in 1830 and this defeat alarmed the Tunisian Beylik. In addition, the Ottoman Empire established its direct control over Tripoli through military intervention in 1835. In these circumstances, the reorganization of the army was deemed necessary as it was evident that the old military system was helpless against outside invasions. However, although Ahmad Bey intended to increase his military prowess and introduce an independent military policy,[249] his main efforts to maintain the sovereignty of the Tunisian Beylik were directed at diplomacy. As a small country surrounded by expanding powers, it was reasonable to depend on diplomatic abilities to maintain the balance of power. While Ahmad tried to build good relationships with France and Britain, he carefully avoided upsetting the Ottoman government. For instance, when France asked to modify the boundary between Algerian and Tunisia, he replied that modification of the boundary had to be approved by the Ottoman side.[250] Al-Diyaf also reported that Ahmad refused to ride a horse from Bardo Palace to Zitouna Mosque on the day of *mawlid al-nabī* by stating that this would only be appropriate for the Ottoman sultan.[251] In short, Ahmad intended to maintain his autonomous position while recognizing the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire and establishing good relationships with European powers.

Moreover, the Tunisian Beylik had no hinterland that might be incorporated into the territory of the Beylik. As mentioned, France and the Ottoman Empire established direct rule in Algeria and Tripolitania respectively. They surrounded the western and

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[249] Binbilghith, *al-Jaysh al-Tunisi*, 47; Brown, *The Tunisia of Ahmad Bey*, 263.
[250] al-Diyaf, *Ithaf*, 4:17.
[251] Ibid., 4:54.

eastern borders of the Beylik and it could not challenge these expanding powers. Although the southwestern border was not directly surrounded by French Algeria, there was nothing but desert beyond the border. Even while the Beylik was engaged in wars with neighboring regencies before the nineteenth century, no expeditions into the south were reported.[252]

In this situation, expansionism could not be pursued, and therefore there was no demand for black soldiers. As mentioned above, the Egyptian Khedivate needed black soldiers to serve in the interior of Africa and subdue the tribes, merchant-warlords, and polities in Central Africa and the Horn of Africa. As for the Tunisian Beylik, it had no such reasons to recruit black soldiers. The only attempt to conscript black slaves in the Tunisian Beylik during the nineteenth century was reported in the reign of Mustafa. His grand vizier Shakir Sahib al-Ṭabiʿ suggested forming a battalion by recruiting 1,000 manumitted black slaves.[253] His suggestion was accepted but the recruitment method was not determined and every black male in the capital was taken. Eventually, all these men were discharged and the plan was cancelled.[254] Although it is difficult to know why there was no similar attempt after this failure, it may be supposed that there was no need to recruit black soldiers as suggested above. The defensive forces of the Beylik could be composed of natives while the number of blacks available to be recruited by the Beylik did not seem to

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[252] For the conflicts between the Tunisian Beylik and neighboring autonomous regencies of Algiers and Tripoli in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Asma Moalla, *The Regency of Tunis and the Ottoman Porte, 1777-1814: Army and Government of a North-African Eyalet at the End of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2004).
[253] Binbilghith, *al-Jaysh al-Tunisi*, 46.
[254] Ibid.

be sufficient to form regular regiments, as it was revealed that even 1,000 blacks could not be simply enlisted.

In addition, the procurement of black slaves was not compatible with the Ahmad's diplomatic strategy. He sought British support to maintain an autonomous position in the region while the political conflicts around the Beylik deepened. When the French occupied Constantine in 1837, tension between France and the Ottoman Empire escalated. While this incident itself threatened the Beylik by implying potential military operations into its territory, the Ottoman government, alarmed by the French offensive, also tried to strengthen its influence on Tunisia. For example, the Sublime Porte intended to limit the financial and diplomatic rights of the Beylik by several instructions sent in 1841 so that Ottoman influence in Tunisia could be firmly established.[255] Faced with the pressure from both powers, Ahmad chose Britain as a potential supporter. Britain aimed to prevent a French monopoly over the Mediterranean and maintain the status quo of the region, and therefore the British might support the Beylik in maintaining its position as long as it remained loyal to the Ottoman Empire.[256] Hence, it was important for Ahmad to win the good will of Britain and anti-slavery measures were the best way to achieve this due to explicit British interest in the issue. Therefore, he directly revealed to Thomas Reade, the British consul-general at Tunis, that he would endeavor to undermine the commerce in slaves and stop slavery.[257] As he expected, the British favored his anti-slavery measures and declarations. One British report clearly mentioned that nothing could sway the British nation in his favor as strongly as a continuance in the process of abolishing the slave

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[255] Montana, *The Abolition of Slavery in Ottoman Tunisia*, 82.
[256] Oliver Kahl, "A Letter from Ahmad Bey of Tunis to Queen Victoria of England," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 31, no. 2 (1986): 187-88.
[257] Ahmad Bey to Reade, Tunis, 29 April 1841, F.O. 84/373.

trade and slavery within his Beylik.[258] When the abolition of slavery was officially declared in 1846, the British expressed their gratitude to the Bey for his achievement and European newspapers praised his acts.[259] As al-Diyaf commented, the decrees against slavery would satisfy anyone wishing for reforms built on freedom.[260]

While Ahmad desired to emulate Europe by adopting abolitionism so that the Tunisian Beylik could be considered as an equal partner, then, the urgent concern about diplomatic support was decisive in driving his anti-slavery policy. Faced with Ottoman attempts to strengthen its control over the Beylik, rapid progress in abolishing slavery also might be related to Ahmad's desire to show that his Beylik was moving at its own pace along the path toward modernization.[261] In any case, it seems highly likely that Ahmad regarded his anti-slavery program as a special part of his reform projects.

To sum up, it can be stated that the Tunisian Beylik did not need to procure black slaves for its projects. The new army was exclusively composed of natives and black soldiers were not specifically required. Meanwhile, the procurement of slaves was unhelpful to the diplomatic efforts of the Beylik. It was important to win the favor of Britain to deal with the French and Ottoman threats and anti-slavery was a good way to do it in view of the British eagerness in abolitionism.

Conclusion

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[258] Palmerston to Reade, Tunis, 22 June 1841, F.O. 84/373.
[259] al-Diyaf, *Ithaf*, 4:89.
[260] Ibid., 4:86.
[261] Brown, *The Tunisia of Ahmad Bey*, 321.

State policies and the related demand for slaves had an important influence on anti-slavery programs in both the Khedivate of Egypt and the Beylik of Tunis during the nineteenth century. Despite other factors mentioned in previous chapters, what the heads of states considered as a priority in their state projects seemed to decisively influence the procedure of their anti-slavery policies.

As for the Khedivate of Egypt, although Ismaʿil adopted abolitionism as a part of his state policies and declared his opposition to the slave trade, his expansionist projects required black slave soldiers. They had been an important part of the army since the era of Muhammad ʿAli and Ismaʿil especially needed a number of black soldiers to maintain the security of the Egyptian Sudan and continue his expansionist endeavors in various parts of Africa. Therefore, he constantly procured slaves through diverse ways, even including the payment of a tax in slaves, which was officially prohibited by his government. Although he justified expansionism into the interior of Africa by asserting the need to suppress the slave trade, he himself was a slaver, especially in the eyes of the European public.[262]

This circumstance, however, changed around 1876 due to failed military operations and high debt. Khedival forces dispatched to the Horn of Africa between 1875 and 1876 were defeated by the Ethiopian army. These defeats weakened the Khedival army and limited its ability to mount offensive operations. In addition, the debt burden of the Khedivate was aggravated. Its financial condition had already deteriorated during the early 1870s, and the failures in the expansion projects exacerbated the situation. As a

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[262] Moore-Harell, "Slave Trade in the Sudan," 117.

result, alleviating the financial crisis became a priority for Ismaʿil and his expansionism could not be sustained. He started to concentrate on getting political and economic gains through diplomatic approaches to European powers, especially Britain, and therefore it became necessary for him to introduce comprehensive restrictions on the slave trade to satisfy the British. The 1877 convention was signed by him in this situation and although this convention disturbed the public traffic of slaves, it did not prohibit slavery and Ismaʿil still could procure slaves through several existing ways. Moreover, the rights of the Khedivate in the Red Sea could be recognized by the convention.

When it comes to the Beylik of Tunis, there was no policy change regarding anti-slavery during the era of Ahmad Bey. His main motive in opposing slavery was similar to that of Ismaʿil because he also intended to gain the favor of the British so that the autonomous position of the Beylik could be maintained when faced with the French and Ottoman threats. However, the momentum of abolition was not related to situational changes. As he did not pursue expansionism and his new army did not need slave soldiers, he had no specific need for these slaves. As a consequence, he could promote his anti-slavery policy at a rapid pace based on his will and need. Therefore, it can be stated that the different state policies and needs of slaves seemed to decisively influence the different paces and characteristics of the anti-slavery policies in the Egyptian Khedivate and the Tunisian Beylik.

Conclusions

During the nineteenth century, the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire attempted to carry out various reforms and institutional changes to counter the expanding influence of European powers in the region. This influence was highly related to the contents of the reform programs, and abolition was an explicit example. European countries, especially the British Empire, aimed to suppress the slave trade and slavery in the region. During the nineteenth century, European powers were occupying various parts of Africa and they wove anti-slavery, civilizing missions, and commercial interests into their colonizing projects. Slavery was invoked as a symbol of the division between civilization and barbarity; numerous acts of colonial expansion were at least partially justified on anti-slavery grounds.[263] It was even mentioned that all Africans who opposed the European intrusion are slavers.[264]

It is certain that these European polities showed reluctance in implementing strict anti-slavery policies after they made huge territorial gains in the late nineteenth century. They intended to avoid confronting slave-owning elites and disturbing the social and political status quo.[265] For example, although slavery in French Algeria was abolished in 1848 and the slave traffic to Algerian territories was heavily disrupted, French administrators did not enforce the full letter of the law because of their efforts to make accommodation with local elites and avoid social unrest.[266] Even inside Britain, the prime

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[263] Joel Quirk, *The Anti-Slavery Project: From the Slave Trade to Human Trafficking* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 93-94.

[264] Daniel Laqua, "The Tensions of Internationalism: Transnational Anti-Slavery in the 1880s and 1890s," *The International History Review* 33, no. 4 (December 2011): 712.

[265] Quirk, *The Anti-Slavery Project*, 95; Laqua, "The Tensions of Internationalism," 714.

[266] Wright, *The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade*, 65; Benjamin Claude Brower, "Rethinking Abolition in Algeria: Slavery and the "Indigenous Question,"" *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 49, no. 195 (2009): 806.

mover of abolitionism, it was suggested that the disappearance of the status of slavery should be carried through with as little alteration as possible in the existing relationship between master and slaves.[267] While slave raiding and slave trading were determinedly suppressed as they were seen as a menace to order and stability, a "slow death" for internal slavery was deemed desirable.[268] Despite this sort of double standard towards slavery widely found in the late nineteenth century, European countries used anti-slavery rhetoric to justify their intervention in African polities and the British Empire was especially eager to spread its abolitionism throughout the nineteenth century. It exerted diplomatic pressure on the local polities to adopt abolitionism and make strict restrictions on slavery.

In this circumstance, both the Khedivate of Egypt and the Beylik of Tunis took anti-slavery as a part of their state projects based on similar motives and circumstances. Both of them intended to maintain their autonomous positions under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire, and therefore they promoted various reform programs that would be helpful in strengthening their capabilities to keep and extend their sovereign rights. Khedive Ismaʿil of Egypt and Ahmad Bey of Tunis considered anti-slavery policies an effective way to win the favor of the British and they sought political gains through diplomatic relations with the British by adopting anti-slavery as one of their policies. In addition, both of them also wanted to claim that their states were equal to their European counterparts. In this context, their anti-slavery policies were used to present Egypt and Tunisia as members of the 'civilized' world.

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[267] Richard Huzzey, *Freedom Burning: Anti-Slavery and Empire in Victorian Britain* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012), 192.
[268] Quirk, *The Anti-Slavery Project*, 96-97.

However, despite these similar circumstances and motives, anti-slavery programs followed different processes and paces. Although Ismaʿil publicly declared his desire to suppress the traffic of slaves, he carried on procuring them. Moreover, the restrictions on slave traders were insufficient to disturb their commercial activities before the ratification of the 1877 convention although Ismaʿil employed Europeans to administer the Egyptian Sudanese provinces so that the suppression of slave traders could be effective. As for Ahmad, he took measures against slavery at a quite rapid pace. He abolished slavery itself in 1846, five years after the abolition of the slave trade and the announced restrictions were comprehensive.

This study concentrates on the factors that influenced the aforementioned differences and presents three major different conditions between two states. In the first chapter, the different slave trade volumes between two states are mentioned as one related factor. Although the different volumes themselves did not seem to directly influence the state policies of both polities, they were related to the different trade networks and specific demand for slaves.

The number of slave trading entrepôts and slave trade routes associated with the supply of slaves also influenced the trading patterns of slavers. Therefore, a monopolistic group of merchants such as that of Ghadames did not appear in the Khedival Egyptian territory where plural routes and bases were used to transport slaves. The characteristics of the slave suppliers in the Egyptian Khedivate became more different from their counterparts centered in Ghadames as the ivory trade was combined with the slave trade in the Egyptian Sudan. The *zarība*-based merchants appeared and expanded their influence and they could not be easily subdued. Thus, the suppression of the slave trade

through Sudan was heavily restricted while the Ghadames merchants hardly influenced the anti-slavery measures of the Tunisian Beylik.

However, a more decisive difference that directly influenced the political will of the rulers seemed to be the presence of specific demands for slaves. Although Isma ͑il ordered the suppression of the slave trade and intended to subdue the slave traders, he needed a number of black slaves so that he could recruit enough soldiers required to continue his expansionist projects in Africa. Thus, the military units deployed against the slave traders were ironically mainly composed of slave soldiers. Isma ͑il also concentrated on suppressing the slave merchants rather than suppressing the trade itself and mentioned that the total abolition will take time. In this respect, his attitude resembled the aforementioned European anti-slavery approach in the late nineteenth century. When comprehensive anti-slavery measures were stipulated by the 1877 convention, his expansionist ambition was already frustrated and a favorable relationship with Britain became important to resolve the financial crisis. In other words, he became more concerned with anti-slavery when he did not need a number of black soldiers and the priority of the state was changed. Ahmad of the Tunisian Beylik did not need to procure black soldiers as he did not pursue expansionism and the defense of the Beylik's territorial boundaries did not specifically demand them. He was concerned with staving off the threats from France and the Ottoman Empire, and therefore he cared about a good relationship with the British from the early period of his reign. Thus, he had a constant motive for the anti-slavery policy while he had no specific demand of black slaves.

Therefore, despite the similar conditions shown by two states, the different characteristics of the slave trades in two polities and the different policies and demands

of the rulers led to differences in the implementation of anti-slavery policies. Similar projects in the reform programs of nineteenth century polities in the region were thus shaped by the different circumstances and needs. Even though abolitionism was adopted partially because of external pressure, mainly from the British, the Egyptian Khedive and the Tunisian Bey eagerly tried to find chances to maintain and strengthen the sovereignty of their states through abolition.

Their anti-slavery measures also led to an internal discussion on slavery. In late nineteenth century Egypt, many ʿulamaʾ opposed the abolition considering that the attempts to abolish slavery would be overriding Qurʾanic law.[269] It was not uncommon that the qadis refused to perform marriages of female slaves who had not been formally freed by their masters regardless of the official certificates of their freedom.[270] However, pro-abolition discourses also appeared from many reformist figures. For instance, Muhammad ʿAbduh (d. 1905) stated that shariʿa intended to abolish slavery gradually by requiring Muslims to free as many slaves as they could and political authorities should eradicate the practice of slavery under the name of the public interest.[271] Other reformist scholars influenced by ʿAbduh, such as Rashid Rida (d. 1935), also agreed that Islam provided a framework for gradual abolition of slavery. In Tunisia, an adoptive discourse on anti-slavery also appeared so that the policy of the Beylik could be legitimated faced

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[269] Gabriel Baer, "Social Change in Egypt: 1800-1914," in *Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt: Historical Studies from the Ottoman Conquest to the United Arab Republic*, ed. P. M. Holt (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 154; Y. Hakan Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and Its Demise, 1800-1909* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 90.

[270] Baer, "Social Change in Egypt," 154.

[271] Amal N. Ghazal, "Debating Slavery and Abolition in the Arab Middle East," in *Slavery, Islam and Diaspora*, ed. Behnaz A. Mirazi, Ismael Musah Montana, and Paul E. Lovejoy (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2009), 146-47; William Gervase Clarence-Smith, "Islamic Abolitionism in the Western Indian Ocean from c. 1800," in *Indian Ocean Slavery in the Age of Abolition*, ed. Robert Harms, Bernard K. Freamon, and David W. Blight (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 85.

with some dissenting ʿulamaʾ who openly criticized emancipation.[272] Muhammad Bayram III (d. 1861), the Hanafi Grand Mufti of Tunis, issued a fatwa supporting the anti-slavery edict of Ahmad Bey which stated that the abolition of slavery is imperative in consideration of the public interest that can be damaged by runaway slaves seeking protection at foreign consulates and the uncertain legal status of black slaves, many of whom were originally free-born Muslims.[273] A Tunisian official named Husayn Pasha also reiterated the same logic that the abolition of slavery was necessary when too much harm was inflicted on slaves and added that countries where full liberty is guaranteed are more prosperous than others.[274]

In any case, the rulers' steps were a starting point toward suppressing the institution of slavery although the practice -- sanctioned by time and custom, and supported by the social and economic causes -- survived much longer before social and economic factors led to its disappearance.[275]

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[272] al-Diyaf, *Ithaf*, 4:89; Montana, *The Abolition of Slavery in Ottoman Tunisia*, 127.
[273] al-Diyaf, *Ithaf*, 4:88; Montana, *The Abolition of Slavery in Ottoman Tunisia*, 116-17.
[274] Elisabeth Cornelia van der Haven, "The Bey, the Mufti and the Scattered Pearls: Shariʿa and Political Leadership in Tunisia's Age of Reform, 1800-1864" (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2006), 72.
[275] John Wright, *The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade*, 153.

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