

**DOMESTIC SLAVES IN BULOZI: THE
TRANSITION FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM,
1780 - 1925**

BY

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**A Dissertation Submitted to the University of Zambia in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in History**

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LUSAKA

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DECLARATION

I, **NYAMBE MUNYINDA**, hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own research, and that it has not been previously submitted for a degree at this or any other University.

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APPROVAL

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the transition of domestic slaves in Bulozhi to freedom from 1780 to 1925. It reveals that the landscape of the Lozi kingdom supported productive activities such as gardening, fishing, cattle keeping, trading, the construction of houses, canals and mounds, all of which needed labour. Labour was acquired through the importation of human resource in form of slaves and these were mostly acquired through raiding weaker ethnic groups such as the Makalahali, Kalanga, Kwangali, the Nkoya of chief Katusi, and the Ila and Tonga people. However, the study argues that during the reigns of some kings like Sebitwane of the Kololo, some weaker tribes such as the Makalanga offered themselves to the Kololo kings as slaves. The study has demonstrated that the Lozi people also acquired slaves through tribute, and *lifunga*, a mode of labour recruitment in which Lewanika's men were sent to villages in secrecy to capture girls and boys as slaves. The study argues that other than the activities of Europeans, traders, missionaries and colonists who came to Bulozhi and helped liberate slaves, slaves themselves and their relations employed various initiatives to transition from captivity to freedom. Between 1867 and 1906, slave relations engaged Lozi rulers in discussions asking them to liberate their people from slavery. On the other hand, slaves themselves staged a number of revolts to show disapproval of their status leading to Lewanika issuing a proclamation 'Abolition of slavery' in the year 1906, which King Yeta III upheld but repealed the Compensation clause in 1918 in line with the demands of the imperial government. Finally, the 1925 Proclamation abolished all forms of slavery in Bulozhi.

DEDICATION

I am dedicating this work to my parents who took me to school, my husband who encouraged me to pursue a Master's degree, my children, brothers and sisters who kept on asking when I would graduate. This gave me the zeal to continue till the end.

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CHAPTER 1: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

Slavery is an old institution that existed in many societies the world over. It was a social, cultural and economic institution whose exact dates when it began remain unknown. Individuals found themselves in slavery through various ways such as being captives of war, through being kidnapped while some criminals were reduced to slaves as a way of punishing them. Some individuals found themselves in slavery because they were sold by their relatives due to reasons such as witchcraft and theft. Others offered themselves to well to do masters as an economic and survival strategy.¹ Slavery has been defined by Wilbur as ‘the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised’. Further, Wilbur defines a slave as ‘...a person who is owned as actual property by another person, group, corporation, or the state, whose services are therefore controlled and who is accorded a distinct status as one of a group so owned and controlled.’² The reasons for owning slaves seem to have been similar in most areas which were for labour purposes. What differed was the type of work done depending on the culture and the ecological pattern of a given place or region where the slaves had been taken to.

In the Roman Empire, slaves were employed in various roles. Romans desired to lead a very luxurious life at the expense of their slaves who did almost everything in the homes of their rich masters. It is estimated that the number of the free population in the empire was 781,000 and that of slaves was 200,000, the ratio of free men to slaves being four to one.³ All the rich families in the empire employed a lot of slaves who were given special duties in the homes.

¹James Bandinel, *Some Account of the Trade in slaves from Africa as Connected with Europe*, (London: Frank Case and Company Limited, 1842), p.1-2.

² Martin C. Wilbur, *Slavery in China during the Former Han Dynasty. 206 B.C.-A.D.25*, (New York: Russell and Russell, 1967), pp.62-63.

³ R. H. Barrow, *Slavery in the Roman Empire*, (London: Methuen and Company Limited, 1968), p.21.

Some of the specified duties given to slaves were such as taking care of the silver drinking vessels and being in charge of perfumes. Some were responsible for pearls while others for brooches. However, though there is no mention of slaves who specialized in cleaning dishes and sweeping, these house chores must have been combined by the same slaves specialized in the stated responsibilities.⁴

Furthermore, slave labour was employed in art and literature. During the empire, very few enslaved people were skilled. Therefore, the masters had to train the slaves in various skills so that they could use or sell them out to other people who would require slave labour. The training was done when the slaves were still young and they were trained in fields that were marketable then. One of the fields in the empire that needed human labour was secretarial work. Since there was no printing in the empire at the time, slaves were trained in skills such as copyists and shorthand writing to serve educated people such as the lawyers and philosophers who needed skilled personnel in writing and reading to work as secretaries and readers. Some members desired art and a section of slaves was trained in various art categories such as dancing, singing, masseurs and mountebanks.⁵

In China where slavery was practised during the Han Dynasty, between 206 BC and AD 25, slaves were given different tasks which Martin Wilbur has categorized as that of service provision and productive work. The service functions of the domestic or private slaves were such as cooking, house cleaning and washing plates.⁶ Female slaves had a duty of performing intimate services with young girls being the focus of this kind of service probably due to their physical attractiveness and possession of a lot of strength to serve more than one client. These slave girls served people such as their masters who had sexual rights over them, their masters'

⁴ Barrow, *Slavery in Roman Empire*, p.24.

⁵ Barrow, *Slavery in Roman Empire*, pp.61-63.

⁶ Wilbur, *Slavery in China during the former Han Dynasty*, p.178.

guests, and their mistresses. The intimate duties they performed included, helping a guest change their clothes, and helping them to go to bed. This service was especially rendered to drunken guests. These slave young girls were also trained in seductive arts and performed naked at functions to entertain guests.⁷

In the Americas, some slaves were employed in mines and agriculture. In the mines, they mined gold and silver and refined the ores to get the precious metals.⁸ In agriculture, slaves produced a variety of food stuffs such as wine and spirits. On the plantations, they grew sugar cane, cocoa, cotton, and tobacco. However, from the sixteenth century to mid-nineteenth century the concentration might have been on growing sugarcane since there was a high demand for sugar during this period thus requiring more slave labour both in the sugar plantations and in the sugar mills.⁹ Slaves who were owned by individuals and social groups were employed to satisfy the needs of their masters. For example, the craftsmen and the traders employed slave labour in the construction of roads, bridges and buildings. The religious orders employed slaves in the churches, convents, missions and colleges. Slave labour was also recruited for public works such as construction and maintenance of roads, and transporting goods.¹⁰

In Africa, slavery existed in many pre-colonial societies where many empires, kingdoms and chiefdoms practiced slavery. In East Africa, Zanzibar and Pemba in particular, Arabs and Swahili established plantations at the coast of East Africa hence slave labour was required.¹¹ The Arabs therefore, bought slaves from many parts of Eastern and Central Africa and transported them to the Islands where they worked on the new clove, sisal, grain and coconut

⁷Wilbur, *Slavery in China during the former Han Dynasty*, pp.180-182.

⁸ Rolando Mellafe, *Negro Slavery in Latin America*, Trans. J.W .S. Judge (London: university of California press, 1975), pp.85, 87.

⁹ Mellafe, *Negro Slavery in Latin America*, Trans. Judge, p. 89-91.

¹⁰ Mellafe, *Negro Slavery in Latin America*, Trans. Judge, p. 94-95.

¹¹ Fredrick Cooper, *Front slaves to squatters: Plantation Labour and agriculture in Zanzibar and coastal Kenya, 1890-1925*, (London: Yale University Press, 1947), p.3.

plantations. The growing need of ivory bangles in India, piano keys and billiard balls in Europe and America, enhanced the need for slave labour to carry ivory from the interior of Africa to the east coast. As a result, Arabs bought slaves from many ethnic groups such as the Bemba in present day Zambia who did not need any extra labour in their infertile Kingdom and employed them as porters.¹²

One of the kingdoms that practiced slavery in East Africa was the Buganda Kingdom in present day Uganda. Slavery was a very important institution in the old kingdom of Buganda. In this kingdom, slaves were owned by many free individuals. These employed slave labour in their agricultural activities that ran throughout the year due to the presence of Lake Victoria that kept the region environmentally sustainable. Here, slaves mainly grew bananas in the plantations.¹³ Due to the perishability of bananas, more women and slave labour were needed to transport bananas from the plantations to the palace every day. Therefore, slaves in the Buganda kingdom were also employed as porters.

The Baganda chiefs participated in the long distance trade with the Arabs on the east coast of Africa and their most important trade item was ivory. As such slaves were not just porters of bananas but were also probably employed as porters of ivory from the interior of Africa to either Zanzibar or Khartoum. Though slaves were initially owned for domestic work in the Kingdom, the desire to own guns and cloth made the chiefs sell some of their slaves to the Arabs as this was the only way they would acquire the desired items.¹⁴

Apart from the indigenous slavery practiced by the local people, some parts of Africa experienced slavery practiced by settlers. Among such settlers were the Portuguese along the Zambezi River in present day Mozambique. These Portuguese settlers took advantage of the

¹² H. W. Langworthy, *Zambia Before 1890: Aspects of pre-colonial History*, (London: Longman, 1972), p.100.

¹³ Michael Twaddle, 'Slaves and peasants in Buganda,' in Leonie Archer (ed.), *Slavery and other forms of Unfree Labour*, (London: Routledge, 1988), p.123.

¹⁴ Twaddle, 'Slaves and peasants in Buganda,' pp.123-124.

long distance trade between the old Zimbabwe rulers and the Indian coast as early as the sixteenth century. They set themselves as middlemen on this long distance trade where the Zimbabwe rulers mainly traded slaves, ivory and gold. Hence these Portuguese traders became very powerful and were later given titles to huge estates which were known as the prazoes. Over time, these Portuguese traders became acculturated in the African culture. They intermarried with the locals and adopted many African practices.¹⁵

On the prazoes, the Portuguese employed huge numbers of slaves who later called themselves the Chikunda. These Chikunda slaves were given various tasks to perform for their masters. Some of the work they were given was in military and the economy. In military, slaves were tasked to protect and defend the prazoes from some fierce neighbouring tribes such as the Ngoni¹⁶ who from time to time attacked the prazoes. In the economy the Portuguese prazo owners employed slave labour in various activities. Among them was trading in which slaves exchanged some imported items such as beads and cloth for African items such as gold, ivory and slaves. As a result, slaves had to move long distances, into the interior of Africa searching for exchange items. Slave labour was preferred to pack animals in the region to carry heavy trade items due to the presence of tsetse fly. The Portuguese prazo owners also employed slave labour in elephant hunting.¹⁷

In Southern Africa, particularly in the Lozi Kingdom in present day Western Province of Zambia, the purpose of owning slaves was not different from the World history of slavery. The Lozi owned slaves primarily for labour purposes. Originally, the Lozi people are believed to have migrated from the Luba and Lunda Empire in Katanga region in Congo.¹⁸ They broke

¹⁵ Allen Isaacman and Derek Peterson, 'Making the Chikunda: Military slavery and Ethnicity in Southern Africa, 1750-1900', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 36, 2(2003), p. 259.

¹⁶M. D. D. Newitt, 'The Portuguese on the Zambezi: An Historical Interpretation of the Prazo System,' *Journal of African History*, X, 1 (1969), p.67.

¹⁷Isaacman and Peterson, 'Making the Chikunda,' p.266.

¹⁸ Mutumba Mainga, *Bulozi under the Luyana kings: Political Evolution and State Formation in Pre-Colonial Zambia*, (London: Longman 1973), p.7.

away from the empire, and around 1600 arrived into the Zambezi flood plain under the leadership of a woman known as Mwambwa.¹⁹ In the central plain, they found the Manatwa tribe as the original inhabitants of the area.²⁰ These nicknamed the Lozi as the Aluyana, which meant foreigners resulting in the invading Lozis acquiring the name of Luyi or Aluyana. The Luyis managed to conquer the Manatwa, whom they exterminated or fused in their society.²¹ However, Mwambwa gave up the throne to her daughter Mbuyuwamwambwa who later gave the throne to her son Mboo and he became the first male ruler.²²

On the contrary, the Lozis themselves argue that they did not come from anywhere else but that they originated in Bulozi. They say they were the result of the union between Nyambe [God] and Mbuyu.²³ However, the Lozis have a lot of similarities with the Katanga type of state, an indication that they too broke away from the Lunda Empire.²⁴ The Lozi Kingdom under the reign of Mboo expanded. Mboo conquered the surrounding tribes such as the Manyengo, Imilangu, Ma-Kwamakoma and Mambumi. Soon in the central plain, the population grew and there were some misunderstanding resulting in some leaving the central plain and establishing themselves as independent chiefs. Examples of such were Mwanambinyi and Mange. Mwanambinyi went southwards and conquered the Subiya and Mbukushu in the present day Senanga area and his followers came to be known as the Makwandi. While his brother Mange went eastwards and displaced the Nkoya. His followers came to be known as the Kwangwa. The third group left and settled along the Simaa River, a

¹⁹ Langworthy, *Zambia Before 1890*, p.49.

²⁰ Mutumba Mainga, 'The origin of the Lozi: Some oral tradition,' in Stokes and Brown (eds.), *The Zambezi Past: Studies in Central Africa History*, (Manchester university press, 1966), pp. 242, 244

²¹ Mainga, 'The origin of the Lozi', pp. 242, 244.

²² Langworthy, *Zambia Before 1890*, p.49

²³ Mainga, *Bulozi under the Luyana kings*, p.7.

²⁴ Langworthy, *Zambia Before 1890*, p.49; Mainga, *Bulozi under the Luyana kings*, p.7.

tributary of the Zambezi River. These were named as the Simaa. However, the ones who remained in the central plain came to be known as the Mbowe.²⁵

Nevertheless, the Lozi kingdom was later united due to internal economic reasons. This became necessary because the regions in Buluzi had different natural resources as we will discuss. Therefore, the people in these various regions in Buluzi depended on each other and because of communication that was made easy by the canoe, people moved from one region to another in search of life necessities that were available in the other regions. Since each region was endowed with natural resources and trade goods that were absent in the other regions, the Lozi kings desired to have different regions under their control. Therefore, the spatial distribution of natural resources in the region stimulated the development of the centralized Lozi kingdom.²⁶

Hence, during the reign of great kings such as the 4th Litunga Ngalama, Mange's area was defeated and part of Mwanambinyi's was put under the control of the Lozi king. The 6th Litunga Ngambela also managed to defeat the remaining area of Mwanambinyi. However, the greatest among the Lozi kings was Mulambwa who reigned from around 1780 to 1830. During his rule, the Lozi kingdom expanded and all the conquered people who were left to rule themselves but paid tribute were all brought under his direct control. As such from king Mulambwa the kingdom continued expanding and was centrally managed both under the Lozi and Kololo kings.²⁷

Geographically, Buluzi had two distinct physical features, the Zambezi flood plain and the forest, with the former commonly being referred to as the Buluzi proper or Ngulu. The plain stretched along both sides of the Zambezi River from the confluence of Lungwebungu and

²⁵Mainga, *'The origins of the Lozi,'* pp.244-245.

²⁶Langworthy, *Zambia Before 1890*, pp.50-51.

²⁷Langworthy, *Zambia Before 1890*, pp.51, 78.

Kabompo rivers to the confluence of Lui River and the Zambezi in Senanga district.²⁸ The plain got flooded annually and due to the flooding, the region had rich alluvial soil which was good for gardening. Initially the Lozi cultivated few crops and exploited few gardens.²⁹ But the continuous immigration of various ethnic groups into the kingdom at different times, introduced new crops and consequently new gardens.³⁰ Hence towards the end of the 19th century, the Lozis exploited a variety of gardens. These were worked on at different times of the year.³¹ The types of gardens exploited included Lizulu (mound – garden), mukomena (dry heap – garden), dry litongo (dry margin – garden), moist litongo (moist margin – garden), sishanjo (drained – gardens) and sitapa (clay – gardens). Hence, gardening on the Zambezi flood plain called for more slave labour.³²

In addition, the flood plain had a lot of fish.³³ Hence fishing was an important industry in Bulozhi.³⁴ The Lozis used fish for relish and exchanged it with items that were not produced in the region like honey and spears.³⁵ The Lozis developed³⁶ and adopted many fishing methods from people who came into the kingdom through raids and trade. Some of the fishing tools and methods used in Bulozhi included spears, cone-traps, dam-fish, drag-fence, fence-fish, flat-net, heart-fence trap, trawl-net, wedge-trap, scoop-baskets, scoop-damming, shallow-water-killing, rod-fishing, weirs and poisoning fish.³⁷ Hence as the fishing techniques increased in number, the need for more slave labour, to help in the industry also grew. Labour

²⁸ Mainga, *Bulozhi, under the Luyana Kings*, p.1

²⁹ Van L. Horn, 'The Agricultural History of Barotseland, 1840 – 1964', in R. Palmer and N. Parsons (eds.), *Roots of rural poverty in central and southern Africa*, (London: Harvard, 1976), P. 145.

³⁰ Horn, 'The Agricultural History of Barotseland,' pp.145-146.

³¹ Jack Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland, Western Zambia, 1800-1925,' Ph.D. Thesis, University of Kent, 2014, p.57

³² Hogan, 'The ends of slavery in Barotseland,' pp. 56-57.

* Lozi translation of Gardens adopted from Max Gluckman, *Economy of the Central Barotse Plain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968).*

³³ Y. W. Mupatu, *Bulozhi Sapili*, (Lusaka: Neczam, 1959), p.6.

³⁴ Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,' p. 58.

³⁵ Gluckman, 'Economy of the central Barotse plain,' p. 72.

³⁶ Gluckman, 'Economy of the central Barotse plain,' p.8.

³⁷ Gluckman, 'Economy of the central Barotse plain,' pp. 53, 56, 58, 60-63.

was needed to exploit the many fishing sites such as the dams, pans, the Zambezi River itself and its tributaries. Labour was also needed to manufacture fishing tools.³⁸

The flood plain also offered an enabling environment for cattle rearing as the flooding gave it good pasture for livestock.³⁹ Therefore, cattle keeping was among the important economic activities on the Zambezi flood plain. Initially cattle in Bulozhi were very few.⁴⁰ So the Lozi raided their neighbours to stock their kraals.⁴¹ Cattle were used for various purposes such as to pay fines, for sacrifices, its dung was used as manure in gardens, it provided milk and meat and later the Lozis learnt to plough with it.⁴² Therefore, wealthy families in Bulozhi owned cattle.⁴³ However, for the Lozis to acquire cattle and enjoy the benefits from cattle, human labour especially with experience in cattle keeping was needed.

Alongside gardening, fishing and cattle keeping the region attracted other activities such as trading, hut, canal and mound construction. A variety of activities on the Zambezi flood plain, made the inhabitants of the region always busy. This being the case, the region had a great need for labour to do various works, compared to the forest region. Therefore, the Lozis alleviated their labour needs by importing human resource.⁴⁴ The Zambezi flood plain was the heart land of the Lozi kingdom.⁴⁵ This was because the region produced items that were different from all its surrounding lands, leading to the exchange of goods more between the Lozis and the forest tribes (Kwangwa, Nkoyas, Luvaes, Luchazi, Nyengo and Mashi) than between forest dwellers (tribes) themselves.⁴⁶ This called for more labour on the Zambezi

³⁸ Gluckman, 'Economy of the central Barotse plain,' p.60

³⁹ Muyangwa Kamutumwa, 'Mafisa and Bulozhi cattle economy in Historical perspective 1886-1986,' M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2012, pp. 13-16.

⁴⁰ Gluckman, 'Economy of the central Barotse plain,' p.8

⁴¹ A. J. Wills, *An Introduction to the History of Central Africa*, (London: Oxford University press), p.58.

⁴² Kamutumwa, 'Mafisa and Bulozhi cattle economy,' p.17.

⁴³ Mupatu, *Bulozhi Sapili*, p.48.

⁴⁴ Eugene Hermitte, 'An Economic History of Barotseland, 1800-1940,' Ph.D. Dissertation, North Western University, 1973, pp.28, 108.

⁴⁵ Mainga, *Bulozhi under the Luyana kings*, p.4.

⁴⁶ Gluckman, 'Economy of the central Barotse plain,' P.72.

flood plain to meet the demand. The Zambezi flood plain is the region that the ancestors of the Lozis who migrated from the Luba and Lunda empires chose to settle.⁴⁷

The forest region, as a distinct physical feature, lies on both sides of the flood plain. The forest on the eastern part of the flood plain is traditionally known as Nyunyi.⁴⁸ It stretches in the eastern direction to the Kafue River.⁴⁹ It has a few hills and it is highly raised to the heights that it does not experience floods no matter how full the Zambezi River gets. On the Western part of the flood plain are two forests which are parallel to each other. One is the Lukona forest which is raised like the eastern forest and not subject to floods, the other is the Kalamba forest which is characterized by a belt of woodlands. This one is not highly raised hence it is subject to floods when the Zambezi river overflows.⁵⁰

There are various tributaries of the Zambezi River that run through these forests. For example, in the Eastern forest there are the Njoko, Kabompo, Luena, Machile, Lui, Lumbe and Lukulu rivers. In the Western forests, there are the Lungwebungu, Linyanti, Luanginga and Lueti rivers as shown in map 1 below. These tributaries form valleys of their own and extend the main flood plain in many different directions. For example, the Luena river extend the Zambezi flood plain by thirty to forty miles in the North-East and the Lui river extend the Zambezi flood plain into another plain known as Wanyau in the South. Apart from these tributaries, the forest has some dambos which are locally known as 'masa'.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Mainga, *Bulozi under the Luyana kings*, p.4.

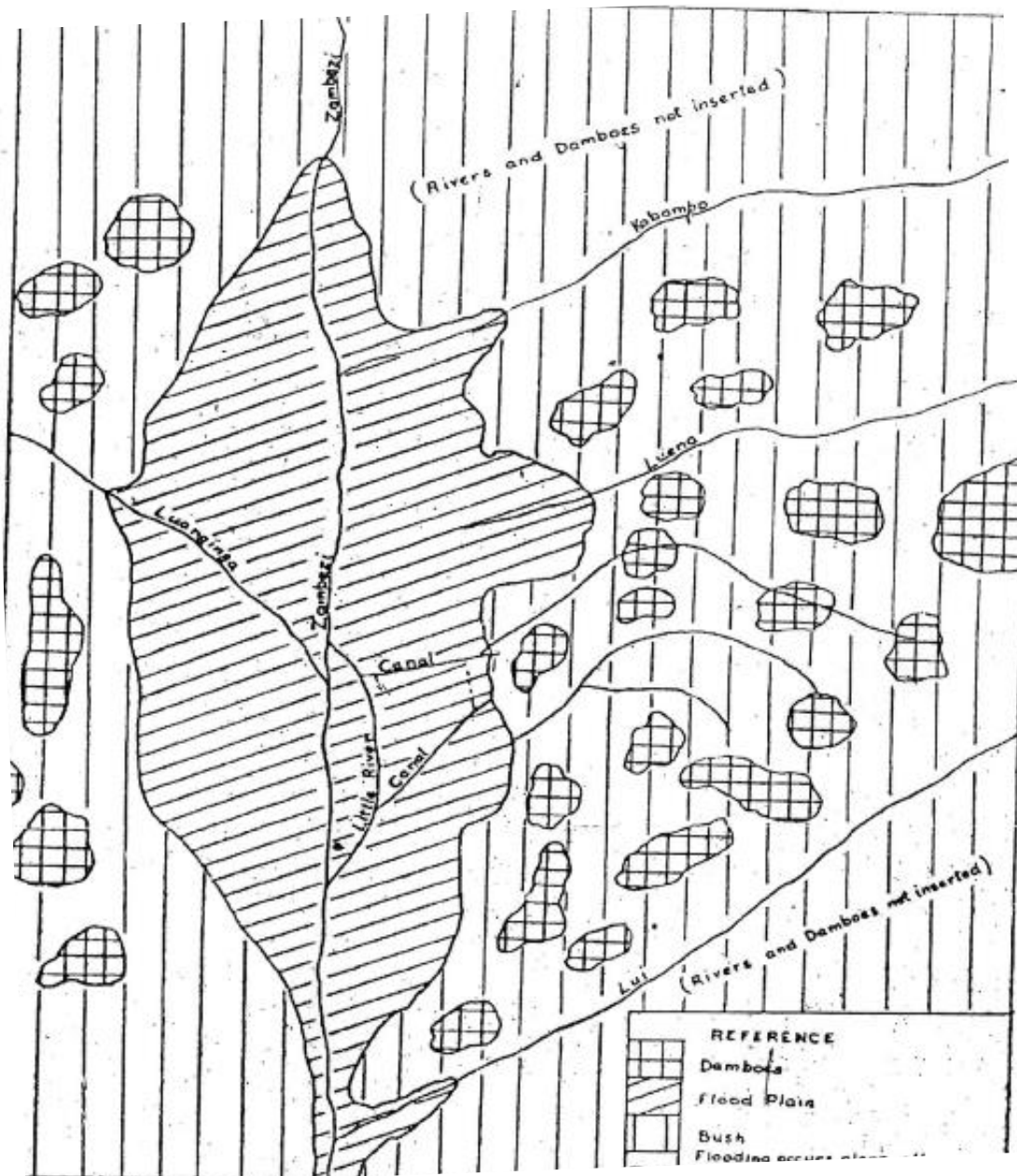
⁴⁸ Mainga, *Bulozi under the Luyana kings*, p.4.

⁴⁹ Gluckman, 'Economy of the central Barotse plain,' p.7.

⁵⁰ Mainga, *Bulozi under the Luyana kings*, p.4.

⁵¹ Mainga, *Bulozi under the Luyana kings*, p.4.

Map 1: Diagrammatically the disposition of the flood plain, rivers and dambos (not to scale)



Source: Max Gluckman, 'Economy of the Central Barotse Plain,' *Rhodes Livingstone paper* No. 7, 1941.

The inhabitants of the forests settled around these water bodies and carried out economic activities in different parts. However, the woodland regions were not very different from one another hence practised almost the same agricultural systems. For example, in the woodland of Zambezi district, the Luvale and Luchazi cultivated bulrush millet and cassava. In the

eastern region, the Nkoya grew sorghum, maize and finger millet while the ones in the south east region, cultivated bulrush millet and sorghum. They also grew cowpeas, groundnuts, sweet potatoes and maize. The south and south west region produced maize, bulrush millet and sorghum.⁵² Nevertheless, these forest regions were slightly differed in the types of resources that were endowed in their natural environment and this made each of them an important region to the Lozis. For example, the Kwangwa region had a lot of iron, so they made a lot of iron goods. The Nyengo region was endowed with good natural resources for making paddles and mats.⁵³

The forest region is where the flood plain dwellers move to during the flooding of the Zambezi plain. They get back to their homes after the water has receded.⁵⁴ Due to regional differentiations in Buluzi, the Lozi economy was shaped on the exchange of goods and services between the inhabitants of the Central plain and the forest dwellers. For example, from the Eastern forest, the Nkoya brought pots of honey, bees wax used for repairing damaged wooden utensils to the Lozis and in return they got cattle. The Kwakwa bartered fish-spears, hoes, axes, mats, baskets and mats with the Lozis for cattle and fish. And from the Western forest, the Mashi brought Ostrich eggshell beads used as ornaments by the Lozi women and exchanged with fish and cattle.⁵⁵ The other factor that led to this internal-trade was the climate. Buluzi did not have a uniform climate as the regions experienced different amounts of rainfall, coming at different times and different levels of floods due to different ecological patterns and temperatures, leading to differences in yields.⁵⁶

⁵² Hermitte, 'An Economic History of Barotseland,' pp.102, 103.

⁵³ Hermitte, 'An Economic History of Barotseland,' p.119.

⁵⁴ Mainga, *Buluzi under the Luyana kings*, p.1,4

⁵⁵ Gluckman, 'Economy of the central Barotse plain,' pp.71-73.

⁵⁶ Gluckman, 'Economy of the central Barotse plain,' pp. 70-71.

The Lozi exchange economy was complex, hence, needed a bigger number of human resources to sustain it. Moreover, the Zambezi flood plain was not densely populated so it was desirable and possible for the Lozis to import human resource⁵⁷ from different tribes in the forest regions and beyond. Hence, the Lozi economy that resulted from the occupation of the Zambezi flood plain⁵⁸ and the availability of living space compelled the Lozis to adopt the system of slavery to boost production.

From this background, it can be said that World over, slavery was a system adopted for production. Its effectiveness in production and economic stability has been well established during the classical times when slavery solved various social and economic problems.⁵⁹ It was the earliest means of production before the paid worker.⁶⁰ Slaves sustained the Lozi economy before their liberation.

1.2 Study Area

This study focuses on Bulozhi in the present day Western Province of Zambia as maps 2 and 3 indicate. The area was formerly called Barotseland. The province is bounded by Angola on the west and Namibia in the south-west. In the east, is the Southern and Central provinces while in the north lay the North-Western Province all within Zambia. During the period under discussion, Bulozhi was divided into five districts namely Kalabo, Mongu-Lealui, Lukulu, Senanga and Sesheke.⁶¹

⁵⁷ L. H. Gann, *The birth of a plural society: The Development of Northern Rhodesia under the British South Africa Company. 1894-1914*, (Manchester: Manchester University press, 1961), p.70.

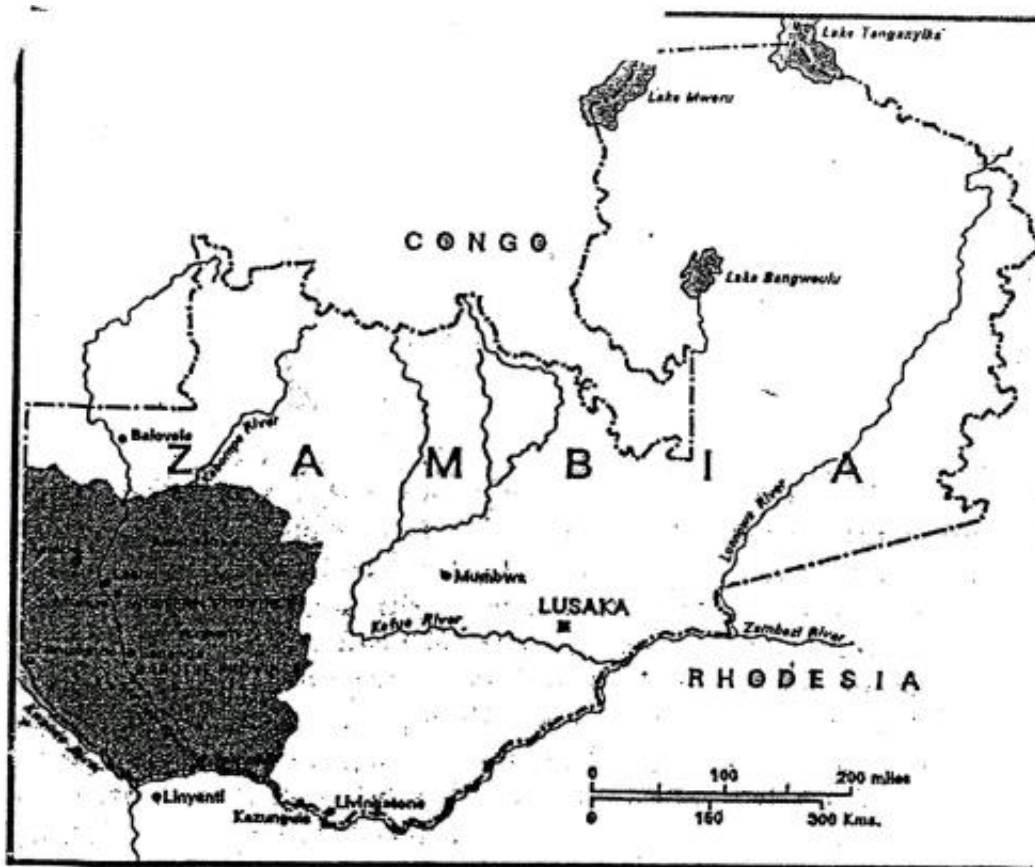
⁵⁸ Wills, *An Introduction to the history of Central Africa*, p.80.

⁵⁹ Mellafe, *Negro Slavery in Latin America*. Trans. Judge, pp.9, 138

⁶⁰ Mellafe, *Negro Slavery in Latin America*. Trans. Judge, p.145.

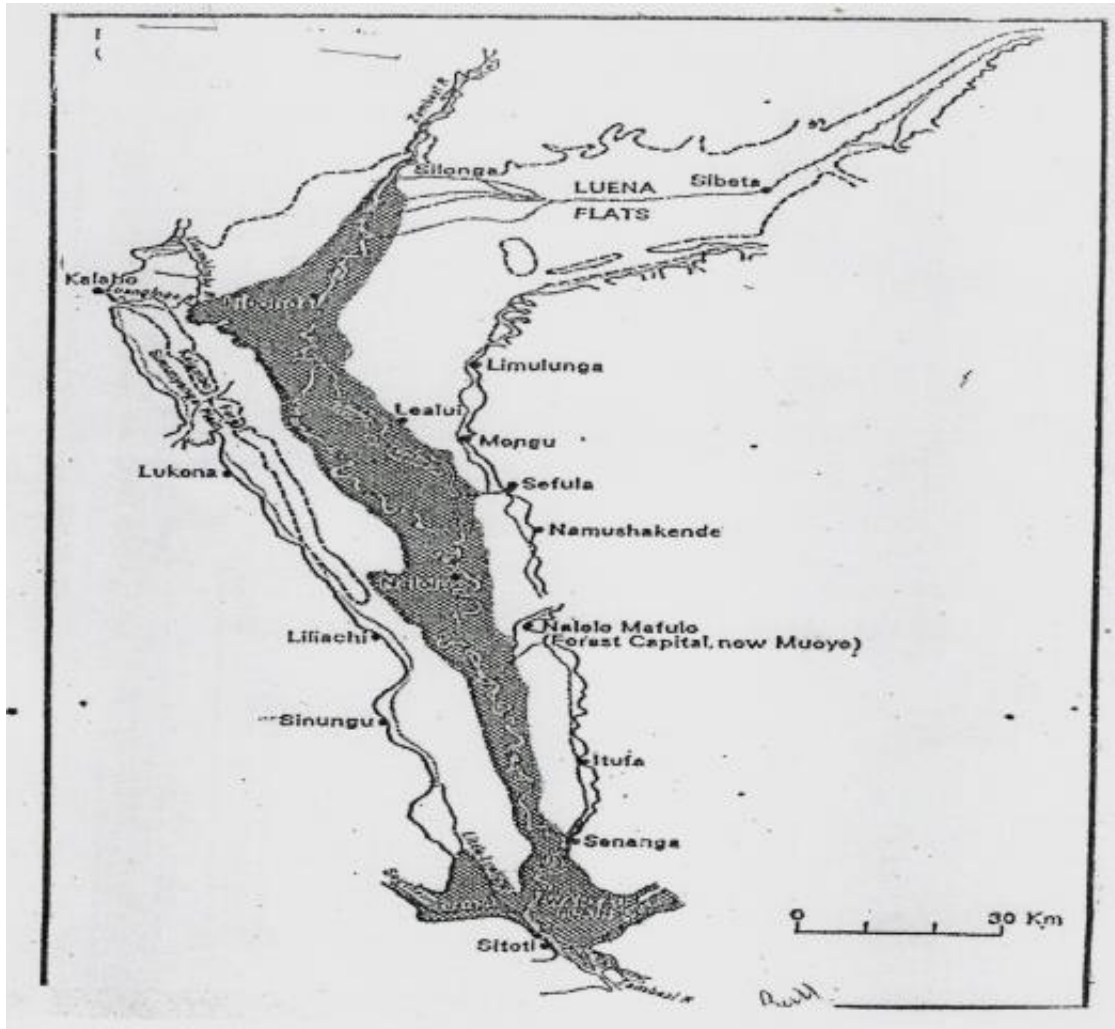
⁶¹ Mainga, *Bulozhi under the Luyana Kings*, p.1.

Map 2: Location of Bulozhi in Zambia



Source: Mutumba Mainga, *Bulozhi under the Luyana kings: Political Evolution and State Formation in Pre-Colonial Zambia*, (London: Longman, 1973), p.2.

Map 3: Bulozhi Proper or Ngulu



Source: Mutumba Mainga, *Bulozhi under the Luyana King: Political Evolution and State Formation in Pre-Colonial Zambia*, (London: Longman 1973), p.3.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Previous historical studies on slavery in Bulozhi have discussed aspects of slavery as single entities instead of considering them as part of a historical process. Emphasis was largely on slavery components such as agriculture that constituted aspects of Bulozhi history. This was

because these were the slavery components that were relevant to historical studies of the time. Jack Hogan was the first scholar to document a historical process that focused on the ruling class, the Lozi elite, missionaries and British colonists, showing how they handled slavery from inception through to its end. His approach portrayed slaves and their relations as passive players in the institution. It is therefore necessary to investigate other aspects that show initiatives of the enslaved by focusing on slaves from capture, how they lived their lives in Bulozhi, how they challenged the institution together with their relations who fashioned the liberation dialogue in relation to the Lozi rulers and how they together with slaves used their self-fashioned liberation discussions to emancipate and end slavery in Bulozhi.

1.4 Objectives

The main aim of this study was to discuss domestic slaves in Bulozhi and their transition from slavery to freedom. The specific objectives of the study were three fold. The study:

1. Investigated the modes of slave acquisition and ethnic groups from whom the Lozis sourced slave labour.
2. Examined the life of slaves; and
3. Investigated the factors that led to the emancipation of slaves in Bulozhi.

1.5 Rationale

The rationale for undertaking this study lies in the fact that although much scholarly attention has been given to the institution of slavery in Bulozhi, most of these studies seldom address the slavery as a historical process that focuses, other than external factors, on internal factors such as slaves and their relations, from capture through to how they get their freedom. Therefore, the proposed study is intended to fill this yawning historical gap and thus contribute to the body of knowledge on domestic slavery in Bulozhi, of present day Western Province of

Zambia. It is also hoped that it will stimulate further interest on slavery in other parts of the country other than Buluzi.

1.6 Literature Review

Literature on slaves and slavery both in regions beyond and in Buluzi have demonstrated transition from slavery to freedom. The works include books, journal articles and dissertations. These varieties of literature, therefore, still remain significant in this study as they act as a guide.

The work by Palmer illuminates the experiences of the African slaves in Mexico. He postulates that despite being enslaved they were able to retain some of their original practices from Africa.⁶² He has further stated that slaves in Mexico showed their disapproval of their status by doing many acts such as rebellion.⁶³ He also noted that apart from the slaves themselves there were many other people who challenged the system such as Fray Bartholomew De Las Casa and other missionaries.⁶⁴ Las Casas fought for natives, mostly Indians, many of whom died as a result of being used as slaves in Spanish colonies in the 17th century. Palmer's study is helpful to the current study as it discusses the slave from the point of enslavement, resettlement in the new World and tasked with various works.

Similar to Palmer's study, Mellafe's work illustrates the life of black slaves in Latin America from capture, mostly from Africa, to their freedom. He argues that when slavery was abolished the masters came up with alternative labour by adopting different methods of enslaving persons who by law were not slaves but their condition were not better than the slaves.⁶⁵ He argues that this class of people were the Chinese. Further, he observes that slaves

⁶² Colin A. Palmer, *Slaves of the White God: Black in Mexico 1570 – 1650*, (London: Harvard, 1976), p. 166.

⁶³ Palmer, *Slaves of the White God*, p. 131.

⁶⁴ Palmer, *Slaves of the White God*, pp. 167-171.

⁶⁵ Mellafe, *Negro Slavery in Latin America. Trans. Judge*, p.138.

were the earliest type of workers before the paid worker.⁶⁶ This was an informative work to our study as it provided insights on how to structure our work.

Mann's work discusses slavery and abolition with the Indian Ocean perspective. He argues that whilst on the ships on the Indian Ocean, some slaves jumped overboard many of them drowning. This was because some of these slaves were frightened by pipe whistle used to give orders to the crew members. Mann also argues that separating families according to age and gender on board a British ship due to British fears and clichés of sexual promiscuous Africans caused discomfort, despair and fear among the freed slaves.⁶⁷ The study further argues that slave labour was productive thus local industrial agriculturists in India employed any form of labour that would maximise their profits.⁶⁸ The study provides this study with insights on slavery and slave labour.

Similar studies have been done across the continent of Africa which include one done by Fredrick Cooper, *From slaves to squatters: Plantation labour and agriculture in Zanzibar and costal Kenya, 1890–1925* in which he shows how the slaves from different ethnic groups were absorbed in the coastal culture of Zanzibar highlands. Cooper argues that slaves retained some traditions of their homelands and that this was evidenced in the songs and dances performed by them. In addition, Cooper explains that slaves changed their identity from slaves to free people after their liberation. He noted that ex-slaves lived a free life as farm owners.⁶⁹ The study provides this study with insights on the way of life of slaves in Buluzi, the process of their liberation and the way of life of freed people.

⁶⁶ Mellafe, *Negro Slavery in Latin America. Trans. Judge*, p.145.

⁶⁷ Michael Mann, 'Slaving, Slavery and Abolition: A View from the Indian Ocean. Notes on Some Recent Publications.' *Südasiens-Seminar der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*, p.464.

⁶⁸ Mann, 'Slaving, Slavery and Abolition,' p.467.

⁶⁹ Cooper, *From slaves to Squatters*, pp.22-23,165.

Allen Isaacman and Derek Peterson's study contends that the Portuguese prazo holders enslaved individuals and employed them as military slaves. They argue that these slaves were captured from distant regions such as the lands of the Chewa and Manganja in present day Malawi. It has been noted that apart from military work the slaves did other duties for their masters as well such as collecting taxes, hunting, raiding for slaves and trading. Isaacman and Peterson argue that though the slaves on the Portuguese prazoes came from different ethnic groups, they undertook a great deal of imaginative work to formulate a set of rituals and practices and created a common identity known as the Chikunda.⁷⁰

Isaacman and Peterson further argue that whilst on the prazoes, the slaves went through transformations. For example, most of the slaves came from the matrilineal decent, but on the prazoes they adopted the social structure of the region that is the patrilineal decent. The scholars postulate that on these prazoes there was a lot of cultural integration. For instance, the slaves brought in their practices and they also embraced some of the new society. According to Isaacman and Peterson, the language that was used by the Chikunda was as a result of culture integration. It was a mixture of various languages. The scholars have shown that when the prazoes collapsed the Chikunda changed their identity and some went back to their original homes where they became peasants whilst others remained in the same area and embedded themselves among the local tribes.⁷¹ This work provides insights to the present study in relation to the slaves from the point of capture, enslavement to freedom.

Another important work to this study was the one done by Lovejoy and Hogendarn who examined the role of colonialism in the extinction of slavery in northern Nigeria.⁷² It discussed that through the policies introduced in the region by the British colonists, slavery was

⁷⁰ Isaacman and Peterson, 'Making the Chikunda,' pp. 260-261, 266-267.

⁷¹ Isaacman and Peterson, 'Making the Chikunda,' pp. 268-269, 274-275.

⁷² Paul E. Lovejoy and Jan S. Hogendorn, *Slow death for slavery: The course of abolition in Northern Nigeria, 1897-1936*. (London: Cambridge university press, 1993), p.2.

outlawed and those found guilty of enslaving persons were dealt with in the courts of law. This work is critical as it informs this study about how slaves were emancipated in other parts of Africa other than Buluzi.

The article by Ojo states that one profound impact of the slave trade on Africa is depopulation with an estimated 11,863,000 Africans landing alive in the Americas and elsewhere during slave trade.⁷³ The study contends that Europeans' demand for slaves made raiding for captives more profitable than gold mining and therefore the transatlantic slave trade encouraged Africans to wage war against one another and conduct raids instead of building more peaceful links.⁷⁴ However, he argues that while the history of Africa's underdevelopment may be traceable to the Atlantic slave trade and colonialism, African leaders had made enormous contributions to the continent's underdevelopment and backwardness. The paper concludes that irresponsible and unresponsive leadership mired by tendencies which include corruption, lack of respect for democratic ideals, insecurity, endemic civil wars and nepotism are the fundamental causes of Africa's underdevelopment.⁷⁵ Ojo's work is very useful to our study as it provides the historical background of slave trade and gives insights on slave raids.

Rodney states that on the Gold Coast, the Akan speakers frequently raided the Ga people that until today, the Ga remember the Atlantic slave-trade as the time when anarchy existed. Rodney states that the northern Mbundu people of Angola were nearly wiped out by the attacks of their African neighbours and by Portuguese armies. He also contends that in West Africa, the Europeans saw differences not only between one tribe and another, but also

⁷³Emmanuel O. Ojo, 'The Atlantic Slave Trade and Colonialism: Reasons for Africa's Underdevelopment?', *European Scientific Journal* vol.11, No.17 (2015), pp.112.

⁷⁴Ojo, 'The Atlantic Slave Trade and Colonialism,' p.114-115.

⁷⁵Ojo, 'The Atlantic Slave Trade and Colonialism,' p.107.

between the rulers and those who were ruled.⁷⁶ The study provides this study with insights on raids amongst Africans and the European influence on slave trade in Africa.

*Walsh's work explores the history of slavery in Africa and outlines its long run effects on current trade outcomes. He states that because nearly all slaves were taken in large scale conflicts or state organised raids in the early stages of slave trade, this created an environment of extreme insecurity outside of the local community. Walsh thus argues that as a result of the widespread social and political mistrust resulting from this, trade may have been hindered thereby creating further political conflict, which has had lasting consequences for current African trade and development.*⁷⁷

Manning's collection of essays addresses among other themes the problem of slavery in twentieth-century Africa and these included the expansion of pawning as slavery declined, and the work of colonial forced-labour projects which fell heavily on ex-slaves. The study observes that colonial policy in Africa followed the British India model, ending the legal recognition of slavery, rather than emancipating slaves according to the British West Indies model. The results deepened the ambiguities of the end of the African slavery. The works however argue that African slavery was benign in its treatment of slaves, the social consequences of the end of slavery, and the nature of 'freedom' for African slaves, implying, the labour systems and ideologies shaping their lives after slavery.⁷⁸ The study gives insights on life of slaves which the current study is also interested in.

Bertocchi's study illustrates the long-term consequences of slave trade on Africa by considering the influence of the slave trade on the "sending" countries in Africa, with attention

⁷⁶Walter Rodney, *West Africa and the Atlantic Slave-Trade*, (Cambridge: The Africa research group, 1967), p.8.

⁷⁷Thomas Walsh, 'Slavery's Legacy and Intra-African Trade Flows,' *The Student Economic Review* Vol. XXXI, pp.17-18.

⁷⁸Patrick Manning, 'Article Review: Slavery and the slave trade in colonial Africa,' *Journal of African History*, 31 (1990), p.136.

to their economic, institutional, demographic, and social implications and evaluating the consequences of the slave trade on the “receiving” countries in the Americas with a special distinction between Latin America and that of the United States. The study further discusses the subsequent migration experiences of the Second Middle Passage, when African slaves were forcibly transported from the coastal regions to the inland, and of the Great Migration, when as free people they chose to leave the deep South for the Northern cities. Bertocchi also argues that African slaves were collected via raids by other Africans and that the captives were then sold to foreign traders who transported them to the plantations in South and Central America to satisfy the quickly increasing taste in Europe for colonial goods such as tobacco and sugar.⁷⁹

Lovejoy’s study states that there is no evidence of wide-spread opposition to Africa slavery despite pawnship and other forms of social oppression having being common. He however argues that opposition to slavery in Africa was largely confined to the individual actions of disgruntled slaves. In this respect, Lovejoy also argues that some family members made efforts to redeem and ransom prisoners from bondage in some parts of Africa.⁸⁰ The study gives the current study insights on the efforts by slave relations and slaves themselves in the process of emancipation.

Several scholars have written on slave trade in Northern Rhodesia, currently Zambia. Macola’s thesis, for example, examines both the pre-colonial and the colonial experiences of the Kazembe kingdom. He argues that slave trade was initially slow on the Luapula valley. However, it grew with an increment in the exports of slaves from East Africa during the first half of the nineteenth century, a development that made Mwata Kazembes to dispose of their

⁷⁹Graziella Bertocchi, ‘The Legacies of Slavery in and out of Africa,’ Discussion Paper No. 9105, June 2015, University of Modena and Reggio Emilia, CEPR and IZA, pp.2-3.

⁸⁰Paul E. Lovejoy, ‘The African Diaspora: Revisionist Interpretations of Ethnicity, Culture and Religion under Slavery,’ *Studies in the World History of Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation*, II, 1 (1997), p.14.

slaves. The study argues that during both Lukwesa Ilunga and Chibangu Keleka's reigns, most slaves were acquired as a result of the many successful wars waged by the eastern Lunda. The study also argues that King Mwata Kazembe Keleka had a lot of slaves dwelling in his *musumba* while waiting to be sold to long-distance traders. Because controlling these huge numbers became a problem, Keleke continuously attempted to force upon the Portuguese slaves whom they were unable to feed.⁸¹ The study is useful to this study for insights on the general historical background of slave trade in Northern Rhodesia.

Simson's study argues that the outside World valued tropical Africa mainly for its gold, ivory and slaves not until the eighteenth century when the search for these commodities was carried into north of the middle Zambezi.⁸² He states that long-distance trade expanded during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the central African interior. He further states that the long distance trade attracted a new class of foreign intruders: African raiders from the south, Arab and African traders from the north-east, and European explorers, missionaries and conquerors. He argues that other Zambian peoples such as the Bemba took advantage of the new opportunities to supply slaves to the Arab and African traders. Simson also states that the Sotho remnants known as the Kololo crossed the Zambezi in the west and occupied the Lozi kingdom for three decades.⁸³ The study gives the background to slave trade in present day Zambia.

Although Tomas Frederiksen's thesis concentrated on the co-production of social inequality and an extractive space on the Zambian Copperbelt in the early twentieth-century, it provides the general historical background of slave raids in colonial period and the influence of Europeans in the territory. The study contends that in North-Eastern Rhodesia, raiding by the

⁸¹Giacomo Macola, 'A Political History of the Kingdom of Kazembe (Zambia),' PhD Thesis, University of London, 2000, p.136.

⁸²Howard Simson, *Zambia: a Country Study*, (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1985), p.5.

⁸³Simson, *Zambia*, p.6.

Bemba and Ngoni led many smaller groups into the arms of the British. The Ngoni and the Bemba were the two strongest groups in North-Eastern Rhodesia that didn't readily accept British rule. Frederiksen also argues that Northern Rhodesia was largely dependent on ivory and slaves and therefore the encroachment of British influence was a grave threat for the Bemba. In order to avoid direct conflict for as long as possible, Bemba leaders banned Europeans from establishing themselves on their lands. The study however concludes that the British seized the opportunity provided by Paramount Chitimkulu's death in 1899.⁸⁴

Despite most studies on slavery in Buluzi having investigated slavery components as single entities rather than a historical process, they were also useful to this study. The work by Jalla, for instance, shows how slaves in Buluzi were acquired. Jalla argues that slaves in Buluzi were mainly acquired through wars. He also points out that some slaves were given as tribute by ethnic groups such as the Ila. Furthermore, he postulated that others were acquired through purchase while some through payments by offenders. In addition, he stated that many of them were also born in slavery in Buluzi.⁸⁵

Max Gluckman's work, *Economy of the central Barotse Plain*, was vital to this study in that he explains why labour was needed in Buluzi. According to Gluckman, the some Lozis were involved in wars in order to acquire prisoners of war who were tasked to carry out the various economic activities on the flood plain. He argues that it was not possible for the Lozis to carry out these economic duties for their kings, chiefs and Indunas because they were busy all year round working on their various gardens.⁸⁶

The work by Horn was of importance to this study as it shows the roles played by the British South African Company (BSAc) in the liberation of slaves in Buluzi. The work also shows

⁸⁴Tomas Frederiksen, 'Mining, power and the political ecology of extraction in colonial Zambia,' PhD Thesis, University of Manchester, 2010, pp.72-73.

⁸⁵A. Jalla, *Litaba Za Sicaba Sa Malozi*, (Lusaka: Book World Publishers, 1996), p.94.

⁸⁶Max Gluckman, 'Economy of the Central Barotse Plain', *Rhodes Livingstone paper No. 7*, 1941, p. 91

that the economy of the Lozis was destroyed due to the abolition of slave labour. Van Horn points out that the Barotse aristocrats depended on the labour of slaves for their economic production. She notes that this labour was obtained through raids. However, she argues that with the influence of the company, slavery was abolished in 1906.⁸⁷

Mutumba Mainga's study on Bulozhi aristocrats illuminates the understanding why the Lozi aristocrats were in dire need of labour. Mutumba, among other things, writes about the natural resources in different regions of the Lozi kingdom which were absent in the other regions of present day, Zambia. Mainga argues that it was the availability of natural resources that made the Lozi aristocrats developed the desire to conquer the weaker tribes. She explains that, the conquering was done for two reasons. On one hand, the Lozi aristocrats wanted to control the areas that had products they needed and on the other, create enough labourers from conquered tribes as slaves to work on the central plain.⁸⁸ The study is important to this work as it discusses the natural resources in Bulozhi and how slave labour was contracted by the Lozi aristocrats.

Another necessary work to this study is that of Eugene Hermitte. Just like Gluckman, he explains why there was high demand for labour in Bulozhi. According to Hermitte, the people in Bulozhi region were involved in many economic activities such as herding cattle, fishing, hunting, hut construction, handcraft and collecting firewood. Hermitte noted that a variety of activities in Bulozhi region made the inhabitants of this area always busy. This being the case, the Bulozhi region had a high need of labour to do various works compared to the woodland regions.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Horn, *'The Agricultural History of Barotseland.'* pp. 146 – 147, 150 – 151.

⁸⁸ Mutumba Mainga, *Bulozhi under the Luyana Kings*, p.55.

⁸⁹ Eugene Hermitte, *'An Economic History of Barotseland,'* pp.107 -108.

Hermitte further argues that since Bulozhi highly needed slave labour, King Mulambwa could not allow the sale of slaves. Additionally, he postulates that to satisfy the labour needs in Bulozhi; King Mulambwa increased raids for slaves and cattle. Hermitte points out that Mulambwa raided various regions of different ethnic groups such as the Kalanga, Ila and Tonga people. He further argues that by 1900 there were many slaves in Barotseland.⁹⁰

Clarence-Smith argues that many slaves in Bulozhi were given the hardest work for long hours and without food. He pointed out that the slaves were highly marginalised in Bulozhi. According to Clarence-Smith, there were many restrictions on the part of the slaves such as not eating certain foods, even the construction of their huts had to be different from the freemen. He has however shown in the same study that the slaves in Bulozhi reacted to these harsh conditions. He observed that slaves did so in different ways, such as running away and getting back to their home areas, hiding in the bush up to when the officials who wanted to capture some of them left and also not doing the work to the best of their ability. He further argued that slaves were able, to bargain for good conditions and that this was evidenced in the riots of 1897 and 1906. According to Clarence-Smith, when slavery was abolished in 1906 due to company pressure on Lewanika, many slaves left and went into the reserves to be ready to go and work elsewhere as migrant labourers.⁹¹ This work is important to the current study as it gives the picture of the status of slaves in Bulozhi.

Jack Hogan's work discusses the centrality of slavery to the Lozi elites.⁹² He shows how the Lozi masters put a firm grip on the institution when colonists especially Lyons challenged them to stop the practice and abide by the 1906 proclamation.⁹³ Since his focus was to show

⁹⁰Hermitte, 'An Economic History of Barotseland', pp.50-51, 214.

⁹¹ W. G. Clarence-Smith, 'Slaves, Commoners and Landlords in Bulozhi,' *The Journal of African History*, 20 (1979), pp. 230-233.

⁹²Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,' p.166.

⁹³Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,' pp.221-223.

how important the institution of slavery was to the Lozi masters and how they contested when colonists challenged them to do away with the system, the enslaved in his study have been portrayed as passive participants in the institution. To appreciate the initiatives of the enslaved, a study that focuses on them is important. The current study sought to be the first of that kind.

1.7 Research Methodology

This study was accomplished using both primary and secondary sources of data. The data for the study was drawn from the University of Zambia main Library, especially the Special Collections section, and the University of Zambia Institute for Economic and Social Research where dissertations, theses, books, manuscripts and journal articles were consulted. The National Archives of Zambia (NAZ) were consulted for primary sources in form of Minutes of interviews with the Paramount Chief, District and Sub-District Reports and British South African Reports were consulted. Finally, the Livingstone Museum was consulted for data in form of books, newspapers and manuscripts.

Furthermore, the research used field study in Mongu district in Western Province of Zambia where oral interviews were conducted. Interviewees included princesses (Mukwae) Masialeti Wamunungo and Likando Sakakuwa, and indunas Kamunondo Nawa, Sakuya Sililo Sikufele, Insuela Pumulo Kamana, Mubiana Mubita Muimui as well as Sumwaumwa Nalukui. Others included Namwaka Likukela, a granddaughter to Philip Nyondo, a former slave, Mubita Silumesi, an agent for home coming America and Sumwaumwa Pelekelo, a sister to Mutumba Mainga. The research was based on archival and oral sources and largely employed qualitative analysis of the data collected. Both archival and oral data was analysed in comparison to each other. Where available and applicable, statistical evidence was used in correlation with

qualitative information. Specific themes were identified under which the data was analysed and presented.

1.8 Scope

This study covers the territory of the Lozi influence during pre-colonial era. However, the area has been considered from two complimenting positions. Firstly, our main region of study was the Zambezi flood plain where slaves were taken, employed and lived in Lozi mound villages near royal palaces⁹⁴ of Kalabo, Mongu-Lealui and Senanga districts. Secondly, the forest area and beyond where slave labour was sourced⁹⁵ where the Lozi moved to during floods and where some products not available on the Zambezi flood plain came from.⁹⁶ This region included Kaoma and parts of Southern region today's of Southern province.

1.9 Organization of the Study

The study is organised thematically. This dissertation consists of five chapters. Chapter one introduces the study and takes note of other groupings around the World such as those in Mexico and Latin America where the system of slavery was practiced. Chapter two discusses the modes of slave acquisition and ethnic groups from whom the Lozi sourced slave labour. Chapter four discusses the factors that led to the abolition of slavery in Buluzi with special emphasis on the roles played by slaves and their relations to make emancipation a reality. Chapter five is the conclusion of the whole study.

⁹⁴Gwythian I. T. Prins, 'Buluzi during the period of primary European contact,' 1896, PhD. Thesis, Cambridge University, 1978, p.98.

⁹⁵ Hermitte, 'An Economic History of Barotseland,' pp.51, 128.

⁹⁶ Gluckman, 'Economy of the Central Barotseland Plain', pp. 45, 46, 71-73.

CHAPTER 2: MODES OF SLAVE ACQUISITION AND ETHNIC GROUPS FROM WHOM THE LOZI PEOPLE SOURCED SLAVE LABOUR

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents modes of slave acquisition and ethnic groups from whom the Lozi sourced slave labour. It discusses the Lozi kings from Mulamabwa to Lewanika examining how and where they got slaves. The chapter will argue that the Lozi kings' methods of slave acquisition included raids and trade. It will show that the lands and ethnic groups raided were such as the regions of the Makwangali, Makalahali, Luvale, Kaonde, Nkoya, Ila, Toka and Tonga. The chapter will also demonstrate that some slaves were acquired through trade from the Mambali who got them from lands that were further from Bulozhi like the Luba and Lunda empires in present day Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). This chapter observes that the Lozi's other methods of slave acquisition were practices such as tribute and Lifunga, a system of kidnapping children without the consent of their parents and taking them to royal homes where they became domestic slaves. This chapter will further argue that the Lozi's practice of regarding all children born from their slaves as their slaves too, provided a source of slave acquisition in Bulozhi.

2.2 Raiding in Bulozhi

Slaves in Bulozhi were acquired through different ways. The main method was through warfare like it was in Egypt.¹ Whenever the Lozi kings needed slave labour, they organized wars to raid and conquer weaker tribes in order to capture slaves, cattle and make the defeated people pay tribute to them. The Lozi kings mobilized labour to do these military duties. They organized labour in units, traditionally referred to as the *makolo*, which were headed either by

¹ Jeremy Black, *A Brief History of slavery: A New global history*, (London: Running press book, 2011), pp.13-14.

councillors or indunas.² There was willingness among the locals to participate in raiding because wealth in Bulozhi meant having many slaves and cattle³ and these had to be acquired from other regions. The other reason that motivated the males in Bulozhi to participate in raiding was that they wanted to be respected in the kingdom. This was because a man who owned slaves was looked at as a brave man, while the one without was considered to be a coward. Therefore, many able bodied men in Bulozhi responded positively⁴ when the announcement was given by Indunas in their respective wards to prepare for raiding.

The Lozi mainly fought against adjacent regions whose inhabitants were weak.⁵ To get to these regions they sometimes used the Nalikwanda. This was the royal boat which was first introduced during the reign of King Mboo, the first Lozi male ruler. During his reign, there was a high flood that killed a number of people, animals and destroyed villages. This experience resulted in the construction of the big boat which they called Nalikwanda, meaning the boat for the people or nation or Namoyo, meaning the saviour of life. The Nalikwanda was used to move the king from the floods to the high lands to avoid loss of life. A new Nalikwanda was constructed after every flood season and the old one was used by Lozi warriors in raiding expeditions. From Mboo's time, the Nalikwanda became a requirement for all future kings and the uses were the same.⁶

² Mutumba Mainga, *Bulozhi under the Luyana King: Political Evolution and State Formation in Pre-Colonial Zambia*, (London: Longman 1973), p.34.

³ *The Livingstone Mail*, 'Christmas', 2 January 1909, p.10.

⁴ TH2/17/1, (Box 5) Y. W. Mupatu, Barotseland in days past.

⁵ TH2/17/1, (Box 5) Y. W. Mupatu, Barotseland in days past.

⁶ National Archives of Zambia, (hereafter NAZ) NAZ BSE 1/10/6, Box 356, History of Barotseland (Based on entries in various District Notes books); Chambo Ng'uni, "Documenting slave trade in Zambia" <https://www.daily-mail.co.zm/ Documenting slave trade in Zambia/>, Accessed 8 February, 2022.

2.3 Modes, lands and ethnic groups from whom the Lozi King, Mulambwa sourced slave labour

During Mulambwa's reign, slavery as a means of labour became very important and for this reason, a number of raids were carried out in order to acquire slaves whose labour was needed on the Zambezi flood plain. And this is evidenced by the fact that the majority of the people on the central Barotse plain with slave back ground were brought in the region during Mulambwa's reign.⁷ His raids went as far as the Victoria Falls through to the region which is now Botswana and the western Caprivi Strip. The raiding wars that Mulambwa made included the one he fought against chief Sibongo⁸ of the Makalahali where mostly women and children were captured and were taken to Bulozhi into slavery.⁹ He also raided Mwanamukana, another chief of the Makalahali.¹⁰

In addition to slaves, the Lozi obtained a lot of large-horned cattle from the Makalahali to stock their kraals.¹¹ The other tribe that Mulambwa raided was the Kalanga.¹² These were captured from a region near Wankie, their home area.¹³ Furthermore, the Kwangali people were another of these tribes who were raided for women and cattle.¹⁴ On the uplands of Bulozhi, Mulambwa raided the Nkoya of chief Katusi.¹⁵

Apart from the above groups, Mulambwa also raided the lands of the Ila and Tonga, whose regions became Mulambwa's and his successor's main raiding places.¹⁶ However,

⁷ Jack Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland, Western Zambia, 1800 – 1925,' PhD. Thesis, University of Kent, 2014, p.74.

⁸ Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,' p.74.

⁹ D. Livingstone, Livingstone's Travel, p.12.

¹⁰ Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,' p.74.

¹¹ D. Livingstone, Livingstone's Travels, p.21.

¹² Eugene Hermitte, 'An Economic History of Barotseland, 1800 – 1940,' PhD. Dissertation, North Western University, 1973, pp.50-51.

¹³ NAZ KDE 10/1/1, Vol.2. Letter from M. Mitchell-Heggs, District Commissioner, Mongu-Lealui, to the Director of Information, Salisbury. 3rd September 1955.

¹⁴ Hermitte, 'An Economic History of Barotseland,' p.51.

¹⁵ Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,' p.75.

¹⁶ Hermitte, 'An Economic History of Barotseland,' p.51.

Mulambwa's raiding parties attempted to go beyond Kazungula and Sesheke but failed due to raiders from the south,¹⁷ the Kololo of Sebitwane who settled in Linyanti,¹⁸ who were blocking them.¹⁹ Mulambwa's victories in wars during the last years of his reign were as a result of the Mbunda people who came from Angola, whom he received in his kingdom, resettled them and gave them a number of privileges. In return, the Mbundas fought as allies in all of Mulambwa's raids.²⁰

It is worth noting that during King Mulambwa's rule, the Mambali slave traders visited Bulozhi with presents to ask the Lozi King to sell them slaves. Among the presents brought was a metal figure rim which was knee high. This metal had on it a spoon, pot, basket and axe. The locals named it a *lindan'ala*. It must be mentioned that this present currently sits in Lilundu village though it has rust and some decorations on it has fallen off. This is arguably because it is not properly preserved as is the case with David Livingstone's tools. Despite the presents given to Mulambwa, he did not accept to sell his people. He told his people to sell dogs not people, and this is how he came to be called Mulambwa meaning sell dogs not people. His real name was Santulu.²¹

King Mulambwa died in 1830 and he was buried in a village called Lilundu in Tungi area, Silalo/ward. The point where he was buried was taken care of. A fence of reed mats was constructed and maintained by both commoners and slaves. Each time the fence deteriorated, the locals were informed, and on an appointed date, an animal was killed, royal drums were beaten and the males danced *ngomalume*, a Lozi traditional dance for males. And the grave, limbwata, was cleaned and a new fence was constructed.²² His Nalikwanda, the royal boat,

¹⁷Hogan, 'The end of Slavery in Barotseland, p.75.

¹⁸ Mainga, Bulozhi under the Luyana Kings, pp.65, 66.

¹⁹Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,' p.75.

²⁰ Mainga, Bulozhi under the Luyana Kings, p.60.

²¹Interview with Charles Mubita.

²² Interview with Induna Kamunondo Nawa, Mongu, 29 December 2021.

was sunk in a nearby lake where it was left to rot. The locals called the lake where Mulambwa's royal boat was sunk as Nalikwanda. The name might have been given to the lake after some mysterious happenings. For example, some locals testified that their parents told them that some people who passed by the lake where Mulambwa's Nalikwanda was sunk, saw the full Nalikwanda with all the paddlers and they also saw and heard the drums being played. Probably from such experiences, the lake was named Nalikwanda.²³

2.4 Where and how Sebitwane, the Kololo king, acquired slaves.

After the death of king Mulambwa, there was a succession dispute between his two sons Silumelume and his younger brother Mubukwanu. This state of affair led to a civil war, which split the kingdom into two. The war ended with Mubukwanu emerging victorious after being assisted by the Mbunda people. However, Mubukwanu gained litungaship at that time when the Kololo led by Sebitwane appeared in the kingdom.²⁴ The Kololo were the raiders who were blocking Mulambwa's forces from going for slaves and cattle beyond the southern margins of the Lozi Kingdom.²⁵ They were a Sotho speaking people who originated from the fokeng group. The Makololo were compelled to leave their original home lands in present day Orange Free State due to the military and political revolutions that disturbed the tribes of South Africa.²⁶

The Kololo took advantage of the situation in Buluzi. They fought the Lozi people and it was difficult for Mubukwanu to reorganize his kingdom since the Lozi's were torn into two camps. After about four years, the Kololo subdued the Aluyi together with their subject tribes and they became the rulers of the region²⁷ under the leadership of Sebitwane. When the Kololo

²³Interview with Induna Nawa.

²⁴ Harry W. Langworthy, *Zambia before 1890: Aspects of pre-colonial history*, (London: Longman), p.75-77.

²⁵Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,' pp.75-76.

²⁶ Mainga, *Buluzi under the Luyana Kings*, p.61.

²⁷ NAZ BSE 1/10/6, Box 356, *History of Barotseland* (Based on entries in various District Notes books).

established their leadership in Buluzi, the Lozi people were divided into three groups; one submitted to Kololo rule and remained in the valley. The group that had the majority of the royals where Mulambwa's son, Imbua, became chief left Buluzi went into exile. Another group also went into exile on the Kabompo River in Lukwakwa area where the son of Mubukwanu Imasiku became chief.²⁸

Sebitwane ruled the kingdom from about 1840 to 1851. When the Makololo settled in Buluzi, they did so with their wives because they moved with them. But we are sure that they also married the local women. But because in this region they were people of many tribes, Sikololo was adopted as a language for communication between the Kololo and their slaves who were the Luyis and their subject tribes.²⁹ During Sebitwane's reign like his predecessor, he needed slaves for domestic use in the kingdom. He therefore raided some ethnic groups such as the Ila and captured slaves and cattle.³⁰ The captives taken in Sebitwane's wars mainly consisted of female and children slaves.³¹ However, unlike King Mulambwa who had to raid the Makalanga, during Sebitwane's reign, these people simply offered themselves to the Kololo king who welcomed them and no doubt made some of them his slaves. Sebitwane died in 1851 and he was buried in Linyanti. Around his grave, a kraal was built to show respect.³²

2.5 Raiding and slave acquisition during Sekeletu, another Kololo King

Sebitwane was succeeded by his daughter, Mamochisane, who later gave the throne to her brother Sekeletu³³ who ruled the kingdom from 1851 to 1864.³⁴ Sekeletu was eighteen years old when he became king of the Kololo on the central plain.³⁵ During his reign, he was also

²⁸Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,' p.76.

²⁹ NAZ BSE 1/10/6, Box 356, History of Barotseland (Based on entries in various District Notes books).

³⁰NAZ KDE 43/1, Mr. Mkinnon.

³¹Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,' p.80.

³² Interview with Induna Sakuya Sililo Sikufefe, Senanga, 20 December, 2021.

³³Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,' p.81.

³⁴ Langworthy, *Zambia before 1890*, p.77

³⁵Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,' p.81.

involved in raiding and acquiring slaves.³⁶ He raided the Ila people. Meanwhile the Lozi exiles in the north were exposed to woodland cultivation where they gained the skills and appreciated the cultivation of cassava. Therefore, when the Lozi rule was restored, larger areas were put under cultivation resulting in the need for more slave labour.³⁷

Though the Kololo had conquered the Lozi people and established their rule, they failed to centralize all the regions in Bulozhi.³⁸ There are two factors that serve as evidence for this argument. One is the issue of language. In Bulozhi, the language spoken before the invasion of the Kololo was Siluyana, spoken by the people who lived on the Zambezi flood plain such as Mambowe³⁹ while in the eastern forest the people spoke Sikwangwa, a language similar to Siluyana. After the arrival of the Kololo people on the Zambezi flood plain, the Siluyana language was mixed with the language of the new comers resulting in the disappearing of Siluyana language. But the Sikwangwa language survived in the region where it was spoken giving us evidence that the Kololo did not penetrate in the forest regions of the kingdom.⁴⁰ Secondly, each of the Lozi faction in exile, one under Imbua and the other under Imasiku, continued working hard towards restoring the Lozi rule. The faction of Imasiku was the line of King Mulambwa and this was the one the Mbundas joined and lived with when Imasiku led his group into exile in Lukwakwa. However, during their stay in exile, the Mbundas became uncomfortable with Imasiku's slave dealings as he was selling them to the Mambali slave traders.⁴¹ Therefore when Sipopa, a Lozi prince, who was held captive during Kololo

³⁶ D. Livingstone, private journals, 1851-1853, p.205.

³⁷ Van L. Horn, 'The Agricultural history of Barotseland, 1840 – 1964, in R. Palmer and N. Parsons (eds.), *Roots of rural poverty in Central and Southern Africa*, (London: Harvard, 1976), p.146.

³⁸ Andrew Robert, *A History of Zambia*, (London: Heinemann, 1976), p.132.

³⁹ TH 2/17, Lozi Box 5B, Godwin Mbikusita, *The Barotse Tribal History*.

⁴⁰ NAZ KDE 2/36/1, Mongu-Lealui Tour Reports. No. 3/1939 Barotse Province 356/9. No.39.

⁴¹ Mainga, *Bulozhi under the Luyana Kings*, p.132.

invasion escaped and went to Lukwakwa, the Mbunda's killed Imasiku and on his place, they put Sipopa as king.⁴²

After the death of Sekeletu, another succession dispute arose in Buluzi. At this time, the Lozis in exile had a lot of advantages over the Kololo. Among them was that the Kololo were divided over who was to take over the kingdom after the death of Sekeletu and that the Kololo population had reduced because they died in numbers due to malaria in Buluzi which they had no immunity against since it was absent in their original homes in South Africa.⁴³ As such the Lozi faction in Lukwakwa took advantage and defeated the Kololo⁴⁴ thereby taking over the kingdom in 1864 under the leadership of King Sipopa.⁴⁵

2.6 Raiding and Slave Acquisition during King Sipopa's Rule

Sipopa was installed as king of the restored Lozi kingdom in 1864 at the age of 30 years. He was Mulambwa's last son known as Santuru. Though he overthrew the Kololo rule, he did not discriminate against them. He achieved this by not just marrying Lozi women, and Kololo women such as Mamochisane, Sebitwane's chosen successor and Lunga, the Kololo woman who became Sipopa's favourite wife. During his reign he needed slaves and he acquired them through trade and raids from different ethnic groups.⁴⁶

The majority of the slaves who were brought into the Lozi Kingdom during the reign of king Sipopa were a product of trade from the Mambali slave traders. The Mambali moved to different regions such as the Luba and Lunda empires to source for slaves. The Mambali negotiated with the chiefs of the said regions (kingdoms) who by 1875 were Kasongo and

⁴²Hogan, 'The ends of slavery in Barotseland,' p.38.

⁴³Andrew Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, p.32.

⁴⁴Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,' p.83.

⁴⁵Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, p.132.

⁴⁶Interview with Induna Sumwaumwa Nalukui, Mongu, 15 December 2021; Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,' p.95.

Msiri, respectively. When they were given slaves, the Mambali transported them to the Lozi kingdom where they exchanged them for ivory and guns.⁴⁷ Raiding was another method through which King Sipopa acquired slaves. During his reign, raiding was easier due to the number of guns which he purchased not only from the Mambali but also from the Portuguese such as Silva Porto and the English from the south like George West Beech. Sipopa worked hard to acquire guns for use in raiding and by 1875 he had a lot of guns. The acquired arsenal from the south and west of the country amounted to 500 flint muskets, 1500 ordinary percussion musket, eight percussion elephant-guns, 150 rifles, thirty double-barrelled guns of various sorts, ten breech-loaders, and three revolvers. King Sipopa used all the fire arms he acquired to raid different regions such as the lands on the east of Guiceque (Sesheke) capturing slaves, cattle and ivory.⁴⁸

The Kalanga people, like during Sebitwane's reign, came to Bulozhi from their home area in Southern Rhodesia. They fled from the Matebele's wars and sought Sipopa's protection. King Sipopa who by then was at Sesheke welcomed them together with their wives and children. Since during this period protection was given to a group of people in exchange with something, it can be argued that Sipopa made some of the Kalangas his slaves. Even when he went to Bulozhi valley he did not leave them in Sesheke. He took them and settled them among the Makwanga people. The Makwanga lived in the forest situated in the eastern part of Bulozhi. The region they occupied was called Makanda which meant ponds locally known as *masa*. Most of their land was dotted with big ponds which were surrounded by bushes. The Kwangas were very hard working people. They did many different works. They were makers of mats, wood-carvers of plates, makers of skin clothes and they were black smiths.⁴⁹ The Kalangas

⁴⁷Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,' pp.95-96.

⁴⁸Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,' pp.89, 91-92.

⁴⁹TH2/17/6 Box 5, N. S. Ikacana, 'Litaba Za Makwanga.' Trans. by H. Zulu (R.L.M), pp.3, 20.

joined the work and made items for King Sipopa. The Lozis nicknamed the Kalangas as Mahumbe when they arrived in Bulozhi.⁵⁰

The other method through which Sipopa acquired slaves was through tribute. This was collected by Lozi indunas whom King Sipopa placed to live among ethnic groups who were weaker than the Lozis such as the Mashasha, a tribe allied to the Nkoya people. The Lozi indunas placed among these people included Simunga, Singala and Simuliankumba. These collected tribute which included slaves and sent it to Sipopa. However, the Mashasha people did not remain loyal to the Lozi. After a long period of paying tribute, they disowned the agreement by refusing to pay when they were asked to do so. They even fought and killed the tribute collectors like Simunga and Singala while Simuliankumba fled back to Bulozhi and reported to Sipopa about what happened.⁵¹

However, by 1876, Sipopa had lost the support of the majority of the people in his kingdom. The circumstances that led to the people into disliking him were because at the time the Makololo arrived in Bulozhi, the one who was Gambela at Lealui was Njekwa. He was probably the one who helped Sipopa to escape from the Makololo who held him as a prisoner of war and sent him to Lukwakwa to join the Lozi people who were in that part of the kingdom. Njekwa who remained on the Zambezi flood plain managed to expel the Makololo and the Lozi indunas chose him to be the Litunga. But Njekwa refused because he was not from the royal family. He instead suggested Sipopa. Hence Sipopa was made king of the restored Lozi kingdom. Njekwa then married one of Sipopa's daughters who became the mukwae (Princes) at Nalolo and this arrangement led to Njekwa to cease being the Gambela.

⁵⁰NAZ BSE 1/10/19, LOC 5029, J. H. Wallace, Mongu-Lealui tour Reports. no.5of 1939.

⁵¹The Rhodes-Livingstone Institutes, Livingstone Northern Rhodesia 1945, p.7; Chambo Ng'uni, "Documenting slave trade in Zambia" [https://www.daily-mail.co.zm/Documenting slave trade in Zambia/](https://www.daily-mail.co.zm/Documenting%20slave%20trade%20in%20Zambia/), Accessed 8 February, 2022.

But when he left Lealui, and his Gambela position, he carried with him slaves and cattle which he was not supposed to because they then became the property of the new Gambela.⁵²

The people concerned blamed and hated Sipopa for allowing Njekwa to go with the slaves and cattle he was no longer entitled to. Therefore, when Njekwa died, the Lozi indunas with the people under them rose against King Sipopa and killed him while he was hunting in Sesheke.⁵³ He was buried in a place called Koma in Sesheke then but in present day Botswana after the boundary was drawn by the colonialists.⁵⁴ Sipopa was succeeded by Mwanawina who served for not more than two years as he was forced to flee. In 1878, Lubosi was installed as a Lozi king and became to be popularly known as Lewanika, meaning the conqueror of many nations.⁵⁵

2.7 Raiding and Slave Acquisition during King Lewanika.

King Lewanika was the son of Mulambwa. His mother had a slave background. She was from Nalunembwe and Sumi villages in Senanga district. Her name was Inonge Wamunyima. It is traditionally believed that Lewanika was born holding his wrist, a sign the Lozis believed was a symbol of bravery and greatness.⁵⁶ Lewanika's real name was Litea Lubosi. He was named Lewanika by the Mbundas due to a number of regions he conquered.⁵⁷ Figure 1 below shows King Lewanika at Lealui in the late 1880s.

⁵²NAZ HC 1/2/57, Letter from Ferd Altkens, District Commissioner, Lealui, to the Secretary, Kalomo, 29th October 1904.

⁵³NAZ HC 1/2/57, Letter from Ferd Altkens, District Commissioner, Lealui, to the Secretary, Kalomo, 29th October 1904.

⁵⁴Interview with Princess (Mukwae) Likando Sakakuwa, Mongu, 28 December 2021.

⁵⁵Interview with Induna Isuela Pumulo Kamona, Mongu, 20 December 2021.

⁵⁶Interview with Induna Sikufele.

⁵⁷Interview with Induna Sikufele.

Figure 1: King Lewanika at Lealui in the late 1880s



Source: Mutumba Mainga, *Bulozi under the Luyana King: Political Evolution and State Formation in Pre-Colonial Zambia*, (London: Longman 1973), p.97.

Lewanika, like other Lozi rulers before him, needed slaves. Thus he acquired them from various ethnic groups using different methods. One of the methods was raiding. Lewanika mobilised labour through regiments, locally known as *makolo*, to raid for slaves and cattle. Nine *makolo* existed during Lewanika's reign and of which each consisted of both slaves and free men in the ages of 14 to 60 years. The names of the *makolo* were Kabete, Mutakela, Yalekilola, Moka, Ngulubela, Mbanda, Njaminwa, Ngondwe and Mbi.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ NAZ BSE 1/10/6, Box 356, History of Barotseland (Based on entries in various District Notes books).

In 1882, Lewanika carried out a raid on the Ila and Toka people. These ethnic groupings lived in the east-south region of the Lozi kingdom, in present day, Southern Province of Zambia. The Lozi warriors fought and successfully defeated the two tribes, returning to the kingdom with some slaves and about 20,000 heads of cattle. In 1888, Lewanika launched another raid on the Ila people which lasted for five months.⁵⁹ A number of slaves and cattle were captured and taken to Buluzi. Figure 2 below shows King Lewanika's last raid on the Ila who were also referred to as Mashukulumbwe. It is important to note that though the Ila and Toka people could not stage an organised resistance against their enemies, they did not sit back to watch their people being carried away. They secretly followed the raiders and stabbed to death some of the Lozi warriors who isolated themselves for reasons such as answering the call of nature or lonely roasting meat on the camp fire when other warriors were sleeping. The journey being long, they used to rest on the way to prepare meals.⁶⁰

Figure 2: King Lewanika's last raid on the Mashukulumbwe

⁵⁹Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,' p.99.

⁶⁰ Interview with Induna Nalukui, Mongu, 3 June, 2017.



Source: Mutumba Mainga, *Bulozi under the Luyana King: Political Evolution and State Formation in Pre-Colonial Zambia*, (London: Longman 1973), p.100.

Among the bantu botatwe (Ila, Toka and Tonga) just like in many pre-colonial societies in Central Africa, the work of herding cattle was done by young boys. The boys took cattle out for grazing. They sometimes took cattle to places that were far from their homes. Nevertheless, when such boys were found by the Lozi warriors on a raiding duty they were taken together with the cattle they were herding. A case in point is of a boy named Nakambo Nyondo who was captured from Namwala together with his younger brother while herding cattle. The two were told to direct their cattle to Bulozi. Lewanika enslaved these boys.⁶¹

In the Baluvale region, the Lozi had placed their indunas to be collecting tribute and sending it to Lewanika. But then, the Luwale people were reluctant to pay tribute to the Lozi king.⁶² So in 1892, Lewanika sent his army to raid them and capture slaves and cattle. When the Lozi

⁶¹Interview with Namwaka Likukela, granddaughter of Phillip Nyondo, a former slave, Mongu, 14 December 2021.

⁶²NAZ KDE 2/44, Letter from Barotseland, Njakatoro, to the Secretary, Bulawayo, 27th March 1900.

warriors returned from raiding the Luvale people, the indunas who had accompanied the army gave a report of their raiding expedition, explaining their experiences, gains and losses. The 1892 raid was a great success and as such the king took four days dividing slaves and cattle among deserving persons in the kingdom.⁶³ However, it is worth noting that during these raids, the Lozi army contracted small pox in the Baluvale region. Some warriors such as Siwaliondo's brother succumbed to the disease.⁶⁴

Lewanika also raided the Kaonde from Kasempa where women and children were captured and taken into slavery in Buluzi.⁶⁵ The circumstances that made the Lozi to raid the Kaonde were that when the Lozis arrived on the Zambezi flood plain, they found the Nkoya people living on the eastern margin of the plain. The relationship they developed between them was neither peaceful nor war like. However, their other neighbours, the Kaonde, had a habit of harassing and raiding them. The Kaonde perpetually attacked the Nkoya and the Mashasha. They killed the men and old people who could not work and carried away young women and children as their slaves. During these raids, the Kaonde also got cattle.⁶⁶ This prompted the Nkoya to seek for Lozi protection. The Lozis accepted to protect the Nkoya people on condition that they pay tribute to king Lewanika annually. The Nkoya accepted the condition and the Lozi installed their indunas in the Nkoya region to collect tribute. This tribute consisted of animal skins, bark rope, honey, grain and meal, as well as personal aid to any man the chief might send on boat building or hunting expeditions. The ground tusk of any elephant killed, the tail, of the elerd, and the skins of the lions and lynx were considered the

⁶³Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,' p.99.

⁶⁴NAZ KDE 2/36/1, Mongu-Lealui Tour Reports. No. 3/1939 Barotse Province 356/9. No.39.

⁶⁵NAZ KDE 2/36/1, Mongu-Lealui Tour Reports. No. 3/1939 Barotse Province 356/9. No.39.

⁶⁶ NAZ BSE 1/10/6, Box 356, History of Barotseland. Notes on the Mankoya District.

exclusive property of the lozi king. Slaves were also given as tribute. So on these conditions, the Lozi teamed up with the Nkoya people⁶⁷ and raided the Kaonde.

When slaves were directed to Bulozhi, they did not walk empty handed, they carried with them seed for various agricultural foods for cultivation such as sorghum. The women with small children in particular, carried food and water to sustain their young ones on the journey.⁶⁸The Lozi aristocrats continued raiding weaker ethnic groups and as such by the late nineteenth century had huge influence on the communities surrounding Bulozhi, indicated in Map 4 below. The raids were conducted for purposes such as acquiring both labour for production and cattle.⁶⁹

Map 4: Ethnic groups raided by the Lozi and the Kololo and the extent of Lozi influence in the late nineteenth century

⁶⁷ NAZ BSE 1/10/6, Box 356, History of Barotseland (Based on entries in various District Notes books).

⁶⁸Interview with Nalukui.

⁶⁹Mwananyanda Lutoombi, 'Cattle Husbandry and trade in Bulozhi, A Historical Perspective, 1880-1973,' University of Zambia, Lusaka, 2015, p.17.

As noted earlier, Lewanika also acquired slaves through tribute. Lozi indunas were placed in the regions that they conquered. These indunas collected tribute which included slaves when the king gave an order depending on labour requirements in the kingdom. Among the Lunda people, for example, Lozi indunas like Sekuta and Boyoo were responsible for collecting tribute and sending it to Lewanika.⁷²

Lifunga was also a method used by Lewanika to acquire slaves. Originally, it was a method used by the Lozi people to recruit promising children, to mould them for administration work in the kingdom. However, during the nineteenth century, the institution underwent change. It became a mode of labour recruitment.⁷³ During Lewanika, men were sent in villages to capture slave girls, young women and boys for him. The men moved near villages in secrecy. Any child they saw who was in the age they wanted was captured. Consequently, whenever children went missing, the affected parents assumed that their offspring had had been captured. However, they could not follow to demand for the return of their children because they did not see the persons who got them. But the locals were fully aware that the king recruited slave labour in this way. Therefore, when the locals got the wind of the *lifunga* expedition, they deserted their villages and went into hiding. The children captured through the *lifunga* were shared among the royals who needed slave labour.⁷⁴

Birth was another mode of slave acquisition in Buluzi like in the Roman Empire. The masters regarded all the children of their slaves as directly their slaves too. These masters exercised the same rights over the children and the parent slaves they owned. Many families in Buluzi mentioned about individuals they thought were their relatives but when they grew up, they were told those were descendants of the people who were captured in wars. So, when raiding

⁷²NAZ KDE 2/44, Letter from Barotseland, Njakatoro, to the Secretary, Bulawayo, 27th March 1900.

⁷³Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,' p.105.

⁷⁴Interview with Induna Nawa.

was ended, the Lozi masters acquired slaves through this method. Masters with a lot of parent and children slaves were approached by both their relatives and the officials to ask for slaves and were given.⁷⁵

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed modes of slave acquisition and ethnic groups from whom the Lozi people sourced slave labour. It has noted that the Lozi's main method of slave acquisition was through raids. The Lozi raided all quarters of ethnic groups who lived on the upper Zambezi basin and beyond. These included the Kwangali, Makalanga, Luvale, Kaonde, Nkoya, Tonga, Ila and Toka people. The chapter has noted that labour was mobilised to carry out raids in different regions. The chapter has further established that some Lozi people acquired slaves through trade. They bought them from the Mambali slave traders, who acquired them from various lands near and far from Bulozhi like the Luba and Lunda empires. Apart from trade, the Lozi people also acquired slaves through tribute and *lifunga*. The chapter further established that the Lozi regarded all children born from their slaves as their slaves too. The Lozi therefore easily acquired slaves through this practice even when raiding was stopped.

CHAPTER 3: THE LIFE OF SLAVES IN BULOZI

3.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to illuminate the life of slaves in Bulozhi. The chapter firstly argues that once slaves were in the kingdom, they were resettled in various mound Lozi villages where adoption processes were immediately effected. The young were taken as children by their

⁷⁵Interview with Induna Kamona.

captors; the women were either married or taken as concubines by their masters while others were given mounds that were not occupied and made villages of slaves only. Secondly, this chapter shows that other than the usual and expected variety of house chores such as cooking, stumping, fetching water and firewood, slaves were tasked with a lot of work which included gardening, fishing, cattle keeping, mound and canal construction. Some slaves enjoyed a lot of privileges from the Lozi kings as well as their masters. At times, Lozi kings tasked some trusted slaves with administration work while other slaves enjoyed other privileges such as using their masters' names and marrying in their masters families. Lastly, the chapter demonstrates that despite being enslaved, some slaves were able to retain and practice some of their beliefs in the new region which some of them were even adopted by the Lozis.

3.2 Slaves in Bulozhi

The practice of the Lozi kings was that once slaves were captured, they were taken and surrendered to the palace.¹ However, unlike the slaves on the Portuguese prazos in Mozambique who were captured from distant places and made to settle away from the local population,² slaves in Bulozhi were as well captured from distant places but were made to live with the local people³ and once they were at the capital, the King distributed them to would be slave owners.⁴ Slaves in Bulozhi were incorporated in the Lozi society through many acts which included the ones discussed below.

¹ V. W. Turner (ed.) *The Lozi people of North-Western Rhodesia* (London: International African Institute, 1952), p.32.

² Allen Isaacman and Derek Peterson, 'Making the Chikunda: Military slavery and Ethnicity in Southern Africa, 1750-1900,' *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 36, 2 (2003), p.263.

³ A. Jalla, *Litaba Za Sicaba Sa Malozi*, (Lusaka: Book World Publishers, 1996), p.14.

⁴ Eugene Hermitte, 'An Economic History of Barotseland, 1800 –1940', Ph.D. Dissertation, North Western University, 1973, pp.50-52.

3.2.1 Slaves in Mound Lozi Villages

Villages in Bulozhi were built on mounds. Though most of the captured tribes such as the Ila and Toka came from regions where mounds were completely absent, they had to learn to live in villages built on mounds. The reigning king owned most of the mounds and he allocated and decided on their usage. When he gave mounds to individuals for homestead use, he also gave them mounds for economic use. The royals and those holding political positions were given a number of mounds. For example, the Lozi kings settled some of their relations such as wives, children or siblings on some mounds while they gave others to councillors and the commoners. However, the kings reserved some mounds specifically for their economic use such as gardening and cattle keeping.⁵

The captured slaves, therefore, were either incorporated in already existing villages (especially those adopted by a master who did not have many mounds) or were given unoccupied mounds if their master owned a number of them. Some slaves who could not cope with the challenges of mound villages in the plain, such as the invasion of brown ants, locally known as *Sului*, went to the king and asked to be given villages that were on the margin. These villages that were given to slaves had their original names but the local people called them by the ethnic names of the slaves who inhabited them.⁶ For example, in 1864 King Sipopa resettled Toka slaves in one of the villages in Namitome and the referred to village was named Matoka.⁷ There were a number of other villages around the kingdom that were named after the slaves. On the margin of Mongu, there was a village named Matoka and near Libonda there was another village called Ila where some slaves captured from Chief Musokotwane were settled. Among them were Mwiya and his sister Beene who were given to Mboachikana

⁵ Max Gluckman, 'Economy of the Central Barotse Plain', *Rhodes Livingstone paper No. 7*, 1941, pp.30-33.

⁶ Interview with Mukwae Masialeti Wamunungo, Mongu, 2 March, 2020.

⁷ Interview with Samani Munali, Mongu, 3 June, 2017.

Akatoka the reigning queen at Libonda then as her slaves.⁸ Most importantly these villages were called by the same names at the time of this study. While some lived independently in Lozi villages, others lived with their masters. These included slaves captured from Chief Sikute who were given to Induna Wamunyima Muimui as a reward for his good performance during raiding. The names of those given to Muimui were Nyimbwa, Wezala, Liywa and Mbimbi all men. Their master re-settled and socialised them in Likanda village where he resided.⁹ Once settled in the mound Lozi villages, the slaves were referred to as *batu bamulena* by the local people, meaning the king's people, despite where they were captured from.¹⁰

3.2.2 Slaves in Lozi Family Life

During the reigns of both the Lozis and the Kololos, slaves were absorbed into Lozi families.¹¹ Adoption was one method of how slaves were absorbed in the Lozi families. The adoption process was effected by King Mulambwa who made a law to compensate parents who lost their sons in war. The law stated that if a son died in the war, the parents would be given two children captured in war. That meant that the father would be given a boy and the mother would be given a girl. This was done in order to help the parents who lost their sons to have people to help them.¹² Therefore, in the period under discussion a lot of people were incorporated in the Lozi Kingdom. For example in the reign of Sebitwane, a lot of people were incorporated in his kingdom¹³ including slaves. In the reign of Sekeletu, slaves were as well absorbed in the Kololo families. For example, in 1853, a Batoka village was raided by the Makololo where women and children were captured and taken to Linyati, the capital of

⁸ Interview with Induna Muimui Mubiana Mubita, Mongu, 26 February, 2020.

⁹ Interview with Induna Mubita.

¹⁰ Interview with Sitali Mayamba, Mongu, 2, June, 2017.

¹¹ Turner, *The Lozi people of North-western Rhodesia*, p.32.

¹² A. Jalla. 'History, Tradition, and Legend of the Barotse Nation,' in Max Gluckman Papers, of Royal Anthropological Institute, Archives and Manuscripts. Box7: Barotse Notes and Lectures on Northern Rhodesia, (Folder 1), (1932), p.14.

¹³ D. Livingstone, *Private Journals*, p.27.

the Kololo then. The women and children were distributed among the Kololo families and were taken as children by their Kololo captors.¹⁴ During King Lewanika's reign, the captured women and children of the Ila and Luvala origins in 1888 and 1892 were distributed among the Lozis and were thus absorbed in the Lozi families.¹⁵

Alongside adoption, marriage was another method through which the slaves were absorbed in the Lozi families. Some slaves enjoyed the best privileges from their masters such that they even married in their masters' families.¹⁶ The male slaves married the daughters of their masters and were even allowed to use their masters' names.¹⁷ However, like in the Ila land the male masters who married their slaves did not pay dowry. On the contrary, the male slaves who married their masters' daughters were mandated to pay dowry.¹⁸

3.2.3 Slaves in Lozi Initiation Schools

In Buluzi there were some initiation schools that admitted both girls and boys at puberty. Slave children who were separated from their parents and given to Lozi masters were initiated in these Lozi institutions when they reached puberty, but those who had an opportunity to live with their slave parents until puberty were initiated by their own parents in Buluzi in their own customs from their original homes. This will be explained at the end of this chapter. The initiation institution for boys was known as *Milaka*. It is worth noting that both royal and slave adopted boys were admitted to the *Milaka*. The purpose of these *Milaka* was to help the boys who had reached puberty, end their childhood and be introduced into adult life. The boys were

¹⁴ D. Livingstone, *Private Journals*, p.205.

¹⁵ *The Livingstone Mail*, 'Christmas', 2 January 1909, p.10; Gluckman, 'Economy of the Central Barotseland', p.75.

¹⁶ W. G. Clarence-Smith, 'Slaves, commoners and landlords in Buluzi,' *Journal of African history*, 20 (1979), p.228.

¹⁷ Y. W. Mupatu, *Buluzi Sapili* (Lusaka: Neczam, 1959), p.23; Gwythian I. T. Prins, 'Buluzi during the Period of Primary European Contact,' 1896, Ph.D. Thesis, Cambridge University, 1978, p.100.

¹⁸ TH 2/17/1, H. M. Nkumbula, 'Life and Customs of the Baila, 1949, p.41.

therefore taught survival skills of the region. For instance, the boys were taught the skills of hunting, raiding, fishing and cattle keeping. They were also taught how to make fishing baskets and cattle ropes from grass and fibre.¹⁹

On the other hand, the initiation institution for girls was known as *Sikenge*. Just as in the case of *Milaka*, both the girls from the royal and slave adopted ones were admitted to these *Sikenge* schools. During this period, the girls were taught different types of dances as part of their puberty rites²⁰ and were taught how to behave as responsible mothers and wives arguably between the ages of 11 to 13 years.²¹ The topics in these schools were not static; any new useful development in the kingdom was included in their lessons. For example, before the coming of the Kololo the girls were mainly taught how to make brooms, baskets, mats and moulding pottery. The girls also received instructions on how to grow crops. However, after the arrival of the Kololo other skills were added in *Sikenge* such as plastering hut walls and smearing the floor.²²

Besides their social life, slaves in Buluzi like in other regions as discussed in the first chapter were mainly acquired for labour. The smooth operations of the kingdom depended on them.

In this regard Hogan states that:

Without slaves they could not have reached their present state of development. They would have had neither the leisure nor the means. Without ample slave labour at their disposal the canals could not have been dug and maintained, without slave labour they could not build the immense state boats in which the paramount chief, the indunas and headmen make their annual exodus from Lealui to higher country, the official fields could not be cultivated and the

¹⁹Simvula Mundumuko, 'Decline and Change in the Milaka and Sikenge Institutions of the Lozi: 1886 – 1975, M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia (1990), pp.16-17.

²⁰E. C. Tabler (ed.), *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland*, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1963), p. v.

²¹Interview with Mukwae Masialeti.

²²Mundumuko, 'Decline and Change in the Milaka and Sikenge Institutions of the Lozi,' pp.22-24.

population of Lealui and Nalolo would dwindle for the mere lack of men to carry firewood from the forests to the villages.²³

As it is stated in the above quotation, slaves were tasked by their masters to do various works in the kingdom and some of the works they did have been explained below.

3.3 Slaves and Gardening

The flood plain had a wide variety of potential land for gardening.²⁴ Therefore, the Lozis employed slaves to till it for them²⁵ and due to slave labour, gardens in the kingdom expanded. For example, during King Mulambwa's reign gardens were cultivated and the major crops grown included sorghum, maize, bulrush millet and sweet potatoes.²⁶ These crops were grown throughout the year on different garden sites like mounds and ridges. When the Mbunda arrived in the kingdom from Angola, they were received by King Mulambwa²⁷ who resettled them on the eastern part of the Buluzi plain. These introduced in Buluzi two new crops, cassava and bulrush millet²⁸ alongside bush cultivation. Though, during Mulambwa's reign the Lozis never participated in exploiting these new gardens that were beyond the plain²⁹ they only became important to them after the Kololo. In 1850, during Sebitwane's reign, a wider range of crops which included sugar cane, beans, groundnuts, water melons and pumpkins³⁰ were cultivated.

²³ Jack Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland, Western Zambia, 1800-1925,' Ph.D. Thesis, University of Kent, 2014, p.166.

²⁴ Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,' pp.56-57.

²⁵ Clarence-Smith, 'Slaves, Commoners and Landlords in Buluzi', p.229.

²⁶ TH 2/17/3 Box 5, Y. W. Mupatu, Mulambwa Satulu Receives Mambunda Chiefs, Trans. By the Author: Hermitte, 'An Economic History of Barotseland,' p.129.

²⁷ H. W. Langworthy, *Zambia Before 1890: Aspects of pre-colonial History*, (London; Longman, 1972), p.52.

²⁸ TH 2/17/3 Box 5, Y. W. Mupatu, Mulambwa Satulu Receives Mambunda Chiefs.

²⁹ Van L. Horn, 'The Agricultural history of Barotseland, 1840-1964', in R. Palmer and N. Parsons (eds.), *The roots of rural poverty in Central and Southern Africa*, (London: Harvard, 1976), p.146.

³⁰ Horn, 'The Agriculture history of Barotseland,' p.145.

After the restoration of the Lozi rule in Bulozhi, many Luyana who did not have mounds decided to establish their homes on the margins of the flood plain and consequently started exploiting the gardens on the plain edge alongside bush cultivation. On the plain edge, they adopted gardens that were locally known as *Sishanjo*.³¹ These type of gardens contained very fertile soil. However, despite the high fertility of the *Sishanjo* gardens, the preparation of these gardens was very strenuous, because they ‘... required the digging of a criss-crossed network of drainage ditches....’³² Similarly, the bush gardens required a lot of hard work to make them ready for use. Since the soil in the bush easily lost its nutrients, ash had to be used to enrich the soil before planting. Therefore, branches were cut, piled and burnt to produce ash which was spread on top of the garden soil similar to the chitemene system practised in northern areas of the country. Because of the nature of these gardens, slave labour was engaged to do the difficult work.³³

3.4 Slaves and Fishing

The flood plain river system had the potential to produce a variety of fish in bulk.³⁴ Therefore slaves were tasked to fish for their masters.³⁵ The different types of fish that were available on the Zambezi flood plain such as the bream, barbel and the tiger were fished using various methods and the selection of fishing techniques was determined by the season and the nature of the fishing site.³⁶

³¹NAZ KDE 10/1/1, Vol.2.A Draft of land laws.

³²Horn, ‘The Agriculture history of Barotseland,’ p.146.

³³Horn, ‘The Agriculture history of Barotseland,’ pp.146-147.

³⁴Hogan, ‘The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,’ pp.57-58.

³⁵Clarence-Smith, ‘Slaves, Commoners and Landlords in Bulozhi,’ p.229.

³⁶Prins, ‘Bulozhi during the Period of Primary European Contact,’ p.107; Maria T. B. Meister, ‘Traditional Villages in Transition: A Case Study in the Western Province of Zambia,’ Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1981, pp.315-316.

One of the fishing methods that were initially used in Bulozhi was blocking a *litindi*, a place where fishes hide and breed, on the pan. Some pans were owned by the king while others were privately owned. During the floods, the pans were filled with water together with fish from the river. When the floods began to drop, some fish got back to the main river while other fish remained in the pans. The ones that remain in the pans are the ones the Lozis caught using the method known as *Kutiba Litindi*.³⁷ This method of fishing required the manufacturing of tools such as the reed mats which were used as fences in these fishing sites. When the water receded, the day was announced when the fishing exercise was to be done on a particular pan.³⁸ Both commoners and slaves got involved in communal fishing.³⁹

The use of cone-traps was common when there were no floods in the region. Cone-traps were locally known as '*makuko*'. These were made in a cylindrical shape using reeds. They were closed on one end and on the other they had a small cone-shaped opening that allowed fish to enter but not to escape.⁴⁰ Besides '*makuko*', there were other fishing tools known as '*Lwando*', which were made of very long reeds. This fishing tool was put in the river or in the large pan and an enclosure was made towards the bank of either the river or the pan. The other side was left open for fish to enter. The day was chosen when the open part of the *Lwando* was closed, and pulled towards the bank where there was shallow water. After this was done the men and boys used their spears to battle fish.⁴¹ This method started in an old village known as Ikatulamwa that belonged to King Mboo. This fishing technique needed man power, to construct the fishing tools and to fish with them.⁴² Hence slaves were employed to do this work.⁴³

³⁷ Mufwekelwa Lubasi, *Bulozhi Bwa Luna*, (Lusaka: ZEPH, 2011), p.86.

³⁸ Gluckman, 'Economy of the Central Barotse plain,' p.62.

³⁹ Interview with Induna Isuela Pumulo Kamona, Mongu, 20 December 2021.

⁴⁰ Gluckman, 'Economy of the Central Barotse plain,' p.56.

⁴¹ Gluckman, 'Economy of the Central Barotse plain,' p.63.

⁴² Mupatu, *Bulozhi Sapili*, p.7.

⁴³ Interview with Induna Kamona.

During the reign of King Mulambwa, a number of slaves were tasked to make fish weirs used in catching fish on the flood plain.⁴⁴ Also, the Mbundas introduced the use of scoop basket locally known as *Lishing'o*, a method which was mostly used by women to catch fish during the day.⁴⁵ In addition, in the reign of King Lewanika, flat nets were commonly used and a bigger trawl-net was even introduced. This one was very big and needed about hundreds of men to fish with it. The net used to catch a lot of fish and everyone who participated in fishing with it was given a good number of fish. The other members of the society who benefited from this communal fishing were the royals and the commoners who held political positions. The use of flat nets called for more man power⁴⁶ hence slave labour was employed in large numbers in the fishing industry.

3.5 Slaves and Cattle Rearing

The king and many families in Buluzi employed slaves to take care of their cattle. For example, during king Lewanika's reign many slaves⁴⁷ and even some commoners were tasked to take care of the king's cattle which were placed in different regions in the kingdom and these included Malabo, Mangongi, Ngombe, Fungwa and Malumani.⁴⁸ There was willingness among the local people to do this work for the King because it was considered an honour.⁴⁹ However the majority of the king's herdsmen were the Ila slaves since these had a lot of knowledge about cattle keeping. Similarly, the commoners who owned cattle employed Ila slaves to nurture them on their behalf.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Andrew Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, (London: Heinemann, 1976), p.115.

⁴⁵ Interview with George Mayeya, Mongu, 15 December 2021.

⁴⁶ Interview with Mayeya; Gluckman, 'Economy of the Central Barotse plain,' pp.56-61.

⁴⁷ Gluckman, 'Economy of the Central Barotse plain,' p.21.

⁴⁸ Interview with Mayeya.

⁴⁹ Muyangwa Kamutumwa, 'Mafisa and Buluzi cattle economy in Historical perspective 1886-1986,' M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2012, p.19.

⁵⁰ Gluckman, 'Economy of the Central Barotse plain,' p.21.

There were many tasks that Ila herdsmen carried out in their work of cattle keeping. One of them was milking cattle. Milk was an important item in the diet of the Lozis. It was taken in different forms. For example, it was taken as a drink, either as fresh milk or sour. It also was used to prepare meals like porridge which was locally known as '*n'oko*'. Water was not needed in the preparation of this type of porridge, only milk and mealie-meal, hence it was a very nutritious meal and it tasted very nice. Due to the pivotal role of milk in the Lozi diet, milking was an everyday activity. It was the duty of slaves (herdsmen) to milk the cattle before taking them out for grazing. The herdsmen were well trained on the selection of cattle to milk. For example, they minded the calves they did not starve them by avoiding milking an animal that had a newly born calf. This was done due to the belief that the first milk was good for the growth of the calf. Hence they milked animals whose calves were big enough to graze. In addition, milking was an enjoyable task among other cattle tasks as the herdsmen enjoyed drinking milk too.⁵¹

Another task was taking cattle for grazing. This was the most tiring job concerning cattle rearing. The herdsmen spent the whole day away from home looking for good pasture for their cattle. Cattle in Bulozhi had to be monitored whilst grazing for fear that they may end up destroying people's fields and grazing off their plants. After grazing, cattle were directed home by the herdsmen. Before the introduction of the kraal, cattle used to be tied to poles locally known as *Sitoli*. Two or three animals had to be tied to one pole using ropes made from fibre. During the floods, the herdsmen (slaves) took cattle to the higher lands such as Nalwamba⁵² and Nyunyi⁵³ where they mostly sat in canoes whilst waiting for cattle to

⁵¹Lubasi, *Bulozhi Bwa Luna*, pp.92-96.

⁵²Lubasi, *Bulozhi Bwa Luna*, pp.92-96.

⁵³ Interview with Induna Sumwaumwa Nalukui, Mongu, 15 December 2021.

graze.⁵⁴Slaves did not only milk and take cattle out for grazing but were also employed to guard cattle in the night. They, therefore, slept in huts that were built near kraals.⁵⁵

3.6 Slaves and Mound Building

Building mounds was another activity that slaves were tasked to do. In Bulozhi, there were islands known as mounds and ridges. The difference between the two was in the type of soil that composed the island. In the case of the mounds, these were composed of very hard soil. These were natural islands that were made by ants. In the case of the ridges, these were islands that were composed of soft sandy soil. However, due to the importance of mounds in Bulozhi, many ridges were turned into mounds by piling loams on the ridges. An example of a ridge that was turned into a mound by King Lewanika was *Mbanikelako* on which he was buried. Other Lozi kings also made mounds by piling loams on top of the ridges by using slave labour.⁵⁶

Mounds in Bulozhi were very valuable. Socially, this is where the Lozis built their homes. By nature of the Bulozhi plain that experienced high floods every year, the Lozis had to build on mounds to protect their villages from floods. Economically, mounds were productive as they were the main gardens for the Lozis. On the mounds the Lozis cultivated sorghum and maize. In addition, where mounds existed or were constructed there was usually the formation of valuable fishing sites. Due to these reasons, mounds were treasured and since there were few natural mounds in Bulozhi and the available ones were small in size,⁵⁷ the Lozi kings embarked on artificial mound construction. Slave labour was used in the construction of bigger mounds

⁵⁴National Archives of Zambia, (hereafter NAZ) KDE 2/44, Letter from Barotseland, Njakatoro, to the Secretary, Bulawayo, 27th March 1900.

⁵⁵Interview with Sumwaumwa Pelekelo, Mongu, 15 December 2021; Prins, 'Bulozhi during the Period of Primary European Contact,' pp.67-68.

⁵⁶Gluckman, 'Economy of the Central Barotse plain,' pp.25-26.

⁵⁷Gluckman, 'Economy of the Central Barotse plain,' pp.25-26.

where royal palaces were built while the smaller ones were constructed by the commoners for their own villages. Nevertheless, the slaves must have had a hand in the building of even the smaller mounds because they lived with their masters in their villages but the bigger ones, were constructed by slaves for their chiefs.⁵⁸ One example of a bigger mound that was constructed by slave labour during Mulambwa's reign was Lilundu, a village in which the king himself was later buried.⁵⁹ During King Lubosi Lewanika's reign mound construction and palace building was intensified; so many slaves were tasked to do this work.⁶⁰

3.7 Slaves and Administration

During the reign of King Mulambwa, some slaves were given very special tasks in the Lozi society.⁶¹ Similarly, during the reign of King Lewanika, slaves of good reputation were given managerial positions. A case in point is of a slave called Mwanangombe. This slave was one of the slaves that King Lewanika trusted. So, even when Coillard asked from the king to be given someone who would help him in his missionary work, the King assigned Mwanangombe to work with him. When Mwanangombe completed his work with Coillard, he returned to the king who again gave him the task of serving as a 'Ndumeleti,' a minister at the border. This border was very important then and was located at the present day Caprivi-Strip. King Lewanika later raised Mwanangombe to be a steward and was even given land.⁶²

Other rare examples of slaves in administration are those who became village headmen in the Lozi society.⁶³ Siabunkululu was one of them. He was captured from chief Mukuni's area during the reign of King Lewanika together with his family which included his wife Mutinta

⁵⁸NAZ KDE 2/43/3, M. Mitchell Hegg, 'The Artificial Mounds in the Barotse plain.'

⁵⁹Interview with Induna Nalukui.

⁶⁰ Clarence-Smith, 'Slaves, Commoners and Landlords in Bulozhi,' p.230.

⁶¹Hermite, 'An Economic History of Barotseland,' pp.129-130.

⁶²Prins, 'Bulozhi during the Period of Primary European Contact,' p.101.

⁶³TH2/17/1, (Box 5) Y. W. Mupatu, Barotseland in days past, p.x

and his two sisters, Mukamwami and Miyanda. When they reached Bulozhi, King Lewanika put them in Mwandi village which belonged to a princess. However, King Lewanika's brother, Wamunungo, was given a mound which he named Namuyowa. So, he requested the king to give him people who would reside on his mound. The purpose for this was for those people to cultivate the gardens that were attached to his mound and in turn benefit from the products. Hence the king directed Siyabunkululu to leave Mwandi village and move to Namuyowa village. The king also instructed other people of slave origin from other villages to move to Namuyowa village and stay there. Siyabunkululu was given the authority by the king to be the headman in the newly occupied village. However, there were no commoners in the village, there were only slaves but captured from different places.⁶⁴

3.8 Slaves and Canal Digging

People in Bulozhi performed public works which included digging canals. To efficiently exploit the flood plain, canals had to be dug.⁶⁵ To do this work, labour was mobilized through the *Makolo* system. This labour mobilization included slaves and the commoners.⁶⁶ The digging of canals drained the marshes and changed them into very fertile gardens⁶⁷ and made the flow of water easy which made transport and communication efficient. Through the initiative of labour mobilisation, a lot of canals were built in Bulozhi during the reign of King Lewanika. For example, in 1894 and 1895 the king and the Mukwae (Princes) then put to work both slaves and free commoners to dig canals in five different parts of the Kingdom at the same time.⁶⁸ In 1889, King Lewanika constructed a canal that connected the woodland

⁶⁴Interview with Nalukui.

⁶⁵TH 2/17/3 BOX 5, Y. W. Maputa, Malumbwa Satulu Recieves Mambunda Chiefs, Trans. By the Author: Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, p.98.

⁶⁶ Sitwala Mutonga, 'Public work in Bulozhi: A case study of the construction and maintenance of canals, 1885-1980,' M.A Dissertation, The University of Zambia, 1992. p.22

⁶⁷Horn, 'The Agricultural history of Barotseland,' p.148.

⁶⁸Horn, 'The Agricultural history of Barotseland,' p.148.

regions to his flood plain capital, Lealui. This canal became locally known as Mwayowamo.⁶⁹ The canals constructed by both slaves and later paid labour were maintained by cleaning them every after flood season.⁷⁰

3.9 Slave Practices and Retention in Bulozhi

Just like the slaves in early Mexico,⁷¹ slaves in Bulozhi did not completely do away with their practices from their original homes. They continued with some of their customs in Bulozhi that were important to them.⁷² Among these practices, some were adopted by the Lozis while others were not. For example, the Ila practiced a system of knocking off the four front upper teeth at the age of puberty. This practice was continued in Bulozhi by the Ila who were captured in war.⁷³ Prins takes note of an Ila slave boy, who grew up in Bulozhi, [since he was captured whilst a baby] had his teeth knocked off at puberty in Bulozhi.⁷⁴ The reason for practicing such a tradition was that they wanted to look like their oxen. However, Sebitwane was not comfortable with this Ila tradition; hence he encouraged them to stop. Nevertheless, the practice was continued among the custodians of the tradition.⁷⁵ Most likely this tradition slowly disappeared as the Ila people continuously intermarried with the local people.

The other Ila practice that was highly appreciated and adopted by the Lozis was the technique of cattle keeping by the Ila herdsmen. The Lozis preferred having Ila boys as herdsmen because of their knowledge on cattle keeping and they enjoyed using the boys and adopted many of their techniques on cattle keeping⁷⁶ such as the '*pala*'. This was a traditional flute that

⁶⁹ Mupatu, *Bulozhi Sapili*, p.52.

⁷⁰ NAZ KDE 2/9, Canals, resident office, Mongu.

⁷¹ Colin A. Palmer, *Slaves of the White God: Black in Mexico 1570 – 1650*, (London: Harvard, 1976), pp.145-146, 166.

⁷² Prins, 'Bulozhi during the Period of Primary European Contact,' p.100.

⁷³ D. Livingstone, *Private Journals*, pp.32, 48-49.

⁷⁴ Prins, 'Bulozhi during the Period of Primary European Contact,' p.98.

⁷⁵ D. Livingstone, *Private Journals*. p.27.

⁷⁶ Gluckman, 'Economy of the Central Barotse plain,' p.21.

was made of reeds or wood. The use of '*pala*' provided entertainment to the herd boys and proved very helpful during flood times when cattle had to cover long distances to the higher lands and also back to the plains after the floods. The music from the *pala* kept cattle trotting hence it was easy to cover long distances in a short time.⁷⁷ In gardening, the Ila-Toka slaves introduced the method of planting different seeds in one hole. The innovators of the method referred to it as '*sachebana*'. The method was equally appreciated and adopted in the Lozi kingdom.⁷⁸

Like on the Portuguese prazoes,⁷⁹ slaves in Bulozhi created time to educate their children and to invoke the spirits of their ancestors. In the evenings they sat around the fire and told their children how they were captured and taken to Bulozhi. They also told their children many fairy tales from their homelands. However, though these tales were narrated in Silozi at the time of this study, the songs that go with them were maintained in their original languages.⁸⁰ Despite their enslavement, they did not pray to the gods of their masters. When they were faced with challenges they called upon their gods from their original homes and their own ancestors who died in Bulozhi. Sumwaumwa Nalukui, the third generation granddaughter of Siabunkululu the man we discussed under 'administration' explained how her father Sumwaumwa who was born in 1910 in Bulozhi, grandson of Siabunkululu, used to pray for any need in the family. She narrated that:

In case of sickness, my father prayed as follows: Mwami leza wa ku Malundu, a sina bamba, nkotila maila, nkotila manzi mulandu (God, the king of our hilly country, where food is plentiful that it can be spilled, the only item we can't spill is water because it is scarce). After praising his god and his original home, he then invoked the spirits of his ancestors as follows; Leza wa siabunkululu, Tata Sangoma, Mwalu Mukamwami. (God of Siabunkululu, my father Sangoma, my aunty Mukamwami, I honour you).

⁷⁷Mundumuko, 'Decline and Change in the Milaka and Sikenge Institutions of the Lozi,' p.15.

⁷⁸Interview with Nalukui.

⁷⁹Isaacman and Peterson, 'Making the Chikunda,' pp.271, 269.

⁸⁰Interview with Nalukui.

After these words, he would go on to say: ‘Amumu tuhele muikulya mina yo a zuhe hande (let your grandchild get well)’. Thereafter he would get a variety of his food stuffs and say:

Kiwo muzilili (here is fresh milk). Kia mabele (here is sorghum) Kibo bupi (here is meali meal) Kizona lico ze lulima, a lu mitimi zona (these are the foods we are cultivating, we are not denying you). Then he would put water in the mouth and spit it on the forehead of the patient and recovery followed.⁸¹

Though this experience happened outside our study period, it was an important one because it was performed by someone whose grandfather was brought to Bulozhi as a prisoner of war. Therefore, he learnt this type of praying from his slave parents in Bulozhi. And we believe that his forefathers in Bulozhi did their rituals purely in their language from their home area. The ones who mixed languages like in the above prayer are the later generation of slaves who learnt Silozhi the language of the region.

From the above scenario, it is evident that enslavement did not make slaves in Bulozhi to abandon their gods and adopt those of their masters. The slaves also retained other aspects of their customs such as their songs and traditional dances. They sang and danced when they were happy. Mukanakalimba, a woman slave who lived in Namuyowa village in Bulozhi, was remembered for having led her fellow slaves into dancing the dances performed at ‘*Lwiindi ceremony*.’ Each time she got drunk, she went in the middle of the village, saying ‘*akakama.....akaka*’ and her fellow slaves joined her in singing and dancing.⁸²

However, there were other customs that the Baila practised in Ila land which they easily abandoned in Bulozhi; among them was their custom on dress code. It was a practice among some early Bantu societies in Central Africa before European influences for the males to cover their pubic areas and sometimes their buttocks. The females either wrapped the lower part

⁸¹Interview with Nalukui.

- Translation of the Ila prayer into English was done by Bishop Roy Kanchele, Mongu (Western Province), March 5, 2020.

⁸²Interview with Nalukui.

from the waist up to the knees or just the pubic part as well. According to Nkumbula, in Ila land, the males wore a lion skin which just covered the pubic part as usual, just like in some other Bantu ethnic groups but were expected to throw it and go naked once they reached puberty. So in Ila land, mature men went about naked as was demanded by the females because they believed that a man who clothed himself had a disease that one was hiding.⁸³ This custom is not recorded anywhere among the Ila who were taken into slavery in Bulozhi. What was noted in relation to this was the spread of a sexually transmitted disease known as '*manasa*' that the Ila men spread in Bulozhi.⁸⁴ The spread of the sexually transmitted disease may arguably be attributed to the Ila men who abandoned their custom of going naked at puberty hence the spread of the sexual infections that could not be noticed due to the dress code that covered them resulting in easy transmission of the referred to diseases to unsuspecting women. However, it is worth mentioning that this dress code practice seemed to have been synonymous to the Ila because it contradicts with most written, oral and archival history and pre-colonial central African on dress codes.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter has endeavoured to examine the life of slaves in Bulozhi. It has demonstrated that slaves were foreigners who were incorporated in the Lozi culture through acts that included marriage and adoption of children. The chapter further indicates that the slaves were utilised in social life and in production such as, fishing, cattle rearing, gardening, making mounds and canal digging. Also, the chapter shows that slaves were sometimes involved in administration. However, it argues that Lozi kings only gave administrative posts to slaves who proved to be trustworthy. The chapter has finally demonstrated that though slaves were in captivity, they

⁸³TH 2/17/1, H. M. Nkumbula, 'Life and Customs of the Baila, 1949,' p.58-59.

⁸⁴D. Livingstone, *Private Journals*, p.184.

were able to retain and practice some of their customs in the new region. For example, the Ila slaves still practiced a system of knocking off the four front upper teeth at the age of puberty. The chapter has also argued that some slave practices were disliked by Lozi masters while others were appreciated and adopted by the Lozi people.

CHAPTER 4: FACTORS THAT LED TO THE EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES IN BULOZI

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the factors that led to the emancipation of slaves in Bulozhi. The study shows that just like in some parts of the World such as the Western Indies, Japan and Northern

Nigeria,¹ slaves, Christians, politicians and some humanitarian groups attacked the institution of slavery in Buluzi leading finally to its end. The first section of this chapter argues that the external factors that led to the emancipation of slaves in Buluzi were the influences of missionaries, traders and colonists. It shows that the missionaries preached and discouraged the Lozis from practising the system while the traders challenged the system simply by introducing wages. The colonists, on the other hand, challenged the institution through the process of the scramble for Africa and the signing of treaties with King Lewanika. Also, the study argues that the immediate factor that led to the emancipation of slavery in Buluzi was the issuing of the proclamation 'Abolition of slavery' by King Lewanika in 1906 under British South African Company (BSAC) influence.

The next section of this chapter argues that the internal factors that led to the emancipation of slaves in Buluzi were basically slave relations who persuaded the Lozi masters to liberate their people and from slaves themselves who staged a number of revolts² to show disapproval of their status. Furthermore, the study also demonstrates that some policies and responses of the Lozi kings to slave pressure also led to emancipation of slaves.

4.2 The Role of Missionaries

In the Lozi kingdom, slavery was challenged by both external and internal groups of anti-slavery people. External pressure came from various groups of Europeans who visited and those who settled in Buluzi such as the missionaries, traders and colonists. The early missionaries in the kingdom found the institution of slavery very much operational and they

¹Frank J. Klingberg, *The Anti-Slavery movement in England: A study in English Humanitarianism*, (Washington: Yale University press, 1953) p. 191, 195, 228, 273, 275; Rolando Mellafe, *Negro Slavery in Latin America*. Translated By J. W. S. Judge (London: University of California Press, 1975), p.128; P. E. Lovejoy and J. S. Hogendorn, 'Slow death for slavery' (Book Review), *Africa* 65 (2), 310, 1995, p.2.

²Lovejoy and Hogendorn, 'Slow death for slavery,' p.5.

challenged it in many ways. Some of them like Frederick Stanley Arnot spoke to the Lozis to discourage them from practising slavery.³ Francois Coillard of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) challenged the institution through church services and teaching the concept of equality by making both royal and slave children in his schools do the same work, an idea that the Lozi masters despised. To proselytise, Coillard made the slave converts to speak to the public about the position of God and slavery. Coillard tried to change the attitude of some masters towards slaves, as slaves who passed through the mission schools learnt not only how to sew and read but how to look neat. The slave appearance made some masters to do away with the attitude of not wanting to be in close contact with some of them.⁴ Other subjects taught in mission schools included gardening and carpentry.⁵

Due to the work of missionaries in Buluzi some slaves received their freedom. An example of a slave who received his freedom as a result of missionaries engaging him in their work was a slave by the name of Phillip Nyondo. A slave we discussed in chapter two, who was adopted by King Lewanika as one of his slaves. This slave was given his freedom by Lewanika, and he was given a mound near Lealui where he constructed his village which popularly came to be known as 'mwa filipe' by the locals.⁶ Coillard's work was appreciated in Barotseland so much that after his death, a church in his memory was constructed.⁷

³F .S. Arnot, *Garenganze or Seven Years Pioneer Mission Work in Central Africa*, (London: James Hawkins, 1889), p.73.

⁴Jack Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland, Western Zambia, 1800-1925,' Ph.D. Thesis, University of Kent, 2014, pp.131-132.

⁵National Archives of Zambia, (hereafter NAZ) A3/13/3, Minutes written by Austin .K. Williams Principal, Barotse National School.

⁶Interview with Namwaka Likukela, granddaughter of Phillip Nyondo, a former slave, Mongu, 14 December 2021.

⁷NAZ KDE 2/30/1, Letter from the Resident Magistrate, Mongu, to Silishebo, Headman Litambo, 6th October 1909.

4.3 The Role of Traders

The settlement of some whites who came to Bulozhi was to have a great impact on the institution as these whites needed human labour.⁸ The European traders who came to Bulozhi around the 1880s added value to labour. The whites such as Coillard hired labour in Bulozhi to help him carry items around the Ngonye Falls. Coillard undermined the traditional usage of labour (free service); he instead paid the local people he engaged, even after being advised by Lewanika not to pay the porters. Apart from Coillard, there were other Europeans in the kingdom who carried out cattle trade between 1880s and 1910. These travelled with cattle from Lealui to Portuguese West Africa for trade. These whites engaged a number of natives to walk with cattle while other natives were employed to paddle the traders (whites).⁹ All these natives were paid by the white traders. This trade grew¹⁰ as the population of the white community on the plain margin increased, making the practice of paying porters difficult to end. Instead, it led the Indunas and some able Lozi cattle owners pay for the same services. Those who were not able to pay had to cut on labour requirements.¹¹

Since the slaves realised how much their efforts yielded on the market with the Europeans, they then compared with the burden of public works in the kingdom that were poorly rewarded and this could have led them to revolt in 1893. After this slave revolt, the king issued a royal proclamation that all slaves born of true Lozis were freed.¹²

⁸ Van L. Horn, 'The Agricultural history of Barotseland, 1840 – 1964', in R. Palmer and N. Parsons (eds.), *The roots of rural poverty in Central and Southern Africa*, (London: Harvard, 1976), p.150; Chambo Ng'uni, 'Documenting slave trade in Zambia' [https://www.daily-mail.co.zm/Documenting slave trade in Zambia/](https://www.daily-mail.co.zm/Documenting%20slave%20trade%20in%20Zambia/), Accessed 8 February, 2022.

⁹ NAZ A3/13/3, Minutes written by Austin .K. Williams Principal, Barotse National School.

¹⁰ NAZ A5/2/4, Trade and Commerce.

¹¹ Horn, 'The Agricultural history of Barotseland,' p.150.

¹² Horn, 'The Agricultural history of Barotseland,' p. 150.

4.4 The Role of Colonists

Colonialism was the factor that quickened the extinction of slavery in Buluzi and Africa as a whole.¹³ The quickened extinction of slavery in Buluzi can be traced back to the period when European nations scrambled for Africa. This led to the loss of the Lozis raiding grounds for slaves. This happened when Britain and Italy agreed that the land that was approximately 52,000 sq. km be given to the Portuguese. This land was situated on the Western side of the Zambezi River.¹⁴ The Lozis also lost their main raiding grounds, the lands of the Ila-Tonga groups (Batoka plateau),¹⁵ to the British South Africa Company when the king signed a treaty 'Lewanika concession' with the company in 1900.¹⁶ This concession also divided the Lozi kingdom into two, the inside and the outside territory. The inside territory was the region that the Lewanika had powers to manage without any interference from the British. The outer territory was where the BSA Company had powers to manage affairs affecting Europeans.¹⁷ The British South Africa Company guarded and protected the 1900 concession throughout their stay in Buluzi by not allowing any concession seekers to negotiate with king Lewanika for mineral or other rights in the kingdom.¹⁸ Map 5 below shows the new boundaries of the Lozi kingdom after the onset of colonialism. The giving away of land on the Western side of the Zambezi to the Portuguese¹⁹ and the signing of the Lewanika concession²⁰ made the Lozi kingdom lose her two raiding regions for slave labour.²¹ Hence the institution stopped receiving external labour from her usual source.

¹³Mellafe, *Negro Slavery in Latin America*, pp.132-133.

¹⁴Horn, 'The Agricultural history of Barotseland,' p.150.

¹⁵ Andrew Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, (London: Heinemann, 1976), p.167; L.H. Gann, *The birth of a plural society: The Development of Northern Rhodesia under the British South Africa company, 1894-1914*, (Manchester University press, 1961), p.88.

¹⁶*The Livingstone Mail*, 'Lewanika concession', 12 November 1910. p.2.

¹⁷ Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, p.167.

¹⁸ NAZ HC 1/2/56, Memo from L. A. Wallace, Acting Administrator, Livingstone, 7th March 1911.

¹⁹Gann, *The birth of a plural society*, p. 88.

²⁰*The Livingstone Mail*. 'Lewanika concession', 12 November 1910. p.2.

²¹Gann, *The birth of a plural society*, p.88.

Map 5: New boundaries of the Lozi kingdom after the onset of colonialism



Source: Mutumba Mainga, *Bulozi under the Luyana King: Political Evolution and State Formation in Pre-Colonial Zambia*, (London: Longman, 1973), p.185.

However, at the time of the Scramble for Africa, like in Northern Nigeria,²² Horn argues that Bulozi had a big number of slave population, though she does not give specific statistics, so the Lozi aristocracy depended on the available slave labour in Bulozi.²³ The next motive of the British South Africa Company after signing the Lewanika concession was to raise revenue by collecting hut tax from the natives²⁴ and to have enough labourers from Bulozi going to work in the mines in Southern Rhodesia.²⁵ So the company informed Lewanika about the

²²Lovejoy and Hogendorn, *Slow death for slavery*, p.1.

²³Horn, 'The Agricultural history of Barotseland,' p.150.

²⁴ G. L. Caplan, *The Elites of Barotseland, 1878-1969: A Political History of Zambia's Western Province*, (London: Billing and Sons Limited, 1970), p.98.

²⁵Horn, 'The Agricultural history of Barotseland,' p.151.

beginning of tax collection in the kingdom.²⁶ The king did not object to tax collection in his kingdom, he simply requested for the collected money to be passing through his hands before it was taken by company officials in order to show the subject tribes such as the Baila that he was still the king of Bulozhi and that the company officials recognised him as such.²⁷ Thereafter, the recruitment exercise was effected in the kingdom through the Rhodesian Native Labour Bureau.²⁸

We are not sure if Lewanika's suggestion of taking tax collected money to him was adopted but what we are sure about is the commission that the British South Africa Company apportioned to him which was calculated at ten per cent of collected tax money.²⁹ However, despite the introduction of tax, designed to compel natives to seek wage labour, the number of natives going to work in Southern Rhodesia did not satisfy the company. Therefore, the British South Africa company concluded that the institution of slavery was the one that made it difficult for men in Bulozhi to pay tax³⁰ and to seek wage labour. So the company persuaded Lewanika in 1906 to abolish slavery and the king by proclamation liberated all slaves in his kingdom. He altered the living conditions of the people in Bulozhi.³¹ This came to be known as the proclamation of the abolition of slavery, shown in appendix I.³² The contents of this proclamation included that which required the Paramount Chief calling upon a worker to labour for only 12 (twelve) days during the year and another which mandated slaves, their relations or any other who wished to set free a slave to pay the sum of £2 (two pounds) to his

²⁶NAZ KDE 2/39/1, No.M.519/1905, Letter from R. T. Coryndon, Administrator, to Lewanika, 11th December 1905.

²⁷NAZ HC 1/2/6, Cotton seeds from Egypt, United States of America sea Island etc. for experiments purposes and reports samples of cotton grow in various districts.

²⁸NAZ A2/1/4, Letter from Acting Administrator, Livingstone, to Viscount Cladstone P.C., High Commissioner, Johannesburg, September 1910.

²⁹ NAZ, A3/5, Letter from Selborne, Acting High commissioner, Johannesburg, to Chief Lewanika, Lealui, 21st September 1905.

³⁰ Caplan, *The Elites of Barotseland*, p. 98

³¹*The Livingstone Mail*, 'The Abolition of Slavery', 29 December 1906.

³²Horn, *The Agricultural history of Barotseland*, p.151.

or her former master.³³ Albeit this proclamation was issued, the Lozi elite³⁴ and the BSA Company were both reluctant to implement its terms.³⁵ Therefore, slavery in the kingdom persisted. However, slave relations and slaves themselves took it upon themselves to chair the process of emancipation.

4.5 The Role of Slave Relations

Amongst the internal groups that played a cardinal role in emancipating slaves in the Lozi kingdom were slave relations. Before European influences in the kingdom, slave relations initiated emancipation talks with the Lozi rulers asking for the release of their people. During Lewanika's reign in particular, slave relations made attempts to rescue their dear ones from captivity by engaging the king in a number of discussions and the king did not object to these requests but asked for ivory as ransom. This meant that slave relations who were able to obtain ivory had their people liberated from captivity. Those who were unable to find ivory, attempted to give the king other items they were able to obtain such as copper bars but could not succeed because ransom in the kingdom then was ivory. However, these slave relations who could not obtain ivory, did not give up the struggle, they persistently walked to Lozi rulers taking with them a variety of gifts demanding for the release of their people. These relatives developed a web of talks with the intentions of rescuing their dear ones. As military slaves on the Portuguese prazoes fashioned their Chikunda ethnicity,³⁶ slave relations in Buluzi fashioned a pattern of dialogue in relation to their rulers during the pre-colonial era to emancipate their people from slavery. Slave relations and slaves carried this pattern of discussions through to post emancipation period when slavery persisted in the region. And it

³³ NAZ KDE 2/36/1, Proclamation.

³⁴ Caplan, *The Elites of Barotseland*, p.125.

³⁵ Hogan, 'The ends of slavery in Barotseland,' pp.196-197.

³⁶ Allen Isaacman and Derek Peterson, 'Making the Chikunda: Military slavery and Ethnicity in Southern Africa, 1750-1900,' *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 36, 2 (2003), p.257.

was these discussions that emancipated and ended slavery in Bulozhi not a mere proclamation. One of such a scenario involved a man named Kalileli who went to the Acting District Commissioner of Kasempa and tabled his emancipation case. In his complaint, he stated that:

Some years ago LuyaNdambo, Natali and Muambi or Mushima were sent by Lewanika to fight Kasempa, but upon Natali being killed in the fight by Ingwe, Kasempa's son, they retreated and on their way back to Lealui seized and carried off the people of Mkupula's kraal on the Dongwe river, saying that they dare not go back to Lewanika without some slaves. At this time Kalileli was living with his uncle Mkupula, and was called Monota, not having succeeded to the Indunaship.

Kalileli paid both Luya Ndambo and Mushima bars of copper, skins etc. With the objective of getting his people back from them, but without success, so he sent 5 bars of copper and skins to Lewanika with the same object, and was told that he would get his people back if he brought ivory.

Last year Kalileli himself went to Lealui with presents of skins etc. and told Lewanika he had no ivory but the latter again refused to give up his people unless ivory was paid for them.

Kalileli states that his uncle and predecessor had never paid anything in the way of tribute to Lewanika, nor had he himself and the payment mentioned was solely made with the objective of getting back his people.

I'am of course aware that the events narrated occurred before the district was administered, but the fact that Lewanika has since accepted presents on the understanding that the people would be returned, and that their remaining in his hands gives rise to dissatisfaction among their people here leads me to believe that you may wish to take some action in the matter.

Kalileli is a kaundi [ethnic group] who came originally from the Congo Free State and his Induna is Musokantanda. The following are the names given by him of those carried off: Kaiyombo, Naombi, Mwapi, inde, Muyambo, Nyinakapasa, Tutwi, all women, Muombi Kuvwana, Komana, Lukisa, Kasake, Chituti, Tutwa, all men, also a number of young children.³⁷ [People claimed by Kalileli]

³⁷ NAZ KDE 2/36/1, Complaint By Kalileli Against Lewanika, 15th January 1906.

Having received the case, the Acting District Commissioner of Kasempa, presented the case in writing to the secretary for Native Affairs in Kalomo, who also sent a copy to the Senior District Commissioner in Lealui who finally engaged King Lewanika.³⁸

The BSA Company officials worked together to settle the case in which Kalileli hoped to free his people from slavery without any payments in view of the presents he previously gave to the King.³⁹ However, after an inquiry in the case, King Lewanika finally accepted the received presents as full payments of ransom for Mubambe, Kalileli's sister. However, demanded £2 in respect to the proclamation for each of the persons demanded by him.⁴⁰ The woman Mubambe was found and she reported at Lealui. Though she was happy to go back to her people, the many children she had from her Lozi husband were not ready to leave Buluzi which they had made their home.⁴¹

It is worth noting that some males took advantage of Lewanika's anti-slavery proclamation by purchasing the freedom of the female slaves they fell in love with. Chimakula, an ex-Barotse Policeman, Ila⁴² by tribe, was among such men. He purchased Bomba's freedom for marriage purposes. Though other men could have succeeded in plans of this nature, Chimakula's case got complicated on the way because he might not have disclosed his marriage intentions to Bomba before purchasing her freedom but rather lied to her that he was her brother.

In this case, after being cleared from Buluzi, Chimakula left with Bomba for Mashikulumbwe (Ila land), his home district. Upon reaching Sesheke he passed through Chikoli's Kraal where he met Induna Sifui. The Induna asked Chimakula how he was related to the girl Bomba, but

³⁸ NAZ KDE 2/36/1, Minute No.155/06, Complaint By Kalileli Against Lewanika, 13th January 1906

³⁹ NAZ KDE 2/36/1, Re-Complaint By Kalileli Against Lewanika, 1907

⁴⁰ NAZ KDE 2/36/1, Kalileli versus Lewanika, 1907.

⁴¹ NAZ KDE 2/36/1, Kalileli Vs. Lewanika, 2nd December 1907.

⁴² NAZ KDE 2/36/1, Complaint Against Sefui By Chimakula 1907; NAZ KDE 2/36/1, Kalileli Versus Lewanika, 1907.

his answer made Induna Sifui to doubt him and hence surrendered the case to the District Commissioner at Sesheke. The ex-slave Bomba was detained at Sufui's place while Chimakula was instructed to report to the Native Affairs Department in Kalomo to explain how he came to be in possession of the girl Bomba. In his explanation, Chimakula stated that:

My name is Chimakula and I live at Nkala in the Mapanza Sub-District. I have been serving in the Barotse Native police. I served for three years. The first at Kalomo and the last two at Lealui. About a month ago I took my discharge. I had a sister who was a Slave in Barotseland. Her name is Bomba. While I was still in the police I paid the sum of £2 (two pounds) to Mukuba, Bomba's master to have her released from slavery.

When I left the police I started for my kraal and took my sister with me. Before starting I went to the official at Mongu (Mr. Hazell) and obtained a pass for myself and sister.

When I got to Chikoli's Kraal I met a headman named Sefui and another man called Siakanungu. I know them both. Sefui said to me "This is not your sister, you stole her. You never paid £2 to Lewanika for her. If you refuse to give up the girl I will tie you up." I objected to them taking my sister, but could not prevent them as I was alone. They then took away my sister and I came on to Kalomo. My sister is now at Sefui's. I arrived at Kalomo yesterday and reported the matter at the police camp.⁴³

On the other hand, Bomba was also asked to explain how she found herself in the company of Chimakula. In her explanation, Bomba stated that:

I was a slave in Barotseland. Whilst in Barotseland about a month ago Chimakula came to see me and told me he was my brother, and that he would purchase my freedom. He purchased my freedom and we started for Mashukulambwe. On the way he told me that he was not my brother and that he had purchased my freedom so that he could marry me. I said I did not want to marry him. When we arrived at Sikoli's Kraal we found the Induna Sifui there. He asked Chimakula where he had come from, Chimakula said we had come from Barotse. Sifui then asked him if I was married to him. Chimakula said I was married to him. Upon being asked many questions by Sifui Chimakula then said I was his sister, and then again that I was the woman of a white man at Barotse. Sifui told him that he thought he was lying and that I must stay where I was while Chimukula could go to Kalomo and report. If he

⁴³ NAZ KDE 2/36/1, Complaint Against Sefui by Chimakula, 20/8/1907.

*came back with a messenger to say it was alright, he could take me. If he did not (Sifui) he would report the matter to the District Commissioner at Sesheke. Sifui then left Sikoli's. Two days afterwards I saw the messenger Mangwato and Makaozo from Sesheke and asked them to bring me here. I do not wish to marry or go to Chimukula. I should not have left Barotse with him had I known that he was not my brother and that he wanted to marry me. I wish to return to Barotse.*⁴⁴

Having looked at the two statements, the Native Affairs Secretary concluded that Chimakula was not Bomba's brother, but just purchased her freedom because he desired to have her as his wife. Since in Lewanika's proclamation 'Abolition of slavery' cases of this nature were not provided for, Chimakula was not allowed to get Bomba. Therefore, Bomba was told to return to Lealui while Chimakula was instructed to report to the District Commissioner of Lealui for a refund if he so wished.⁴⁵

Cases of slave relations demanding the release of their people from slavery were also recorded during the reign of King Yeta III, Lewanika's eldest son from a slave woman,⁴⁶ who took over the Litungaship after the death of his father in 1916. Among them was Ngombo's of Kasempa who spoke to the resident magistrate in Mongu on the 31st of August, 1917. He made a request for the return of people from his home area from slavery in Bulozhi back to Kasempa. His claim was that he had put the same request before Lewanika and Mulena Mukwae (princes) but without success.⁴⁷ Hence he decided to engage the British magistrates in his case. It should be noted that the company officials appointed magistrates who were conversant with the local language,⁴⁸ hence natives found it easy to go to the courts of law.

⁴⁴ NAZ KDE 2/36/1, Bomba warned to speak the truth, 29/8/07.

⁴⁵ NAZ KDE 2/36/1, Released slave: Bomba, 20th November, 1907.

⁴⁶ NAZ HC 1/2/57, Letter from Ferd Altkens, District Commissioner, Lealui, to the Secretary, Kalomo, 29th October 1904.

⁴⁷ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the Acting Magistrate and District Commissioner, Kasempa to the Resident Magistrate, Mongu, 31st August, 1917.

⁴⁸ NAZ A2/1/5, (Vol. II) Letter from Acting Administrator, Livingstone, to the High Commissioner, Pretoria, 28th April 1911.

Lushembi was another man from Kasempa, who engaged the colonial courts to free people from his home area from slavery. His people were captured while they were fighting with the Lozis. Most of his people had died in Bulozhi but his wish was to collect all their children. Table 1 below shows the names of people he claimed which included his sister, Mukala, who was living in Liamba's village in Bulozhi.⁴⁹

Table 1: Names of persons reclaimed by Lushembi

NAME OF SLAVE	SEX	NAME OF MASTER	PLACE
Kanema	F	Not stated	Nalolo
Shifankola	F	Akabondo	Nswango
Kale	F	Sianga	-
Mubambi	M	Lutangu	-
Makubiana	F	Kataba	Nalolo
Chitangsha	F	-	-
Mukala	F	Liambai	Makanda
Mbeya	F	-	Nalolo
Mulamba	M	-	Nalolo
Nyombo	F	Sianga	Nalolo
Katungu	M	Akabondo	Nalolo

Source: NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the Acting Magistrate and District Commissioner, Kasempa to the Resident Magistrate, Mongu, 31st August, 1917.

The resident magistrate engaged King Yeta III who stated that the people were free to go back to Kasempa if they paid £2 or if Lushembi paid this for each of them.⁵⁰ However, it is not clear how many among the people reclaimed by Lushembi were freed, but what is certain is

⁴⁹ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the Acting Magistrate and District Commissioner, Kasempa to the Resident Magistrate, Mongu, 31st August, 1917.

⁵⁰ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from Paramount Chief Yeta III, Barotseland, to the Resident Magistrate, Mongu, 1st November, 1917.

the release of their children since Lyons, the then administrator during the reign of King Yeta III, made it clear that all children born after the proclamation were free.⁵¹

4.5.1 Refusal to Release Freed Slaves

Some masters disregarded the proclamation and continued keeping and using slaves. An example of such a case where a master refused to release the slave even after the £2 stated in King Lewanika's proclamation was paid involved Mwenesilungu. In this case, Mwenesilungu had enslaved a woman by the name of Kashuba and her daughter Mukenga. Kashuba's son by the name of Kalibane wanted to free both his mother and sister from slavery. Due to lack of money, he planned to purchase the freedom of these people one at a time, starting with his sister and later his mother. But his reasoning was challenged by the master, Mwenesilungu, who suggested that he (Kalibane) should either purchase the freedom of both at the same time or start with his mother first and later come for the sister. The reason that Mwenesilungu gave for his suggestion was that the girl was the one who took care of the mother when she fell ill.⁵² But Kalibane put pressure on both the local rulers and colonial magistrates to release his sister. So since the girl had not yet reached puberty by 1917, it meant that she was most likely born after the proclamation, so the £2 compensation fee did not affect her. So the courts ruled that the £2 that Kalibane had bought his mother's freedom while his sister was free. Hence both were released by the resident magistrate of Lealui.⁵³

Another case where a master put deliberate conditions in order to continue keeping his slave for domestic work was of a woman, Nalupu. The referred to woman and her first husband Lubasi were slaves of Kananga. When Lubasi died, Nalupu remarried Malumo but then,

⁵¹Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,' p.217.

⁵² NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the Native Commissioner, Lealui, to the Resident Magistrate, Lealui, 31st August, 1917.

⁵³ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the Resident Magistrate, Lealui, to the Native Commissioner, Lealui, 8th September, 1917

Source: W. G. Clarence-Smith, *Slaves, peasants and capitalists in southern Angola, 1840-1926*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p.106.

Despite the proclamation that instructed the Lozi authority to report any cases of strangers in their villages, the headmen suppressed these acts. They did not report the acts of slave buying amongst their people.⁵⁶ Even when they saw strangers in their villages they did not take any action. However, the relatives to those sold did not sit back as they reported to the government to release their people.⁵⁷ When the British received the information they turned to Lewanika and Mulena Mukwae who engaged their people to inquire in the matter.

In Nalolo area, for instance, Mulena Mukwae worked together with her Ngambela (Prime Minister) to bring the slave buyers to the courts of law. Between 25th January and 30th January 1913, lists of slave buyers, were presented to the magistrate court for action. Table 2 below shows a list of slave buyers that was prepared on the 25th of January 1913.⁵⁸ However, it should be noted that, the slave traders also fought the anti-slavery persons who arrested them

⁵⁶ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the Resident Magistrate to the Native Commissioner, Nalolo, 14th Feb. 1913.

⁵⁷ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Rex V. Cgawalile and one slave, 15th August, 1914.

⁵⁸ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from Morena Mukwae, Sambe, to the D.E.L, 25th January 1913: NAZ A2/1/5, Kalomo, 11th October, 1907.

for trading in slaves and they even severely wounded some of them⁵⁹ like Mr. Bellis, the then Native Commissioner in the Kasempa District.⁶⁰

Table 2: Lists of slave buyers

Name of Master	Mode of Acquisition	Slave	The Year Bought	Bought From
Mokwakwa	Purchased	-girl -8 years	1909	Mashi
		-a woman -30 years	1910	Mankoya
Imanga	Purchased	-a woman -20 years	1902	Mashi
Litebele	Purchased	-girl -5 years	1912	Mashi
Wakunguma	Purchased	-girl -5 years	1912	Mashi
Kalaluka	Purchased	-girl -5 years	1912	Mashi
Malala	Present	-girl -6 years	1912	
Wainyayo	Inherited her from his father	-a woman		Forgot her home
Nalumino	Purchased	-girl -10 years	1912	Mashi
Mukela	Purchased	-a girl -12 years -a girl -6 years	1910	Mashi
Mananyambe	Purchased	-a woman	1912	Not known
Kabika	Purchased	-a woman -36 years	-	-
Wakumeto	Compensation for loss of cattle	-a girl -6 years - a boy	1912	-
Lutangu	Purchase	-a girl -7 years	1912	Mashi
Chali	Purchased	-a woman -20 years	1906	Mashi

⁵⁹NAZ, A1/1/12, Letter from Selborne, the High Commissioner, Johannesburg, to the Colonial Office, 15th November 1907.

⁶⁰ NAZ A2/1/1, Letter from Selborne, High Commissioner, Johannesburg, to the Administration of North Western Rhodesia, Livingstone, 1st June 1908.

Source: NAZ, KDE 2/36/2 Letter from Morena Mukwae, Sambe, to the D.E.L, 25th January 1913.

All the listed were Indunas at Nalolo. The cases of these Nalolo Indunas were tried and judgements were made by the magistrate court. The masters who were found guilty were either imprisoned or fined whilst those who were not guilty, had their cases dismissed⁶¹ as shown in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Magistrates' rulings for the cases involving slave buyers (Indunas) at Nalolo

Name of master	Judgement	Sentence
Imanga	Not guilty	Discharged
Chabi	Not guilty	Discharged
Nalumino	Guilty	3 months
Wakumelo	Guilty	3 months
Kabika	Guilty	2 months
Wakunguma	Guilty	Fined £2
Mokwakwa	Not guilty	Dismissed
Litebele	Not guilty	Dismissed
Kalaluka	Guilty	3 months
Malala	Not guilty	Not guilty
Lutangu	-	-
Mananyambe	Guilty	3 months
Mukela	Guilty	6 months.

Source: NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the Resident Magistrate to the Native Commissioner, Nalolo, 1st February 1913.

The policy of the BSA Company officials was to return all illegally obtained slaves (those acquired after the proclamation) to their original homes.⁶² However, there were some slaves who preferred to stay in Bulozhi even after they were given freedom. For example, on the 8th of February 1913, the magistrate court in Nalolo freed three slaves. Only one accepted to be

⁶¹NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the Resident Magistrate to the Native Commissioner, Nalolo, 1st February 1913.

⁶²NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from R.C to Morena Mukwae, Nalolo, 25-1-13.

taken back to Portuguese West Africa. The other two namely Kamba and Kangambi preferred to be in Bulozhi.⁶³

In such cases, ex-slaves were given land within the Lozi society with the help of the Company officials and the Lozi authority.⁶⁴ Many reasons made some slaves to refuse to get back to their original homes. Among the reasons were that some slaves were captured when they were still very young, so they could not remember where they came from. Some could only remember the homes of their previous masters who sold them to the Lozis, so they did not want to go back into slavery after being freed in Bulozhi⁶⁵ while others were not ready to leave Bulozhi because they were married and had many children.

Responding to the many slave buying cases, the Company officials held a meeting in Nalolo on the 18th of February 1913. In attendance were Mr. Jalla (the translator) some Company officials like Mr Roach, Captain James and Mr. Strike the magistrate. Also present were, Mulena Mukwae, the Ngambela, Indunas, the headman and some important local people. The number of people at the meeting was estimated at between 1500 and 2000.⁶⁶ The main message at the meeting was to warn the people that the king of Britain did not want any slavery practices in his territories. The headmen were especially blamed for not reporting the people who were buying and using slaves.⁶⁷ They were further warned that should they suppress any slavery cases in their villages they would be punished.

⁶³ NAZ KDE, 2/36/2, Letter from the Resident Magistrate to the Native Commissioner, Nalolo, 1st February 1913.

⁶⁴ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the Resident Magistrate to the Native Commissioner, Nalolo, 8th February, 1913.

⁶⁵ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the Resident Magistrate to the Native Commissioner, Nalolo, 14th February, 1913.

⁶⁶ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the Resident Magistrate to the Native Commissioner, Mongu, 18th February 1913.

⁶⁷ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the Resident Magistrate to the Native Commissioner, Nalolo, 1st February 1913.

However, the BSA Company officials reasoned that the temptation to buy slaves from the Portuguese territory remained high as long as the region remained without being administered.⁶⁸ Therefore, they took further steps to engage the Portuguese government in the struggle to end slave trading between the borders of their territory and the Lozi. The Portuguese accepted to take measures in order to stop slave trading that was going on.⁶⁹ It also came to light that slave trading was not only happening between the Portuguese territory and the Lozi people but also between Portuguese territory and the Congo border. Hence, the three governments namely, Britain, Belgium and Portugal combined efforts to suppress slave trading that was rampant at the borders of Congo, Angola and Rhodesia (Zambia). Their efforts led to the arrest of the Portuguese slave traders such as Numbers Teixeira (Kalengalenga), Pinto Baroza (Barosa Santanda), Aug. Peas Figueredo (Kalungulungu), I.V De quimaraes (Maladja) and Kambove.⁷⁰ It is important to note that the names in parentheses are the native names. The Portuguese slave traders were buying native slaves for gunpowder.⁷¹

4.5.3 Enslaving Children of Emancipated Parents

King Yeta III regime believed that children inherited the status of slavery from their parents. Hence, when parents paid £2 to redeem themselves from slavery, their children even those who were born after the proclamation had to be redeemed from slavery by paying for them the £2 ransom amount for each. Due to this policy in the kingdom, many children of the emancipated parents were taken into slavery by some Lozi masters.⁷²

⁶⁸ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the Resident Magistrate, Mungu, to the Secretary, Livingstone, Mongu, 18th February 1913.

⁶⁹ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the Resident Magistrate to the Native Commissioner, Nalolo, 14th Feb 1913.

⁷⁰ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from Edward Grey Bait, K.G.M.P, to the Secretary of State, London, 15th June, 1912.

⁷¹ NAZ A/1/1/12, Letter from the High Commissioner, Northern Rhodesia, to the High Commissioner, Colonial Office, Johannesburg,, November, 15th February 1909.

⁷² Hogan, 'The ends of slavery in Barotseland,' p.214.

However, parents fought for the release of their children. For example, on the 6th of November 1917, a man by the name of Kakweti of Kayitwa's village in Itufa voiced out to the courts of law about his children who were taken into slavery. He and his wife were former slaves. They had four children namely Manyando, Sishwati, Sililo and Sitali. His first three children were taken in turns into slavery within the kingdom and at the time of this case, plans of taking the last child from him were already under way. Kakweti stated to the courts of law that he didn't want the arrangement but rather wished to live with his wife and children.⁷³ On the insistence of the complainant, Kakweti, and because the case hinged on Lewanika's Proclamation, the resident magistrate inquired from Paramount Chief Yeta III after which it set free the children.⁷⁴

A similar case like the one of Kakweti was reported to the British magistrate of Mongu on 3rd September 1918 by an old woman named Mukubi of Muyumbana's village. The woman told the magistrate that her granddaughters were taken away from her into slavery.⁷⁵ The old woman was not comfortable with the arrangement and demanded for their return. Like in the above case, the courts of law inquired and set free the children who were born after the proclamation.

4.6 The Role of Slaves Themselves

⁷³ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the Native Commissioner, Nalolo, to the Resident Magistrate, Mongu, 6th November 1917; NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the Resident Magistrate, Mongu, to Yetta III, Paramount Chief-Barotseland, 16th November 1917.

⁷⁴ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the Resident Magistrate, Mongu, to Yetta III, Paramount Chief-Barotseland, 16th November 1917; NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from Yetta III, Paramount Chief-Barotseland, to G. P. Lyons, Resident Magistrate, Mongu, 30th November 1917.

⁷⁵ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the Resident Magistrate, Mongu, to Yetta III, Paramount Chief-Barotseland, 3rd September, 1918.

Though some of the slaves in Bulozhi had an easy time with their masters,⁷⁶ others were exposed to very harsh conditions. For instance, the slaves in Bulozhi did all the domestic work for their masters while their masters either chose to do light work or enjoyed visiting friends and relatives. Even though they were given land it was the low lying pieces of land that got flooded early.⁷⁷ Their settlement in villages was not permanent. They were easily transferred from one village to another just like in the case of Siabunkululu. The slaves did not know where they would age from as they were transferred from one master to another.⁷⁸ They had to give the surplus agricultural products to the owner of the garden/s as rent and they were also expected to give tribute in children. The slaves in Bulozhi were not allowed to eat millet or sorghum. They were to construct their huts without using wood or mud and were not allowed to wear ivory bangles. Their marriages had to be sanctioned by their masters, who insisted that they marry within their group of slaves for fear of losing services. However, although the masters allowed their slaves to marry, they did not respect their marriages since the masters declared their sexual rights over their single and married slave women.⁷⁹

In all these abusive living conditions, like slaves in Mexico during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,⁸⁰ slaves in Bulozhi were not dormant. They retaliated in different ways. They slackened at work, they hid their children when officials assigned to collect children as form of tribute came while others escaped and got back to their original homes. Some slaves who were assigned to cook for their masters showed disapproval of their condition as slaves by spitting saliva in the drinking water of their masters and defecated in their food. All these

⁷⁶Gwythian I. T. Prins, 'Bulozhi during the Period of Primary European Contact,' 1896, Ph.D. Thesis, Cambridge University, 1978, pp.100-101.

⁷⁷W. G. Clarence-Smith, 'Slaves, commoners and landlords in Bulozhi,' *Journal of African history*, 20 (1979), p.229.

⁷⁸Y. W. Mupatu, *Bulozhi Sapili*, (Lusaka: Neczam, 1959), p.20.

⁷⁹Clarence-Smith, 'Slaves, Commoners and landlords in Bulozhi', p.229-230.

⁸⁰Colin A. Palmer, *Slaves of the White God: Black in Mexico 1570 – 1650*, (London: Harvard, 1976), pp.131, 144.

forms of retaliation did not shake the slavery regimes because they were initially done at an individual level.⁸¹

When the Lozi masters discovered any form of retaliation of their slaves, corporal punishment was used. The popular methods they used were the whip and semi-strangling. However, in spite of being punished, slaves continued to challenge the slavery to an extent of escalating the challenge from individual protest to mobilised groups. And the first group uprising of slaves in Bulozhi was in 1876 after the overthrow of King Sipopa. From this event, sporadic uprisings of slaves arose in Bulozhi the years 1893, 1897 and 1906. The slaves protested against inhumane living and working conditions.⁸² Though Lozi kings like the crown in Mexico⁸³ tried to ease the life of slaves by putting laws that protected them, they did not give up their search for freedom.

4.6.1 Ransom Payments for Self-Redemption

Not all slaves in Bulozhi were at the mercy of their relatives. Some of them took the initiative to liberate themselves and to end slavery in the territory. Slaves with the required amount of money like those in the Sokoto City of Northern Nigeria⁸⁴ walked to the colonial courts of law and purchased their freedom. And once payments were done, the concerned natives were cleared by the district commissioners of their areas and the information for clearance was recorded. Examples of such slaves who bought their freedom included Diuakala of Lukona district, whose former master was Nganguana, and Limunanya of Mungu district whose

⁸¹Clarence-Smith, 'Slaves Commoners and Landlord in Bulozhi,' p.231.

⁸²Clarence-Smith, 'Slaves Commoners and Landlord in Bulozhi,' pp.230-231.

⁸³Palmer, *Slaves of the White God*, pp.120-121

⁸⁴Lovejoy and Hogendorn, *Slow death for slavery*, pp.210-211.

former master was Luawa.⁸⁵ Copies of this information were sent to the secretary for Native affairs and the masters were informed to collect their money.

4.6.2 Runaway Slaves

Despite the warnings, some masters continued buying slaves but their relatives also kept on reporting to have their people back. While some slaves who were bought had to be liberated by their relatives by reporting to company officials, others liberated themselves by simply running away and getting back to their original homes, in spite of all the payment done by their captors. This is evidenced through a statement by a Mambukushu Headman in one case who stated that:

I am a Mambukushu Head man residing at Kazezala. About April last year Munegenda visited my village and after a conversation he asked me to exchange two head of cattle for two slaves and two children. I refused to have anything to do with them and told him so. Munegenda who is also a Mambukushu returned from where he came from. About a month later he again visited my village and again offered me the slaves. I accepted his offer and took the cattle away returning about a week later accompanied by four slaves. I took possession of them and had them for a week when they all ran away. I ordered Mafeking to follow them and to tell Munegenda they had escaped and that he must now return the cattle. When Mafeking arrived at Munegenda's Kraal, Munegenda refused to assist him or to return the cattle and shortly afterwards left the district. He now lives on the Luena River, Portuguese territory. The slaves returned to their homes and I have not heard or seen them since.⁸⁶

4.6.3 Slave Movements after the Repealing of the Compensation Clause

By the year 1918, the compensation clause⁸⁷ from King Lewanika's proclamation 'abolition of slavery' was repealed by King Yeta III. Since the King knew how the company officials

⁸⁵ NAZ KDE 2/36/1, E6 forwarded for Three Ex-Slaves, Kalomo, 16th March 1907.

⁸⁶ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from Acting Assistant Magistrate, Sesheke, to the Resident Magistrate, Mongu, 19th April, 1916.

⁸⁷ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the Resident Magistrate to the Ngambela, Lealui, 5th December, 1918

supported him, even his candidature way back in 1907⁸⁸ before King Lewanika's death, he repealed the clause in an attempt to make the imperial government to be giving him a reasonable amount of tax money after realising that the £2 compensation fee could not meet all his costs.⁸⁹ Slaves were free; they did not have to pay any money to their masters. The masters who illegally requested for £2 were made to pay back⁹⁰ the money to the owners.

However, this law on movement was challenged by a mobilised group of slaves in Kalabo whom the company officials referred to as the pioneers of emancipation.⁹¹ This group was led by Sinambao. They lived in Mapungu division and their village was near Muyumbana's. These challenged their rulers in many ways. They refused to be treated like slaves; they demanded for better garden sites, an idea that created quarrels between them and their Induna Muyumbana.⁹² And when they were summoned by the King, they refused to go to Lealui. Instead, they preferred to report their case to the Company officials who spoke to the king on their behalf and they reasoned together with the king by ignoring the law on movement and allowed Sinambao and his group to move to villages of their own people.⁹³ These slaves therefore, obtained their freedom out of their own efforts.

The other challenge that came with the law was that some masters took advantage of the former slaves in their Kraals and continued tasking them with work which was denied in the proclamation. But some former slaves did not entertain such treatment. They reported such masters to the authorities so that they could move to villages where they would be free. Others

⁸⁸ NAZ A2/1/5, Appointments, native affairs, disease, huts, blankets, food injections and plagues, Kalomo 11th October, 1907.

⁸⁹ Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,' pp. 217, 218.

⁹⁰ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the Resident Magistrate to the Ngambela, Lealui, 5th December, 1918

⁹¹ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the native commissioner, Kalabo, 21st January, 1921

⁹² NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the native commissioner, Kalabo, 21st January, 1921

⁹³ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Sinambau and others versus Muyumbana, Native commissioner, Kalobo, 21st January, 1921.

did not even want to move, they wanted to continue living in the same villages but as free people.

The case in point is of Headman Mulapani who continued treating Samutumwa, Chakupa, Lungowe (all women) and their children as slaves.⁹⁴ All the three women reported Mulapani, their headman, to the District Native Commissioner that he held them as slaves and wanted to be liberated. Samutumwa and Chakupa requested to be allowed to move to the village of Ngongolo their relative while Lungowe did not want to move as she was married in the same Kraal so her request instead was to stay in the same village but as a free woman. The court allowed the two to move and warned Mulapani not to treat Lungowe as a slave.⁹⁵

4.6.4 Defaulters of 12 Days Work

After King Lewanika's proclamation, the burden of work that fell on the shoulders of slaves was to be evenly shared by all adults in the kingdom except for a few who held higher political positions. However, we noted that some former masters did not want to comply. They still wanted the works to be done by former slaves while they stayed away, acts that were not accepted by some former slaves. A case in point is of the same headman Mulapani we discussed above. He was reported by the people under him to the Ngambela for not completing his twelve days work with his people (including his former slaves). Upon receiving the complaint, the Ngambela wrote to the Native Commissioner requesting the return of Mulapani. The Ngambela stated that: *...This headman Mulapani was working here to the new canal and he has worked only about six days and have [has] not finished his twelve days work, and trusting that you will hear the complaints of his people and send him back to his*

⁹⁴ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Statement on slavery from the native commissioner, Kalabo, 14th October, 1920.

⁹⁵ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Statement on slavery from the native commissioner, Kalabo, 14th October, 1920; NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the Acting Resident Magistrate to the Ngambela, 18th October, 1920; NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the Ngambela, Lealui, to the Resident Magistrate, Mongu, 20th October, 1920.

*work as soon as possible to finish his twelve days....*⁹⁶ This implies that slaves insured that the 12 days work was not only observed by them but by all former masters including Indunas.

In the period 1906 to 1925 former slaves and their relations ensured that all work in the kingdom was done by strictly following the rules stated in Lewanika's proclamation until April 1925 when the company handed over the Lozi kingdom to the British government. The new administrators of the kingdom did away with the 1906 proclamation by influencing King Yeta III to issue a new one that abolished tribute labour which became to be known as the 1925 proclamation,⁹⁷ shown in appendix II. This proclamation made it difficult for the people in authority such as the paramount chief,⁹⁸ Indunas and village headmen to command any form of free labour even for the benefit of the public as the people demanded payments.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter investigated factors that led to the emancipation of slaves in Buluzi. It has shown that there were external and internal factors that led to the liberation of slaves. Externally, pressure came from the missionaries who saw the practice as evil and from traders who paid slaves they engaged. The loss of the raiding grounds on the west of Buluzi to the Portuguese and the lands of the Ila-Toka groups to the British South Africa Company put more pressure on the institution of slavery as it stopped receiving new slaves from their usual sources to maintain its operations. It was further noted that the immediate factor that led to the emancipation of slaves in 1906 emanated from the company's need for paid labour and revenue. The British South Africa Company persuaded King Lewanika to abolish slavery so that more labour could be recruited to work in the mines in Southern Rhodesia and in turn enable the company to collect tax. Internally, pressure came from slaves themselves and their

⁹⁶ NAZ KDE 2/36/2, Letter from the Acting Resident Magistrate to the Ngambela, Lealui, 18th October, 1920

⁹⁷ Hogan, 'The ends of Slavery in Barotseland,' pp.229, 234.

⁹⁸ NAZ KDE 2/23/2, Letter from J. Bouchet, Sefula, to Mr. Hall, 16th July 1925.

relations onto the slavery regime demanding freedom. This was done through revolts, payments for freedom and at times slaves ran away from their masters.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

The landscape of the Lozi kingdom was conducive for agriculture-related production such as gardening, fishing and cattle keeping as well as other activities such as trading, the construction of huts, canals and mounds. Consequently, Bulozhi had a great need for labour to do various works. The Lozis therefore, assuaged their labour needs by importing human resource in form of slaves.

The study reveals the modes of slave acquisition and ethnic groups from whom the Lozi sourced slave labour. The study argues that before the reign of Mulambwa, the Lozis collected slaves from all regions of the upper Zambezi basin and took them to Mambali, a slave market, where the Lozi slave sellers paraded and sold their slaves to the Mambali slave traders. These traders sold the slaves to the Portuguese who kept a few for domestic use and sold the majority to the plantation owners in America.

The study has demonstrated that during the reigns of Mulambwa through to Lewanika, the Lozi people acquired labour through raiding and conquering weaker tribes in order to capture slaves, cattle and make the defeated people pay tribute to them. The raids were organized in units, traditionally referred to as the *makolo*, headed either by councillors or indunas. Nalikwanda, the royal boat, was used to transport Lozi warriors during raids. The study has shown that during Mulambwa's reign, the Lozi raids went as far as the Victoria Falls through to the region which is now Botswana and the western Caprivi Strip. The raided groups included the Makalahali people under chiefs Sibongo and Mwanamukana where women and children were mostly captured and were taken to Bulozhi into slavery.

It has also been deduced that other ethnic groups raided included the Kalanga, Kwangali, the Nkoya of chief Katusi, and the Ila and Tonga. It argues that Mulambwa's raiding parties' attempts to go beyond Kazungula and Sesheke failed due to raiders from the south, the Kololo

of Sebitwane who settled in Linyanti, who blocked them. It however reveals that the Mbunda people who came from Angola, whom Mulambwa received, resettled and gave them a number of privileges in his kingdom, aided his victories in wars during the last years of his reign. The Mbundas fought as allies in all of Mulambwa's raids.

This work has also revealed that a succession dispute which arose in Bulozhi after the death of Mulambwa led to a civil war thereby splitting the kingdom into two. With the assistance from the Mbunda people, Mubukwanu emerged victorious in the war. It however argues that Mubukwanu's litungaship was short-lived as the Kololo led by Sebitwane, 1840 to 1851, subdued the Lozis. Sebitwane, like his predecessor, needed slaves for domestic use and for exchange with European goods. He raided some ethnic groups such as the Ila albeit his captives mainly consisted of female and children slaves. Conversely, during Sebitwane unlike during Mulambwa, some ethnic groups like Makalanga simply offered themselves to the Kololo king as slaves.

Furthermore, the work deduced that after the death of Sebitwane in 1851, Bulozhi kingship switched hands from Mamochisane to Sekeletu who ruled the kingdom from 1851 to 1864. Sekeletu raided the Ila people. Another succession dispute arose in Bulozhi after the death of Sekeletu. The Lozi faction in Lukwakwa took advantage and defeated the Kololo thereby retaking the kingdom in 1864 under the leadership of Sipopa. During his reign, he acquired slaves through trade and raids from different ethnic groups. The study argues that the former mode of slave acquisition opened the kingdom to the Mambali slave traders who moved to different regions such as the Luba and Lunda empires to source for slaves. They Mambali negotiated with the chiefs in the kingdoms who by 1875 were Kasongo and Msiri, respectively. The study concludes that the Mambali transported and exchanged the acquired slaves in the Lozi kingdom with ivory and guns. These guns and those obtained from the

Portuguese such as Silva Porto and the English from the south like George West Beech helped Sipopa to easily raid and acquire slaves. The study argues that in 1875, he had acquired guns from the south and west of the country amounting to 500 flint muskets, 1500 ordinary percussion musket, eight percussion elephant-guns, and 150 rifles, thirty double-barrelled guns of various sorts, ten breech-loaders, and three revolvers. The study reveals that Sipopa used these fire arms to raid different regions such as the lands on the east of Guiceque (Sesheke) capturing slaves, cattle and ivory. It however argues that Sipopa welcomed other groups like the Kalanga people who sought for his protection.

The work has demonstrated that Sipopa also acquired slaves through tribute which was collected by Lozi indunas and these included Simunga, Singala and Simuliankumba whom Sipopa placed to live among weaker ethnic groups. The study has revealed that Sipopa was succeeded by Mwanawina who only reigned for two years after which he was succeeded by Lubosi in 1878 who became to be popularly known as Lewanika Lubosi.

The study has further shown that Lewanika acquired slaves through capturing boys who herded cattle. It has also argued that the Lozi people acquired slaves through *lifunga*, a mode of labour recruitment in which Lewanika's men were sent to villages in secrecy to capture girls and boys as slaves. The captured children were shared among the royals who needed slave labour. The study has argued that other slaves in Buluzi became as such by birth. This was because all the children of slaves automatically became slaves. The study further argues that Lewanika raided weaker ethnic groups via nine regiments, locally known as *makolo*, each of which consisted of both slaves and free men in the ages of 14 to 60 years. For example, in 1882, Lewanika raided the Ila and Toka people and captured some slaves and about 20,000 heads of cattle. In 1888, he raided the Ila people again and in 1892, he raided the Luvale people.

However, the study has revealed that not all of Lewanika's expeditions were successful. This is evidenced through retaliations that some ethnic groups put up. In 1880, for instance, when the Lozi army raided the Tonga people, the latter proved to be stronger and wiser and consequently one Lozi band of warriors was defeated via an ambush while another band which had Tonga captives was also followed in the night and was cut down rescuing the slaves and cattle. The study also argues that the Lozi with their allies, the Nkoya and Mashasha, were also defeated and thus retreated when they fought the Kaonde on one occasion between 1884 and 1892.

With regard to the life of slaves in Buluzi, the study has exposed that villages in Buluzi were built on mounds. It demonstrates that despite some ethnic groups such as the Ila and Toka having been captured from regions where mounds were completely absent, they learnt to live in villages built on mounds. The Lozi kings gave mounds to individuals, royals and those holding political positions and these included wives, children or siblings of the king for both homestead and economic use such as gardening and cattle keeping. The study has however shown that some slaves who failed to cope with the challenges of mound villages in the plain, such as the invasion of brown ants, on request, were given villages that were on the margin. Such groupings included the Toka slaves who were resettled by Sipopa in 1864 in one of the villages in Namitome which later was named Matoka.

It has also been argued that slaves in Buluzi were absorbed into Lozi families through various ways such as adoption, a method which was effected by Mulambwa. It reveals that as way of compensating parents who lost their sons in war, Mulambwagave a boy and a girl to a father and mother, respectively. The study demonstrates that during the reign of Sebitwane, Sekeletu and Lewanika, a lot of people were incorporated in the Lozi families including slaves and these include the Ila and Luvale people between 1888 and 1892.

Similarly, the study has shown that some people obtained the status of slaves in Bulozhi by marriage. The study argues that some slaves married in their masters' families. The male slaves married the daughters of their masters. The study argues that in ethnic groupings such as the Ila, the male masters who married their slaves did not pay dowry. The male slaves, however, who married their masters' daughters, were obliged to pay dowry.

In addition, the study has shown that some initiation schools for both girls and boys at puberty existed in Bulozhi. It demonstrates that the boys and girls were initiated via *Milaka* and *Sikenge*, respectively. The former introduced boys into adult life and were taught survival skills such as hunting, raiding, fishing, cattle keeping, making fishing baskets and cattle ropes from grass and fibre. The latter taught girls amongst other aspects how to behave as responsible mothers and wives, how to make brooms, baskets, mats and moulding pottery, grow crops and later under the Kololo, plastering hut walls and smearing the floor.

The work has further shown that slaves in the flood plains were employed to cultivate in the gardens. During Mulambwa's reign, for instance, gardens were cultivated throughout the year on different garden sites like mounds and ridges. The major crops grown were sorghum, maize, bulrush millet and sweet potatoes. The study argues that the Mbunda from Angola introduced two new crops, cassava and bulrush millet in Bulozhi. It reveals that in 1850, Sebitwane increased the variety of crops grown to include sugar cane, beans, groundnuts, water melons and pumpkins.

It has further shown that slaves in the flood plain were tasked to fish for their masters. The different fish species included breams, barbels and tigers which were fished using various fishing methods determined by the season and the nature of the fishing site. These methods included blocking a *litindi* and *Kutiba Litindi*. The study reveals that sometimes communal fishing was practiced. Cone-traps locally known as *makuko*, scoop basket introduced by the

Mbundas, and flat nets were some of the fishing tools that were used by slaves when fishing. It demonstrates that during Mulambwa's reign, some slaves were tasked to make fish weirs used in catching fish.

It has been demonstrated that many families in Bulozhi engaged slaves to take care of their cattle. It reveals that during Lewanika's reign, many slaves and even some commoners were tasked to take care of the king's cattle which were placed in different regions in the kingdom and these included Malabo, Mangongi, Ngombe, Fungwa and Malumani. The study demonstrates that the majority of the king's herdsmen were the Ila slaves due their vast knowledge about cattle keeping. It shows that commoners too who owned cattle engaged Ila slaves to nurture them on their behalf. Other than milking, taking cattle for grazing, slaves also slept in huts built near kraals in order to guard cattle in the night.

Furthermore, it has been argued that slaves in Bulozhi with good reputation were given managerial positions, a common practice during the reigns of Mulambwa and Lewanika. It shows, for instance, that upon request by Coillard for someone to help him in his missionary work, Lewanika recommended Mwanangombe, a trusted slave. Upon completion of this task, Mwanangombe returned to the king who again gave him the task of serving as a 'Ndumeleti,' a minister at the border located at the present day Caprivi-Strip. The study shows that Mwanangombe was later raised to be a steward and was even given land. The study also argues that though rarely, other slaves were involved in administrative duties such as being village headmen in Lozi society. Such individuals included a slave named Siabunkululu who was captured from chief Mukuni's area during the reign of Lewanika together with his family which included his wife Mutinta and his two sisters.

The work has also demonstrated that both slaves and commoners in Bulozhi performed public works which included digging canals. Labour for this was mobilised through the *Makolo*

system. This resulted into a lot of canals being built in Bulozhi during the reign of Lewanika especially in 1894, 1895 and 1889.

It is also argued that slaves in Bulozhi continued with some of their customs that were important to them. Among these practices, some were adopted by the Lozi people. It demonstrates, for instance, that the Lozi appreciated and adopted the Ila techniques such as the *'pala'*, a traditional flute that was made of reeds or wood used to entertain the herd boys especially during flood times when cattle had to cover long distances to the higher lands and also back to the plains after the floods.

With regard to the factors that led to the emancipation of slaves in Bulozhi, the study has concluded that both internal and external factors led to the emancipation of slaves in Bulozhi. The study has argued that the external factors that influenced the abolition of slavery in Bulozhi were the activities of missionaries, traders and colonists. Through the signing of treaties between traders and Lewanika, for instance, the kingdom fell under the control of the British South African Company (BSAC) and consequently led to the king issuing the proclamation 'Abolition of slavery' in 1906. This became the immediate factor that led to the emancipation of slavery in the territory.

The study has therefore, concluded that the internal factors played a pivotal role in the emancipation of slaves in Bulozhi. It argues that slave relations through revolts persuaded the Lozi masters to liberate their people. The study has also argued that the slaves themselves staged a number of revolts to show disapproval of their status. It has also been deduced from the study that some policies and responses of the Lozi kings to slave pressure also led to emancipation of slaves. Also, King Yeta III repealed the Compensation clause from King Lewanika's 1906 proclamation 'Abolition of Slavery' in 1918 in line with the demands of the

imperial government. This law made slaves free from paying any money to their masters to gain freedom. Then the 1925 Proclamation abolished all forms of slavery in Buluzi.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: THE 1906 ‘ABOLITION OF SLAVERY’ PROCLAMATION

I, Lewanika Paramount Chief of the Barotse Nation and subject tribes Do, with and by the advice and consent of my council, Hereby proclaim and make known that we, of our own free will, in the cause of Justice and progress, set free all slaves held by us, our Indunas and Headmen.

As however, it is the established and recognised right of native Chiefs to demand unpaid labour from their people, the following rules shall be laid down and observed by me, by my Indunas and by my headmen.

1. It shall be the rule that the paramount Chief can call the Indunas, Headmen and their people under them to send them on matters of business.
2. It shall be the rule that the paramount Chief can call the Indunas, Headmen and their people under them to cultivate certain fields known by the name of Namokao
3. It shall be the rule that paramount Chief can call upon the Indunas, headmen and their people under them, for the purpose of building “Huts”, cutting reeds or grass for thatching, and procuring firewood, But it must be distinctly understood that these supplies are for the use of the paramount Chief and for that of his household only:
4. It shall be the rule that no workman can be called upon by the paramount Chief to labour for more than 12 (twelve) days during the year.
5. It shall be the rule that, if the paramount Chief calls upon a worker to labour for more than 12 (twelve) days during the year, or to render services other than those described in rules No.1, 2 and 3, he shall pay the worker at the minimum rate of 5/-(five shillings) per calendar month.

6. The paramount Chief shall be bound by these rules to feed all workers called upon to labour for more than 12 (twelve) days, or employed upon other kinds of work than those mentioned in rules No.1, 2 and 3.
7. During the 12 (twelve) days mentioned in the foregoing rules, the paramount Chief is not bound to feed or pay the people working for him. But any Induna, Headman or person under any Induna or Headman, refusing to comply with the requirements of rule No.1,2,3 and 4, shall pay a fine of not exceeding 10/-(ten shillings), or in default shall work for 20 (twenty) days.
8. Any Induna or headman may call upon the people under him to assist him in cultivating his lands, building his huts, and such other work as the proper maintenance of the community or kraal demands; it being distinctly understood that such services are rendered for the exclusive benefit of the community or kraal.
9. The Indunas and headmen shall not be bound by these rules to pay or feed the workers engaged upon the work described in rule No.8
10. It shall be the rule that all work required by an Induna or headman other than that described in rule No.8, or of such a kind as is not tendered voluntarily by free people to their Indunas or headmen, shall be paid for by the Induna or headman requiring such work, at a minimum wage of 5/- (five shillings) per month.
11. No man, woman or child set free by this proclamation, may leave the kraal of his or her late master to reside elsewhere without the permission of the head of the kraal, excepting
 - (a) In the case of marriage, when one party elects to reside at the kraal of the other party, according to custom:
 - (b) In the case of ill-treatment at the hand of his or her former master.
 - (c) In the case of permission to marry being withheld by his or her former master.

(d) In the case of a native of some tribe located in some other portion of the Barotse kingdom. Such person shall be free to return to his or her home upon the payment by him or her, or on his or her behalf by relations or friends the sum of £2 (two pounds) to his or her former master.

We have made these rules trusting that by their means slavery will become a thing of the past in our country. We call upon all Indunas, headmen and others in authority, to observe these rules and demand that others observe them.

Especially, are we anxious to put a stop to the exchange or gift of human beings, where by a father may be separated from his family, a husband from his wife, a mother from her child.

Proclaimed at the Khotla Lealui, this sixteenth day of July, one thousand nine hundred and six.

Signed. F. V. Wathington

S.N.A

Signed. Fend AITKENS

Sen. D.C.

Lealui

Signed. Lewanika

P.C.B.N. e.t.c.

APPENDIX II: THE 1925 PROCLAMATION

In accordance with what had been proclaimed by the late paramount chief Lewanika in his Emancipation Order of 16th July, 1906, that there should be some unpaid works which pertained to and were performed for the paramount chief, and also for the councillors and for village headmen by their respective people:

Where when we were in Livingstone recently on the 27th day of August, 1924, I, Yeta III, on the advice and with the consent of my council, we agreed with his excellency the governor of Northern Rhodesia that all the free labour rights or tributes which were brought to the paramount chief, the councillors and village headmen should be compensated for by the Northern Rhodesia government by an annual sum of money equal to two thousand five hundred pounds to the paramount chief;

Whereas we have been informed by the right honourable the secretary of state for colonies in England that he has consented to this agreement,

I, Yeta III, paramount chief of Barotseland, with the advice and agreement of my council therefore publicly proclaim that:-

2. There will be no unpaid work or works of any kind which will be given to anybody to perform, but that every kind of work, national, personal, or for the paramount chief himself, or for a councillor or village – headman or for any ordinary person under the authority of the paramount chief of Barotseland, these works will be paid for in the same way as is being done for all other works in the country.

3. That no tribute will be brought or received by the paramount chief, or a councillor or anyone else in place of these works in any form whatsoever.

4. whoever shall break any one of these orders number two and three of this proclamation will be found guilty of breaking the paramount chiefs order and will be punished and also ordered to pay an amount of compensation to the man or men whom he has unlawfully made to work or pay tribute, equal to the amount he has taken from them.

5. These orders will come into force as from the first day of April, 1925.

This order has been proclaimed in Lealui on the third day of April in the year one thousand and nine hundred and twenty five (1925).

YETA,
Paramount Chief of Barotseland

MATAA,
Ngambela

Source: Hogan Jack 2014