



**Richard B. Allen**

**Slave, Convict, and Indentured Labor  
and the Tyranny of the Particular**

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# Joseph C. Miller Memorial Lecture Series

eds. Abdelkader Al Ghouz, Jeannine Bischoff, Sarah Dusend

Volume 1



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## Preface

It is an honor to deliver the inaugural Joseph C. Miller Memorial Lecture, and I want to thank the Center for establishing this lecture series in Joe's memory. Joe was a valued friend, an esteemed colleague, and an incomparable scholar who was taken from our midst well before he should have been. The two of us shared many memorable times together over the years, the last of which was at a colloquium in his honor at Harvard University on 26 October 2018 where some of his former graduate students engaged us with the kind of presentations that stimulate the mind and gladden the heart. When I recall other unforgettable occasions in Joe's company, I have to mention the times that we reveled together in the *caves* of wineries around Avignon, especially the Domaine Paul Autard and the Château Beaucastel, tasting marvelous bottles of Côtes du Rhône and Châteauneuf du Pape and, more recently, when we had lunch together on the banks of one of Leiden's canals on an exquisite early summer's day. The pleasure of Joe's company stemmed not only from his obvious *joie de vie*, but also from the fact that, as he said to me on several occasions, the two of us were good intellectual sparring partners because of the different perspectives we brought to our work. Those perspectives were made explicit one day over lunch in Avignon when he asked me about my background; when I told him that I had grown up overseas and been trained initially in anthropology, he promptly exclaimed "Oh, now I know why you do what you do!" When I asked him the same question, he replied that he had a MBA, whereupon I responded "Oh, and now I know why you do what you do!"

As Joe demonstrated time and again, a salient feature of his career was his insatiable drive to understand the origins, nature, and dynamics of the human experience with slavery. Although trained as an Africanist, Joe became increasingly interested in slavery and bonded labor elsewhere in the world over the course of his long and distinguished career. The last years of his life found him participating enthusiastically in conferences on slaving and slavery in some very non-African places, including the Black Sea region, East and Southeast Asia, and the Indian Ocean,

a part of the globe in which I like to think that I helped to interest him. Whether I actually did so is, of course, ultimately of no consequence; what is important is that Joe appreciated that we must not only talk about slavery as a multi-faceted global phenomenon, but also reconsider how we approach and conceptualize the human experience with chattel and cognate forms of labor. It is with these observations in mind that I want to offer some thoughts about slave, convict, and indentured labor and the need to transcend “the tyranny of the particular” in slavery and cognate labor studies.

## Slave, Convict, and Indentured Labor and the Tyranny of the Particular

The publication in 1969 of Philip Curtin's census of the Atlantic slave trade inaugurated a revolution in our understanding of how and why some 12.5 million enslaved men, women, and children were exported from Africa to the New World between 1500 and the mid-1860s.<sup>1</sup> Even the most cursory survey of the now massive *Bibliography of Slavery and World Slaving* that Joseph C. Miller began to compile during the 1970s reveals that the last five decades have witnessed a dramatic expansion in our knowledge about slavery, especially in the Americas and sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>2</sup> This research has in turn spurred ever greater interest in the development of an Atlantic "world" that bound Europe, West and West Central Africa, and the Americas together in increasingly complex social, economic, cultural, and political relationships between the sixteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries.<sup>3</sup>

While this rapidly expanding body of scholarship has added immeasurably to our knowledge about and understanding of slavery, an unfortunate consequence is what Edward A. Alpers aptly characterized more than 20 years ago as the "tyranny of the Atlantic" in slavery studies.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

<sup>2</sup> Accessible online at <http://www.vcdh.virginia.edu/bibliographyofslavery>. For an earlier published version, see Joseph C. Miller, *Slavery and Slavery in World History: A Bibliography*, 2 vols. (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998). Updates are published annually in the journal *Slavery and Abolition*.

<sup>3</sup> On conceptualizing the Atlantic world, see: Alison Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 1 (2006): 741–57.

<sup>4</sup> Edward A. Alpers, "The African Diaspora in the Northwestern Indian Ocean: Reconsideration of an Old Problem, New Directions for Research," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 17, no. 2 (1997): 62–81. For an early discussion of this problem, see Hubert Gerbeau, "The Slave Trade in the Indian Ocean: Problems Facing the Historian and Research to be Undertaken," in *The African Slave Trade from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (Paris: UNESCO, 1979), 184–207. For a more recent discussion, see Michael Zeuske, "Historiography and Research Problems of Slavery and the Slave Trade in a Global-Historical Perspective," *International Review of Social History* 57 (2012): 87–111. For a critique of the dominant Afro-Atlantic model in Af-



Preoccupied with reconstructing the transatlantic slave trades and the nature and dynamics of slavery in Africa and the Americas, historians have paid comparatively little attention to slave and bonded labor in other parts of the globe or even to the slaves who reached the Americas from eastern Africa and Madagascar.<sup>5</sup>

At the heart of this Atlantic-centrism is a reluctance to acknowledge some important historical realities beginning with the fact that, as Joseph E. Harris observed in 1971, the African diaspora of slave origin extended deep into Indian Ocean world as well as across the Atlantic to the Americas.<sup>6</sup> That the human experience with slavery extended beyond the confines of the Atlantic is likewise attested to by the presence of perhaps one million enslaved Europeans in North Africa between 1500 and 1800,<sup>7</sup> and millions of Asian and African slaves in southern Europe, the Middle East, India, and Central, East, and Southeast Asia over the centuries.<sup>8</sup> The trans-Saharan and Indian Ocean trades were of far greater

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frican diaspora studies, see Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, “African Diasporas: Toward a Global History,” *African Studies Review* 53, no. 1 (2010): 1–19.

<sup>5</sup> Surveys of the African diaspora and slavery in Africa reflect this propensity. See, for example: Michael A. Gomez, *Reversing Sail: A History of the African Diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Patrick Manning, *The African Diaspora: A History Through Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009); Sean Stillwell, *Slavery and Slaving in African History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). On Malagasy slaves in the Americas, see Wendy Wilson-Fall, *Memories of Madagascar and Slavery in the Black Atlantic* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2015).

<sup>6</sup> Joseph E. Harris, *The African Presence in India* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1971). More recent discussions include: Shihan de S. Jayasuriya and Richard Pankhurst, eds., *The African Diaspora in the Indian Ocean* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2003); Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya, “Trading on a Thalassic Network: African Migrations Across the Indian Ocean,” *International Social Science Journal* 58, no. 2 (2006): 215–25; Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya and Jean-Pierre Angenot, eds., *Uncovering the History of Africans in Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2008). Gwyn Campbell has argued against the existence of such a diaspora: “The African-Asian Diaspora: Myth or Reality?,” *African and Asian Studies* 5, nos. 3–4 (2006): 305–24.

<sup>7</sup> Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500–1800* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003).

<sup>8</sup> E.g., James L. Watson, ed., *Asian and African Systems of Slavery* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); James Francis Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768-1898: The Dynamics of External Trade, Slavery, and Ethnicity in the Transformation of a Southeast Asian Maritime State* (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 1981; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2007); Anthony Reid, ed., *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1983); Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: An Historical Enquiry* (New York:

antiquity than those in the Atlantic and funneled millions of African slaves into the Mediterranean, the Middle East, India, Southeast Asia, and East Asia both before and after 1500.<sup>9</sup> The history of South Africa and the Mascarene Islands of Mauritius and Réunion demonstrates, in turn, that chattel labor flowed toward Africa as well as away from the continent.<sup>10</sup> Even when historians, including Indian Oceanists, acknowledge the existence of these trades across the *Mare Indicum*, they usually discount their role in connecting the disparate parts of this geographi-

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Oxford University Press, 1990); Ehud R. Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997); Gwyn Campbell, ed., *The Structure of Slavery in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia* (London: Routledge, 2004); Indrani Chatterjee and Richard M. Eaton, eds., *Slavery and South Asian History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006); Ehud R. Toledano, *As If Silent and Absent: Bonds of Enslavement in the Islamic Middle East* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007); Terence Walz and Kenneth M. Cuno, eds., *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: Histories of Trans-Saharan Africans in Nineteenth-Century Egypt, Sudan, and the Ottoman Mediterranean* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2010); Daniel Hershenzon, “[P]ara que me saque cabeça por cabeça...”: Exchanging Muslim and Christian Slaves across the Western Mediterranean’, *African Economic History* 42 (2014): 11–36; Christoph Witzentrath, ed., *Eurasian Slavery, Ransom and Abolition in World History, 1200–1860* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2015); Jeff Eden, *Slavery and Empire in Central Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Bernard K. Freamon, *Possessed by the Right Hand: The Problem of Slavery in Islamic Law and Muslim Cultures* (Leiden: Brill, 2019); Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen, eds., *Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage, 2020).

<sup>9</sup> Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 27, 46, 61, 138, 151. On the volume of slave trading in Asia, see Richard B. Allen, “Human Trafficking in Asia before 1900: A Preliminary Census,” *International Association for Asian Studies Newsletter*, no. 87, October 2020, 32–33.

<sup>10</sup> E.g., Hubert Gerbeau, “Des minorités mal-connues: Esclaves indiens et malais des Mascareignes au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *Migrations, minorités et échanges en océan Indien, XIX<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Aix-en-Provence: Institut d’Histoire des Pays d’Outre-Mer, 1978), 160–242; Marina Carter, “Indian Slaves in Mauritius (1729–1834),” *Indian Historical Review* 15, nos. 1–2 (1988): 233–47; Robert C.-H. Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652–1838* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1994); Nigel Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Richard B. Allen, “Carrying Away the Unfortunate: The Exportation of Slaves from India during the Late Eighteenth Century,” in Jacques Weber, ed., *Le monde créole: Peuplement, sociétés et condition humaine XVII<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2005), 285–98; Marina Carter, “A Servile Minority in a Sugar Island: Malay and Chinese Slaves in Mauritius,” in Weber, *Le monde créole*, 257–71; Nigel Worden, “Indian Ocean Slaves in Cape Town, 1695–1807,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 42, no. 3 (2016): 389–408.

cally vast and culturally complex oceanic world and their importance to understanding slavery as a global phenomenon.<sup>11</sup>

Similar observations can be made about scholarship on the indentured labor system that flourished following the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1834. Just as Philip Curtin's census revolutionized slavery studies, so publication in 1974 of Hugh Tinker's *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830–1920*<sup>12</sup> spurred considerable interest in reconstructing the history of the more than 3.7 million Africans, Chinese, Indians, Japanese, Javanese, Melanesians, and other non-Europeans who migrated to colonies in the Caribbean,<sup>13</sup> the

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<sup>11</sup> J. Auber, *Histoire de l'océan Indien* (Tananarive, Madagascar: Société Lilloise d'Imprimerie de Tananarive, 1955); Auguste Toussaint, *Histoire de l'océan Indien* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1961; Eng. trans. as *History of the Indian Ocean* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966]); Auguste Toussaint, *L'océan Indien au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Flammarion, 1974); K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1985); Kenneth McPherson, *The Indian Ocean: A History of People and the Sea* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993); Richard Hall, *Empires of the Monsoon: A History of the Indian Ocean and Its Invaders* (London: HarperCollins, 1996); R.J. Barendse, *The Arabian Seas: The Indian Ocean World of the Seventeenth Century* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2002); Michael Pearson, *The Indian Ocean* (London: Routledge, 2003); Milo Kearney, *The Indian Ocean in World History* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Sugata Bose, *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); Philippe Beaujard, *Les mondes de l'océan Indien*, 2 vols. (Paris: Armand Colin, 2012), Eng. trans. as *The Worlds of the Indian Ocean*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Edward A. Alpers, *The Indian Ocean in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Sanjeev Sanyal, *The Ocean of Churn: How the Indian Ocean Shaped Human History* (Gurgaon, India: Penguin Random House India, 2016). Gwyn Campbell's *Africa and the Indian Ocean World from Early Times to circa 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019) is something of a historiographical exception.

<sup>12</sup> Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830–1920* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London: Hansib, 1993). For an overview, see David Northrup, *Indentured Labor in the Age of Imperialism, 1834–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

<sup>13</sup> E.g., Walton Look Lai, *Indentured Labor, Caribbean Sugar: Chinese and Indian Migrants to the British West Indies, 1838–1918* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); K.O. Laurence, *A Question of Labour: Indentured Immigration into Trinidad and British Guiana, 1875–1917* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994); Rosemarijn Hoefte, *In Place of Slavery: A Social History of British Indian and Javanese Laborers in Suriname* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998); Lisa Yun, *The Coolie Speaks: Chinese Indentured Laborers and African Slaves in Cuba* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008).

Indian Ocean,<sup>14</sup> and the South Pacific<sup>15</sup> between the mid-1830s and the early 1920s to work under long-term written and short-term oral contracts on sugar, tea, and rubber plantations and in other enterprises.<sup>16</sup> As in slavery studies, scholarship on this “great” or “mighty experiment” with “free” contractual labor emphasizes the role that developments in the Atlantic played in this system’s establishment<sup>17</sup> even though, as I.M. Cumpston observed more than 65 years ago, Mauritius was the crucial test case for the large-scale use of free Asian agricultural labor in the post-emancipation plantation world,<sup>18</sup> while the number of indentured laborers who reached European colonies in the Indian Ocean basin exceeded those who arrived in the Caribbean by more than 259,000.

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<sup>14</sup> E.g., Kernal Singh Sandhu, *Indians in Malaya: Some Aspects of Their Migration and Settlement (1786–1957)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969); Peter Richardson, *Chinese Mine Labour in the Transvaal* (London: Macmillan, 1982); Marina Carter, *Servants, Sirdars and Settlers: Indians in Mauritius, 1834–1874* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995); Richard B. Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen, and Indentured Laborers in Colonial Mauritius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed, *Inside Indian Indenture: A South African Story, 1860–1914* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2010); Jayeeta Sharma, *Empire’s Garden: Assam and the Making of India* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).

<sup>15</sup> E.g., Brij V. Lal, *Girmitiyas: The Origins of the Fiji Indians* (Canberra: Journal of Pacific History, 1983); Adrian Graves, *Cane and Labour: The Political Economy of the Queensland Sugar Industry* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993); Dorothy Shineberg, *The People Trade: Pacific Island Laborers and New Caledonia, 1865–1930* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1999); Patrick Peebles, *The Plantation Tamils of Ceylon* (London: Leicester University Press, 2001); Karin Speedy, *Colons, créoles et coolies: L’immigration réunionnaise en Nouvelle-Calédonie (XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle) et le tayo de Saint-Louis* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2007).

<sup>16</sup> In addition to the works noted above, important edited volumes include: Kay Saunders, ed., *Indentured Labour in the British Empire, 1834–1920* (London: Croom Helm, 1984); P.C. Emmer, ed., *Colonialism and Migration: Indentured Labour Before and After Slavery* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986); Maurits S. Hassankhan, Lomarsh Ropnarine, and Hans Ramdoedh, eds., *The Legacy of Indian Indenture: Historical and Contemporary Aspects of Migration and Diaspora* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2016).

<sup>17</sup> E.g., William A. Green, *British Slave Emancipation: The Sugar Colonies and the Great Experiment, 1830–1965* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976); Madhavi Kale, *Fragments of Empire: Capital, Slavery, and Indian Indentured Labor in the British Caribbean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); Seymour Drescher, *The Mighty Experiment: Free Labor versus Slavery in British Emancipation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

<sup>18</sup> I.M. Cumpston, *Indians Overseas in British Territories, 1834–1854* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), 85.

Recent scholarship confirms this labor diaspora's Indian Ocean origins.<sup>19</sup> As in slavery studies, historians frequently ignore this transoceanic labor migration despite its well-documented role in shaping social, economic, cultural, and political life in and beyond the colonial world during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>20</sup> Studies of modern Asian diasporas likewise ignore their indentured antecedents.<sup>21</sup>

This Atlantic-centrism is emblematic of a larger problem in slavery and cognate labor studies, namely a “tyranny of the particular,” by which I mean an unwillingness to look beyond the chronological, conceptual, and geographical confines of the case studies that are a hallmark of migrant labor studies, and examine the events and developments under consideration in more fully developed local, regional, pan-regional, and comparative contexts. A classic example of this particularism is the historiographical propensity to draw a sharp dividing line between the pre- and post-emancipation eras in the colonial world. Studies of British slave plantation colonies usually end with the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1834, while studies of indentured labor in these same colonies pay little, if any, substantive attention to the slave regimes that preceded them despite widespread acceptance of Tinker's argument

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<sup>19</sup> Richard B. Allen, “Slaves, Convicts, Abolitionism and the Global Origins of the Post-Emancipation Indentured Labor System,” *Slavery and Abolition* 35, no. 2 (2014), 328–48. See also: Huguette Ly-Tio-Fane Pineo, *Lured Away: The Life History of Indian Cane Workers in Mauritius* (Moka, Mauritius: Mahatma Gandhi Press, 1984), 14–17; Marina Carter and James Ng Fong Kwong, *Forging the Rainbow: Labour Immigrants in British Mauritius* (Mauritius: Alfran Co. Ltd., 1997), 4–5; Jacques Weber, “L'émigration indienne à La Réunion: ‘Contraire à la morale’ ou ‘utile à l'humanité’? (1829–1860),” in Edmond Maestri, ed., *Esclavage et abolitions dans l'océan Indien, 1723–1860* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002), 309–10; Satyendra Peerthum, “A Cheap Reservoir of Mankind for Labour’: The Genesis of the Indentured Labour System in Mauritius, 1826–1843,” in Vijayalakshmi Teelock, Anwar Janoo, Geoffrey Summers, Marc Serge Rivière, and Sooryakanti Nirsimloo-Gayan, eds., *Angajé: The Early Years. Explorations into the History, Society and Culture of Indentured Immigrants and their Descendants in Mauritius* (Port Louis, Mauritius: Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund, 2012), 158–59.

<sup>20</sup> An exception is Thomas R. Metcalf, *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860–1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

<sup>21</sup> Judith M. Brown, *Global South Asians: Introducing the Modern Diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Sunil S. Amrith, *Migration and Diaspora in Modern Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

that indentured labor was ultimately “a new system of slavery.”<sup>22</sup> The indentured system’s demise during the 1920s is, in turn, often viewed as marking the end of the last major chapter in the human experience with large-scale bonded labor migration, an assumption that the movement of hundreds of thousands of Bangladeshi, Indian, Filipino, and other Asian contract laborers to the Persian (or Arabian) Gulf and within Asia during the late twentieth and early twenty-first century<sup>23</sup> and arguments that no fewer than 27–32 million mostly Asian men, women, and children are *de facto* slaves in the early twenty-first century necessarily calls into question.<sup>24</sup>

Other consequences of this chronological apartheid include a propensity to view slave, indentured, and other cognate labor systems as separate and distinct historical phenomena unto themselves, a perspective that necessarily limits our ability to reconstruct the lives of the millions of individuals who participated in them. To view these systems in such terms is to ignore David Northrup’s cogent observation 25 years ago that nineteenth- and early twentieth-century indentured migration must be viewed in light of this era’s other large-scale human migrations.<sup>25</sup> A similar observation can be made about the nineteenth-century indentured labor system’s antecedents. We would do well to remember that Europeans were well versed in using free contractual labor in the colonial world long before the 1830s. Some 400,000-460,000 or more mostly British indentured “servants” migrated to North America and

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<sup>22</sup> Richard B. Allen, “Re-conceptualizing the ‘New System of Slavery,’” *Man in India* 92, no. 2 (2012): 225–45.

<sup>23</sup> E.g., Sabine Damir-Geilsdorf, “Contract Labour and Debt Bondage in the Arab Gulf States: Policies and Practices within the *Kafala* System,” in Sabine Damir-Geilsdorf, Ulrike Lindner, Gesine Müller, Oliver Tappe, and Michael Zeuske, eds., *Bonded Labour: Global and Comparative Perspectives (18<sup>th</sup>–21<sup>st</sup> Century)* (Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript Verlag, 2016), 163–89.

<sup>24</sup> E.g., Kevin Bales, *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); Siddarth Kara, *Modern Slavery: A Global Perspective* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017). On the continuities between past and present slavery, see Elizabeth Swanson and James Brewer Stewart, eds., *Human Bondage and Abolition: New Histories of Past and Present Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

<sup>25</sup> Northrup, *Indentured Labor*, 7–10.

the Caribbean between the 1640s and mid-1770s,<sup>26</sup> a fact that invites careful consideration of the way(s) in which this early indentured labor system influenced its nineteenth-century successor, a point underscored by scholarship on “master-servant” legislation in Britain and the British Empire.<sup>27</sup> That the hundreds of thousands of indentured Africans, Chinese, Indians, and Javanese who replaced slaves in Caribbean cane fields never figure in discussions about the Atlantic world must, in turn, raise questions about this concept’s heuristic value after the 1830s, if not, perhaps, even before then. In short, did this “world” essentially cease to exist after British slave emancipation in 1834, or should we think of it as having been transformed in ways that we have yet to explore, much less comprehend or conceptualize?

The tyranny of the particular also contributes to the tendency to view oceanic worlds as self-contained units of historical analysis. There can be little doubt that viewing oceanic basins as distinctive zones of biological, cultural, and economic interaction and integration can be a valuable tool to bring large-scale historical processes into sharper relief.<sup>28</sup> However, as the forum on conceptualizing the Atlantic world published in the *William and Mary Quarterly* in 2006<sup>29</sup> and subsequent discussions about the limitations of an oceanic basin approach to historical studies indicate,<sup>30</sup> defining oceanic worlds largely, if not exclusively, in geographical terms can easily inhibit a fuller understanding of the ways in which the peoples and places in these worlds interacted with or were connected to one

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<sup>26</sup> Christopher Tomlins, “Reconsidering Indentured Servitude: European Migration and the Early American Labor Force, 1600–1775,” *Labor History* 42, no. 1 (2001): 5–43.

<sup>27</sup> Douglas Hay and Paul Craven, eds., *Masters, Servants, and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562–1955* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

<sup>28</sup> Jerry H. Bentley, “Sea and Ocean Basin as Frameworks of Historical Analysis,” *The Geographical Review* 89, no. 2 (1999): 215–24.

<sup>29</sup> *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 63, no. 4 (2006). See especially the contributions by Alison Games, “Beyond the Atlantic: English Globetrotters and Transoceanic Connections,” 675–92; Philip J. Stern, “British Asia and British Atlantic: Comparisons and Connections,” 693–712; and Peter A. Coclanis, “Atlantic World or Atlantic/World?,” 725–42.

<sup>30</sup> Peter Coclanis, “Beyond Atlantic History,” in Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 337–56; Jennifer L. Gaynor, “Ages of Sail, Ocean Basins, and Southeast Asia,” *Journal of World History* 24, no. 2 (2013): 309–33.

another.<sup>31</sup> Research on the Dutch East India Company's multinational labor force,<sup>32</sup> the politics and ideology of the early East India Company state,<sup>33</sup> the geography of color lines in Madras and New York,<sup>34</sup> the geographies of colonial philanthropy and British imperial careering,<sup>35</sup> trans-oceanic humanitarian and moral reform programs,<sup>36</sup> Réunion's role in the development of the so-called "blackbird" trade of Melanesian laborers to New Caledonia and Queensland,<sup>37</sup> and legal institutions and personnel in the eighteenth-century French colonial empire<sup>38</sup> demonstrates that we ignore the complex movement of information, ideas, and people within and between these oceanic realms at our peril.

Research on European slave trading and abolitionism in the Indian Ocean underscores the need for historians of slavery and cognate labor systems to shake off the parochialism that flows from this preoccupation with the particular. This research demonstrates conclusively that Euro-

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<sup>31</sup> For a more recent discussion, see David Armitage, Alison Bashford, and Sujit Sivasundaram, eds., *Oceanic Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

<sup>32</sup> Lucassen, Jan, "A Multinational and its Labor Force: The Dutch East India Company, 1595–1795," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 66 (2004): 12–39.

<sup>33</sup> Philip J. Stern, "Politics and Ideology in the Early East India Company-State: The Case of St. Helena, 1673–1709," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 35, no. 1 (2007): 1–23; Philip J. Stern, *The Company State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>34</sup> Carl H. Nightingale, "Before Race Mattered: Geographies of the Color Line in Early Colonial Madras and New York," *American Historical Review* 113, no. 1 (2008): 48–71.

<sup>35</sup> David Lambert and Alan Lester, "Geographies of Colonial Philanthropy," *Progress in Human Geography* 28, no. 3 (2004): 320–41; David Lambert and Alan Lester, eds., *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

<sup>36</sup> Zoë Laidlaw, "Investigating Empire: Humanitarianism, Reform and the Commission of Eastern Inquiry," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 40, no. 5 (2012): 749–68; Zoë Laidlaw, "Justice to India – Prosperity to England – Freedom to the Slave! Humanitarian and Moral Reform Campaigns on India, Aborigines and American Slavery," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, ser. 3, 22, no. 2 (2012): 299–324.

<sup>37</sup> Speedy, *Colons, créoles et coolies*; Karin Speedy, "Who were the Réunion 'Coolies' of 19<sup>th</sup>-century New Caledonia?" *Journal of Pacific History* 44, no. 2 (2009): 123–40; Karin Speedy, "From the Indian Ocean to the Pacific: *Affranchis* and *Petits-Blancs* in New Caledonia," *PORTAL Journal of Multidisciplinary International Studies* 9, no. 1 (2012) [<http://epress.lib.uts.edu.au/ojs/php./portal/>]; Karin Speedy, "The Sutton Case: The First Franco-Australian Foray into Blackbirding," *Journal of Pacific History* 50, no. 3 (2015): 344–64.

<sup>38</sup> Laurie Wood, *Archipelago of Justice: Law in France's Early Modern Empire* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2020).



pean slave trading and abolitionism must now be viewed as truly global phenomena, that the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries witnessed an increasingly interconnected movement of slave, convict, and indentured labor in the colonial world,<sup>39</sup> and that developing a fuller understanding of slavery, abolitionism, indentured labor, and cognate migrant labor systems is contingent upon asking questions and exploring topics that may, at first glance, seem marginal to the issues under consideration.

What we know about the origins of the slaves traded by the Portuguese during the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century<sup>40</sup> and those who reached British East India Company (EIC) possessions between the 1620s and 1770s and the French-controlled Mascarenes between the 1670s and early 1830s confirms the globality of European slave trading. EIC ships transported slaves from the Cape Verde Islands, West and West Central Africa, Madagascar, Mozambique, the Comoros, India's Coromandel and Malabar coasts, and the Indonesian islands of Java and Nias throughout a far-flung commercial empire that stretched from St. Helena in the South Atlantic to the Indian subcontinent and into the Indonesian archipelago. Mauritius and Réunion housed chattel laborers drawn from a catchment area that extended from West African ports such as Gorée and Ouidah (or Whydah) eastward through the Indian Ocean to southern China. Early nineteenth-century sources record the presence in Mauritius of West Africans described as Bambaras, Guineans, and Wolofs; of men, women, and children from no fewer than 14 populations in eastern and southeastern Africa that can be identified with certainty, some of which were located as far away as modern Malawi and eastern Zambia; of individuals from 13 ethno-cultural groups on Madagascar; of Abyssinians from the Horn of Africa and Arabs from the Persian Gulf; of Indians from Bengal, Goa, and the subcontinent's Tamil- and Telegu-speaking populations; of "Malays" from the Malay peninsula and the Indonesian

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<sup>39</sup> Richard B. Allen, *European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500–1850* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014), 3.

<sup>40</sup> E.g., Lúcio de Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade in Early Modern Japan: Merchants, Jesuits and Japanese, Chinese, and Korean Slaves* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

islands of Bali, Makassar, Java, Nias, Sumatra, and Timor; and of men and women from China.

This multi-directional, pan-regional traffic consumed hundreds of thousands of souls. A review of published scholarship indicates that the British, Danish, Dutch, French, Portuguese, and other Europeans exported a minimum of 450,000–565,000 slaves from eastern Africa, Madagascar, India, and Southeast Asia to European administrative centers, factories, and colonies in the Indian Ocean basin between 1500 and 1850, a figure which future research will undoubtedly revise upward.<sup>41</sup> Europeans also shipped hundreds of thousands of slaves from southeastern Africa and elsewhere in the *Mare Indicum* to the Americas, and from eastern Africa, South Asia, and the Indonesian archipelago to China, Japan, and the Philippines<sup>42</sup> from whence thousands were subsequently shipped across the Pacific to Mexico and Peru.<sup>43</sup> When viewed in its totality, the data currently at our disposal indicate that Europeans trafficked a minimum of 954,000-1,276,000 slaves within and beyond the Indian Ocean basin between 1500 and 1850, with much of this activity being concentrated between 1700 and 1850.<sup>44</sup>

Contemporary sources attest to the complexities of the European Indian Ocean trades in other ways. The statements that ship captains filed with Admiralty and colonial officials upon arriving at Port Louis, Mauritius, and documents preserved in the Mauritian notarial record illustrate the various ways in which the European Indian Ocean and Atlantic slave trades were intertwined. The Mascarene trade involved

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid, 22.

<sup>42</sup> Ghislaine Loyré, “Les musulmans de Mindanao et la traite d’après les sources occidentales (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles),” in Serge Daget, ed., *De la traite à l’esclavage: Actes du colloque international sur la traite des noirs*, Nantes 1985, vol. 1 (Paris: Société Française d’Histoire d’Outre-Mer, 1988), 9–18; William Henry Scott, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines* (Manila: De La Salle University Press, 1991), 27–35; Pascal Girard, “Les africains aux Philippines aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles,” in Berta Ares Queija and Alessandro Stella, eds., *Negros, Mulatos, Zambagos: Derroteros Africanos en los Mundos Ibéricos* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 2000), 67–74; Tatiana Seijas, “The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish Manila: 1580–1640,” *Itinerario* 22, no. 1 (2008): 19–38; de Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*.

<sup>43</sup> Tatiana Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

<sup>44</sup> Allen, *European Slave Trading*, 24.

American, Arab (probably Omani), Brazilian, Indian, Portuguese, and Spanish as well as metropolitan French and colonial Mascarene mercantile interests. Merchants based in Bordeaux, Lorient, Marseille, Nantes, St. Mâlo, and other ports, many of whom had been and/or continued to be involved in the transatlantic trade, underwrote large numbers of slaving ventures to the western Indian Ocean, at least 282 of which are known to have involved the Mascarenes in one way or another.<sup>45</sup> The seamless quality of European slave trading between these oceanic worlds is illustrated in other ways: by the advent in the mid-1790s of a decade-long commercial relationship between Mauritius and the Río de la Plata that entailed the exchange of African slaves, exotic tropical exports, and merchandise supplied by Mascarene privateers for American silver and foodstuffs;<sup>46</sup> by Mauritius and its dependency, the Seychelles, serving as “refreshment” stations for East African and Mozambican slaves being shipped to Buenos Aires, Montevideo, and elsewhere in the Americas;<sup>47</sup> and by the expansion of Brazil’s commercial relations with the western Indian Ocean during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>48</sup> These sources also reveal some of the ways in which these European trades overlapped. In 1654, for example, an Indian merchant in the EIC’s service at Madras was fined for facilitating the

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 85.

<sup>46</sup> Jerry W. Cooney, “Silver, Slaves and Food: The Río de la Plata and the Indian Ocean, 1796–1806,” *Tijdschrift voor zeegechiedenis* 5, no. 1 (1986): 36–37, 41; Jean-Pierre Tardieu, *La traite des noirs entre l’océan Indien et Montevideo (Uruguay) fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et début du XIX<sup>e</sup>* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2010).

<sup>47</sup> Alex Borucki, “The Slave Trade to the Río de la Plata, 1777–1812: Trans-Imperial Networks and Atlantic Warfare,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 20, no. 1 (2011): 94–95; Allen, *European Slave Trading*, 79–80; Richard B. Allen, unpublished database of slaving voyages to or otherwise involving the Mascarenes, 1639–1816.

<sup>48</sup> A.J.R. Russell-Wood, “A Brazilian Commercial Presence Beyond the Cape of Good Hope, 16<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> Centuries,” in Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed, eds., *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads 1500–1800* (Tellicherry, India: Institute for Research in Social Sciences and Humanities of MESHAR, 2001), 191–211. On the Mozambican slave trade to Brazil, see: Manolo Florentino, “Slave Trade between Mozambique and the Port of Rio de Janeiro, c. 1790-c. 1850, Demographic, Social and Economic Aspects,” in Benigna Zimba, Edward Alpers, and Allen Isaacman, eds., *Slave Routes and Oral Tradition in Southeastern Africa* (Maputo, Mozambique: Filsom Entertainment, 2005), 63–90.

sale of enslaved Indian children to Dutch brokers at nearby Pulicat.<sup>49</sup> Little seems to have changed almost 140 years later when the British governor at Madras complained about the assistance that the Dutch at Pulicat were providing to French slavers seeking human cargoes for the Mascarenes.<sup>50</sup> The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries likewise found Mascarene-based merchants and ship captains involved with Indian merchants in Portuguese Goa, and with Gujarati merchants and Portuguese officials and merchants in Mozambique to supply the islands with African slaves.<sup>51</sup>

The number of slaves traded by Europeans in the Indian Ocean obviously pales in comparison to the millions of men, women, and children exported from West and West Central Africa to the Americas between 1500 and the 1860s. The Indian Ocean trades' significance cannot be assessed, however, only in terms of their volume. To do so is to ignore the larger contexts in which this traffic occurred and of which it was an integral part, the ways in which these trades changed through time, and their regional and pan-regional impact. Adding the number of slaves exported to the Mascarenes to those carried away from western Africa by French slavers, for instance, increases the total volume of the French slave trade between 1640 and 1848 by 28–29 per cent over current estimates of 1.25–1.38 million. The Mascarene trade clearly became increasingly important to French slaving interests during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, accounting for approximately 25 per cent of all French exports between 1770 and 1810, and more than 40 per cent of all such exports between 1811 and 1848. Europeans likewise

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<sup>49</sup> Henry Davison Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640–1800: Traced from the East India Company's Records Preserved at Fort St. George and the India Office, and from Other Sources* (London: J. Murray, 1913), vol. 1, 127–35; William Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1651–1654: A Calendar of Documents in the India Office, Westminster* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915), 235, 238, 244, 285.

<sup>50</sup> Allen, *European Slave Trading*, 209.

<sup>51</sup> Teotonio R. de Souza, "French Slave-Trading in Portuguese Goa (1773–1791)," in Teotonio R. de Souza, ed., *Essays in Goan History* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1989), 123–25; Pedro Machado, "A Forgotten Corner of the Indian Ocean: Gujarati Merchants, Portuguese India and the Mozambique Slave-Trade, c. 1730–1830," in Campbell, *The Structure of Slavery*, 17–32; Pedro Machado, *Ocean of Trade: South Asian Merchants, Africa and the Indian Ocean, c. 1750–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), esp. chap. 5.

accounted for ever larger percentages of ever increasing slave exports from eastern Africa. British, Dutch, French, and Portuguese traders consumed 25–39 per cent of an estimated 133,000–165,000 such exports during the seventeenth century, 37–52 per cent of a projected 637,000–833,000 exports during the eighteenth century, and 58–66 per cent of an estimated 810,000–1,000,000 exports between 1800 and 1873.<sup>52</sup> Information about these trades’ economic impact remains frustratingly sparse, but a sense of their possible magnitude is suggested by estimates that the Arab, Indian, Malagasy, and Swahili merchants who supplied slaves for the Mascarene trade realized 7.5–11.0 million *piastres* (Spanish silver dollars) from such sales between 1770 and the early 1830s,<sup>53</sup> at least one-third of which was paid in coin which contributed to Gujarati bankers’ ability to discount the bills of exchange that were crucial to commercial activity throughout the region.<sup>54</sup>

The historical significance of these trades can be illustrated in other ways. Although only 24,000 Indian slaves may have been exported to the Mascarenes between 1670 and the 1790s, this traffic established the precedent, if not laid the institutional foundations, upon which the exportation of hundreds of thousands of indentured Indian laborers throughout the colonial world during the nineteenth century rested.<sup>55</sup> The 3,000–3,200 Indian laborers who reached Réunion during the late 1820s did so from the former slave trading enclaves of Pondichéry (Puduchcheri), Karikal (Karaikal), and Yanam on India’s Coromandel Coast; Pondichéry and Karikal also figured prominently in the migration of at least 79,000 indentured Indians to Réunion, French Guiana, Guadeloupe, and Martinique between 1849 and the mid-1880s.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Allen, *European Slave Trading*, 22–24.

<sup>53</sup> Richard B. Allen, “Merchant Capital and Slave Trading in the Western Indian Ocean, 1770–1830,” in Dale Tomich and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds., *The Atlantic and Africa: The Second Slavery and Beyond* (Albany: State University of New York Press, in press).

<sup>54</sup> Machado, *Ocean of Trade*, 241.

<sup>55</sup> Richard B. Allen, “The Mascarene Slave-Trade and Labour Migration in the Indian Ocean during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” in Campbell, *The Structure of Slavery*, 41–42.

<sup>56</sup> André Scherer, *Histoire de La Réunion* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974), 68; Sudel Fuma, *L’esclavagisme à La Réunion, 1794–1848* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1992), 108; Northrup, *Indentured Labor*, 60; Weber, “L’émigration indienne à La Réunion,” 309–10.

The existence of structural ties between the slave and indentured labor trades comes as no surprise. Scholarship on the *engagé* system, which entailed the recruitment of 50,000 ostensibly liberated slaves and “free” contractual laborers from eastern Africa and Madagascar to work on Mayotte in the Comoros, Nosy-Bé off Madagascar’s northwest coast, and Réunion following the abolition of slavery in the French Empire in 1848, has highlighted the links between these two labor trades.<sup>57</sup> Additional evidence of such ties comes from India. In a seminal article on slavery and agricultural labor in southern India published in 1967, Benedicte Hjejle argued that the recruitment of some indentured Indian laborers cannot be explained without reference to indigenous systems of slavery in India, and that a significant number of the migrant laborers who reached Ceylon (Sri Lanka) between 1843 and 1873 came from among the ranks of South India’s praedial or agricultural slaves.<sup>58</sup> Recent research supports Hjejle’s argument. British officials who reported on slavery in the Madras Presidency in 1819 noted that landowners in some of the presidency’s districts had a relatively free hand in disposing of their servile dependents if they chose to do so, while Mauritian indentured immigration registers confirm that individuals of “slave” caste status reached the island during the late 1830s.<sup>59</sup>

Structural links between these trades is also suggested by the presence of *dhangars*, or tribal hill peoples, among early indentured populations. Assamese and Nepalese hill tribesmen were among those enslaved

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<sup>57</sup> François Renault, *Libération d’esclaves et nouvelle servitude: Les rachats de captives africains pour le compte des colonies françaises après l’abolition de l’esclavage* (Paris: Les Nouvelles Éditions Africaines, 1976); Jehanne-Emmanuelle Monnier, *Esclaves de la canne à sucre: Engagés et planteurs à Nossi-Bé, Madagascar, 1850–1880* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2006). See also: Hubert Gerbeau, “Engagees and Coolies in Réunion Island: Slavery’s Masks and Freedom’s Constraints,” in Emmer, *Colonialism and Migration*, 209–36; Sudel Fuma, “La traite des esclaves dans le bassin du sud-ouest de l’océan Indien et la France après 1848,” in Ignace Rakoto, ed., *La route des esclaves: Système servile et traite dans l’est malgache*, (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2000), 247–61; Sudel Fuma, “Les responsabilités de la France dans les déportations d’esclaves africains dans le sud-est de l’océan Indien après 1848,” in Séverine Cachat, ed., *Mozambique – Réunion: Esclavages, mémoire et patrimoines dans l’océan Indien* (Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, France: Éditions Sèpia, 2008), 63–73.

<sup>58</sup> Benedicte Hjejle, “Slavery and Agricultural Bondage in South India in the Nineteenth Century,” *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 15, nos. 1–2 (1967): 71–126.

<sup>59</sup> Allen, *European Slave Trading*, 195–96.

with some regularity in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century India, a fact which invariably raises the question of whether such individuals numbered among those exported from the subcontinent as slaves and/or indentured laborers. The possible scale of this activity during the nineteenth century is suggested by the fact that approximately one-third of the 7,000 Indians who arrived in Mauritius during 1837–38 were identified as *dhangars* from Bihar’s Chota Nagpur plateau, a region which subsequently supplied 250,000 of an estimated 700,000–750,000 migrant workers for Assam’s tea plantations during the second half of the nineteenth century, and by assertions that tribal peoples comprised more than 13 per cent of the 374,000 indentured Indians who reached Mauritius between 1834 and 1870.<sup>60</sup> At a minimum, these data underscore the need to explore possible links between the slave and/or indentured labor trades and internal migrant labor networks in colonial India.<sup>61</sup>

Work on abolitionism in the Indian Ocean further underscores the need for students of slavery and cognate labor systems to escape the tyranny of the particular.<sup>62</sup> This scholarship reveals that abolitionists clashed repeatedly with slaving interests in the *Mare Indicum* as well the Atlantic during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and, moreover, that abolitionist activity in the Indian Ocean coincided with, if not often predated, similar developments in the Atlantic.<sup>63</sup> The first manifestation of such abolitionist sentiments dates to 1774 when Governor-General Warren Hastings and his council issued regulations to control slave trading in Bengal on the grounds that “the practice of stealing Chil-

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<sup>60</sup> Pooja Ramchurn-Jokhun, “Tribal Migration,” in Teelock *et al.*, *Angajé: The Early Years*, 13.

<sup>61</sup> Ravi Ahuja, “‘Opening up the Country’? Patterns of Circulation and Politics of Communication in Early Colonial Orissa,” *Studies in History*, n.s., 20, no. 1 (2004): 73–130; Ian J. Kerr, “On the Move: Circulating Labor in Pre-Colonial, Colonial, and Post-Colonial India,” in Rana P. Behal and Marcel van der Linden, eds., *Coolies, Capital, and Colonialism: Studies in Indian Labour History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 85–109.

<sup>62</sup> E.g., Gwyn Campbell, ed., *Abolition and Its Aftermath in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia* (London: Routledge, 2005); Andrea Major, *Abolitionism and Empire in India, 1772–1843* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010); Robert Harms, Bernard K. Freamon, and David W. Blight, eds., *Indian Ocean Slavery in the Age of Abolition* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013).

<sup>63</sup> For a fuller discussion, see Allen, *European Slave Trading*, chap. 6.

dren from their Parents and selling them for Slaves has long prevailed in this Country, and has greatly increased since the Establishment of the English Government in it.” So great was this problem, Hastings opined, that “There appears no probable way of Remediating this calamitous Evil, but that of striking at the Root of it and abolishing the Right of Slavery altogether, excepting such Cases to which the Authority of Government cannot reach....”<sup>64</sup> To that end, Hastings and his council also ordered that henceforth “the Right of Masters over their Slaves should not extend beyond the first Generation.”<sup>65</sup>

Such concerns resurfaced in the mid-1780s and continued into the 1830s. This activity’s significance is graphically illustrated by the fact that the Calcutta and Madras presidencies banned slave exports from their territories in 1789 and 1790, respectively, well before Parliament abolished the British slave trade in 1807. This abolitionism included, moreover, attacks on the institution of slavery itself long before British abolitionists focused on slave emancipation in the British Empire, especially the Caribbean. In March 1786, Acting Governor-General Macpherson and his council proposed to free the 686 company slaves at Bencoolen (Benkulen, Bengkulu) on the west coast of Sumatra. Three and a half years later, Governor-General Cornwallis informed the company’s Court of Directors in London only a week and a half after banning slave exports from the Calcutta Presidency that he was considering a plan to abolish slavery in all of the company’s Indian territories, a plan which the directors looked forward to receiving with considerable anticipation.

There is substantial evidence that these sentiments continued to influence company and British imperial policies and practices elsewhere in the Indian Ocean during the early nineteenth century. Early in 1800, the Court of Directors ordered the implementation of what proved to be a short-lived experiment to free company slaves on St. Helena.<sup>66</sup> That

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<sup>64</sup> India Office Records (hereafter IOR), British Library, London: P/49/46, pp. 1484–85, Regulations issued 17 May 1774.

<sup>65</sup> IOR: P/49/47, p. 2244, Ltr. No. 442 – G. Hurst, Robert Palk, and Ewan Law to the Honble Warren Hastings Esq<sup>r</sup> President &<sup>ca</sup> Council of Revenue Fort William, 4 August 1774.

<sup>66</sup> On slavery and abolition on St. Helena, see: Andrew Pearson, *Distant Freedom: St. Helena and the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1840–1872* (Liverpool: Liverpool Univer-



same year, the government of Ceylon issued a proclamation regulating domestic slavery on the island and prohibiting slave imports and exports. In 1805, Penang's lieutenant governor proposed abolishing slavery at that settlement on the grounds that the institution was "the greatest of all evils, & the attempt to regulate such an evil is in itself almost absurd," a proposal which the company's directors readily approved. Eight years later, Sir Stamford Raffles recommended the immediate emancipation of all government-owned slaves in Java following that island's capture from the Dutch. In 1816, Ceylon's governor forwarded a plan to London to have the colony's inhabitants free all slave children born after the prince regent's birthday later that year.

The 1810s and 1820s also witnessed significant British efforts to suppress illegal slave trading in the Indian Ocean as well as the Atlantic.<sup>67</sup> The Vice-Admiralty court at the Cape of Good Hope condemned 27 captured slavers between 1808 and 1816, while colonial and Vice-Admiralty courts in Mauritius condemned 48 slave ships carrying more than 4,600 African slaves captured by Royal Navy and colonial cruisers between 1811 and 1825.<sup>68</sup> The number of Mauritian-based adjudications, it should be noted, exceeded those handled by the mixed or joint anti-slave trade commissions at Rio de Janeiro and Suriname between 1819 and 1845, and almost equaled the number of cases dealt with at Havana during the same period. The western Indian Ocean remained an important focal point of British attempts to suppress slave trading as the nineteenth century progressed,<sup>69</sup> efforts made manifest by the landing

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sity Press, 2016); Colin Fox, *A Bitter Draught: St. Helena and the Abolition of Slavery, 1792–1840* (Norfolk, UK: Society of Friends of St. Helena, 2017).

<sup>67</sup> Early studies include: Sir John Gray, *The British at Mombasa, 1824–1826* (London: Macmillan, 1957); Gerald S. Graham, *Great Britain in the Indian Ocean: A Study of Maritime Enterprise, 1810–1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); Christopher Lloyd, *The Navy and the Slave Trade: The Suppression of the Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Cass, 1968); R.W. Beachey, *The Slave Trade of Eastern Africa* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976).

<sup>68</sup> M. Carter, V. Govinden, and S. Peerthum, *The Last Slaves: Liberated Africans in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Mauritius* (Port Louis, Mauritius: Centre for Research on Indian Ocean Studies, 2003); Allen, *European Slave Trading*, 176.

<sup>69</sup> E.g., Lindsay Doulton, "The Flag That Sets Us Free': Antislavery, Africans, and the Royal Navy in the Western Indian Ocean," in Harms, Freamon, and Blight, *Indian Ocean Slavery*, 109–19; Mandana E. Limbert, "If You Catch Me Again at It, Put Me to

of thousands of “Liberated Africans” in such disparate places as Aden, Bombay, Mauritius, the Seychelles, and Cape Town and Durban in South Africa.<sup>70</sup> The scale and intensity of the traffic which the British sought to suppress is suggested by the identification of no fewer than 326 Arab/Swahili dhows that carried East African slave cargoes destined for Arabia and the Persian Gulf between 1837 and 1880,<sup>71</sup> and by reports that 117 boats transported 1,217 slaves to Kuwait between August and October 1841 from elsewhere in the gulf (e.g., Bahrain, Abu Dhabi, Muscat) and as far away as Yemen.<sup>72</sup>

The archival record confirms that this activity did not occur in a world separate and distinct from the Atlantic, a point underscored by scholarship on the similarities and connections between the various components of Britain’s global maritime empire,<sup>73</sup> the extent of the British public’s knowledge about India and the consequences of that awareness,<sup>74</sup> and the transnational character of British humanitarian

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Death’: Slave Trading, Paper Trails, and British Bureaucracy in the Indian Ocean,” in Harms, Freamon, and Blight, *Indian Ocean Slavery*, 120–40; Behnaz A. Mirzai, “The Persian Gulf and Britain: The Suppression of the African Slave Trade,” in Hideaki Suzuki, ed., *Abolitions as a Global Experience* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2016), 113–29.

<sup>70</sup> Matthew S. Hopper, “Liberated Africans in the Indian Ocean World,” in Richard Anderson and Henry B. Lovejoy, eds., *Liberated Africans and the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1807–1896* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2020), 271–94.

<sup>71</sup> Hideaki Suzuki, *Slave Trade Profiteers in the Western Indian Ocean: Suppression and Resistance in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 31.

<sup>72</sup> Behnaz A. Mirzai, *A History of Slavery and Emancipation in Iran, 1800–1929* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017), 62.

<sup>73</sup> P.J. Marshall, “The Caribbean and India in the Late Eighteenth Century: Two British Empires or One?,” in P.J. Marshall, “*A Free Though Conquering People*”: *Eighteenth-Century Britain and Its Empire* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003), paper 10; H.V. Bowen, “Britain in the Indian Ocean Region and Beyond: Contours, Connections, and the Creation of a Global Maritime Empire,” in H.V. Bowen, Elizabeth Mancke, and John G. Reid, eds., *Britain’s Oceanic Empire: Atlantic and Indian Ocean Worlds, c. 1550–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 45–65; John McAleer, *Britain’s Maritime Empire: Southern Africa, the South Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, 1763–1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

<sup>74</sup> J.R. Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery: The Mobilisation of Public Opinion Against the Slave Trade* (London: Manchester University Press, 1995); Jeremy Osborn, “India and the East India Company in the Public Sphere of Eighteenth-Century Britain,” in H.V. Bowen, Margarette Lincoln, and Nigel Rigby, eds., *The Worlds of the East India Company* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2002), 201–21; Tillman W. Nechtman, *Nabobs: Empire and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

and moral reform campaigns.<sup>75</sup> The challenge is accordingly to explore the ways in which abolitionist forces in these oceanic worlds interacted with one another in greater detail. The need to do so is illustrated by the fact that the 1789 and 1790 proclamations banning slave trading in Calcutta and Madras, Cornwallis's 1789 plan to abolish slavery in India, and attempts to suppress slave trading along the Coromandel Coast and in Malabar province during the early 1790s occurred during the same years (1788–92) that witnessed intense agitation in Britain to outlaw the British slave trade. This coincidence raises an important question: Were these developments in India little more than a pale reflection of metropolitan abolitionism or autonomic responses to political pressure from London, or were they developments of major consequence in their own right which had a significant impact on British and other European abolitionists, their agendas, and imperial policies and practices during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries?

That we can no longer turn a blind eye to the multi-faceted dialogue that occurred between abolitionists in the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic is demonstrated in other ways. India Office records confirm that the highest echelons of the British government knew of and approved of the EIC's abolitionist policies and undertakings. The members of the Board of Control, which supervised the company's civil, financial, and military affairs after 1784, who gave final approval to the 1786 proposal to emancipate Bencoolen's slaves included Prime Minister William Pitt the Younger, Henry Dundas, who would play an important role in defeating the 1792 parliamentary bill to abolish the British slave trade, and William Grenville, who, as prime minister, oversaw the abolition of the British slave trade in 1807. The need to explore the ways and extent to which events in the Indian Ocean influenced abolitionist policies and practices in the Atlantic is likewise illustrated by the fact that gubernatorial dispatches about suppressing the illegal slave trade to Mauritius were laid before the prince regent, the future George IV, on at least three occasions during the 1810s. The prince regent also expressed his strong approval of an 1816 proposal to have Ceylonese slave owners volun-

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<sup>75</sup> Laidlaw, "'Justice to India'."

tarily manumit their slave children and, following his accession to the throne in 1820, of legislation to emancipate all female slave children of certain castes in that colony.<sup>76</sup> As Suzanne Miers reminds us, the struggle to abolish slave trading and slavery in the *Mare Indicum* continued well into the twentieth century.<sup>77</sup>

In addition to slaves and indentured laborers, Asian convicts numbered among the laborers transported throughout the Indian Ocean world. The Dutch East India Company established the precedent for doing so by transporting Ceylonese, Chinese, and Javanese prisoners to the Cape of Good Hope within several years of that colony's establishment in 1652, a practice that continued well into the eighteenth century. The British were no strangers to this practice when they began to ship Indian convicts beyond the subcontinent's shores during the 1780s; between 1718 and 1775, British authorities dispatched 50,000 convicts to their American colonies.<sup>78</sup> The first convicts to leave India under EIC auspices did so in 1787, the same year that witnessed the first of the more than 160,000 convicts who reached Australia between 1788 and 1868 left Britain. An estimated 108,000 Indian and Ceylonese convicts would reach the Andaman Islands, Bencoolen, Burma, Malacca, Mauritius, Penang, and Singapore, mostly between the late 1780s and 1860s.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Allen, *European Slave Trading*, 211.

<sup>77</sup> Suzanne Miers, *Slavery in the Twentieth Century: The Evolution of a Global Problem* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2003).

<sup>78</sup> Farley Grubb, "The Transatlantic Market for British Convict Labor," *Journal of Economic History* 60, no. 1 (2000): 94–122; Colin Forster, "Convicts: Unwilling Migrants from Britain and France," in David Eltis, ed., *Coerced and Free Migration: Global Perspectives* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), 259–91.

<sup>79</sup> Clare Anderson, "The British Indian Empire, 1789–1939," in Clare Anderson, ed., *A Global History of Convicts and Penal Colonies* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), 211, 215. See also: Clare Anderson, *Convicts in the Indian Ocean: Transportation from South Asia to Mauritius, 1815–53* (London: Macmillan Press, 2000); Satadru Sen, *Disciplining Punishment: Colonialism and Convict Society in the Andaman Islands* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000); Anand A. Yang, "Indian Convict Workers in Southeast Asia in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," *Journal of World History* 14, no. 2 (2003): 179–208; Clare Anderson, *The Indian Uprising of 1857–8: Prisons, Prisoners and Rebellion* (London: Anthem Press, 2007), chap. 5; Clare Anderson, "Sepoys, Servants and Settlers: Convict Transportation in the Indian Ocean, 1787–1945," in Frank Dikötter and Ian Brown, eds., *Cultures of Confinement: A History of the Prison in Africa, Asia and Latin America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007), 185–220; Marcus Rediker, Cassandra Pybus, and Emma Christopher, "Introduction," in Emma

Contemporary sources attest that this recourse to Indian convict labor was intimately bound up with slavery, abolitionism, and indentured labor in various ways. The first Indian convicts to reach Bencoolen did so just a year after the 1786 proposal to emancipate the factory's slaves. In 1798, a British district officer in Bengal argued that sending Indian convicts to Trinidad, where they could become the nucleus of a new class of colonial husbandmen upon completing their sentences, would help to undermine the transatlantic slave trade. Mauritian governor Robert Farquhar reported in 1816 that the island's slaves and planters both benefitted from using Indian convicts on public works projects, and that monies raised by the local maroonage tax were being used to cover the cost of feeding, lodging, and guarding these convicts.<sup>80</sup> Clare Anderson's perceptive analysis of the similar ways in which British colonial officials thought about and processed Indian convicts and indentured laborers during the early nineteenth century likewise highlights the ways in which these different labor trades were intertwined with each other.<sup>81</sup>

To argue that historians of slave, indentured, and convict labor must shake off the tyranny of the particular is, in many respects, to challenge decades of accepted historical practice and wisdom. To do so is, at a minimum, to invite potentially contentious debate with those committed to viewing the human experience with slave and bonded labor through specific sets of lenses. Evidence of such conceptual myopia is not hard to find. As the programs of the annual African Studies Association meetings attest, many Africanists remain reluctant to look beyond the beaches at Mogadishu, Mombasa, and Mozambique as they seek to reconstruct the history of eastern and southern Africa. The argument that European and American inspired definitions of slave status are not suited to understanding slavery in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa, the Indian

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Christopher, Cassandra Pybus, and Marcus Rediker, eds., *Many Middle Passages: Forced Migration and the Making of the Modern World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 1–19; Clare Anderson, *Subaltern Lives: Biographies of Colonialism in the Indian Ocean World, 1790–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 93–123.

<sup>80</sup> Allen, *European Slave Trading*, 205–06.

<sup>81</sup> Clare Anderson, "Convicts and Coolies: Rethinking Indentured Labour in the Nineteenth Century," *Slavery and Abolition* 30, no. 1 (2009): 93–109.

Ocean world, and Asia<sup>82</sup> elicited an impassioned rejection of any such notion from many of the historians who attended the 2008 conference in Zanzibar on the Indian Ocean world as a cultural continuum despite the existence of important scholarship on the role that debt played in shaping slave systems in Southeast Asia.<sup>83</sup> Similar observations can be made about indentured labor studies where the Tinkerian paradigm's dominance manifests itself in the historiographical obsession with labor recruitment, control, and resistance, and worker's living and working conditions<sup>84</sup> to the exclusion of other equally, if not ultimately more, important aspects of indentured workers' lives and history such as their ability to escape the bonds of wage labor upon completing their legally mandated "industrial residence" and become more independent socio-economic actors in their own right.<sup>85</sup>

As I invariably tell my students every semester, if we are truly honest with ourselves, we will admit that we prefer to understand the world in which we live in rather simple, binary terms, i.e., things are basically black or white, right or left, etc. Many people are accordingly hesitant to grapple with the messiness inherent in complexity. Historians are, in their own way, not all that different. The emphasis on establishing clearly delineated geographical, chronological, topical, and conceptual parameters to the research projects that are the life blood of what we do, first as graduate students and then as academics rushing to publish the articles, monographs, and edited collections that are crucial to job offers, tenure, and promotion, suggests that we too are often hesitant to delve as deeply as we might into the complexities of the highly emotive

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<sup>82</sup> E.g., Gwyn Campbell, "Introduction: Slavery and Other Forms of Unfree Labour in the Indian Ocean World," in Campbell, *The Structure of Slavery*, vii–xxxii; Suzanne Miers, "Slavery: A Question of Definition," in Campbell, *The Structure of Slavery*, 1–16. See also Joseph C. Miller, *The Problem of Slavery as History: A Global Approach* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012).

<sup>83</sup> E.g., Reid, *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency*; Alain Testart, "The Extent and Significance of Debt Slavery," *Revue française de sociologie* 43 (2002): 173–204. On debt and slavery elsewhere, see: Gwyn Campbell and Alessandro Stanziani, eds., *Bonded Labour and Debt in the Indian Ocean World* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013); Gwyn Campbell and Alessandro Stanziani, eds., *Debt and Slavery in the Mediterranean and Atlantic Worlds* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013).

<sup>84</sup> Allen, "Re-conceptualizing the 'New System of Slavery'."

<sup>85</sup> E.g., Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen, and Indentured Laborers*, chap. 6.

and often problematic human experience with slavery and cognate forms of labor.

The question before us then is how can we expand our knowledge and understanding of the nature and dynamics of the slave and cognate labor systems that captivate us? Let me suggest that there are at least three ways we can do so. The first is to pay closer attention to what our sources have to tell us and pursue the lines of inquiry that they reveal, however unexpectedly. In my own case, doing so has meant exploring the role that children, often ignored in slavery studies,<sup>86</sup> played in shaping abolitionist discourse, policy, and practice during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>87</sup> Officials in British India remained deeply concerned about the enslavement and trafficking of boys and girls. This consternation was first articulated in 1774 when Warren Hastings and his council justified their decision to regulate slave trading in Bengal on the grounds that the Dutch and French traders who exported slaves from India were destroying many children's lives in the process. The public rationale for the 1789 and 1790 bans on exporting slaves from the Calcutta and Madras presidencies reflected a deep sense of moral opprobrium that the slave trade in general, and the enslavement and exportation of children in particular, was contrary to the "dictates of humanity."

That these sentiments continued to resonate into the mid-1830s invariably raises questions about the extent to which this concern influenced abolitionist thought and agendas in the Atlantic as well as the *Mare Indicum*. Histories of abolitionism,<sup>88</sup> including those that adopt

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<sup>86</sup> Exceptions include: Gwyn Campbell, Suzanne Miers, and Joseph C. Miller, eds., *Children in Slavery Through the Ages* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009); Gwyn Campbell, Suzanne Miers, and Joseph C. Miller, eds., *Child Slaves in the Modern World* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2011); Colleen A. Vasconcellos, *Slavery, Childhood and Abolition in Jamaica, 1788–1838* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015); Anna Mae Duane, ed., *Child Slavery Before and After Emancipation: An Argument for Child-Centered Slavery Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Sandra Rowoldt Shell, *Children of Hope: The Odyssey of the Oromo Slaves from Ethiopia to South Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2019).

<sup>87</sup> Richard B. Allen, "A Traffic Repugnant to Humanity: Children, the Mascarene Slave Trade and British Abolitionism," *Slavery and Abolition* 27, no. 2 (2006): 219–36.

<sup>88</sup> E.g., David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966); David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolu-*

a more comparative approach to this topic,<sup>89</sup> usually ignore this issue. The need to explore the way(s) in which the worlds of abolitionists and children intersected is underscored by two facts: that the percentage of children in transatlantic cargoes doubled during the nineteenth century from what it had been during the eighteenth century;<sup>90</sup> and that the modern western bourgeois ideology of the child and the attendant propensity to view children as well as animals and slaves through the prism of sentimentalism and humanitarianism developed during the late eighteenth century.<sup>91</sup> Ongoing research also reveals that the EIC's abolitionist policies and practices cannot be viewed in isolation from other manifestations of its desire to act according to the "dictates of humanity," a commitment that included engaging actively in programs of famine relief, establishing and/or supporting institutions such as lunatic asylums, "native" hospitals, orphanages, and public dispensaries to serve the needs of local Indian populations, and a determination to vaccinate millions of people in India, Sumatra, and China against smallpox following Edward Jenner's discovery that inoculating people with cowpox protected them from this dreaded disease. The depth and extent of this commitment is indicated by the Bombay Presidency's vaccination of more than 955,000 men, women, and children against smallpox between

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*tion, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975); Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776–1848* (London: Verso, 1988); Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (Oxford University Press, 2006); Seymour Drescher, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

<sup>89</sup> E.g., Martin A. Klein, ed., *Breaking the Chains: Slavery, Bondage, and Emancipation in Modern Africa and Asia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993); Campbell, *Abolition and its Aftermath*; Derek R. Peterson, ed., *Abolitionism and Imperialism in Britain, Africa, and the Atlantic* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010); William Mulligan and Maurice Bric, eds., *A Global History of Anti-Slavery Politics in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Myriam Cottias and Marie-Jeanne Rosignol, eds., *Distant Ripples of the British Abolitionist Wave: Africa, Asia and the Americas* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2017).

<sup>90</sup> Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, 63, 139.

<sup>91</sup> Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500* (London: Longman, 1995); Colin Heywood, *A History of Childhood: Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001).



1802 and 1829,<sup>92</sup> while the Calcutta Presidency, which maintained no fewer than 30 vaccination centers across northern India in 1828, spent more than 1.6 million rupees to support vaccination between 1803/04 and 1835/36, and inoculated more than 651,000 individuals from 1827 through 1841.<sup>93</sup>

Expanding our knowledge and understanding of slavery and cognate forms of labor also requires drawing consciously on the information and insights provided by cognate disciplines such as anthropology, archaeology, and sociology. The value of doing so is highlighted by a growing appreciation among some historians that archaeological analysis of material culture can open windows onto aspects of slave and indentured life rarely documented in the archival record, a point underscored by the journal *Slavery and Abolition's* publication in 2014 of a special issue on the material cultures of slavery and abolition in the British Caribbean,<sup>94</sup> recent work on the archaeologies of slavery and freedom in the Caribbean,<sup>95</sup> and the publication in 2018 of an award-winning collection of essays on archaeology and history in the Indian Ocean.<sup>96</sup> Archaeological research has, for example, yielded substantial information about the lives of the “Liberated Africans” landed on St. Helena during the nineteenth century,<sup>97</sup> while excavations in Mauritius have provided new insights into the socio-cultural universe of the local free

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<sup>92</sup> IOR: P/359/40, Bombay Castle Public Consultation, 17 November 1830, [No. 112], Appendix C. Return of Persons Vaccinated in the Territories of the Bombay Presidency.

<sup>93</sup> Duncan Steward, M.D., *Report on Small-Pox in Calcutta, 1833–34, 1837–38, 1843–44, and Vaccination in Bengal, from 1827 to 1844* (Calcutta: G.H. Huttman, Military Orphan Press, 1844), 177, 192, Table I (after p. 264).

<sup>94</sup> *Slavery and Abolition* 35, no. 3 (2014). Reprinted as Christer Petley and Stephan Lenik, eds., *Material Cultures of Slavery and Abolition in the British Caribbean* (Abington, UK: Routledge, 2017).

<sup>95</sup> Lynsey A. Bates, John M. Chenoweth, and James A. Delle, eds., *Archaeologies of Slavery and Freedom in the Caribbean: Exploring the Places In Between* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2016).

<sup>96</sup> Krish Seetah, ed., *Connecting Continents: Archaeology and History in the Indian Ocean World* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2018). This volume won the Society of American Archaeology's scholarly book award in 2019.

<sup>97</sup> Andrew Pearson, Ben Jeffs, Annsofie Witkin, and Helen MacQuarrie, *Infernal Traffic: Excavation of a Liberated African Graveyard in Rupert's Valley, St. Helena* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2011); Helen MacQuarrie and Andrew Pearson, “Prize Possessions: Transported Material Culture of the Post-Abolition Enslaved – New Evidence from St. Helena,” *Slavery and Abolition* 37, no. 1 (2016): 45–72.

population of color during the nineteenth century and the dynamics of religious syncretism, especially among modern Mauritians of African and Malagasy slave ancestry.<sup>98</sup> DNA analysis has, in turn, shed new light on the origins and subsequent history of the East African slaves known as Siddis<sup>99</sup> who reached India over the centuries.<sup>100</sup>

Lastly, expanding our knowledge and understanding of slavery and cognate labor systems brings me back to my earlier observation that the last 50 years have witnessed a revolution in these fields of study, a revolution that has created a massive body of scholarship that all too often remains underutilized. There are relatively few aspects of the slave, convict, and indentured experience that someone has not already written something about in some part of the globe, a historiographical reality which highlights the need for historians of slavery and cognate labor systems to contextualize their research much more fully – locally, region-

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<sup>98</sup> Richard B. Allen, “History, Historical Archaeology, and the ‘History of Silence’: Forced and Free Migration in the Indian Ocean, 1700–1900,” in Seetah, *Connecting Continents*, 121–42; Saša Čaval, “Archaeology and Religious Syncretism in Mauritius,” in Seetah, *Connecting Continents*, 230–52.

<sup>99</sup> E.g., Mansi Gauniyal, S.M.S. Chahal, and Gautam K. Kshatriya, “Genetic Affinities of the Siddis of South India: An Emigrant Population of East Africa,” *Human Biology* 80, no. 3 (2008): 251–70; Mansi Gauniyal, Aastha Aggarwal, and Gautam K. Kshatriya, “Genomic Structure of the Immigrant Siddis of East Africa to Southern India: A Study of 20 Autosomal DNA Markers,” *Biochem Genet* 49, no. 7/8 (2011): 427–42; Ankita Narang *et al.*, “Recent Admixture in an Indian Population of African Ancestry,” *American Journal of Human Genetics* 89, no. 1 (2011): 111–20; Anish M. Shah *et al.*, “Indian Siddis: African Descendants with Indian Admixture,” *American Journal of Human Genetics* 89, no. 1 (2011): 154–61; Romauld Laso-Jadart *et al.*, “The Genetic Legacy of the Indian Ocean Slave Trade: Recent Admixture and Post-admixture Selection in the Makranis of Pakistan,” *American Journal of Human Genetics* 101, no. 6 (2017): 977–84.

<sup>100</sup> For an overview of Africans in India, see Edward A. Alpers, “Africans in India and the Wider Context of the Indian Ocean,” in Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy and Edward A. Alpers, eds., *Sidis and Scholars: Essays on African Indians* (Noida, India: Rainbow Publishers, 2004), 27–41. See also: Richard Pankhurst, “The Ethiopian Diaspora to India: The Role of Habshis and Sidis from Medieval Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century,” in Jayasuriya and Pankhurst, *The African Diaspora*, 189–221; Helene Basu, “Slave, Soldier, Trader, Faqir: Fragments of African History in Western India (Gujarat),” in Jayasuriya and Pankhurst, *The African Diaspora*, 223–49; Pashington Obeng, “Service to God, Service to Master/Client: African Indian Military Contribution to Karnataka,” *African and Asian Studies* 6, no. 3 (2007): 271–88; Faaeza Jasdhanwalla, “African Settlers on the West Coast of India: The Sidi Elite of Janjira,” *African and Asian Studies* 10, no. 1 (2010): 41–58; Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, “The Colonial Response to African Slaves in British India – Two Contrasting Cases,” *African and Asian Studies* 10, no. 1 (2011): 59–70.

ally, pan-regionally, and comparatively. As someone trained in anthropology as well as history, I appreciate the difficulties inherent in doing so, but 45 years of research on slavery and indentured labor in the Indian Ocean and Atlantic worlds convinces me that the future of these fields of study ultimately rests on our ability to explain convincingly to people, including those for whom slave or indentured ancestry is an important component of individual and community identity and attempts to seek redress for the disabilities under which they live because of their slave or indentured heritage,<sup>101</sup> why they should be interested in what we do, and why what we do is important and relevant.

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<sup>101</sup> E.g., Rosabelle Boswell, *Le malaise créole: Ethnic Identity in Mauritius* (New York: Berghahn, 2006); *Report of the Truth and Justice Commission of Mauritius* (Port Louis, Mauritius: Government Printing Office, November 2011); Douglas Hamilton, Kate Hodgson, and Joel Quirk, eds., *Slavery, Memory and Identity: National Representations and Global Legacies* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012); Ana Lucia Araujo, *Reparations for Slavery and the Slave Trade: A Transnational and Comparative History* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017); Annie Bunting and Joel Quirk, eds., *Contemporary Slavery: The Rhetoric of Global Human Rights Campaigns* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017).

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- ture of Slavery in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia, edited by Gwyn Campbell, 33–50. London: Frank Cass, 2004.
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In *Slave, Convict and Indentured Labor and the Tyranny of the Particular*, distinguished historian Richard B. Allen draws on forty-five years of research on slavery and indentured labor in the Indian Ocean world and Asia to challenge scholars to look beyond the chronological, conceptual, and geographical confines of the specialized case studies that characterize research on slavery and related forms of migrant labor and situate their studies in more fully developed local, regional, pan-regional, and comparative contexts. As this inaugural Joseph C. Miller Memorial Lecture at the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies demonstrates, the globality of European slave trading and abolitionism and the connections between the slave, convict, and indentured labor trades in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century colonial world highlight the need to adopt more holistic approaches to studying the nature, dynamics, and impact of the human experience with slavery and cognate forms of forced labor in both the past and the present.

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Richard B. Allen is an internationally-known scholar and teacher trained in anthropology and history recognized for his work on the social and economic history of Mauritius, slavery and indentured labor in the colonial plantation world, and slavery, slave trading, and abolition in the Indian Ocean. He is the recipient of two Fulbright research awards and prestigious research fellowships from the American Council of Learned Societies and the National Endowment for the Humanities. His publications include *Slaves, Freedmen and Indentured Laborers in Colonial Mauritius* (Cambridge University Press, 1999) and *European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500–1850* (Ohio University Press, 2014).