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THE TRADE IN SLAVES IN OVAMBOLAND, ca.1850-1910

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Ovamboland, located in the northernmost part of present-day Namibia and southern Angola, was drawn into the orbit of the slave trade during the nineteenth century. Although the Atlantic slave trade dwindled in west-central Africa by the mid-nineteenth century, slave raiding within the region did not cease. Slave labor was redirected within Africa to produce “legitimate” exports, and thus, the African social order was more firmly rooted in slavery than ever before by the last decades of the nineteenth century.¹ In the mid-1880s, Ovamboland was divided by one of the most artificial colonial boundaries in Africa – the border between German South West Africa and Portuguese Angola. The cultural links between northern Namibia and southern Angola are ancient and strong, and thus Angolan and Namibian histories are inextricably interlinked.² By examining a single economic phenomenon, namely the slave trade, the Angolan connection in Namibian history becomes evident. The Angolan slave traders influenced not only the economic development of Ovamboland, but also its social and political development.

This article tries to clarify what were the economic and social consequences of the slave trade in Ovamboland. The central question is how the slave trade affected the Ovambo communities.³ On the one hand, the intensity of the slave trade depended on who controlled the trade among the Ovambo. At first, the Ovambo kings monopolized the slave trade, but as it proved very profitable, the Ovambo elite tried to earn a share in it as well. The trade in slaves became an object of serious competition for the Ovambo rulers. The items that were sought by the Ovambo in exchange for slaves, namely alcohol and firearms, only increased insecure conditions in Ovambo communities. On the other hand, on the Portuguese side, it was private merchants and plantation owners that tried to profit, directly or indirectly, from the slave trade. The colonial state was powerless and unwilling to try to limit slavery in southern Angola. Although the Portuguese enacted legislation against slavery in their colony, it appears that there was little or no control in the southern parts of Angola. The slave trade

and slavery were rife well into the twentieth century. On the German side, the colonial government in South West Africa was no more successful in hindering the trade and smuggling that were going on across the border to Angola.

From the mid-nineteenth century, the slave trade expanded rapidly in southern Angola and had devastating consequences for the affected societies. In the 1970s, Clarence-Smith, whose research was mainly based on Portuguese archives, did the pioneering work on southern Angolan history.⁴ However, the Portuguese sources give an incomplete picture of the slave trade in southern Angola. My research has been based mainly on Finnish archival material produced by Finnish missionaries.⁵ The missionary sources provide a picture of what was unfolding in the southern Ovambo kingdoms that were being tapped by the Portuguese as sources of slave supply. Finnish missionaries started to work in Ovamboland in 1870, but the Ovambo were not subjected to direct colonial administration until 1915, a full three decades after the Berlin Conference. The Finns were the only Europeans who were constantly active in Ovamboland from 1870 onward. Although the missionaries condemned the activities of the Portuguese in their rhetoric, they could not take action against the slave traders who were operating in the area. The Finns viewed slave trading as evil and against God's will, but opposing it openly in front of the Ovambo kings would certainly have put their mission in jeopardy. However, when the slave trade finally ended, the missionaries took full credit for its abolition.⁶

The Arrival of European Traders in Ovamboland

The slave trade spread to Angola in violent outbreaks during the centuries of the Atlantic slave trade. According to Miller, this led to an entire series of local transformations that resembled a moving frontier zone of slaving violence. This 'frontier of violence' spread from the Kongo kingdom in the sixteenth century beyond the Kwanza and into the Kwango valley in the seventeenth century.⁷ Ferreira has argued that in the mid-1680s, exports of slaves dropped in Luanda due to the colonial inability to control trade in the Luanda hinterland and the growth of slave embarkations by French, Dutch and British ships in northern Angola. The governors played a dominating role in the trade in Luanda and created a business-unfriendly environment in the

colonial capital, which made Benguela an ideal place for private merchants to carry out slaving activities. Full-fledged trading networks developed in Benguela in the eighteenth-century, and wars in the central Angolan highlands sent slaves to the city. Trading networks channeled Indian textiles to Benguela, where merchants from Brazil held the upper hand. This increased the volume of unofficial slaving in the city.⁸

Portuguese interests in southern Angola grew gradually. By the 1760s, Portuguese settlers in Benguela managed to establish contacts with the Humbe along the Kunene River, who supplied small numbers of slaves to the Atlantic slave trade.⁹ According to Miller, the Humbe, seeking relief from drought, moved directly westward for the first time in the 1780s. In the process they seized slaves from the agropastoral people – including the Ovambo – of the interior floodplains of the Kakulovar and the Kunene, and offered them to French ships calling on the coast.¹⁰ However, Portuguese traders did not establish a fixed trading post at Humbe until the 1840s.¹¹

The key development that expanded full-scale slaving violence into Ovamboland was the establishment of the town of Mossamedes in 1840. Although the export of slaves from Angola had been outlawed in 1836, smuggling was commonly practiced on the Angolan coast, and the harbor of Mossamedes continued to send slave ships on their voyages.¹² In fact, the smuggling of slaves from Mossamedes to Cuba was still being practiced in 1860.¹³ Slave labor was desperately needed to develop the town, and thus Portuguese slave traders started to roam around the southern parts of the colony, making their first recorded visit to Ovamboland in 1849.¹⁴ Even before 1849, the Ovambo had established their first contacts with non-Africans through the Imbangala, who were the Portuguese traders' African middlemen.¹⁵ Initially, the Imbangala traded glass beads and spirits with the Ovambo in exchange for ivory.¹⁶ However, in 1849 the Kwanyama king pronounced himself ready to raid his neighbors for resources to buy Portuguese goods.¹⁷

At the same time, traders and hunters from south of the Kunene River also took an interest in Ovamboland. The Englishman Francis Galton and the Swede Charles John Andersson reached Ovamboland from the south in June 1851. After their trip, Galton categorically denied that a slave trade existed between the Ovambo and the Portuguese.¹⁸ However, Galton's and Andersson's journey did not lead

to an immediate flood of traders to the area from the south. In fact, Ovamboland had no significance as a market region for the Walvis Bay-based traders in the 1850s.¹⁹ In July 1857, German missionaries Hugo Hahn and Johannes Rath arrived in Ondonga. The existence of a slave trade was strongly denied by Hahn, who wrote that the Ndonga did not sell their war captives, although this was the practice in neighboring kingdoms.²⁰ Even though the written sources state that Ondonga had not adopted the practice of slave trading in the 1850s, McKittrick has pointed out that oral sources argue that the Ndonga were indeed selling slaves in the 1850s.²¹

The Ovambo remained fairly isolated from serious European influence until the end of the 1850s. As Siiskonen has shown, the Kunene River region attracted the Portuguese mainly as a source of cattle and ivory, which they received in exchange for glass beads, jewelry, tobacco and alcohol. However, the trade in slaves became common at the end of the 1860s. A special feature of the trade was that at first the Portuguese traded only arms and ammunition for slaves. In the 1850s some Ovambo kings had refused to sell war captives or their own people to the Portuguese, but it was the desire for firearms that motivated the kings to join the slave trade.²²

In the 1860s, the American Civil War sent prices of cotton soaring on the world market, and, as Clarence-Smith has shown, Mossamedes settlers replaced sugarcane with cotton wherever possible. This was the period of the greatest agricultural prosperity that coastal southern Angola ever experienced. After Reconstruction in the American South, cotton prices slumped, and Mossamedes planters turned once more to sugarcane. Sugar cane had been grown there since the 1850s for processing into *aguardente*,²³ which was also used for trade in Ovamboland. Cane planting was stimulated by the influx of settlers from Brazil, who brought with them capital, machinery, and experience.²⁴ Producers of *aguardente* faced severe competition from cheap Hamburg gin, but protection was granted so that foreign alcohol was virtually excluded from the colony.²⁵ In addition to sugar and cotton growing, fishing was a third important industry. Most of the manual labor in all these productive activities was done by slaves.²⁶

Hugo Hahn made a second trip to Ovamboland in 1866. He noted that slave traders had now arrived in Ondonga as well, and it seems that they had gained a steady foothold in Uukwanyama and

Uukwambi. He pointed out that slave markets were in existence in Uukwanyama – at the time of Hahn’s visit in July 1866, Shipandeka was wearing a European costume that had cost him the amount of a hundred head of cattle, and a part of the payment had been made in ivory and slaves. In Uukwanyama, Hahn heard from a trader that the Kwanyama were accomplished in capturing young children and selling them as slaves. Uukwambi was another center of the slave trade in Ovamboland, where King Nuujoma traded slaves for spirits. However, it seems that in Ondonga the English traders were competing with the Portuguese. According to Hahn, slave trading was not widely practiced, although Portuguese alcohol had arrived in Ondonga shortly before Hahn’s visit.²⁷

The Walvis Bay traders thought that the position of the Portuguese was too strong in the Ovambo market in the 1860s. Competition with the Portuguese, who monopolized the market, was considered a problem because of the high prices paid for ivory in southern Angola. The greatest issue that divided traders arriving in Ovamboland from the north and south was the slave trade. The selling of slaves to Hereroland and the exporting of them through Walvis Bay was considered illegal, and, according to Siiskonen, smuggling was not practiced.²⁸

Arrival of the Finnish Missionaries in Ovamboland

The Finnish Missionary Society (FMS) was founded in 1859. During the 1860s, the board of the FMS debated about the selection of a suitable mission field, and in 1867, the board discussed the possibilities of starting missionary work in Ovamboland. Carl Hugo Hahn, one of the key individuals among the German missionaries in South West Africa, was to have a decisive influence on the FMS. A copy of Hahn’s diary from his second trip to Ovamboland arrived in Finland in May 1867, and a few months later, on 18 September 1867, an extraordinary annual meeting of the FMS approved the board’s plan to work in Ovamboland. The decision to send Finnish missionaries to Ovamboland rested almost solely on Hahn’s letters and the travel diary.²⁹

In it, Hahn had painted a glowing picture of Ovamboland. Although Hahn touched upon the problem of slave raiding in Uukwanyama and the evils of alcohol consumption in Uukwambi, he

concluded that Ovamboland would be most suitable for a European mission, as long as the missionaries were Lutheran. Hahn feared that Catholic missionaries might enter Ovamboland from Angola.³⁰ The decision to send missionaries to Africa, however, was not an easy one for the FMS board. According to Peltola, it was feared that the war between the Nama and the Herero would prevent the Rhenish Mission Society from helping the Finnish missionaries on their arrival to Hereroland, the site that had been chosen to be the starting base for the Finns in Africa. The climatic conditions in Ovamboland were also a headache for the board.³¹ Despite the conflicting viewpoints on conditions in Ovamboland, the FMS board was full of enthusiasm in its official declaration:

[Ovamboland] is the only stretch along the coast of Africa which has not been demoralized through slave wars and trade. People are farmers and not nomads. Civil life is organized and although the princes are ruling as despots, their despotism is almost patriarchal. The princes want missionaries so eagerly that it is almost without a precedent in the history of missionary work in Africa.³²

Seven missionaries and three artisans were sent to Africa in June 1868, and they traveled through Barmen and London to South Africa, finally reaching Walvis Bay in February 1869. The Finns stayed in Otyimbingue with Rhenish missionaries, and started learning the Herero language.³³ While in Otyimbingue they heard rumors about the slave trade being carried out by the Portuguese in Ovamboland.³⁴ Ovamboland was far from the untouched paradise that had been anticipated by the missionaries, and in early 1870 they were also told about intertribal raids and wars between the kingdoms of Ondonga and Uukwambi. King Shikongo's Ndonga forces had attacked King Nuujoma four times, but every time the Ndonga forces had been beaten back and suffered heavy losses.³⁵ As Een had observed in the 1860s, hostilities between Ondonga and Uukwambi were common, and King Nuujoma eagerly sought firearms, so that Uukwambi would be in a better position to challenge Ondonga.³⁶

Finally, with the arrival of the dry season in May 1870, the Finns left Otyimbingue. They arrived in Ovamboland in July 1870, and split into two groups - one to settle in Ondonga and the other in Uukwambi. At the time of their arrival, Uukwambi forces were

raiding Ondonga, but the missionaries who settled in these two kingdoms were able to work out a peace between King Shikongo of Ondonga and King Nuujoma of Uukwambi.³⁷ Thus, it seemed that the work of the Finnish missionaries had achieved a promising beginning.

The Central Slave Trading Kingdoms

The Finns had their first collision with Portuguese slave traders in September 1870 in Uukwambi, when King Nuujoma traded five slaves and some cattle for a horse.³⁸ During the latter part of 1870 the Portuguese were regular visitors to Uukwambi, and they brought large quantities of alcohol to Nuujoma, who was eager to obtain Portuguese goods, no matter what the price.³⁹ To support his consumption habits, Nuujoma forgot the promises he had given to the missionaries to live peacefully, and he started to send his men to raid neighboring kingdoms again. The missionaries learned very early on what the raids meant for the captives, when Nuujoma gave them a small boy, kidnapped from Uukwanyama.⁴⁰ In late November, Nuujoma captured a man who participated in a raiding party sent to Uukwambi from Ombalantu, and he sent his men out to avenge the attack. Nuujoma's men returned from Ombalantu to Uukwambi with cattle and firearms captured in the raid.⁴¹

Uukwambi's aggression continued on into January of 1871, when a raiding party returned from the north with approximately a hundred head of cattle and 73 captives. Over a half of the captives were women and children, who were much easier to capture in a raid than men, because men usually fought back in resistance. These captives, however, were not sold to the Portuguese, but were divided between the men who participated in the attack. In April, the Uukwambi forces cooperated with the Kwanyama and the Ngandjera in a raid against Ombandja. The old King of Ombandja had long held back the European traders and had not given them permission to enter his kingdom, but he was challenged and overcome by some of his own subjects, who were able to get support from Uukwambi, Uukwanyama, and Ongandjera. According to Rautanen, over 2,000 men from Uukwambi participated in the operation, and they returned to Uukwambi with captives numbering between 200 and 300.⁴²

The Portuguese traders felt that their market position in Uukwambi was threatened by the missionaries, who had criticized

Nuujoma's behavior and his actions. The missionary Kurvinen especially interfered with local politics and voiced his opinion against the slave trade.⁴³ It appears that Nuujoma listened to the missionaries for a while, and did not trade with the Portuguese in the spring of 1871, although he had many captives on hand.⁴⁴ However, the Portuguese were able to regain their former influence over Nuujoma, and the king started to criticize the missionaries in public, and even threatened to kill any of his subjects who had anything to do with the Finns.⁴⁵ The relations between the Finns and King Nuujoma continued to deteriorate. The situation was aggravated when Nuujoma demanded that Piirainen, who had been sent to Ovamboland as an artisan and settler, should work exclusively for the king without remuneration. Piirainen worked as a gunsmith, repairing the old Portuguese rifles, and he was the only Finn who Nuujoma really wanted. According to Weiss, the quarrel between Piirainen and Nuujoma resulted in an open rift by the end of March 1872, and Piirainen and his wife left Uukwambi in April. After Piirainen's departure, the relations between the Finns and Nuujoma were so strained that there was no choice but to abandon the mission in Uukwambi.⁴⁶

The reasons for the failure of the mission in Uukwambi were debated by the missionaries in the field. The impact of the Portuguese slave traders was assessed by almost all the Finns, who accused them of selling spirits and firearms to Nuujoma and buying slaves and cattle. As Weiss has shown, the missionaries viewed the Portuguese as messengers of destruction to all Ovambo polities. To the slave traders, the Finns represented a problematic factor in the economic reconfiguration of Ovamboland.⁴⁷ Collision was inevitable between the two groups. The Finns interpreted the issue of the slave trade as a crime against Christian values, but they were not in a position to challenge the traders. Doing so would have put the mission in jeopardy. As Björklund, a Finnish missionary, commented, it was not advisable to attack the political order, as the Finns had done in Uukwambi. He also stressed that the missionaries should not openly interfere with the slave trade, although it was an evil from the missionaries' point of view.⁴⁸

In addition to Uukwambi, Portuguese traders and their middlemen were active in Uukwanyama, where they had established a main trading post as early as the 1850s.⁴⁹ There the Portuguese traded textiles, firearms and other goods for slaves. For the Kwanyama King

Shipandeka, rifles and alcohol were the most sought after items that the Portuguese were bringing to the kingdom, and alcohol was already starting to be a cause of restlessness in Uukwanyama in the early 1870s. The Portuguese had clearly established a strong foothold in Uukwanyama – Tolonen, one of the Finns, reported that while he was staying in the kingdom in 1871 he had met a Kwanyama man who could speak Portuguese. Tolonen also visited the place where slaves were held before being sold. The slave market was well organized and controlled by King Shipandeka.³⁰ Some years later, Gerald McKiernan visited a Portuguese trader's camp in Uukwanyama, which was located about a mile from Shipandeka's homestead. There he encountered several slaves in chains – women with iron collars around their necks and chains extending from the collars to the ankles. According to McKiernan, some of the slaves were sold to the coastal plantations while others were traded for ivory. Slaves were also employed by traders to serve as porters.³¹

Ongandjera and Ondonga were not of great importance for the Portuguese slave traders in the early 1870s. Ongandjera was not located along the main trading route, and Ondonga, being the southernmost Ovambo kingdom, did not attract the Portuguese so much, because they were entering Ovamboland from the north. Meanwhile, the position of Uukwambi as a central slave-trading kingdom started to deteriorate in 1872. Raiding proved to be unsuccessful in many cases, and Portuguese traders felt that they were not receiving as many slaves from Uukwambi as they wanted. Uukwambi and Ongandjera still cooperated in raiding other kingdoms, but it was common that soldiers from Ongandjera always returned to their kingdom with more booty.³² By 1874, Portuguese traders had started to shun Uukwambi altogether, because according to the Portuguese, it was impossible to trade with King Nuujoma.³³ Williams has shown in her study that people started to move from Uukwambi to neighboring kingdoms in fear of persecution and being sold as slaves to the Portuguese.³⁴ Under the unstable conditions Uukwambi lost much of its people and power. Thus, Uukwanyama's position as the central slave-trading kingdom in Ovamboland in the 1870s was strengthened.

On the political map of Ovamboland, changes began in November 1874, when King Shikongo of Ondonga died. Before his death, Shikongo had ordered his men to start raiding more actively

again,⁵⁵ and Shikongo's follower, Kambonde, also organized effective raiding parties. The Ndonga sought cattle and people mainly from Uukwanyama. Militarily, Ondonga was in a position to challenge Uukwanyama's power, as both kingdoms had acquired large quantities of firearms from the European traders. According to missionary sources, Uukwanyama's King Shipandeka had given permission to the Ndonga to steal some cattle from his kingdom, but the raiders took more than had been agreed upon.⁵⁶ This started a cycle of raiding between Ondonga and Uukwanyama that continued throughout the latter half of the 1870s and early 1880s.

In Uukwambi, the ruler changed in May 1875 when King Nuujoma died. Nuujoma's successor to the throne was Negumbo, who sought to re-establish connections with the Portuguese traders. Negumbo, like his predecessor, consumed large amounts of alcohol that he received from the Portuguese,⁵⁷ but he was able to bring stability back to Uukwambi, and people liked him much more than they had liked Nuujoma.⁵⁸ To strengthen his power, Negumbo started raiding neighboring kingdoms, and Ongandjera especially became a target for the Kwambi attacks. The Ongandjera were able to resist Kwambi raids at least to some extent. In 1877, Negumbo's men were twice beaten back by the Ongandjera. After these attacks had failed, Negumbo sought to isolate Ongandjera by refusing European traders' entry to Ongandjera through Uukwambi.⁵⁹

Although some kings profited from the slave trade, other kingdoms were not directly connected to the major trade routes. But the new political landscape also dramatically affected people living in societies without kings. According to McKittrick, Ombalantu was a favorite target of its centralized neighbors. Other noncentralized societies were even more battered. Uukolonkadhi was one of the communities devastated by the increased efficiency of the raiding economy. McKittrick has argued that other small societies, such as Onkwankwa, Ehinga, and Okafima, virtually disappeared as their populations dispersed or were enslaved.⁶⁰

Slave Raiding during the Drought of 1877-1879

In 1877, there were no rains in Ovamboland and the drought that followed was to have a major impact in the area. The drought lasted for the next three years, and it culminated in a famine in 1879.⁶¹ Miller

has shown that drought affected slaving in west-central Africa during the era of the Atlantic slave trade, and Dias has argued that the rising slave production in nineteenth-century Angola was stimulated by climatic stress.⁶² Similarly, in Ovamboland, raiding intensified when the harvest failed. The Kwanyama raided for cattle and slaves mainly in Evale,⁶³ while the Ndonga continued to raid Uukwanyama. Ndonga raids were usually followed by Kwanyama raids on Ondonga.⁶⁴ In Ondonga, Kambonde traded his subjects for alcohol from the Portuguese. Most of the people sold, however, were from Ondonga and not captives taken from other kingdoms. They had been convicted of crimes and now faced slavery on Portuguese plantations.⁶⁵ Meanwhile, Uukwanyama was able to hold its position as the most powerful slave-trading kingdom in Ovamboland throughout the late 1870s, despite the Ndonga attacks.

The slave trade exacerbated the famine in Ovamboland because kings traded people for alcohol, not for food. When drought hit Ovamboland, kings did not seek to cooperate with each other, but instead they continued raiding. For example, in 1879 the Ndonga could have bought grain from Uukwanyama, which had not been hit so hard by the drought.⁶⁶ Hostility between the two kingdoms even increased during 1879. The men who participated in raids were able to acquire some cattle if they were lucky and successful, but still most people – especially elders and young children – suffered from famine.⁶⁷ Because of the conditions in Ondonga, people started to move to neighboring kingdoms, simply because there was no food left.⁶⁸

Ovambo kings and the men who took part in slave raiding rationalized their actions by claiming that they were stealing from other kingdoms because they were so poor in the first place.⁶⁹ In some cases, individual raids were justified by the Ndonga with the claim that the Kwanyama had attacked and beaten up people from Ondonga, who in fact had only been visiting or passing through Uukwanyama.⁷⁰ Clearly, a vicious cycle of raids and counter-raids had developed between Ondonga and Uukwanyama by the end of the 1870s.

According to Siiskonen, raiding and war expeditions were considered nearly synonymous in Ovambo 'tradition'.⁷¹ This was also emphasized by Reijonen in 1879, who wrote that the Ovambo, "when they are waging war, do not fight publicly man against man, but they try to sneak into the enemy territory secretly and then swiftly steal cattle, captives etc. from there...Attacks like these could be called raids

instead of wars."⁷² Raids were prepared in secret, and the missionaries often heard of them only after the raiders had returned to their homes, or sometimes even several days after the captives had already been sold to the Portuguese.⁷³ The success of a raid depended much on the timing of the attack. Raiding parties, who sought to avoid armed confrontation, proceeded as inconspicuously as possible. Raids were usually timed to take place before daybreak, and the purpose was not to rob the whole target community. Thus, raiding mostly affected those people who lived on the outer edges of the kingdoms.⁷⁴ In some cases, when the attackers continued to advance into the center of a kingdom, kings were able to organize some form of resistance and drive the raiders away. In 1879, the Kwanyama were able to resist a Ndonga raid, because the attackers had come almost to the center of Uukwanyama. Although the Ndonga were able to secure some of their booty by sending some of the cattle and captives to Ondonga before they were beaten back, some of the raiders were killed during the battle.⁷⁵ In such cases individual raiders who were captured by the defenders were killed or kept as slaves by the king.⁷⁶

During the 1870s, it was still common for raiders to use the conventional Ovambo weapons. Although firearms had reached Ovamboland by the time that Finnish missionaries started their work, spears, clubs, and knives, as well as bows and arrows, continued to prevail.⁷⁷ One of the reasons that hindered the Ovambo from using European firearms was their poor quality - especially the rifles brought from Angola which were often obsolete.⁷⁸ Firearms, however, changed the manner of war when their firepower was combined with traditional martial values such as audacity, speed, and trickery. According to Hayes, the Kwanyama, Ndonga, and Kwambi were in the most favorable military position because of their active participation in trade.⁷⁹

Captives as well as cattle could be traded for firearms, alcohol, beads and clothing with the Europeans. However, following a raid it was customary that captives' relatives came to search for them, and prisoners were freed if the relatives were willing to pay the negotiated ransom. The size of ransom depended on the captive's age, sex and social position. If it was known that the captive was from a wealthy family, the size of ransom was considerably larger. Wealthy families often had to pay the ransom in cattle, but from poor relatives even hoes were accepted as payment.⁸⁰ Women were far more valuable than

men and children. In 1879 in Ondonga, a man from Uukwanyama paid ten head of cattle for a female captive. According to King Kambonde, wives were 'the big thing' for the Ovambo, and thus women were especially highly valued.⁸¹

In southern Angola, the slave population rose steadily in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the 1840s the slave population of Mossamedes and its immediate hinterland was about 400, rising to 600 in 1854. A decade later, in 1864, the slave population was 2,500, and in 1877 it had risen to 4,000.⁸² Portuguese anti-slavery legislation was ineffective, although a new law abolishing slavery was decreed in 1875.⁸³ The law of 1875 was quite favorable to the slaveholders. All slaves were to be freed by 1879, but they were forced to sign an initial contract of five years with their former owners. Only at the end of this five-year period could slaves choose another master for five more years or set themselves up independently. The contract laborers were now called *serviçaes*, and they were to be paid a salary in cash, were to be exempt from corporal punishment, and were to be fed, clothed, housed, instructed and cared for medically at their employer's expense. According to Clarence-Smith, however, the settlers reacted violently to the law, objecting most to the financial aspects of the law and arguing that they were not being offered any compensation although they had paid a great deal for their slaves.⁸⁴

In 1876 the first slaves were to be converted into *serviçaes*, but a vast majority of them refused to sign contracts and demanded their manumission. Nothing changed in the old system of slavery as the months passed, and slaves started to resist - many refused to obey orders and others abandoned the plantations and fisheries and fled to the foothills to join the bands of Herero and Nyaneka raiders or to form their own bands. As Clarence-Smith has shown, the situation came to a head in 1879: "Slavery was now officially at an end and all the settlers were forced to contract their slaves. The area seethed with discontent, as the settlers cried out for compensation and the slaves demanded true liberation."⁸⁵

Tension increased in Mossamedes in 1884, because the main batch of five-year contracts made in 1879 expired. The first five-year contracts were automatically prolonged with the same masters, and the *serviçaes* could only observe that the day of liberation had again been postponed.⁸⁶ Slaves answered with resistance, the most common form being flight. After 1884, contracts were automatically prolonged

every five years, and as slaves realized that the promise of freedom had been an empty one, they answered with theft, sabotage and idling, and by escaping whenever they could.⁸⁷ It is important to observe that the old patterns of the slave trade in the interior reinforced the continuation of slavery in the plantations and fisheries. In theory, the slave who was bought from the interior was freed and contracted for five years, but this is merely playing with words, because in practice it was the slave trade that enabled Mossamedes to continue its slave system.

The Early 1880s: Increasing Ndonga Participation

Extensive hunting depleted the big game populations throughout South West Africa in the 1870s and at the same time world market prices of ivory fell. Traders' difficulties in Hereroland were further increased by the Nama-Herero War in the 1880s. The importation of arms and ammunition through Walvis Bay was banned, and as economic conditions in Hereroland worsened, most of the traders departed. As the importance of Walvis Bay as an import and export harbor decreased, the almost complete severance of the trade connection from Ovamboland to Walvis Bay caused the Finnish missionaries to fear an influx of Portuguese traders into Ondonga.⁸⁸

The fear of the missionaries proved accurate – alcohol trade in Ondonga increased, and according to Siiskonen, this happened in the other Ovambo polities as well.⁸⁹ The feud between Ondonga and Uukwanyama kept on raging. Small-scale raids as well as wider raiding operations – taking both cattle and people – were reported by the Finnish missionaries in 1880.⁹⁰ In the final months of that year, Kambonde, the king of Ondonga, sent his men to buy anchors⁹¹ of *aguardente* from the north side of the Kunene. According to Rautanen, two anchors of alcohol cost the king a slave.⁹² Although Kambonde also tried to trade cattle for spirits, the Portuguese traders refused the deal.⁹³ Around this time, Kambonde also gave clear orders for his *omalenga* to keep an eye on people suspected of crimes, because they could then be sold to the Portuguese. However, Weikkolin suspected that children and women were in the greatest danger, because male slaves were harder to transport, as they were more able to escape.⁹⁴

During the first year that Rautanen was staying in his new mission station in Olukonda, he claimed that Kambonde had

consumed 15 anchors of *aguardente*. The price of an anchor varied: sometimes a single slave was enough to bring the king an anchor, but sometimes even a few highly valued female slaves brought only an anchor. The king usually fetched the alcohol from the Nkhumbi area, although the Portuguese traders' African middlemen also sometimes visited Ondonga. In early 1881, Rautanen commented that the excessive alcohol consumption was already causing Kambonde's unpopularity.⁹⁵ Discontent with Kambonde increased when a Portuguese trader visited Ondonga in October, bringing seven anchors of alcohol.⁹⁶

The Ndonga continued to raid Uukwanyama in early 1882,⁹⁷ but later that year the fighting ceased. According to missionary sources, a peace was settled between the two kingdoms, ending a period of a half-decade of active raiding.⁹⁸ Alcohol, however, was still pouring into Ondonga. Before the death of Kambonde in December 1883, tens of anchors of *aguardente* arrived in the kingdom, and these allegedly were what killed the king.⁹⁹

Internal Impacts of the Slave Trade: Seizing and Selling Household Members

In Ovamboland, the process of being incorporated into the Angolan mercantile system was swift. Although the slave traders did not make inroads into Ovamboland before 1850, three and a half decades were more than enough for the maturation of the slave trading activities. As Hayes has argued, the slave trade infrastructure in central and southern Angola with its transport routes and *entrepôts* provided the foundation for Ovambo incorporation into the Angolan mercantile system. This system was characterized by a *mélange* of slave, arms, and alcohol dealing.¹⁰⁰ Slave trading activities were not hindered by political changes in Ovambo polities, but instead the nature of the mercantile system guaranteed that the traders could take advantage of the new conditions that emerged in Ovamboland.

Nowhere was this more evident than in Ondonga. Following King Kambonde's death in December 1883, King Iitana yaNekwiyu took power and reigned until his death in September of 1884. The eighteen-year-old Kambonde kaMpingana then became king, but his position was unstable from the beginning. He faced the rivalries of the near relatives of his predecessor, King Iitana, whose mother attempted

to seize the throne. These rivals were driven away from Ondonga, but the new king experienced a more powerful challenge from his younger brother, Chief Nehale IyaMpingana. According to Eirola, Nehale established himself at Onajena and ruled the whole eastern part of Ondonga. Both the king and the mother of the two brothers, Namupala, officially recognized Nehale's authority over the region on 2 November 1886. Thus, Ondonga was in effect split into two parts.¹⁰¹

More and more complaints of people being seized and condemned started to emerge in Ondonga after the kingdom split.¹⁰² According to Rautanen, the missionaries were left to their work while the rulers kept on robbing and even killing their subjects with an accelerating pace. Rautanen remarked that witchcraft accusations were the most common vehicle used by King Kambonde and Chief Nehale for seizing people. Some of the accused, however, were able to save themselves by running away to other kingdoms.¹⁰³

Portuguese traders took advantage of the chaotic conditions in Ondonga. In August 1887, Hannula reported that during that year the Portuguese had been extremely active. As much as 10 anchors of *aguardente* landed in King Kambonde's hands per month, meaning that at least 10 slaves were monthly taken to the north side of the Kunene. According to Hannula, people were now running away from Ondonga by the hundreds, especially to Uukwambi.¹⁰⁴ Alén wrote that as many as nine people were captured in a day,¹⁰⁵ so these reactions to the seizure of people and the selling of household members are not at all surprising.

The people living in the eastern and western parts of Ondonga were equally hard-hit by the actions of Chief Nehale and King Kambonde. Both men sought not only alcohol but also firearms and ammunition from the Portuguese, and, to obtain them, slaves were sent to Humbe on the north side of the Kunene. In May 1888, Nehale sent eight slaves to the Portuguese traders and Kambonde sent four. In return, Chief Nehale received five anchors of *aguardente* and King Kambonde got four.¹⁰⁶ Three months later even more was expected. According to Rautanen, Kambonde received five anchors of spirits that had cost him four slaves. Nehale, on the other hand, had just sent eight slaves to the Portuguese side, so Rautanen estimated that about 10 anchors were forthcoming to him.¹⁰⁷ As is evident from these accounts, at this time the rulers of Ondonga were actively seeking Portuguese products by sending their men to fetch them from the

north side of the Kunene. Thus, the trade worked both ways. At times the Portuguese were more active in traveling to Ondonga, while at other times the rulers sent their trade envoys to the Angolan side.

Finnish missionaries were alarmed as murders and robberies became more and more common in Ondonga.¹⁰⁸ They claimed in 1889 that the rulers did not even consider trading cattle with the Portuguese anymore, but sent slaves instead.¹⁰⁹ Nehale sent several groups of slaves to the Portuguese during that year. Most of the slaves dispatched from Ondonga were women and adolescent boys. The slave traders did not buy grown-up men, so usually the father of a family was killed and the wife or wives and children were then taken captive. When a group of captives was big enough, about twenty to thirty persons, they were taken as slaves to southern Angola.¹¹⁰ Kambonde kaMpingana did not fare any worse than his brother. In July, Rautanen wrote that 25 anchors of *aguardente* had arrived in Kambonde's residence in exchange for 25 slaves.¹¹¹ At the end of the year 1889, Pettinen remarked that never before had so much *aguardente* landed in Ondonga. For the most part, it was paid for with slaves.¹¹²

After twenty years of preaching, the Finnish missionaries were as powerless against the slave trade as they had been in the early 1870s in Uukwambi. Miettinen has accurately pointed out that the missionaries were in effect "living on the King's land and drinking the King's water,"¹¹³ so they had no choice but to adjust themselves to the whims of the ruler. However, missionaries expressed their opinions to the growing congregations, and in their sermons they pushed abolitionist views to their listeners. Hannula sent a translation of one of his sermons to the mission director in 1890. The beginning of the sermon, which was written in a question-and-answer form, offers a view on the transformation that was taking place in the slave trading activities in Ondonga:

"I saw a group of slaves walking there in the field. Where were they taken? - They were taken to the Portuguese as a payment for liquor. - Do you know, who were the slaves and where were they taken from? - There were people from Ongandjera and Uukwanyama, who had been taken as slaves in preceding wars. - Oh well, then it doesn't matter if they were taken as a payment for booze. But were there people from Ondonga among the slaves as well? - There were Ndonga as well, but I did not know them."¹¹⁴

As Hannula depicted, the prisoners captured in raids from other kingdoms were not the only ones sold to the Portuguese, but people from Ondonga were included among the slaves as well.¹⁵ Hannula continued his sermon by telling about a Ndonga mother whose child had been taken from her and sold by the king to the Angolan traders. As the insecurity in Ondonga increased, it is not surprising that the congregations kept on growing as well, although slowly. The number of baptisms increased steadily throughout the 1880s and 1890s. According to Peltola, in 1893, ten years after the first baptisms in Ondonga, there were 545 members in the church. By 1899, the number had grown to 752.¹⁶

The Intensification of Raiding

As merchant capital, mainly in the form of alcohol and firearms, kept coming into Ovamboland, there were other consequences in addition to spreading insecurity. One of the most immediate effects of the European traders' presence was the reinforcement of kingly power. According to Hayes, the kings' strength consisted of their intelligence systems, their control over the movements of the foreigners, and their exaction of gifts from the latter, as well as their systems of internal tribute.¹⁷

Firearms were an economic investment which offered greater scope for raiding expeditions. Kings rewarded their *omalenga* and the lieutenants who led the warbands with guns and horses. But as has become evident, kings and elites were also attracted by commodities which served as conspicuous consumption or prestige goods. In Uukwanyama, for example, this caused acute political destabilization by the mid-1880s. Hayes has pointed out that King Namhadi subjected the Kwanyama to such a high degree of cattle confiscation in order to purchase arms, horses, and luxury goods, that bitter antagonism was aroused. After Namhadi died after a bout of brandy-drinking in 1885, tensions exploded dramatically. Catholic missionaries, who had started a mission in Uukwanyama with Namhadi's approval, suffered in the riots that broke out. Two missionaries were killed and the Catholic mission effort was effectively suspended in Uukwanyama until 1900. Weyulu, who succeeded Namhadi, learned from these events and he was not as oppressive toward his own people as was his predecessor.¹⁸

Because of the economic reorientation in Ovamboland, the Ovambo extended their external raiding activities.¹¹⁹ Raids continually became more violent and bloodier. The Ndonga again started to direct their raids to Uukwanyama, although a peace had reigned between the two kingdoms for some years during the 1880s. In 1890 and 1891 Finnish missionaries reported that the Ndonga had raided Uukwanyama several times, sometimes failing but also sometimes succeeding, because large amounts of cattle as well as some prisoners were brought into Ondonga.¹²⁰ However, at the beginning of 1891 the Ndonga were raided by the Kwanyama, and this was said to have been the biggest raid in history.¹²¹ The Kwanyama arrived in Ondonga equipped with firearms and 8 or 10 horses.¹²² They slew a large number of Ndonga men, and stole cattle, women, and children. The cruelty and effectiveness of the Kwanyama raiders aroused confusion and fear in Ondonga.¹²³ King Kambonde soon sought a peace agreement with the Kwanyama - no doubt motivated by the news brought by trader Eriksson that Weyulu had 300 excellent breech-loading guns and 20,000 bullets stored in Uukwanyama.¹²⁴

Following this destructive raid, the kings of Ondonga and Uukwanyama concluded a so-called "blood peace." Kambonde and Weyulu guaranteed the peace with their lives. A ritual associated with the ratification of the "blood peace" included the sacrifice of a white ox, whose blood was used to seal the agreement. According to Siiskonen, the agreement was deemed so serious that it was believed an offender of the peace would die immediately, and violation of the peace by a king was considered to be the commission of a mortal sin on his part.¹²⁵ The peace agreement ended the raids specifically between Ondonga and Uukwanyama, but the Kwanyama raiders continued their raiding activities in southern Angola.

The demand for slaves increased continuously and the Ovambo kings were in a position to answer to this demand by increased sale of war captives and by selling subjects accused of witchcraft in their own polities.¹²⁶ The demand for slaves rose with the development of plantations and fisheries in the colonial nucleus. Yet another factor that affected the trade in slaves in southern Angola was the demand for slaves in São Tomé, which experienced a cocoa boom from the late 1880s on. The export of *serviçais* to São Tomé averaged 2,500 a year between 1887 and 1897 and 4,000 during the ensuing decade. According to Clarence-Smith, southern Angola was involved in this new spurt of

slave export, but it is hard to assess because the trade was conducted entirely through Caconda and Benguela.¹²⁷

The increasing influence of Portuguese trading activities in Ovamboland in the last two decades of the nineteenth century brought about the selling of household members from the kings' own polities and the intensification of raiding. The seizure of property and people gave rise to a major refugee problem. In Ondonga, Kambonde kaMpingana financed his thirst for alcohol by robbing his own people, and although the missionaries pleaded with the king that he should not sell people to the Portuguese, Kambonde continued.¹²⁸ When people were robbed of their cattle, they responded by running away to other kingdoms. Sometimes the mere arrival of Portuguese traders or their middlemen in a kingdom had the same effect.¹²⁹ From Ondonga the refugees often took the road to Uukwambi,¹³⁰ but a few dozen Ndonga also established an independent community in northern Hereroland, which was sustained by herding and migrant labor.¹³¹ Thus, permanent exile outside Ovamboland was also an option, and once economic stresses increased from the 1880s, exile communities grew. About two thousand Kwanyama lived on the outskirts of Humbe by 1896.¹³²

Siiskonen, writing about this refugee problem in Ovamboland in the 1880s and 1890s, argued that households lost confidence in the kings as distributors of justice and resources. Royal control over raiding was not effective because kings could not personally participate in raids. And as raiding operations expanded, the elite started to take a larger share of the spoils. In the 1890s, royal counselors and district headmen began to make decisions concerning the execution of raids and seizures without consulting the kings. Seizures of individuals were undertaken without royal permission even more than raids were.¹³³ As a result of these factors, royal power weakened.

Portuguese Angolan alcohol was another factor which contributed to the weakening of royal power. Although sugar cane production had fallen in the 1870s,¹³⁴ plantations expanded rapidly again in the 1890s in southern Angola and this affected the alcohol market as well.¹³⁵ Because of the extensive consumption of alcohol, kings and their closest counselors became alcoholics, and thus they were at times unable to govern.¹³⁶ Chief Nehale of Ondonga suffered from serious illness in 1896, which was said to have been a

consequence of excessive alcohol consumption. He was said to have exchanged people for liquor each month with the Portuguese, sending not only slaves captured in raids but also subjects of his own who had committed crimes.¹³⁷

The easiest way for the enterprising *omalenga* to secure large numbers of cattle and slaves was to intensify the scope and scale of traditional raiding activities,¹³⁸ as well as to exact payments by threatening their subjects in their own polities. Because *omalenga* had access to firepower and they controlled manpower in their districts, they had ample opportunities for aggrandizement.¹³⁹ The growth of trade with Europeans and the penetration of merchant capital to Ovamboland enabled the elite to expand its power over time.

The Position of the Ovamboland Market in German and Portuguese Schemes

The Berlin agreements of 1884 placed the coastline between the Orange and Kunene rivers under German colonial jurisdiction, and a bilateral treaty was signed by Germany and Portugal in 1886 delimiting the boundary between Angola and German South West Africa. These agreements incorporated Ovamboland into both German and Portuguese empires.¹⁴⁰ However, these international agreements had very little meaning for the Ovambo polities themselves. Far more important, at least in the 1880s and 1890s, were the business activities of the European merchants. However, the colonial administrations affected traders' actions and decisions by setting limits on the trade in European products.

Hayes has argued that Ovamboland was peripheral to the political and economic concerns of German colonial rule in South West Africa during its first two decades. The Germans' interest in Ovamboland was affected by the timing and degree of subordination of the southern peoples in the so-called Police Zone.¹⁴¹ Their efforts to control trade in the Protectorate got under way slowly. In 1888, the colonial administration's first law for the regulation of arms and ammunition trade came into force. The law required anyone dealing in these products to purchase a one hundred mark permit, but it did not limit the arms trade in any other way. In 1890, the regulations were tightened by requiring a license from the traders for each imported shipment.¹⁴²

According to Siiskonen, the legal import of arms and ammunition began to rise again after 1888, and this growth revived the arms trade between Walvis Bay and Ovamboland. However, in 1892 the German colonial authorities took more forceful measures to limit the trade in firearms. Legislation enforced in 1892 forbade the arms trade everywhere in German South West Africa, and the Walvis Bay-Ovamboland arms trade halted almost entirely. Siiskonen has shown that the cessation of the flow of arms and ammunition from Walvis Bay to Ovamboland improved the position of Portuguese traders in the Ovamboland market.¹⁴³ However, on the Portuguese side in Angola, the greatest setback for traders was the 1887 law prohibiting the import of modern firearms.¹⁴⁴ The aim of the prohibition was to secure the market for the technically outdated rifles manufactured in Portugal by keeping out the breech-loading rifles, which were more popular among Africans despite their expense.¹⁴⁵ The trade in alcohol, however, flourished, and it landed in the interior in ever-greater volumes.

Alcohol trade among the Ovambo increased almost in proportion to the growth in production, and as Clarence-Smith has argued, there was no attempt to implement the international agreements on the restriction of the sale of alcoholic beverages to Africans.¹⁴⁶ The Finnish missionaries noted that the greatest change in the alcohol trade was that the Portuguese wanted less and less cattle and more and more slaves from the Ovambo.¹⁴⁷ When dealing with the second most important category of products, namely arms and ammunition, it has been noted that the prohibition of the import of modern weapons to Angola in 1887 did not affect Portuguese merchants, who evaded the law by bribing officials and smuggling. It was ironic that the Portuguese position on the Ovamboland arms market was further improved by the 1892 ban on the sale of arms and ammunition in the German Protectorate. According to Siiskonen, the ban served to encourage the influx of Portuguese arms dealers into Ovamboland.¹⁴⁸

Germans were irritated by the growing arms and ammunition trade of the Portuguese and their middlemen, and, consequently, they undertook an inquiry into the flow of arms and ammunition from Portuguese Angola into South West Africa. At the beginning of 1895, the Germans presented a protest to the Portuguese government requiring the termination of arms and ammunition smuggling from Angola. According to Siiskonen, the Portuguese answered by

promising to step up control along their border with German South West Africa in order to prevent smuggling, and in August 1895 the export of arms over the southern border of Angola was prohibited.¹⁴⁹ However, German capacity to control smuggling in the north was non-existent, and the Portuguese were equally ineffective. They controlled two small forts in the Ngangela population cluster and a fort at Humbe, but these forts were ill-equipped and they exercised hardly any influence.¹⁵⁰

The dominant economic phenomenon of the 1890s in Mossamedes was the development of the fishing industry. According to Clarence-Smith, the fishing industry was organized in a fairly primitive way and the capital costs were kept at an absolute minimum. Each fisherman had one or more small boats with a crew of three or four *serviçaes*. The number of *serviçaes* in fishing increased throughout the decade and these were hardly voluntary laborers but slaves brought from the interior.¹⁵¹

However, both fishing and agricultural interests complained about a shortage of labor in southern Angola, and Clarence-Smith has argued that it became more and more expensive to obtain new slaves because of the growing flow of labor to São Tomé. Nevertheless, the number of *serviçaes* increased markedly in Mossamedes during the 1890s. In 1887 there were 4,373 black laborers in the coastal oases and fisheries, of whom the great majority were *serviçaes*. By 1900 this figure had risen to 7,835, but there is no indication as to how many of these were free.¹⁵² The trade in slaves between Ovamboland and Caconda flourished as well, and detailed accusations by Protestant missionaries in Uukwanyama and in Caconda provoked embarrassed denials in Lisbon, although Portuguese officials on the spot confirmed the missionaries' stories.¹⁵³

Rinderpest and the Slave Trade

The first cases of rinderpest in German South West Africa were reported in April 1897 in Grootfontein. Official measures were taken by the German administration - a new quarantine line divided northern Hereroland from Ovamboland, and a 550-kilometer long string of military stations was erected. However, by the beginning of July rinderpest raged freely in Hereroland. It first appeared in Ovamboland in Uukwambi in July 1897. According to Hayes, it then

spread with great rapidity to Ondonga, Uukwanyama and the rest of the floodplain. It crossed the Kunene River and penetrated to the Nkhumbi area in October and Huila highlands in November. The entire plateau of southern Angola came to resemble a vast hecatomb as the disease spread, bringing with it high fatality rates.¹⁵⁴

The shortage of cattle had severe consequences. Kings were left with almost no cattle to pay for trade, which led to an acceleration of the slave trade.¹⁵⁵ Following the rinderpest, Ovambo raiding revived. According to McKittrick, the increased intensity of raiding began to be felt as warriors struggled to reconstitute their herds and pay for imported goods.¹⁵⁶ Raiding expeditions reached deep into southern Angola, and the Kwanyama sought opportunities to increase their influence in the north. Kwanyama raiding parties were especially drawn into the decentralized communities as far north as the foothills of the Huila uplands.¹⁵⁷

Raiding was one of the internal Ovambo responses to their own cattle losses. According to Siiskonen, the most active raiders came from the Uukwanyama and Ombandja communities.¹⁵⁸ Hayes has argued that the further impoverishment of poor Kwanyama households meant that more young men became attached to *omalenga*, the leaders of raiding parties. Another result was that incentives for labor to migrate also increased.¹⁵⁹ For the Ovambo, cattle were more than symbols of wealth – they were security as well. During famines, those who survived were those who owned cattle.¹⁶⁰

German interest in Ovamboland increased dramatically after the rinderpest outbreak. German colonial administrators were especially troubled by the smuggling of arms and ammunition from Angola to South West Africa. First Lieutenant Franke made his first official visit to Ovamboland in 1899. He also visited Humbe on his expedition and concluded that it was necessary to terminate the slave trade and the smuggling of arms and ammunition from Portuguese Angola to Ovamboland in order to pacify the situation and improve the security of the missionaries working there.¹⁶¹ Although the slave trade had continued in Ovamboland for ten years after the Brussels Conference, the wind was starting to change at the turn of the century. The dynamics of merchant capital had to a large extent shaped the socio-economic landscape of Ovamboland up to 1900, but the Germans were now seeking a firmer grip on the area, and the Portuguese began to

grow irritated with Ovambo raids that reached farther and farther into Angola.

Continuing Insecurity and the Decline of the Slave Trade

The latter half of the nineteenth century could be characterized as a particularly insecure time in Ovambo communities, and the insecurity brought about by incessant raiding was exacerbated by the rinderpest. The disease wiped out a majority of the cattle owned by the Ovambo and weakened the economic foundation of their communities. It also had considerable social and political consequences. The most fundamental social consequence was the pauperization of a growing number of families who were without cattle. According to Clarence-Smith, the emergence of a pauperized group of Ovambo led in turn to other related phenomena, namely labor migration and conversion to Christianity.¹⁶²

By 1900, however, Finnish missionaries reported from Ondonga that local conditions were peaceful and calm.¹⁶³ Although the trade from the south to Ovamboland and the Portuguese trade with the Ovambo had come to a near standstill at the outbreak of the rinderpest, conditions for the recovery of the African sector's economy and trade were becoming favorable in Ovamboland. The cattle population in Ovamboland recovered more swiftly than in Hereroland. In addition, because the Ovambo lived by farming, the rinderpest did not cause them the same kind of nutritional crisis as occurred in some other parts of southern Africa.¹⁶⁴

As trade revived after the rinderpest, German traders focused their business operations in southern Ovamboland. They were not able to compete with the Portuguese in the northern communities. Siiskonen has argued that the tightening of German control over trade hindered the recovery of trade between the south and Ovamboland.¹⁶⁵ However, the strengthening of the German hold also meant that the Portuguese traders started to avoid the southern Ovambo communities. This change seems to have been sudden. In their correspondence with the mission director after the year 1900, the Finnish missionaries who were stationed in Ondonga hardly mention the Portuguese slave traders at all. Instead, the main causes of insecurity in Ondonga were brought about by environmental factors.

After the turn of the century, there began a long series of dry years in Ovamboland. Pettinen, a Finnish missionary, reported from Ondonga in February 1901 that hunger was common throughout the kingdom. It affected not only the poor families, but was common among the well-to-do members of the society as well. Very few households had grain left, and great numbers of people were making procurement trips to Uukwanyama and Uukwambi. Grain was obtained from these kingdoms in exchange for beads, tools, and weapons. Although the harvest of 1901 alleviated the hunger to some extent, famine continued in the final months of the year.¹⁶⁶

After the Portuguese slave traders had disappeared from Ondonga, the kingdom became more peaceful. However, in the eastern part of Ondonga, where Nehale ruled, the situation remained tense. The Finns established a new station in Onajena in July 1902. According to their reports, Nehale continued to rob and slay his subjects arbitrarily.¹⁶⁷ Ondonga was still shaken by famine - in the first months of 1902 Pettinen estimated that about 70-80 people had died in Ondonga. Most of the victims were from Nehale's side of the kingdom.¹⁶⁸ Although rains were more plentiful than in the preceding year, famine continued to affect Ondonga in the last months of 1902.¹⁶⁹

In 1903, the famine in Ovamboland took a turn for the worse. Whereas the northern Ovambo communities had remained relatively untouched by the hunger in the first years of the century and the southernmost communities such as Ondonga had suffered from famine, drought started to affect production in Uukwanyama and Uukwambi as well.¹⁷⁰ But although climatic conditions strained the Ovambo communities, at least in Ondonga they had one less ordeal to suffer. Savola was jubilant in writing to Finland in October 1903:

Ten years ago Portuguese slave traders poured here in large caravans - at times 5 wagons - bringing alcohol and firearms to Kambonde. In exchange they received cattle and slaves. Cattle were stolen from the subjects continuously. In these robberies people were killed, others were captured as slaves. In witchcraft accusations many innocent people got killed. Now these things belong to the past on Kambonde's side of the kingdom. Conditions have become peaceful and quiet.¹⁷¹

The emphasis in Savola's account was on the side of the kingdom that was ruled by King Kambonde. However, other reports reveal that Nehale continued to have dealings with the Portuguese although the traders did not visit him in Ondonga. He sent his trade envoys to Humbe to buy *aguardente* from the Portuguese, and eagerly consumed the anchors that were brought to him.¹⁷² In 1906, Nehale ordered his men to attack a neighborhood on Kambonde's side of the kingdom. Several people were killed in the attack and many women were taken as slaves to be sold to the Portuguese.¹⁷³

The trade in southern Angola did not recover easily from the rinderpest. The cattle traders of southern Angola switched to trading rubber, mainly in the Benguela highlands. The recovery of trade in southern Angola was further hindered, according to Siiskonen, by the revival of Ovambo raiding. Raiding expeditions extended deep into southern Angola, reaching as far as the Ganguella and Caconda regions. Siiskonen has argued that cattle and prisoners were taken not only from African communities, but also European traders and colonists fell victim to the small commando groups sent out from the Ovambo communities. The most active raiders came from Uukwanyama and Ombandja communities.¹⁷⁴

The Ovambo kings sought to maintain good relations with the north because the desired ammunition, arms, and spirits could be obtained more readily and inexpensively from there than through Hereroland. Slaves were still commonly used as a medium of exchange in the first decade of the twentieth century, but the slave trade diminished during the initial years of the century in comparison to what it had been in the previous decade. This was most obvious in the southern Ovambo communities, as the trade between Ovamboland and the north was confined mainly to Uukwanyama. German observers commented that it was not worthwhile to try to compete with the Portuguese and their middlemen in Uukwanyama, where they were selling the goods so highly valued by the Ovambo, i.e. arms, ammunition, and alcohol.¹⁷⁵

In the first decade of the twentieth century, insecurity prevailed in Ovambo communities due to climatic, economic, and military factors. Social stratification had increased during the years that merchant capital poured into Ovamboland. Clarence-Smith and Moorsom have argued that in order to maintain the European standard of living to which they had become accustomed, the kings

turned to internal taxation. The growing weight of internal taxation and the ravages of the consecutive years of drought combined to produce, at the opposite spectrum from the *omalenga*, a new social stratum, i.e. men without cattle.¹⁷⁶ The combined effects of the rinderpest, internal taxation, droughts and famines produced in Ovamboland a rapid intensification of migrant labor. Migrant labor offered an escape route from this "complex process of pauperization" that was affecting the members of Ovambo societies.¹⁷⁷

Several factors were intertwined as the slave trade started to wane in Ovamboland. Raiding became increasingly difficult during the first decade of the twentieth century when colonial encirclement tightened. The Portuguese sought to stamp out Ovambo raids for security's sake, but, according to Clarence-Smith, raiding was still going on in 1910,¹⁷⁸ and it probably continued as long as the Kwanyama remained independent – Uukwanyama was not conquered until 1915. Until then, the Portuguese forts were never fully able to deal with the Ovambo problem. The Kwambi were also enhancing their raiding activities against their weaker neighbors. According to Koivu, who had been stationed in Uukwambi in June 1908, the Kwambi were actively raiding for captives, who were usually kept as slaves by King Iipumbu or his *omalenga*.¹⁷⁹ The Portuguese traders were still active in Uukwambi in 1910.¹⁸⁰

Another important factor was the effect that the slave trade had on social relations in Ovambo communities. In the latter half of the 1880s, long-distance trade had already begun to affect the Ovambo social relations and the "refugee problem" was born. Members of households were unable to put up resistance against the seizure of people and property and flight was a concrete alternative to becoming the victim of one of these seizures. Siiskonen has shown that it became typical of families to flee to neighboring communities in fear of capture upon the arrival of Portuguese alcohol and arms dealers in their areas.¹⁸¹ As more and more people fled from their communities, it accordingly became increasingly difficult to maintain the system of internal exaction and the continuous witchcraft accusations, which were connected to the growth of trade with Europeans.

Over the years, missionary sermonizing also began to affect the ideological landscape, especially in Ondonga. For decades, missionaries preached against the slave trade, and they condemned it in their sermons. The Portuguese traders began to find it harder and

harder to hold a suitable market position in Ondonga, where the Christian faction of the population was growing stronger. On 1 December 1912, Nambala, the king of Ondonga, was the first Ovambo ruler to be baptized.¹⁸²

In the first decade of the twentieth century, the traffic in slaves to São Tomé was still flourishing but it is not clear to what extent it affected the peoples in southern Angola. Over the longer term, labor migration started to become more profitable for the Ovambo kings, who were never seriously concerned about the growth of the migrant labor system, but instead sought to make maximum profit out of it, while limiting its disruptive effects as far as possible.¹⁸³ Through their control of migrant labor, the kings profited from the gifts which returning laborers brought them.¹⁸⁴

The most decisive factor that put an end to the slave trade in southern Angola was the abolition of slavery in Mossamedes. The background to this development was connected with the proclamation of a republic in Lisbon in October 1910 as the Portuguese monarchy was being overthrown. According to Clarence-Smith, up to 1917 the republic enacted a number of major reforms and enjoyed a fair degree of success and popularity. One of the few positive policies in the republican program was a comprehensive plan for colonial 'regeneration,' which officials in Angola were determined to implement.¹⁸⁵ Norton de Matos, the energetic figure who was the governor general of Angola from 1912 to 1915, decided to deal with the problem once and for all. In 1913, a commission traveled throughout southern Angola, going from plantation to plantation and from fishery to fishery, explaining to all the *serviçaes* their rights and obligations. All were liberated from their contracts and told that they could set up independently or choose their own masters. Afterward, however, only a few left the province of Mossamedes or changed their masters.¹⁸⁶

The new labor system was not based on free labor. Quasi-slavery was replaced by a system of forced labor that was only abolished in 1961.¹⁸⁷ But the new labor *regime* marked a qualitative change of major importance. Before, slaves had been treated as labor machines privately bought and sold in the marketplace. Now, Africans were recognized as full members of the society, although they were still regarded as a category of human beings who were in a relation of dependence on the state, which could demand certain labor services

from them.¹⁸⁸ The change, however, meant that there was no more room for the slave trade, because there was no demand and market for slaves. Accordingly, the ravages brought about by the slave trade ended, but their destructive effects were still felt for years afterwards. Although insecurity in the Ovambo communities lessened with the end of slave raiding, new challenges of war, drought, famine, and occupation lay ahead.

Conclusion

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Ovambo communities of northern South West Africa and southern Angola were drawn into the orbit of a European-led long distance trade. I have sought to emphasize the link between Namibian and Angolan histories by concentrating on a single phenomenon, namely the slave trade, in the Ovamboland region. Direct and permanent contact between the Ovambo and Portuguese traders and colonists was established in the 1850s. At first, the contact was based on ivory that the Ovambo supplied for the traders, but as the ivory revenues diminished quickly, the exchange came to be based on cattle and slaves. Accordingly, Ovambo raiding activities started to have a profound impact in southern Angola.

However, it is significant to note that in the Ovambo kings' eagerness to trade with Europeans they could not rely solely on external raiding. From the latter half of the 1880s and throughout the 1890s, insecurity spread in Ovambo communities and internal enslavement and cattle confiscation increased at an alarming rate. This was the clearest social consequence of the trade through which the Ovambo rulers sought firearms and, especially, alcohol. Portuguese traders brought loads and loads of *aguardente* to Ovambo communities, and the Ovambo kings often sent envoys to fetch liquor from Humbe.

Ovamboland was not a politically unified area, and several kingdoms competed with each other for European goods. Uukwanyama stands out as the most powerful Ovambo kingdom during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The Kwanyama had been in direct contact with the Portuguese the longest. Uukwanyama was also the most populous Ovambo kingdom. Another of the powerful Ovambo kingdoms was Ondonga. The Ndonga competed

skillfully with the Kwanyama, as became evident in the latter half of the 1870s and early 1880s, when the two kingdoms constantly raided each other for resources and in retaliation. Ondonga, however, was deeply affected by the split of the kingdom in 1886 – a process which further accelerated the slave trade and made Ondonga a favored place for the Portuguese traders, who could now buy slaves from two powerful and competing rulers.

Fuelling the slave trade in Ovamboland was the economic development of Mossamedes and its hinterland. The use of slaves by European masters in southern Angola was not possible without a high cost, and the biggest bill was inflicted by the raiding activities that spread instability throughout the land. Thus, the first decade of the twentieth century gave rise to an active Portuguese policy to put an end to Ovambo raiding. However, the attempt was not fully successful because the most powerful Ovambo polity, namely Uukwanyama, retained its independence. What was decisive, however, was that in 1913 the remnants of slavery were eliminated in Mossamedes. At that point, the Ovambo polities had been strained by over half a century of slave trading. Its maturation had been extremely intense in Ovamboland and it had drained human resources in a crushing manner. In the upheaval of the time, however, its demise was hardly noticed by the onlookers. There was no triumph to welcome the end of the slave trade in Ovamboland, because new challenges to survival lay immediately ahead.

Notes

¹ P. E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa, Second Edition* (Cambridge, 2000), 252.

² W.G. Clarence-Smith, "The Angolan Connection in Namibian History," in B. Wood, ed. *Namibia 1884-1984: Readings on Namibia's History and Society* (London, 1988), 171.

³ In the nineteenth century, Ovamboland was divided into several autonomous communities, which differed from one another in regard to population size and surface area. The largest polities of Uukwanyama and Ondonga were situated in the east. In the center were located the medium-sized polities, such as Evale, Ombandja, Uukwambi and Ongandjera. Towards the west were the smaller and relatively decentralized communities such as Uukwaluudhi, Ombalantu, Onkolonkadi, Eunda and Dombondola.

⁴ W. G. Clarence-Smith, "Mossamedes and its Hinterland, 1875-1915" (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of London, 1975); idem, *Slaves, Peasants and Capitalists in Southern Angola 1840-1926* (Cambridge, 1979).

⁵ On the validity of these sources, see M. McKittrick, "Capricious Tyrants and Persecuted Subjects: Reading between the lines of Missionary Records in Precolonial Northern Namibia," in T. Falola and C. Jennings, eds., *Sources and Methods in African History: Spoken, Written, Unearthed* (Rochester, 2003), 219-236.

⁶ A. Savola, *Ambomaa ja sen kansa* (Helsinki, 1924), 207.

⁷ J. C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade 1730-1830* (Madison, 1988), 140-143.

⁸ R. A. Ferreira, "Transforming Atlantic Slaving: Trade, Warfare and Territorial Control in Angola, 1650-1800" (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of California at Los Angeles, 2003), chapters 2-4.

⁹ J. C. Miller, "Angola central e sul por volta de 1840," *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos* 32 (1997), 20-26.

¹⁰ Miller, *Way of Death*, 222.

¹¹ C. Estermann, *The Ethnography of Southwestern Angola. II: The Nyaneka-Nkhumbi Ethnic Group*, ed. by G. D. Gibson (New York, 1979), 22.

¹² G. Tams, *Visit to the Portuguese Possessions in South-Western Africa* (New York, 1969), 97. According to Tams, slaves were sometimes marched down to Mossamedes from Benguela, to avoid English navy patrols that tried to control smuggling around Benguela and Luanda.

¹³ R. A. Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico: Tráfico Ilegal de Escravos e Comércio Lícito em Angola, 1830-1860" (Unpublished M. A. thesis, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 1996), 77-80.

¹⁴ M. McKittrick, *To Dwell Secure: Generation, Christianity, and Colonialism in Ovamboland* (Oxford, 2002), 67. According to McKittrick, some oral traditions place the presence of Portuguese and Luso-African traders in the floodplain long before 1849.

¹⁵ In missionary correspondence, the Portuguese traders' African middlemen were commonly called the Ovapangari, but the terms Bangala and Mbangala were also used to refer to the same group of African middlemen, i.e. the Imbangala. According to Estermann, *The Ethnography*, 2-3, the Imbangala settled near the north bank of the Kunene River at the end of the sixteenth century.

¹⁶ H. Siiskonen, *Trade and Socioeconomic Change in Ovamboland, 1850-1906* (Helsinki, 1990), 89-92.

¹⁷ McKittrick, *To Dwell Secure*, 53.

¹⁸ F. Galton, *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa. Being an Account of a Visit to Damaraland in 1851, 4th Edition* (London, 1891), 139. Williams, however, has argued that with the expansion of the Benguela harbor at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the slave trade increased also in Ovamboland. Nangolo, the King of Ondonga from approximately 1820 to 1857, began to send his trade envoys to sell his subjects as slaves to the Portuguese post south of the Kunene. F-N. Williams, *Precolonial Communities of Southwestern Africa: A History of Owambo Kingdoms 1600-1920* (Windhoek, 1991), 118.

¹⁹ Siiskonen, *Trade*, 97-98.

²⁰ C.H. Hahn, *Tagebücher 1837-1860: Part IV 1856-1860*, B. Lau, ed. (Windhoek, 1985), 1030.

²¹ McKittrick, *To Dwell Secure*, 67.

²² Siiskonen, *Trade*, 102-104.

²³ Originally, *aguardente* referred to Portuguese brandy distilled from the must of grapes. However, in southern Angola during the nineteenth century, the term *aguardente* was applied to refer to sugar cane brandies of all sorts. See José C. Curto, "Luso-Brazilian alcohol and the legal slave trade at Benguela and its Hinterland (1617-1830)," in H. Bonin and Michel Cahen, eds., *Négoce Blanc en Afrique Noire* (Bordeaux, 2001), 351-369; W. G. Clarence-Smith, *Slaves*, 24.

²⁴ W. G. Clarence-Smith, "The Sugar and Rum Industries in the Portuguese Empire, 1850-1914," in B. Albert and A. Graves, eds., *Crisis and Change in the International Sugar Economy 1860-1914* (Norwich and Edinburgh, 1984), 228.

²⁵ W. G. Clarence-Smith, *Slaves*, 24.

²⁶ W. G. Clarence-Smith, "Slavery in Coastal Southern Angola, 1875-1913," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 2, 2 (1976), 215-216.

²⁷ Finnish National Archives/ Finnish Missionary Society Archives (hereafter FNA/FMSA), Hhb 1, Hahn's diary, 6 July 1866, 17 July 1866, 18 July 1866, 20 July 1866, 29 July 1866.

²⁸ Siiskonen, *Trade*, 111.

²⁹ H. Weiss, "The Beginning of Finnish Missionary Activity in Northern Namibia and its First Setbacks, 1869-1872," in U. van der Heyden and J. Becher, eds., *Mission und Gewalt: Der Umgang christlicher Missionen mit Gewalt und die Ausbreitung des Christentums in Afrika und Asien in der Zeit von 1792 bis 1918/19* (Stuttgart, 2000), 541.

³⁰ M. Peltola, *Suomen Lähetyseuran Afrikan työn historia* (Helsinki, 1958), 30.

³¹ *Ibid.* 30-31.

³² FNA/FMSA, Cbb 1, Minutes of the Board, 18 September 1867, as quoted in Weiss, "The Beginning," 541.

³³ Peltola, *Suomen*, 35.

³⁴ FNA/FMSA, Eac 3, Kurvinen to Sirelius, 20 August 1869. Kurvinen anticipated that the Portuguese influence among the Ovambo would be painful for the mission.

³⁵ Weiss, "The Beginning," 542.

³⁶ T. G. Een, *Minnen från en flerårig vistelse i Sydvestra Afrika* (Stockholm, 1872), 98.

³⁷ FNA/FMSA, Eac 3, Weikkolin to Sirelius, 1 August 1870; Reijonen to Sirelius, 18 November 1870.

³⁸ FNA/FMSA, Eac 3, Piirainen to Sirelius, 30 September 1870.

³⁹ FNA/FMSA, Eac 3, Piirainen to Sirelius, 31 December 1870. Een, *Minnen*, 104, had observed in the 1860s that Portuguese *aguardente* was consumed in high quantities by Nuujoma, who even used to walk around Uukwambi with an alcohol container, offering a drink to his subjects.

⁴⁰ FNA/FMSA, Eac 3, Weikkolin to Sirelius, 26 November 1870.

⁴¹ FNA/FMSA, Eac 3, Weikkolin to Sirelius, 27 December 1870.

⁴² FNA/FMSA, Eac 3, Rautanen to Sirelius, 11 May 1871.

⁴³ Weiss, "The Beginning," 551.

⁴⁴ FNA/FMSA, Eac 3, Piirainen to Sirelius, 29 May 1871.

⁴⁵ FNA/FMSA, Eac 3, Kurvinen to Sirelius 29 May 1871, 9 July 1871, 27 November 1871; Wilhelmina Kurvinen to Sirelius, 19 November 1871.

⁴⁶ Weiss, "The Beginning," 546-548.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 549-550.

⁴⁸ FNA/FMSA, Eac 4, Björklund to Sirelius, 30 June 1872.

⁴⁹ Clarence-Smith, "Mossamedes," 63.

⁵⁰ FNA/FMSA, Eac 3, Tolonen to Sirelius, 14 December 1871.

⁵¹ G. McKiernan, *The Narrative and Journal of Gerald McKiernan in South West Africa 1874-1879*, P. Serton, ed. (Cape Town, 1954), 108.

⁵² FNA/FMSA, Eac 4, Weikkolin to Sirelius, March 1872; Reijonen to Sirelius, 17 February 1873.

⁵³ FNA/FMSA, Eac 4, Tolonen to Sirelius, 25 August 1874.

⁵⁴ Williams, *Precolonial*, 130.

⁵⁵ FNA/FMSA, Eac 4, Kurvinen to Sirelius, 20 March 1875.

⁵⁶ FNA/FMSA, Eac 4, Björklund to Tötterman, 30 December 1876; Skoglund to Tötterman, 28 November 1876; Hha 2, Björklund's annual report, 4 January 1876. However, it is also possible that the Ndonga consciously falsified what they were telling to the missionaries, making their raiding activities seem more acceptable in the eyes of the missionaries.

⁵⁷ FNA/FMSA, Eac 4, Skoglund to Sirelius 30 June 1876; Weikkolin to Sirelius, 20 July 1876.

⁵⁸ FNA/FMSA, Eac 5, Reijonen to Tötterman, 30 September 1879.

⁵⁹ FNA/FMSA, Eac 5, Skoglund to Tötterman, July 1877. Following King Sheya's death in Ongandjera in 1878, Björklund reported that traders had been common visitors in the Kingdom - it was rumored that the excessive consumption of European spirits was the cause of King Sheya's death. FNA/FMSA, Eac 5, Björklund to Tötterman, 31 December 1878.

⁶⁰ McKittrick, *To Dwell Secure*, 58.

⁶¹ Peltola, *Suomen*, 64-65. One of the biggest results of the famine, according to Peltola, was that the attitude of the Ndonga towards missionaries started to change to a more positive one.

⁶² J. C. Miller, "The Significance of Drought, Disease and Famine in the Agriculturally Marginal Zones of West-Central Africa," *Journal of African History*, 23, 1 (1982), 28-31; J. R. Dias, "Famine and Disease in the History of Angola c. 1830-1930," *Journal of African History*, 22, 3 (1981), 360-361, 370.

⁶³ FNA/FMSA, Eac 5, Skoglund to Tötterman, July 1877.

⁶⁴ FNA/FMSA, Eac 5, Reijonen to Tötterman, 15 February 1877, 31 March 1877; Hha 2, Björklund's annual report, 12 June 1877.

⁶⁵ FNA/FMSA, Eac 5, Reijonen to Tötterman, 25 November 1878, 31 March 1879.

⁶⁶ FNA/FMSA, Eac 5, Rautanen to Tötterman, 4 August 1879.

⁶⁷ FNA/FMSA, Hha 2, Rautanen's annual report, 31 December 1879.

⁶⁸ FNA/FMSA, Eac 5, Björklund to Tötterman, 11 December 1879, 31 December 1879; Skoglund to Tötterman, December 1879; Hha 2, Reijonen's annual report, 5 January 1880.

⁶⁹ FNA/FMSA, Eac 5, Reijonen to Tötterman, 30 June 1879. Reijonen, however, claimed that the people were not poor, but greedy.

- ⁷⁰ FNA/FMSA, Eac 5, Skoglund to Tötterman, 2 July 1879.
- ⁷¹ Siiskonen, *Trade*, 203; P. Hayes, "A History of the Ovambo of Namibia, c. 1880-1935" (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1992), 51-57.
- ⁷² FNA/FMSA, Eac 5, Reijonen to Tötterman, 30 June 1879. All translations from the missionary correspondence originally in Finnish and Swedish by the present author.
- ⁷³ FNA/FMSA, Eac 3, Kurvinen to Sirelius, 27 February 1871; Eac 4, Skoglund to Tötterman, 28 November 1876; Hayes, "A History," 53.
- ⁷⁴ FNA/FMSA, Eac 4, Kurvinen to Sirelius, 29 December 1875; McKiernan, *The Narrative*, 109. According to McKittrick, people built interior mazes of palisade walls in their homesteads to disorient would-be raiders. McKittrick, *To Dwell Secure*, 70.
- ⁷⁵ FNA/FMSA, Eac 5, Reijonen to Tötterman, 30 June 1879.
- ⁷⁶ FNA/FMSA, Eac 5, Skoglund to Tötterman, 1 October 1879, December 1879.
- ⁷⁷ FNA/FMSA, Eac 3, Piirainen to Sirelius, 31 December 1870; Kurvinen 1879: 47; McKiernan, *The Narrative*, 102.
- ⁷⁸ FNA/FMSA, Eac 4, Piirainen to Sirelius, 31 March 1874 and 30 June 1874.
- ⁷⁹ Hayes, "A History," 54-56.
- ⁸⁰ FNA/FMSA, Eac 5, Rautanen to Tötterman, 4 August 1879.
- ⁸¹ FNA/FMSA, Eac 5, Reijonen to Tötterman, 30 June 1879.
- ⁸² Clarence-Smith, "Mossamedes," 76-77.
- ⁸³ J. Duffy, *A Question of Slavery* (Oxford, 1967), 60-61.
- ⁸⁴ Clarence-Smith, "Mossamedes," 100-101.
- ⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 103.
- ⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 114.
- ⁸⁷ W. G. Clarence-Smith, "Runaway Slaves and Social Bandits in Southern Angola, 1875-1913," *Slavery and Abolition*, 6, 3 (1985), 26.
- ⁸⁸ Siiskonen, *Trade*, 146-152.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 152.
- ⁹⁰ FNA/FMSA, Eac 5, Rautanen to Tötterman, 17 March 1880; Reijonen to Tötterman, 31 March 1880, 18 December 1880; Skoglund to Tötterman, 20 February 1880; Weikkolin to Tötterman, 14/15 December 1880.
- ⁹¹ Alcohol was sold to the Ovambo in containers holding about twenty-five liters. These were called anchors. Siiskonen, *Trade*, 153.
- ⁹² FNA/FMSA, Eac 5, Rautanen to Tötterman, 21 October 1880. Rautanen did not specify the sex of the slave, who in this case was from Ongandjera.
- ⁹³ FNA/FMSA, Eac 5, Weikkolin to Tötterman, 14/15 December 1880.
- ⁹⁴ FNA/FMSA, Eac 5, Weikkolin to Tötterman, 23 November 1880. Weikkolin also commented that San children were in great danger of being taken as slaves to the Portuguese.
- ⁹⁵ FNA/FMSA, Eac 5, Rautanen to Tötterman, 23 April 1881 (two letters dated on the same day, with varying information on the prices of alcohol and slaves).
- ⁹⁶ FNA/FMSA, Eac 5, Rautanen to Tötterman, 16 October 1881.
- ⁹⁷ FNA/FMSA, Eac 5, Reijonen to Tötterman, 31 March 1882; Weikkolin to Tötterman, 22 January 1882.
- ⁹⁸ FNA/FMSA, Eac 5, Weikkolin to Tötterman, 8 November 1882.
- ⁹⁹ FNA/FMSA, Eac 6, Roiha to Tötterman, 30 July 1883; Reijonen to Tötterman, 31 July 1883; Hakala to Tötterman, 31 December 1883.

¹⁰⁰ Hayes, "A History," 72.

¹⁰¹ M. Eirola, *The Ovambogefahr: The Ovamboland Reservation in the Making. Political Responses of the Kingdom of Ondonga to the German Colonial Power 1884-1910* (Rovaniemi, 1992), 57-58; Williams, *Precolonial*, 145-146.

¹⁰² FNA/FMSA, Hha 2, Rautanen's annual report, 8 December 1886.

¹⁰³ FNA/FMSA, Eac 6, Rautanen to Tötterman, 13 May 1886; Weikkolin to Tötterman, 2 October 1886.

¹⁰⁴ FNA/FMSA, Eac 7, Hannula to Tötterman, 8 August 1887.

¹⁰⁵ FNA/FMSA, Eac 7, Alén to Tötterman, 9 August 1887.

¹⁰⁶ FNA/FMSA, Eac 7, Rautanen to Tötterman, 14 June 1888. It is probable that both also received an unspecified amount of ammunition.

¹⁰⁷ FNA/FMSA, Eac 7, Rautanen to Tötterman, 24 August 1888.

¹⁰⁸ A. Pettinen, "Kirjeitä Afrikasta," *Suomalainen*, 15 August 1889.

¹⁰⁹ FNA/FMSA, Eac 7, Pettinen to Tötterman, 20 May 1889; Alén to Tötterman, 25 May 1889. However, Martti Rautanen's diary shows that cattle were still used in the dealings with Portuguese. FNA/FMSA, Hp 112, Martti Rautanen's diary, 12 February 1889.

¹¹⁰ FNA/FMSA, Eac 7, Alén to Tötterman, 11 November 1889.

¹¹¹ FNA/FMSA, Eac 7, Rautanen to Tötterman, 16 July 1889; A. Pettinen, "Kirjeitä Afrikasta," *Suomalainen*, 15 September 1890.

¹¹² FNA/FMSA, Hha 2, Pettinen's annual report, 31 December 1889.

¹¹³ K. Miettinen, "Living on the King's Land and Drinking the King's Water.' Evolution of the Relationship between Finnish Missionaries and Ondonga Kings, 1870-1920," in U. van der Heyden and J. Becher, eds., *Mission*, 449-459.

¹¹⁴ FNA/FMSA, Eac 7, Hannula to Tötterman, 11 August 1890.

¹¹⁵ This was also reflected upon by Martti Rautanen in FNA/FMSA, Hp 112, Martti Rautanen's diary, 16 December 1889.

¹¹⁶ Peltola, *Suomen*, 110.

¹¹⁷ Hayes, "A History," 88.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* 88-89.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* 91.

¹²⁰ FNA/FMSA, Eac 7, Pettinen to Tötterman, 6 March 1890; Eac 8, Hannula to Tötterman, 5 January 1891, 27 January 1891.

¹²¹ FNA/FMSA, Eac 8, Pettinen to Tötterman, 28 January 1891.

¹²² FNA/FMSA, Eac 8, Hannula to Tötterman, 27 January 1891.

¹²³ Siiskonen, *Trade*, 208.

¹²⁴ FNA/FMSA, Eac 8, Pettinen to Tötterman, 28 March 1891.

¹²⁵ Siiskonen, *Trade*, 209.

¹²⁶ Hayes, "A History," 91.

¹²⁷ W. G. Clarence-Smith, *Slaves*, 64.

¹²⁸ FNA/FMSA, Eac 8, Pettinen to Tötterman, 14 January 1892, 24 February 1892; Rautanen to Tötterman, 28 February 1893.

¹²⁹ FNA/FMSA, Hp 112, Martti Rautanen's diary, 8 August 1890.

¹³⁰ FNA/FMSA, Eac 8, Rautanen to Tötterman, 28 November 1893.

¹³¹ Hayes, "A History," 99.

¹³² *Ibid.*

- ¹³³ Siiskonen, *Trade*, 220-221.
- ¹³⁴ W. G. Clarence-Smith, "The Sugar and Rum Industries," 228.
- ¹³⁵ W. G. Clarence-Smith, *Slaves*, 24.
- ¹³⁶ *Ibid.* 222; McKittrick, *To Dwell Secure*, 73. On the persistence of Portuguese traders and their middlemen in Ondonga, see A. Pettinen, "Kirjeitä Afrikasta," *Suomalainen*, 16 October 1895.
- ¹³⁷ Eirola, *The Ovambofahrt*, 92.
- ¹³⁸ Clarence-Smith, *Slaves*, 77.
- ¹³⁹ Hayes, "A History," 95.
- ¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 70.
- ¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* 112-113.
- ¹⁴² Siiskonen, *Trade*, 143.
- ¹⁴³ *Ibid.* 144-145.
- ¹⁴⁴ Clarence-Smith, "Mossamedes," 137.
- ¹⁴⁵ Siiskonen, *Trade*, 151.
- ¹⁴⁶ Clarence-Smith, "Mossamedes," 215.
- ¹⁴⁷ FNA/FMSA, Hha 2, Minutes of the Brothers' Conference, 13 February 1895, annex of the minutes: Rautanen's reply to Governor Leutwein's questionnaire concerning slavery in Ovamboland, Rautanen to Leutwein 19 March 1895. Rautanen commented that slaves were most often exchanged for *aguardente*.
- ¹⁴⁸ Siiskonen, *Trade*, 154-155.
- ¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 156.
- ¹⁵⁰ Clarence-Smith, "Mossamedes," 204.
- ¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* 219-224.
- ¹⁵² *Ibid.* 229.
- ¹⁵³ *Ibid.* 241.
- ¹⁵⁴ Hayes, "A History," 101-102.
- ¹⁵⁵ Williams, *Precolonial*, 147.
- ¹⁵⁶ McKittrick, *To Dwell Secure*, 121-122.
- ¹⁵⁷ Hayes, "A History," 110.
- ¹⁵⁸ Siiskonen, *Trade*, 179.
- ¹⁵⁹ Hayes, "A History," 111.
- ¹⁶⁰ McKittrick, *To Dwell Secure*, 120.
- ¹⁶¹ Siiskonen, *Trade*, 181. On a "leaking border" and German policy towards slave trade in northern Cameroon, see H. Weiss, "The Illegal Trade in Slaves from German Northern Cameroon to British Northern Nigeria," *African Economic History* 28 (2000), 149-165.
- ¹⁶² Clarence-Smith, "Mossamedes," 282.
- ¹⁶³ FNA/FMSA, Eac 10, Pettinen to Mustakallio, 31 October 1900.
- ¹⁶⁴ Siiskonen, *Trade*, 169-180.
- ¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 178.
- ¹⁶⁶ FNA/FMSA, Eac 10, Pettinen to Mustakallio, 6 June 1901, 14 October 1901, 26 December 1901.
- ¹⁶⁷ FNA/FMSA, Eac 10, Glad to Mustakallio, 8 December 1902.
- ¹⁶⁸ FNA/FMSA, Eac 10, Pettinen to Mustakallio, 3 April 1902.
- ¹⁶⁹ FNA/FMSA, Eac 10, Pettinen to Mustakallio, 20 September 1902, 8 November 1902.

- ¹⁷⁰ On the famines in Uukwanyama in the early twentieth century, see E. H. Kreike, "Recreating Eden: Agro-Ecological Change, Food Security and Environmental Diversity in Southern Angola and Northern Namibia, 1890-1960" (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Yale University, 1996), 63-68.
- ¹⁷¹ FNA/FMSA, Eac 10, Savola to Mustakallio, 19 October 1903.
- ¹⁷² FNA/FMSA, Eac 11, Glad to Mustakallio, 11 October 1904, 4 July 1905; Tuttar to Mustakallio, 2 June 1905.
- ¹⁷³ FNA/FMSA, Eac 12, Grönlund to Mustakallio, 2 September 1906.
- ¹⁷⁴ Siiskonen, *Trade*, 178-179.
- ¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 180-183.
- ¹⁷⁶ W. G. Clarence-Smith and R. Moorsom, "Underdevelopment and Class Formation in Ovamboland, 1844-1917," in R. Palmer and N. Parsons, eds., *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa* (London, 1977), 104.
- ¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 105.
- ¹⁷⁸ Clarence-Smith, "Mossamedes," 327.
- ¹⁷⁹ FNA/FMSA, Eac 13, Koivu to Mustakallio, 23 February 1909.
- ¹⁸⁰ Peltola, *Suomen*, 148.
- ¹⁸¹ Siiskonen, *Trade*, 217-218.
- ¹⁸² Peltola, *Suomen*, 143. On Christianization in Ovamboland in the twentieth century, see K. Miettinen, *On the Way to Whiteness: Christianization, Conflict and Change in Colonial Ovamboland, 1910-1965* (Helsinki, 2005).
- ¹⁸³ Clarence-Smith and Moorsom, "Underdevelopment," 107.
- ¹⁸⁴ Siiskonen, *Trade*, 233.
- ¹⁸⁵ Clarence-Smith, "Mossamedes," 352-353.
- ¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 365.
- ¹⁸⁷ G. J. Bender, *Angola under the Portuguese: The Myth and the Reality* (Berkeley, 1978), 144.
- ¹⁸⁸ Clarence-Smith, "Mossamedes," 367-368.