1-1-2022

A History of Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria, 1900-1926

Ajibola A. Abdulrahman

A HISTORY OF FREED SLAVES' HOMES IN NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1900-1926

A Dissertation
presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of History
The University of Mississippi

by

Abdulwasiu Ajibola Abdulrahman

May, 2022

Abstract

This dissertation is about the children rescued from slave traders by the British colonial government in Northern Nigeria in the early twentieth century. The children were first settled in state-owned Freed Slaves Homes located at Zungeru and Borno provinces in 1904. After the state-owned Homes were abolished in 1909, they were moved to the privately-owned Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Home. The study focuses on the experiences of these liberated children within the premises of the Freed Slaves' Homes and in settings outside of these institutions in Northern Nigeria. Drawing on previously unused archival materials obtained from various parts of the world including Nigeria, Ghana, and the United Kingdom, the dissertation explores what "freedom" meant for the formerly enslaved children. Although the colonial administration described the children under study as liberated, my study reveals that they were freed but not free. Put differently, it reveals that they, occupied a position in-between of slavery and freedom. In addition to arguing that the liberated children occupied a unique position in society, this dissertation stresses, among others, that Freed Slaves' Homes played significant roles in colonial Northern Nigeria, that childhood is a social construction, and that the management of the relevant Homes and the experiences of children based in the various institution were similar, but not identical.

Dedication

To my parents.

List of Abbreviation

P.W.D –	Public Work Department
G.S.O	Government Standing Order
S.U.M	Sudan United Mission
F.S.H.	Freed Slaves' Homes
H.C.	High Commissioner
NNAK	Nigeria National Archives Kaduna
NAGCC-	National Archives of Ghana Cape Coast

Acknowledgements

Special thanks to God for the knowledge and ability to complete this dissertation. My sincere appreciation goes to Professor Mohammed Bashir Salau who suggested my research topic and also provided me with a lot of archival documents, which I partly used in writing this dissertation. I appreciate his time and expertise in reviewing this dissertation. I would also like to thank other members of my dissertation committee for their contribution to my professional growth as a scholar. I am grateful to Dr. Zachary Kagan Guthrie for his important comments and useful suggestions that helped make this dissertation better. I also value the contributions of Dr. Adetayo Alabi and Dr. Paul Polgar for making this dissertation possible. I acknowledge and appreciate Professor Paul E. Lovejoy for his comments and suggestions in writing this dissertation.

I thank the Chair of my Department, Dr. Noell Wilson, and other faculty and staff of the Department of History, who helped me in varied ways over the years. I also appreciate the various research travel grants and Dissertation Fellowship that I received from the Department and Graduate School, which allowed me to carry out research in Nigeria, Ghana, and United Kingdom. Furthermore, I owe special thanks to the staff of the Nigerian National Archives Kaduna, the National Archives of Ghana, Cape Coast, and the University of Mississippi J.D Williams Library.

Lastly, I appreciate the support of my family and friends in the United States, Nigeria and all over the World. Your constant support and prayers have brought me this far. Ameen's contributions as my "research assistant" need to be acknowledged.

Table of Content

INTRODUCTION

"I know the boys do not care to return to the Home once they have left it."[1] Colonel Lawrie, the Acting High Commissioner in Northern Nigeria, made this statement in May 1907 regarding the children at the Zungeru and Borno Homes for Freed Slaves. Lawrie's statement followed a request by Miss Emily Jardine, the Lady Superintendent at the Zungeru Home, that the government should approve that liberated boys under her care be placed with "officers as servants at a wage of 5/ per mm." [2] In her request, Jardine also stated that whenever the services of such children were no longer required, they should be allowed to return to the Freed Slaves' Homes.

Jardine had a hard time convincing Colonel Lawrie to grant her request partly because, unlike her, he had experienced first-hand the reluctance of liberated children to return to the Freed Slaves' Homes once they left there as servants or in other similar capacities. In addition, Lawrie cited the case of his servant Allabira to buttress his point that as soon as liberated children left the Freed Slaves' Homes, they would never want to return to the institutions. Allabira was a boy obtained from a Freed Slaves' Home by Lawrie, and according to him, the boy had no wish to associate with the Home. In Lawrie's words, "the lad I have here had clothes made for him the other days and he refuses to wear them saying that they look like slave Home

[1] NAK SNP 7/7/97/1906.Capt. Rowe, Report on the Zungeru Freed Slaves' Homes for December 1905.

[2] Ibid.

clothes." From Lawrie's account, for Allabira, the Freed Slaves' Homes were nothing but the Homes of "slaves."[1]

Allabira was one of the enslaved children liberated by the British administration in Northern Nigeria during the first decade of the twentieth century. On the eve of the British conquest, Sokoto was a large slave society boasting of up to 2.5 million slave population. From January 1, 1900 when the British established the protectorate of Northern Nigeria to December 31, 1907, a total of 4518 slaves were liberated.[2] The records of the slaves freed through the courts indicate that children constituted the majority of the liberated slaves. For instance of the total of 865 slaves liberated in 1905 and 1906, children aged 15 and below were 554, representing a whopping 64% of the number.[3] Many of the liberated slaves were married off immediately, while others were allowed to follow their "own inclinations." The majority of the liberated children were too young to be allowed to follow their own inclinations or married off immediately. To address this problem, the British administration in Northern Nigeria established Freed Slaves' Homes for the most vulnerable population of the liberated slaves. Between 1901 and 1906, 1,000 liberated children were sent to the Freed Slaves Homes Zungeru alone, representing about 30% of the total number of "disposal" during the period.[4]

Allabira and other liberated children were settled at the Freed Slaves' Homes at Zungeru and Borno. Some of them were subsequently transferred to the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home at Rumaisha. The Lucy Home was run by the Sudan United Mission. At the various Freed Slaves' Homes, liberated children were enrolled in educational and vocational training. Colonial

[1] Ibid.
[2] SNP 7/9 5005/1908, Return of Slaves Freed in Northern Nigeria from 1st January 1907 to 31st December, 1907.
[3] Paul E. Lovejoy and Jan S. Hogendorn; *Slow Death for Slavery: The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria, 1897-1936* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 301
[4] Ibid, 295

administrators believed that such education and training would help ensure that liberated children earn honest livings and help them become useful members of the society after leaving the Freed Slaves' Homes.

This dissertation is about the story of these liberated children, focusing on their experiences within the premises of the Freed Slaves' Homes and in settings outside of these institutions in Northern Nigeria. Thus, at the center of this story is the conflicting interpretation of liberation or the contested meanings of freedom. To the colonial government, the liberated children could only realize their newfound freedom in the protected walls of the Freed Slaves' Homes and the households of government-approved guardians or masters. For the local population, however, whether liberated children were at the Homes or in the household of government-approved guardians or masters, they were all "slaves of the government." Allabira and many liberated children did not consider themselves as free while in the Homes or in the custody of government-approved guardians or masters. In acknowledging the relevant perceptions and experiences of liberated children, this dissertation shows how the government tried to impose its understanding of freedom as well as the conditions under which the formerly enslaved children would better realize their newfound freedom. In addition, as Allabira's story hints, this dissertation seeks to also examine how the liberated children responded to the conditions that the British or their guardians and masters sought to impose.

In examining the conditions imposed by the state and its allies on liberated children at the Homes and in exploring how the children responded to such conditions, this dissertation focuses on the experiences of the children and how childhood was constructed during the British rule in Northern Nigeria. It also highlights the attention to the forms of labor that the children performed both in the Freed Slaves' Homes and in the households of guardians/masters. It examines the

primary reason why liberated children were kept at the Homes for Freed Slaves or the primary reason they were used in the labor force. It also investigates the steps that the government took to protect liberated children at work. It analyzes the factors that explain why experiences of liberated children differed. It also discusses the agency of liberated children. It also compares the government-owned Homes with privately-owned Lucy Memorial Home and explains the elements of the Lucy Home that were shaped by the earlier state-owned Freed Slaves' Homes. In discussing the issues above, this dissertation pays attention to the construction of gender relations and how it affected the construction of childhood and the different experiences of the liberated children.

By highlighting the attention to such issues, this dissertation, in addition to echoing the revisionist views that the British inherited a closed system of slavery and that the course of abolition was not smooth,[5] argues that the meaning of freedom/liberation was contested, that liberated children workers were mainly forced laborers, that childhood is a social construction and gendered, that the British notion of gender roles affected the experiences of children and workers at the Freed Slaves' Homes, that liberated children were not passive actors but actives agents capable of independent actions, that the closing of state-owned homes was informed by the British administrators' decision to cut spending, and that ideas, social values and administrative practices inherent in the state-owned freed slaves homes informed decisions made by administrators of the Lucy Home.

[5] For more on these revisionist views see, for instance, Mohammad Bashir Salau, *Plantation Slavery in Sokoto Caliphate: A Comparative and Historical Studies* (New York, University of Rochester Press, 2018); Paul E. Lovejoy and Jan S. Hogendorn; *Slow Death for Slavery.*

Children, Childhood and the Experience of Liberated Children in Northern Nigeria

This dissertation is a history of children and a study of childhood in its real sense.[6] At the center of analyses in this dissertation are the liberated children who were rescued from the slave dealers and settled by the British colonial administration at the Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria. The study of the liberated children in Northern Nigeria adds to the ongoing debate about the meaning of children and the construction of childhood in the twentieth century. The classification of the children at the Freed Slaves' Homes was important in separating children and adults. Studying the strategy for classifying the liberated children in Northern Nigeria is significant in understanding how the British administrators constructed childhood and adulthood in Northern Nigeria in the early twentieth century. Analyzing the experiences of these formerly enslaved children contributes to the literature on the children and the global studies of childhood.

There is no generally accepted definition of children and childhood. The field of childhood studies is still very young. From 1950s, studies began to look at the experiences of children from historical perspectives, and childhood studies emerged as a well-defined field only in the 1980s. Before the 1980s, children were either ignored or appeared only as an appendage of adults in the literature. As Colin Heywood has noted, children represented only "a marginal figure in an adult world," and up to the twentieth century "adulthood was the critical stage of life for which childhood was merely a preparation."[7]

---

[6] Audra Diptee & David Trotman, "Atlantic Childhood and Youth in Global Context: Reflections on the Global South," *Atlantic Studies: Global Currents* 11, no. 4 (2014): 438; Anna Mae Duane, ed., *Child Slavery before and after Emancipation. An Argument for Child-Centered Slavery Studies,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2017).

[7] Colin Heywood, *A History of Childhood: Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times*, (Cambridge, Polity Press, 2001),2-3.

Although Heywood's remarks do not focus on scholarship on Africa, as in the traditional western literature, the conventional literature on African history has largely marginalized children and predominantly ignored childhood as a distinct category of analysis. The difficulty in determining/defining who was a child all over the world is one of the reasons for the lack of interest in studying children and childhood in Africa. Scholars have disagreed (and continue to disagree) over the meaning of the term child and on the nature of childhood. As part of this debate, Allan Prout and Allison James argue that childhood is a social construct, and they stress that different societies have different understandings of "childhood" and meanings of the term "child." Furthermore, they indicate, that "the immaturity of children is a biological fact of life but the ways in which this immaturity is understood and made meaningful is a fact of culture."[8] As Prout and James, sociologists have also suggested that every society including African has ways in which it distinguishes children from adults.[9] How did pre-modern and modern African *societies* differentiate childhood from adulthood? Or at what point/stage did children cease to be children in such African *societies*? Considering that African societies were, and are, not the same, answers to these questions would vary over time and from one African society to the other.

In terms of colonial Northern Nigeria, this study shows that the British conception of childhood was gendered. Even though liberated children may not know the exact ages or their date of birth, colonial administrators maintained records that provide information on their ages. These records indicate that the administrators saw people mainly in terms of their chronological age. At the Freed Slaves' Homes, freed slaves were classified according to their age groups. The British classified children under 7 years as "infants," 7-12 years as "Little Girls/Boys," 12-15 as

[8] See Allan Prout & Allison James, eds., *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood (*London, Falmer Press, 1997).

[9] Heywood, *A History of Childhood*, 10.

"Big Girls" and children above 15 as "women." Thus, they classified people who were 15 years and below as children and people above 15 as adults. In other words, colonial administrators viewed childhood as the opposite of adulthood. Apart from the fact that "Big Boys" was not listed, the duration for which children stayed and the ages they were allowed to remain at the Freed Slaves' Homes were also determined by the British gendered construction of childhood.

Recently, African and Africanist historians have begun pay more attention to children and childhood as "distinct category of analysis."[10] Although they are still relatively very few, these works are corrective to the type of conventional works that ignore children. Aderinto's work in particular has contributed to our understanding of the changing conception of childhood in colonial Nigeria.[11] Yet majority of these studies have presented children as passive actors.[12] Moreover, the focus has been on the free-born children. Only few studies such as Bryant's work on Senegal and Melek Delgado's study of Sierra Leone have focused on the experiences of the liberated children. This dissertation adds to this literature by presenting the distinct experiences of the liberated children in Northern Nigeria under the British rule.

---

[10] Kelly M. Duke Bryant, "Changing Childhood: 'Liberated Minors,' Guardianship, and the Colonial State in Senegal, 1895-1911," *Journal of African History* 60, no. 2 (2019):209-228; E. Melek Delgado, "Children, Childhood and Slavery in Sierra Leone: The Experiences of Liberated African Children, 1808-1834." A PhD diss. (University of Worcester, 2017); Saheed Aderinto (ed.), *Children and Childhood in Colonial Nigerian Histories* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); C. Coe, "Domestic Violence and Child Circulation in the Southeastern Gold Coast, 1905-1928" *Domestic Violence and the Law in Colonial and PostColonial Africa.* Edited by Emily Burrill, Richard Roberts, and Elizabeth Thornberry (Athens, Ohio University Press, 2010): 54-73 For other works, see S. E. Duff, *Changing Childhoods in the Cape Colony: Dutch Reformed Church Evangelicalism and Colonial Childhood, 1860-1895* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015): M. Hunter, "The Bond of Education: Gender, the Value of Children, and the Making of Umlazi Township in South Africa," *Journal of African History* 55, no. 3 (2014): 467-490 . Audra Diptee, "African Children in the British Slave Trade during the Late Eighteenth century", *Slavery and Abolition* 27, no. 2 (2006), 184, 185.

[11] Aderinto ed., *Children and Childhood.*

[12] A good example of works that present children as passive actors is Aderinto (ed.), *Children and Childhood.*

The Liberated Children at the Freed Slaves' Homes had very unusual experiences compared to elsewhere in the region, given the absence of a household environment. Despite the ideology of the household that pervaded Northern Nigerian societies in the colonial era, the liberated children under study were kept in state- and privately-owned Homes. Therefore, unlike most children in early colonial Northern Nigeria, the state and the missionary organization that owned the private Home mainly shaped their development. In shaping the development of the liberated children, this study indicates that the state and the relevant missionary body ensured that inmates at the Homes had uncommon childhood experiences. For instance, the state had some economic responsibility for the inmates by providing grants to the Homes, and it monitored children assigned to guardians as domestic servants and elsewhere as apprentices to ensure that they were not abused. Similarly, the state and the SUM introduced western education, Christianity, European games and celebrations, and a certain style of cloth mainly to the liberated children at the Homes.

That the state and the SUM shaped the development of the liberated children does not mean that there are no significant variations in the children's childhood experience. As noted above, gender role socialization made the childhood experiences of girls different from those of boys. Other factors that led to a variation in children's childhood experiences at the Homes probably included religion and ethnicity. Whether or not religion and ethnicity led to a variation in children's childhood experiences at the Homes, the fact that unlike most children in colonial Northern Nigeria, inmates of the Homes did not have family protection and were subjected to state-imposed forced labor and other unique experiences and the fact that girls experienced childhood differently from the boys at the Homes helps to confirm that childhood is a social construct or that childhood is not a universal or fixed experience.

In addition to suggesting that childhood is not a universal or fixed experience, this dissertation presents that liberated children were not passive actors in the social construction of their childhood. In this regard, it indicates that many inmates had their unique understanding of what freedom meant, and mainly based on this fact, they shaped the direction their childhood took partly by disobeying instructions and by fleeing the Homes. It is notable that this study's emphasis on the fact that liberated children were not passive actors in the social construction of their childhood also helps to confirm that childhood is not a fixed or universal experience.

State-imposed forced labor

This dissertation's focus on Freed Slaves' Homes allows it to contribute to the literature on state-imposed forced labor in Africa. Scholars like Alfred Tembo and Kwabena O. Akurang-Parry are among many that have written important works on state-imposed forced labor. Tembo examines how the colonial government used emergency powers during the Second World War to force Africans to work in settler farms in Northern Rhodesia, while Akurang-Parry narrates how the colonial government used forced labor to build and maintain roads in Southern Ghana.[13] These authors and others including Opolot Okia and Sarah Kunkel provide some revealing points useful in building arguments in this dissertation.[14] Yet their accounts do not reflect any mention of Freed Slaves' Homes. Such omission is understandable for those who work on societies in which the evidence shows that Freed Slaves' Homes were not established.

[13] Alfred Tembo, "Coerced African Labor for Food Production in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) During the Second World War, 1942-1945," *South African Historical Journal* 68, no. 1 (2016): 50-69; and Kwabena O. Akurang-Parry, "Colonial Forced Labor Policies for Road-Building in Southern Ghana and the International Anti-Forced Labor Pressures, 1900-1940," *African Economic History* 28 (2000): 1-25.

[14] Sarah Kunkel, "Forced Labour, Roads, and Chiefs: The implementation of the ILO Forced Labour," *International Review of Social History* 63, Iss. 3, (2018): 449-476; Opolot Okia, *Labor in Colonial Kenya after the Forced Labor Convention, 1930-1963* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

However, such omission is a major problem in works that focus on Northern Nigeria since it does not allow a complete understanding of the nature of state-imposed forced labor in the region. For instance, even though Michael Mason's work is important mainly because it detailed how colonial administrators in collaboration with economic elites in Northern Nigeria recruited involuntary labor in the construction of railway tracts, its failure to consider Freed Slaves' Homes in which children and women were more numerous than men resulted in inadequate discussion on relevant women's issues and on the use of children as forced laborers.[15]

Similarly, Salau's work on convict labor ignores consideration of women's issues and child labor, but it is important for several reasons. It reveals how convict laborers were exploited and argues that prisons were not meant to rehabilitate the convicted prisoners or suspects. Instead, the availability of convicts' labor allowed the British to achieve the economic goals of the colonial state to strengthen their hegemony in Africa. [16] In advancing such arguments, Salau notes that in the pre-colonial Sokoto Caliphate, convicts or prisoners were put to different productive uses such as "as domestic servants...soldiers…plantation labourers, builders, concubines, and weavers."[17] He also noted that the practice (of using convict labor) continued till the early part of the colonial period during which the administration used convict laborers not only for food production but also in the production of cash crops and "hard labour" in the

[15] Michael Mason, "Working on the Railway: Forced Labor in Northern Nigeria, 1907- 1912," in *African Labor History*, edited by Peter C. W. Gutkind, Robin Cohen and Jean Copans (London: Sage, 1978), 56-79.

[16] Mohammad Bashir Salau, *Plantation Slavery in Sokoto Caliphate;* Mohammed Bashir Salau, "The Role of Slave Labor in Groundnut Production in Early Colonial Kano," *Journal of African History*, 15, no. 2 (2010): Mohammed Bashir Salau, "Convict Labour in Early Colonial Northern Nigeria: a Preliminary Study," in *From Dust to Digital: Ten Years of the Endangered Archives Programme,* edited by Maja Kominko (Open Book Publisher, 2015), 305-306.

[17] Salau, "Convict Labour in Early Colonial Northern Nigeria, 305-306.

colonial public work such as "road and railway earthwork construction."[18] In a bid to further cut the cost of running the prison, mainly feeding the convicts, the colonial administration did not only make the prison inmates produce food and materials they used, but the government also hired out the convicts to various employers who provided their feeding and paid each convict a token of 1d per day, as wages. The wages received by the convicts were meager when compared to the salaries of non-convict laborers who performed the same or similar tasks during the same period and received fourfold the amount.[19]

Unlike Salau and Mason who have exclusively examined the issue of state-imposed forced labor in Northern Nigeria, a few other writers have focused more broadly on the theme of slavery and emancipation in the region. Even though these studies that focus on the theme of slavery and emancipation acknowledge the practice of state-imposed forced labor and the existence of Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria, they either ignored or inadequately addressed important issues related to child labor, such as the forms of labor the children performed, the primary reason they were used in the labor force, and the steps the government took to protect liberated children at work. For instance, focusing on larger issues of slave emancipation, Paul Lovejoy and Jan Hogendorn have noted significant connections between the Freed Slaves' Homes and slave emancipation in Northern Nigeria. Lovejoy and Hogendorn argue that the establishment of Freed Slaves' Homes was part of Lugard's larger strategy for the slow death for slavery in Northern Nigeria.[20] They also stress how the Sudan Interior Mission

[18] Ibid., 312-314.

[19] Ibid., 322-323.

[20] Ibrahim M. Jumare, "The Late Treatment of Slavery in Sokoto: Background and Consequences of the 1936 proclamation," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 27, no. 2 (1994): 305; See Lovejoy and Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery, 83-84.*

found the fugitive slaves as a source of cheap and unpaid labor.[21] Despite their contributions, it is notable that these scholars ignored the issue of child labor in their analysis.

Child labor, which is largely ignored in the extant works on colonial Northern Nigeria, has attracted the attention of several scholars dealing with other parts of Nigeria and/or of Africa in general.[22] Unlike some scholars who focus on the experiences of work of freeborn children within their households, Kelly M. Duke Bryant has examined the experiences of work of liberated children who entered state guardianship in colonial Senegal.[23] This study, like Bryant's, focuses on the work experiences of liberated children. However, unlike Bryant's study, it places the significance of child labor not only within the guardianship system but also within the government sector. Moreover, this dissertation departs from relevant works on Northern Nigeria that either ignore the issue of child labor or that inadequately address issues related to child labor, and stresses that saving cost, training children to help prepare them to be productive members of society during their adulthood, and the demand for cheap and unskilled labor are some of the major causes of child labor in colonial Northern Nigeria.

Specifically, the dissertation shows that the need to provide for the upkeep of the liberated children led to their use in agriculture within the premises of the Freed Slaves' Homes. In addition, it is shown that the need to generate income for the upkeep of the children encouraged the colonial government to emphasize vocational training at the Homes and to assign children to guardians and other forces (including government units) outside of the Homes. In

[21]Ibid., 84.

[22] See, for instance, Beverly Grier, *Invisible Hands: Child Labor and the State in Colonial Zimbabwe* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2006); Jack Lord, "Child Labor in the Gold Coast," *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 4, no. 1 (2011): 88–115; Kathleen Vongsathorn, "A Real Home": Children, Family, Mission, and the Negotiation of Life at the Kumi Children's Leper Home in Colonial Uganda," *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 8, no. 1 (2015): 55-74; and Bryant, "Changing Childhood," 209-228.

[23] Ibid.

terms of guardians and other forces outside of the Homes that employed liberated children, it is shown that they often used the children in low-skilled jobs such as domestic service and farming. Often these employers had no objection to paying low fees to acquire the children they wanted from the Homes. Although such employers also paid wages to the children, there is no evidence that cash wages were directly given to liberated children. Instead, the evidence shows that cash wages earned by children were received and used mainly by the administrators of the Homes. In addition to denying the children direct access to the cash wages they earned, administrators of the Homes did not allow children to play any role in determining with whom they wanted to work or in determining their work contract more broadly. Given such considerations, this dissertation concludes that the state imposed forced labor on the liberated children at the Homes.

Even though the state imposed forced labor on the liberated children, it sought to protect the child laborers under study. At the Homes, the state erected new structures or expanded old ones for their protection. Specifically, it is argued in this dissertation that the construction, renovation, and expansion of the various Freed Slaves' Homes structures were shaped not simply by the need to accommodate and train wards but also by geographical, profit, security, and health considerations.

This dissertation shows that in addition to erecting new structures or expanding old ones, the state sought to protect child laborers through three other means: first, by providing work for some of them in government establishments; second, by punishing or firing Home staff members who maltreated child laborers; third, by establishing bodies to monitor liberated children to ensure that guardians and other such employers did not abuse them.

Liberated Slaves and Freed Slaves' Homes

The extant literature on liberated slaves in Africa have examined several themes including the settlement of liberated slaves in liberty villages etc. However, most of the literature pays little or no attention to liberated children. Only a work by Virginia and Frank Salamone is a book-length study on the Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria. Apart from Salamone's work that deals with a very limited period and themes in the history of Northern Nigerian Homes, there are two other comprehensive works on the topic. The two other comprehensive studies by G. O. Olusanya and C. N. Ubah, like the work by the Salamones, cover limited themes as well as limited spatial and temporal context.

G. O. Olusanya, in his pioneering article, examined the significance of the Freed Slaves' Homes through the report of the Committee established by the colonial administration, thereby privileging the perspectives of the British colonial administration. The Committee had passed a vote of no confidence on the Homes, and in its relevant report, it stressed that the training given to inmates was not adequate to make them self-supporting after they graduated from the Homes. Challenging the credibility of the committee report and recommendation, Olusanya notes that many members of the committee were among the officials who were not favorably disposed to the establishment of the Freed Slaves Homes. Apart from the lack of enthusiasm among the colonial officials including the members of the committee of inquiry, Olusanya asserts that it was the "unimaginative policy of the Administration, particularly after Lugard's departure" that hampered the performance of the Freed Slaves' Homes. Despite the unimaginative colonial policy, however, Olusanya concludes that the Freed Slaves' Homes played a significant role as

most of the liberated children who passed through the Homes later became teachers, nurses, interpreters, artisans, and pastors.[24]

Also using a top-down approach, C. N. Ubah challenges some of Olusayan's conclusions. Unlike Olusanya who rated the Freed Slaves' Homes high, Ubah disagrees with the suggestion that Homes prepared the freed slaves to be self-supporting. Although the management of the Homes provided training considered necessary for the freed slaves such as bakery, laundry, carpentry, and cooking as well as sewing classes, Ubah argues that education provided for the formerly enslaved children in the Freed Slaves Homes was very weak, inferior, and did little to prepare the liberated children to be either self-supporting or useful members of the community.[25] Although the British colonial administration tried to cater to the ex-slaves, Ubah concludes that "unwillingness on the part of the colonial regime to assume the necessary financial responsibility" led to the failure of the Homes.[26] He emphasizes that "the colonial government never really meant to take full responsibility for preparing the freed slave children for earning a living."[27]

Virginia Salamone and Frank Salamone have also examined the history of the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Homes, but they largely ignored the history of the state-owned Homes that existed before the Lucy Home was established in 1909, and they mainly offered the perspectives of Christian missionaries. In their co-authored work examining the Lucy Memorial Homes that primarily focuses on Sudan United Mission (SUM) Missionary work in Africa, the

[24] G. O Olusanya, "Freed Slaves' Homes: An Unknown Aspect of Northern Nigerian Social History," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria,* 3, no.3 (1966): 538.

[25] Ibid., 214-215.

[26] C. N Ubah "The Colonial Administration in Northern Nigeria and the Problem of Freed Slave Children," *Journal of Slavery and Abolition* 14, no. 3 (1993): 210-228.

[27] Ibid.

Salamones maintain that the Lucy Memorial Homes were "part of an overall [SUM] mission plan to evangelize the non-Muslim tribes of Northern Nigeria." The SUM achieved its overall objective in taking over the running of Freed Slaves Home in 1909, after which it focused on the task of evangelizing or making the Freed Slaves' Home a "recruitment and training center for [the future] evangelists."[28] Although this book is important, it does not cover the history of the Freed Slaves Homes before 1909, and it mainly offers the perspectives of Christian missionaries. In addition, it does not address several themes that constitute part of the focus of this study such as inmates' work and inmates' agency. Moreover, unlike the current study, the work on the Salamone's draws very little on the materials available at the National Archives in Kaduna.

In adding to the literature on the Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria, this dissertation examines four themes ignored in previous studies: management of the Homes**,** how the Homes were tied into the colonial government, and whether the establishment of the Lucy Memorial Home represented change or continuity.

On the management of the Homes, this dissertation indicates that there was a hierarchy. At the top of this hierarchy were Europeans, and beneath were Africans. It is argued that the European officials often had racist attitudes and that conflicts or disagreements between bosses and staff were common at the Homes.

On how the homes were tied into the colonial government, this dissertation stresses that the **e**ducational and vocational training that children received at the Homes was very useful and it allowed liberated children to be assigned to European and non-European guardians as domestic servants, apprenticed to the government departments such as the P.W.D. and the

[28] Virginia A. Salamone and Frank A. Salamone, *The Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Homes: The Sudan United Mission and the British Colonial Government in Partnership,* (Maryland, USA, University Press of America, 2008), 61.

Marine Department Lokoja, and recruited into the army. Even for the children who were confined to the premises of the Homes, the training they received also allowed the government to save cost and allowed the inmates to repair/mend, bake/make items for mainly Europeans working for the government and private European ventures. Such training also allowed the children confined at the Homes to provide laundry services mainly for these Europeans. Moreover, the Homes were important sites where the government held Empire Day celebrations and acculturated liberated children. In stressing the aforementioned links between the Homes and government, this dissertation is not disputing the claim of the Salamones that the Lucy Memorial Home was a "recruitment and training center for [the future] evangelists." However, in emphasizing the theme, it helps to cast doubt on Ubah's assertion that the education received at the Homes did not make liberated children useful members of the community or the notion that the Homes did not play any significant role in colonial Nigeria. Even though this study argues that the Homes played a significant role at least from the colonizer's point of view, it is not suggesting that they were profitable enterprises. Indeed, it is shown in this study that the closure of the state-owned Homes was tied to their unprofitable nature.

On whether the establishment of the Lucy Memorial Home represented change or continuity, this study suggests that the main goal for funding the Lucy Memorial Home differed from the main goal for founding the state-owned Homes and that the Lucy Home received a less direct grant from the government than the state-owned Homes. However, it also suggests that the organization and operations of both the state-owned and privately-owned Homes were largely similar. Moreover, it is shown that some of the government institutions established before the Lucy Memorial Home was founded eventually shaped the management and operations of this privately owned-Home.

Method and Sources

Childhood and children studies have attracted enormous interest from scholars across disciplines in the twenty-first century. A major paradigm shift in childhood study is the shift from research *on to research with* children. The traditional literature on childhood and children is based on the views of adults or guardians who speak on children. One of the major criticisms of this approach is that it rendered the children voiceless and made them objects of history rather than subjects. In other words, the approach excludes children from the research process.

What is the best way of carrying out research on and with children? This is one of the most important methodological questions that childhood researchers need to grapple with in their quest to find answers to relevant questions. In *Research with Children*, Christensen and James stress that there are no rules of [historical] method on how best to carry out research on/with children. They insist that there is nothing peculiar to children making imperative an adoption of any method. They argued that "children (like adults) can and do participate in structured and unstructured interviews; they fill in questionnaires; they use new media; they are involved in action research; and on their terms, they allow the participant-observer to join with them in their daily lives."[29] However, Christensen and James agree that understanding children's cultural practices of communication is very important. How then do we understand the cultural practices of communication of the formerly enslaved children of the early twentieth-century who did not leave written records behind? Indeed, it is easier to understand the twenty-first-century children who now use telephones and other forms of technology, including social media, in their day-to-day lives.

[29] P. M Christensen and Allison James, *Research with Children: Perspectives and Practices* (Routledge, 2017), 3.

While sociologists studying children in this generation can employ the research with children approach using technology, historians researching the lives and experiences of children in the nineteenth and early twentieth-century Northern Nigeria do not have that luxury of technology. At the Homes under study, the formerly enslaved children were barely educated. Thus, they did not leave written evidence that would make it easy for historians to examine their experiences from their own perspectives. Although the Salamones used correspondences between the SUM and the liberated children at the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Home,[30] such letters by liberated children are hard to come by. Considering that liberated children did not leave behind memoirs and many letters, it is not surprising that writers such as Olusanya and Ubah relied heavily on colonial documents to write their history. However, by relying mainly on records authored and left behind by colonial administrators, they both fail to highlight the voices and actions of the liberated children in their accounts. With the few records that the liberated children left behind, the question is, how do historians then comprehensively grasp the experiences of the liberated children, or how do they thoroughly examine how liberated children understood and responded to the conditions that the British administration sought to impose? Studying children is a challenging exercise, and it is true for historians studying marginalized populations,

Historians can find out about experiences and actions of the twentieth century liberated children in many ways including by what they said, by what they did, and by what they neither said nor did. Beth Baron and other historians analyzing the children's experiences of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century have also used "innovative methodology and literary strategies" to write history from the perspectives of the children. Commenting on the use

[30] Virgina Salamone and Frank Salamone, *The Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Homes*, 66.

of such methodology, Ehud Toledano, who encountered difficulty in presenting the voices and experiences of the enslaved people in the Middle East in his study, notes that "By exploring the available options; the dilemma at hand, and the choice made by the enslaved, we can see agency and resistance emerge out of misery and powerlessness."[31] Using the innovative methodology and literacy strategies advanced by Toledano, I approach the study of the Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria from the perspectives of the liberated children, even though I inevitably also highlight the views of colonial administrators.

In the absence of memoirs or biographies left behind by the children under this study, I draw extensively from the Salau collection at the University of Mississippi (which consists of materials he acquired while working on a British Library EAP and which he partly derived from the Paul Lovejoy collection at York University). In addition, I have relied on colonial documents sourced at the Archives in Nigeria to examine study the Freed Slaves' Homes from the perspectives of both the colonial administrators and the liberated children in Northern Nigeria. It should be stressed that the voices of the children at the Freed Slaves' Homes and under their guardians were *silenced* in the colonial documents. Europeans in Africa did not trust the words of "natives," and Mr. Willoughby Osborne who obtained many children from the Homes as domestic servants had this to say: "I have been long enough in West Africa to know the value of corroboration of any statement made by a native."[32] Indeed, the evidence shows that Osborne believed the stories of his domestic servants only when he corroborated their statements. Although biased, the documents left behind by Europeans like Osborne "subconsciously" reveal

[31] Beth Baron, "Liberated Bodies and Saved Souls: Freed African Slaves and Missionaries in Egypt," *Christian Missions and Humanitarianism in The Middle East, 1850-1950*, II, (2020). See also, Ehud Toledano, *As if Silent and Absent: Bond of Enslavement in the Middle East* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2007).

[32] SNP 7/7 3263/1906, Osborne, Application for two Freed Slave Girls for his wife as domestic servants, 9 September 1906.

some choices made by the formerly enslaved children both at the premises of the Homes and elsewhere.[33]

Various colonial reports on Freed Slaves Homes including the Annual and Monthly Reports cover the period between 1903 when the first official Home was established and 1926 when the Lucy Memorial Home was closed. These reports captured information on several themes related to the Freed Slaves Homes including the establishment, management, and maintenance of the Homes as well as on training, feeding, clothing, and health of the children. More than the annual reports, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* by Fredrick Lugard, the first Governor of Northern Nigeria, is very significant for the study of the Freed Slaves' Homes. His book is very valuable not only because he was the first High Commissioner in Northern Nigeria, but also because he was very instrumental in the establishment of the Freed Slaves' Homes in the protectorate.

That the Christian missionaries managed the Homes means that this work will also benefit from missionary records. The missionary records are particularly useful for the reconstruction of the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home in the period between 1909 and 1926. However, one should be suspicious of the missionary documents because they were written mainly by those Europeans in Africa to justify their actions of uplifting the ex-slaves. Considering the limitations of missionary records, this study uses them in conjunction with colonial annual reports and registers.

[33] Ibid.

Dissertation Organization

This dissertation is divided into six chapters plus an introduction and conclusion. Chapter one discusses slavery and the situation in Northern Nigeria in the precolonial period, especially on the eve of the 1903 British conquest. It examines the nature of slavery in Northern Nigeria, focusing on the nineteenth-century transformation with an important emphasis on the impact of the Sokoto jihad in this transformation. This chapter also surveys the colonial abolition in Northern Nigeria, a discussion that is fundamental to an understanding of the origins of Freed Slaves Homes. Chapter two then presents an overview of the Freed Slaves' Homes, with particular focus on the establishment, the structure of the Freed Slaves' Homes. This chapter also discusses the arrival of the liberated children at the Freed Slaves' Homes, paying attention to age, sex, place of origin, and condition in which these children arrived at the Homes. It also analyzes how the colonial administrators defined childhood and how their notion of gender affected their definition of childhood and the experiences of boys and girls.

Chapter three discusses issues such as funding, management, and supervision of the Freed Slaves' Homes. The chapter examines different sources of funding, paying particular attention to the roles of the liberated children in generating funding for the running of the Freed Slaves' Homes. The chapter also engages the themes and intersection of race and gender in the colonial workplace and highlights some of the gender and race-based conflicts between and among the members of staff and management. Chapter four examines children's day-to-day life and experiences at the Freed Slaves' Homes. Issues such as feeding, clothing, training, recreations, and health as well as resistance will be highlighted.

Chapter five focuses on guardianship and apprenticeship. This chapter extends the study of liberated children beyond the campus, focusing on their experiences and condition in the

domestic labor sectors and government departments. Chapter six shifts attention to Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home. It explains the missionary activities of Sudan United Mission in Northern Nigeria, discusses how colonial policies both hindered and aided the missionary activities of SUM, leading to the transfer of liberated children. Although this chapter focuses on the period of the Lucy Home, it is a comparative analysis of the government Freed Slaves' homes and the Lucy Home that succeeded them. Chapter seven is the conclusion. It summarizes the findings in the previous chapters and relates this dissertation to other important works on the liberated slaves.

CHAPTER ONE

SLAVERY, ABOLITION, AND DISPOSAL OF FREED SLAVES IN EARLY COLONIAL NORTHERN NIGERIA

"Slavery is one form of exploitation," declares Paul E. Lovejoy even as he clarifies the distinctions between slavery and other forms of exploitation and servile relationships. According to him, some unique characteristics of slavery are "the idea that slaves are property; that they are outsiders who are alien by origin or who are denied their heritage through judicial or other sanctions; and that coercion can be used at will." Lovejoy also stresses that the labor power of slaves "is at the complete disposal of a master; that they do not have the right to their own sexuality and, by extension, to their own reproductive capacities; and that the slave status is inherited unless provision is made to ameliorate that status."[1]

Going by Lovejoy's definition and by relevant scholarly findings, slavery was a global phenomenon. It existed in most societies throughout history.[2]In other words, like in other parts of the world, slavery was important in precolonial African societies. The history of slavery in precolonial Africa dates back to the period before the fifteenth century or to the period before the Atlantic slave trade era. This history is well documented, and it reveals the connections between internal African slavery and slavery in the Americas and elsewhere. In terms of such connections, for instance, Africa maintained a dominant position as a significant source of slaves

[1] Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformation in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa,* (New York, Cambridge University press, 1979), 1.

[2] Toyin Falola, "Africa and Slavery in a Global Context" The UNESCO Slave Route Project, http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/images/Falola_Eng.pdf Accessed 10/11/2020.

for the New World societies beginning from the middle of the fifteenth century up to the end of the nineteenth century. David Richardson and his associates have estimated that within this period, about 12.5 million Africans were forcefully shipped to the Americas. [1] Richardson maintains that African trafficking to the Americas "was the largest coerced oceanic migration in human history."[2]

This chapter considers the issue of slavery and abolition in what became known as Northern Nigeria as a prerequisite to an understanding of the origins and development of the Freed Slaves' Homes in the early twentieth century. The contention of the chapter is threefold: that slavery was not mild and open on the eve of British conquest; that the abolition of slavery in early colonial Northern Nigeria was gradual and jerky; and that to accommodate liberated slaves, the colonial government established new institutions and embraced other strategies that partly helped to ensure that slavery survived in modified form.

Unlike other chapters in this dissertation, this chapter draws partly on secondary sources on slavery in Africa. Scholars who authored these secondary sources have debated the nature of slavery in Africa. Some argue that African slavery was mild, and it was mainly a social institution that served to aid the expansion of kin groups. Others argue that slavery was not always mild and stress its economic dimension. Regarding the region that became known as Northern Nigeria, scholars who have engaged in the debate over the nature of slavery in the region includeInikori, Lovejoy, M.G. Smith, Jan Hogendorn, and Mohammed Bashir Salau. It is the works written mainly by such scholars on which I draw in the discussion that follows.

---

[1] David Eltis, David Richardson, Stephen Behrendt, and Herbert S. Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade. A database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press,1999), cited in Lovejoy, *Transformation in Slavery*, 18.

[2] David Richardson, "Involuntary Migration in the Early Modern World, 1500-1800." *The Cambridge World History of Slavery* (2011): 563-593 https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/cambridge-world-history-of-slavery/involuntary-migration-in-the-early-modern-world-15001800/10C491B2580C9DAD902AF5183C1992DF.

In addition to synthesizing scholarly debates on the nature of slavery in Northern Nigeria on the eve of the British conquest, this chapter examines the abolition of slavery during the early British rule. The evidence and findings in this chapter support the argument that colonial rule did not bring about the immediate death of slavery. As Paul Lovejoy and Horgendon have argued, the process of abolition of slavery in Northern Nigeria during the colonial period was prolonged. The British made "enslavement" illegal, and Lugard criminalized the trade in slaves, thus making buying and selling slaves a criminal offense. Lugard believed that slavery would die a natural death with this policy and other strategies. Yet, the British administrators in Northern Nigeria seriously discouraged slave desertion, and efforts were always made to return the slaves to the owners.

Slavery on the Eve of British Conquest

The region that became Northern Nigeria after the British conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate in 1903 primarily comprised the Hausa states, Borno, and some other communities in what constituted central Sudan. Although slavery has a long history in most of these societies, by the eve of the British conquest, its nature had been fundamentally transformed. As part of this transformation, the number of slaves increased, and the scale of the use of slaves in the production sectors also increased.

Before the colonial era, the Hausa and Borno people who dominated Central Sudan acquired slaves through diverse means, including tributes, raids, and trade.[3] By the nineteenth century, slaves may have formed a significant part of the population in Northern Nigeria, particularly in the Sokoto Caliphate in which an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants in this

[3] Ann O'hear, *Power Relations in Nigeria: Ilorin Slaves and their Successors* (Rochester, University of Rochester Press, 1997), 22-28.

area were slaves. It was indeed towards the end of the century and, by extension, on the eve of colonial conquest of this region that evidence indicates that the slave population was at least equal to, if not surpassed, the population of the free people in societies in the Sokoto Caliphate and other areas that subsequently formed Northern Nigeria.[4] It is clear that the Sokoto Caliphate alone "had a huge slave population, certainly in excess of 1 million and perhaps more than 2.5 million people"[5] at the time of colonial conquest.

Internal factors were primarily responsible for the transformation of slavery in Central Sudan in the nineteenth century. The increase in slave population and the development of the full slave mode of production were largely tied to the jihad wars that led to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate and to related conflicts involving Muslim Forces like Rabeh Fadallah in Borno and involving such other forces elsewhere in Central Sudan. In Hausaland, the jihad wars started in 1804 when Uthman dan Fodio led his forces against the ruler of Gobir. Following the defeat of Gobir, the jihad forces subsequently established the Sokoto Caliphate, the largest Muslim state in West Africa in the nineteenth century.[6] In establishing this state, they raided for slaves in various parts of Central Sudan, including Damagaram, Adamawa, and Borno. Although their targets were mainly non-Muslims, many Muslims based within the Sokoto Caliphate and elsewhere were also enslaved.[7] Moreover, Borno and other non-Sokoto Caliphate societies, including

[4] Lovejoy, *Transformation in Slavery*, 186.

[5] Paul E. Lovejoy and Jan S. Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery: The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria, 1897-1936* (Cambridge University Press, 1993),1.

[6] For details on the establishment of Sokoto caliphate, R. A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804-1906: the Sokoto Caliphate and its Enemies* (Humanities Press, 1971).

[7] Mohammed Bashir Salau, "Slavery in Kano Emirate of Sokoto Caliphate as Recounted: Testimonies of Isyaku and Idrisu" in *African Voices on Slavery and the Slave Trade*, edited by Alice Bellagamba, Sandra E. Green, and Martin A Klein (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2013).

relevant non-Muslim societies, also raided and enslaved citizens of the Sokoto Caliphate as the nineteenth century progressed.

Those enslaved by Borno, the Sokoto Caliphate, and other societies in Central Sudan were used in cities and rural areas in various capacities. Some were in the household where they cooked, did laundry, and cleaned. Notable among those who worked in the homes of many Muslim rulers were eunuchs. Such slaves often served as guardians of women. In addition to those employed in households, slaves were used in the manufacturing and livestock sectors. In the manufacturing sector of the Sokoto Caliphate, for instance, slaves were involved in such things as carding cotton, spinning thread, and weaving clothes in the textile industry. The slaves engaged in such activities supplied the indigo dyeing centers of "southern Kano and northern Zaria, where over 50,000 dyers were engaged at some 15,000 pits at the end of the [nineteenth] century."

In commerce, slaves in various parts of Central Sudan were involved in loading and unloading animals and tending livestock. In this same sector, many slaves served as commercial agents. In the army, slaves served as soldiers and in other capacities. As soldiers, they helped to enslave others and to foster the domination of the ruling class in many societies. To help facilitate the domination of the ruling class, slaves were also often employed as state officials.

In the agricultural sector, slaves were used in smallholdings and on plantations. On small farms, they often worked alongside their masters. Even though small farms employed many slaves, the "majority of all slaves and certainly a majority of those recently captured" in major states of Central Sudan were absorbed by the plantation system.[8] The estates that employed such slaves varied in size. It is clear that some slaves employed in the plantation sector worked under the gang system or under a looser structure in which families worked their own gardens except

[8] See Lovejoy, *Transformation in Slavery*,

when asked to perform corvee labor on the main fields or within sharecropping arrangements in plantation variants widely known as "slave villages." In the Sokoto Caliphate, slaves working under such contracts were largely owned by aristocrats and merchants (even though some were attached to political offices and supervised by slave officials), and they produced goods for the market, army, palace establishments, and local consumption.

Given the diverse ways in which slaves were used in Central Sudan, it is not surprising that terms that classified slaves according to their uses were common in many local languages. For instance, according to a colonial administrator in Northern Nigeria, Bawan Gandu referred to a slave of the highest rank, while Bawan Gona refers to farm slaves in the agricultural community. Bawan Gida referred to the slave of the House, such as domestic slaves;[9] Bawan Gandu usually served in the military but could perform political functions; Bawa Gona or the farm slaves were typically found on plantations.[10] *Bawan Gida* were domestic slaves who performed domestic duties such as fetching water and fetching firewood from the bush. It is interesting that *Bawan Gida* usually primarily consisted of women and children.[11] This dominance of women and children was because, in contrast to the male-dominated or male-oriented Atlantic trade slaves, the slavers in Central Sudan and elsewhere in Africa typically preferred women and children.[12]

---

[9] Fredrick D. Lugard, Document 6: Memorandum No.22: The Condition of Slaves. And the Native Law Regarding Slavery in Northern Nigeria, *African Economic History*, 40, Special Issue: Documents Relating to Slave Laws & Practices in West Africa (2012): 177-196 https://www-jstor-org.umiss.idm.oclc.org/stable/pdf/43854483.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A5bf9cbbf73a845a42fe808a9662ea8f1.

[10] See Mohammed Bashir Salau, *Plantation Slavery in the Sokoto Caliphate: a Historical and Comparative Study*, (New York, University of Rochester Press, 2018).

[11] Fredrick Lugard, Document 6: Memorandum No.22.

[12] Falola, "Africa and Slavery in a Global Context," 5; Toyin Falola, *African Diaspora: Slavery, Modernity and Globalization*, (New York,University of Rochester Press, 2013) .

In Central Sudan, Islam and local norms shaped slave treatment during the nineteenth century. For instance, because of the influence of Islam and local norms, many female slaves were assimilated into kin groups through concubinage and marriage. Masters who accepted the paternity of children by slave women often automatically emancipated such children. Because of such influences, many slaves were rewarded with greater responsibilities and better status for their hard work, loyalty, and other qualities.

Despite the assimilation of many slaves and despite the influence of Islam and local norms, most slaves in Central Sudan did not have access to special privileges, and they were poor. It is clear that the possibility of social mobility for most slaves was limited by their poverty and that masters sometimes secured the loyalty of their slaves through the punishment of disloyalty. In many parts of Central Sudan, slave owners who were obviously uninterested in slave assimilation into their kinship sometimes separated their residence from those assigned to their slaves.[13] However, whether masters sought to maintain social distance from slaves or sought to assimilate them, slaves were not passive actors who were always loyal to their masters. Thus, many slaves exercised their agency through disobedience to their masters' instruction and/or through desertion.[14] While such slave resistance was a contributory factor to the lack of change in status for many slaves, the case of the Sokoto Caliphate suggests that by the eve of the British conquest, most slaves were unable to emerge as serfs mainly because the state passed a series of legislation or implemented policies that helped to undermine the development of serfdom.

[13] Salau, *Plantation Slavery in Sokoto Caliphate*; Salau, "Slavery in Kano Emirate of Sokoto Caliphate as Recounted," 90

[14] Ibid.

British Conquest and Persistence of Slavery until The 1930s

The establishment of the British colonial rule in Northern Nigeria followed the European scramble for Africa, beginning in the second half but with great intensity in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The scramble pitted Britain against other European imperial powers in their desire to occupy specific territories in Africa. By 1879, through the Royal Niger Company, Britain had begun to effectively occupy some of the vast areas that would later be known as Northern Nigeria. The process of bringing the whole of Northern Nigeria under British control would take another one or two decades to accomplish. However, for convenience, historians consider January 1st, 1900, when the Royal Niger Company transferred the Administration to the Imperial Government, as the beginning of the British rule in the whole of Nigeria, including the Northern region, even though the British conquest of Sokoto was only achieved in 1903.

Fredrick Lugard, the first British High Commissioner in Northern Nigeria, is widely known for introducing the popular system of indirect rule in the protectorate. Indirect rule enabled the British, in the face of limited human, material, and financial resources, to administer the vast area of Northern Nigeria through the indigenous, traditional political institutions. Lugard's relevance and policies in Northern Nigeria went beyond this administrative engineering. He was also the architect of important policies on slavery and abolition in Northern Nigeria. During the early period of the British colonial rule in Northern Nigeria. Lugard's slave policies would have significant consequences on slaves, slave owners, and the colonial administration in Northern Nigeria.

The prevalence of slavery and slave dealing and the need to end slavery in Africa was part of the British justifications for subjugating Northern Nigeria in the early twentieth century. Despite justifying the conquest of Sokoto on the ground of slavery, the British colonial

administration could not end slavery in Northern Nigeria. Historians of slavery and abolition in Northern Nigeria have tied the British reluctance to decisively end slavery to the fear of promoting social dislocation and to the need to control the region with minimum force. The scholars have also demonstrated that partly based on their realization that they needed to secure the cooperation of the predominantly Muslim ruling elites who were bent on retaining their slaves, the British embraced a compromise policy that was meant to end slavery slowly. What the colonial administration did was enact a series of ordinances that would modify the institution and system of slavery in Northern Nigeria. "Lugard was instrumental in modifying the existing institution of slavery," commented Lovejoy and Hogendorn, who also noted Lugard's series of decrees that led to the "the gradual, if bumpy, path down the road to reform."[15]

The most far-reaching ordinance concerning slavery and emancipation issued by Lugard was the March 31st, 1901 Slavery Proclamation. This Slavery Proclamation declared that children born after March 1901 were automatically free. For Lugard to combat slavery in Northern Nigeria, "enslavement and trade in slaves were declared illegal, criminal offenses to be tried in colonial courts." In other words, the British colonial administration under Lugard criminalized the "enslavement" of new persons and trading in slaves. Also, slaves who deserted masters should not be forcibly returned to the masters, and Lugard warned his subordinate officials that they too were "subject to criminal prosecution if they returned fugitive slaves to their masters."[16] With these policies in place, Lugard believed slavery would eventually die a natural death within a limited period.

Lugard's subordinates, particularly Alder Burdon, the Resident of Bida, and Wallace, the Assistant High Commissioner who also acted as High Commissioner during Lugard's

[15] Lovejoy and Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery, 75*

[16] Ibid.

absences, *disagreed* with some of Lugard's policies on slavery, particularly those that concerned the return of the fugitive slaves. Fearing that the slave exodus would jeopardize the colonial ambitions in the region, Lugard's subordinates wanted slave flight discouraged and instead favored a policy that would allow slaves to be returned to the owners legally.[17] Although not entirely convinced by his subordinates' arguments, Lugard eventually repealed the 1901 Proclamation and some of the policies. He also revised the memoranda and enacted The Slavery Proclamation, 1904.[18] However, given the divergent and conflicting opinions between Lugard and his subordinates, what followed were the inconsistencies in the policies and practices on slavery and abolition, and this would last for more than three decades.

The discrepancy between the British colonial policies and practices concerning slavery and emancipation in Northern Nigeria was pronounced in the early period of British rule in the protectorate. Lovejoy and Hogendorn have extensively dealt with the inconsistencies and contradictions in colonial slavery policies in Northern Nigeria. According to them, Lugard "was committed to an ideology based on the abolition of the legal status of slavery while enforcing a gradual transition to a post-slavery society."[19] However, Lugard's reform and slavery policy only resulted in the "legal abolition of the legal status of slavery," while at the same time leaving the institution of domestic slavery intact. Indeed, slavery was still "legal for people to own slaves."[20] Lugard himself acknowledged the inconsistencies in his slavery policies in Northern Nigeria;

---

[17] Ibid, 65.

[18] Lugard D. Fedrick, "Document 5: Memorandum No. 6 — Slavery Questions," in *African Economic History*, 2012, Vol. 40, Special Issue: Documents Relating to Slave Laws & Practices in West Africa (2012), pp. 143-175, https://www-jstor-org.umiss.idm.oclc.org/stable/pdf/43854482.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A8205fa2394e255cb3817d3eca51b93cd

[19] Lovejoy and Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery*, 72.

[20] Ibid, 75.

> I emphatically forbade all slave raiding and all transactions in slaves, while saying that it was not my intention to interfere with the existing domestic slaves; but these would, like anyone else in the land, at any time, have a right to appeal to the Resident, and, if they proved cruelty on the part of their masters, would be liberated. We recognized, I said, no less than they did that labouring classes must exist, and I had no desire to convert the existing farm and other labourers into vagrants, idlers, and thieves, but I hope that they would by and by see the advantage of paid free labour, which we considered more profitable and better than slave labour. [21]

British contradictory policies and the inability to stamp out slavery in Northern Nigeria derived, as mentioned, from the need to cultivate friendship with the ruling elites in the region. As Ibrahim Jumare has noted, the "British desire to maintain good political relations with the slave owners in Northern Nigeria" dictated why "domestic slavery was left intact and allowed to continue quietly for a long time."[22] The British, finding themselves in a difficult position, achieved little in suppressing slavery in Northern Nigeria. Despite the series of proclamations, the institution of slavery was left intact. "The institution of domestic slavery is not hereby abolished," declared Lugard. Unlike the decree of general emancipation, domestic slavery "does not constitute an offense for a native to own slaves."[23] Lugard only criminalized Europeans owning slaves. But then, as we will see in the subsequent chapters, this only opened another creative way of slavery by another name.

---

[21] Lugard D. Fredrick, "Document 4: Proclamation on the Conquest of Kano, 1903,"141.

[22] Ibrahim M. Jumare, "The Late Treatment of Slavery in Sokoto: Background and Consequences of the 1936 proclamation," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies,* 27, no. 2, (1994): 303-322

[23] F.D. Lugard, *Political Memoranda: Revision of Instructions to Political Officers on Chiefly Political and Administrative 1913-1918* (London, 1970), 217.

It is important to conclude that although the British conquered Sokoto based on the justification of slavery, slavery not only persisted but also flourished in Northern Nigeria in the early period of colonial rule. It is indeed ironic that colonialism not only failed to end slavery in Northern Nigeria but subtly "encouraged" it in a modified way, and colonialism became the "greatest single impediment to full emancipation" in Northern Nigeria.[24] As we will see in the subsequent chapters, this dissertation further confirms that the Freed Slaves' Homes were part of the larger British strategy to modify slavery in Northern Nigeria in the early twentieth century.

Abolition of Slavery in Early Colonial Northern Nigeria

The British administrators in Northern Nigeria understood the significance of slavery to the economy of this region. Yet, moral capital and international public opinion also shaped the British policies on slavery in Northern Nigeria, resulting in discrepancies and inconsistencies. In the context of the discrepancies and inconsistencies of the British colonial policies and practices concerning slavery in Northern Nigeria, the colonial administrators decreed that a slave could obtain his freedom by stating his relevant wish before the court. Given this law, the Islamic courts became crucial platforms for slave emancipation. Although there were slaves who neither deserted nor obtained their freedom through courts based on understanding between slaves and masters,[25] the colonial administration insisted that all slave liberation must pass through courts. This insistence that all slave liberation must pass through the court helped the colonial administration in Northern Nigeria to check some shady deals in which slaves would only transfer masters.

---

[24] Lovejoy, *Transformation in Slavery*, 245-246.

[25] C. N. Ubah, "The Colonial Administration in Northern Nigeria and the Problem of Freed Slave Children," *Journal of Slavery and Abolition,* 14, No. 3 (1993): 209-210; Hogendorn and Lovejoy, *Slow Death for Slavery*, 75.

The provincial and Native Courts were responsible for sanctioning the liberation of slaves. The majority of the slave liberation by the court was done in the Native or Alkali court. The native Alkali also had the responsibility of "disposing" of the liberated slaves.[26] These Native Courts were the hitherto Islamic courts and the judicial councils of the emirs and had been "reorganized and legitimized as part of the colonial system."[27] The only slavery cases the Provincial Courts dealt with primarily concerned the illegal slave dealing and enslavement. Provincial courts could also hear the regular slavery cases on appeal if there were allegations of maltreatment.[28]

The Colonial authorities stipulated the means through which slaves could be liberated in Northern Nigeria. Having illegalized the slave trade in the region, anyone who acquired new slaves would automatically lose them. Newly acquired slaves could approach the courts or Colonial provincial Residents to claim freedom. Domestic Slaves, particularly the newly acquired slaves, could be forcibly taken away from their owners.[29] Slaves could also obtain freedom in courts if they accused the slave owners of maltreatment. If allegations of abuse were established against the slave owners, the slave owners were made to lose/free their slaves.[30] Slaves could also approach colonial officers such as Residents to claim freedom based on their master's maltreatment. A good example was in December 1905, when seven women and two young boys were liberated in Borno province when they approached the Resident who was on

[26] NAK SNP 15/1 acc. 121/1906: Register of Freed Slaves, Nupe Province for Quarter Ending June 30, 1906.

[27] Lovejoy and Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery*, 102.

[28] Ibid.

[29] In October 1906, many slaves including Ayashe and Hajera both female and aged 5 were liberated because their masters acquired them in 1906. For this and other slaves liberated on the ground that their owners recently acquired them, see NAK SNP 15/1 121/1906: Return of Freed Slaves Bauchi Province for Quarter Ending 31st December 1906.; the Resident Bauchi Province to the Political Assistant, Northern Nigeria 30 July 1906.

[30] *** NAK SNP 15/1 acc. 121/1906: Freed Slaves Home Provincial Returns 1906.

tour, alleging maltreatment.[31] While there are many examples of liberation resulting from maltreatment, allegations of maltreatment were difficult to prove.

In the early British rule in Northern Nigeria, slaves were generally *not freed for free* but *for fees*. Many slave owners, such as the poor Sarakuna in Bauchi, were "glad to give their slaves freedom for a comparatively small sum of money." [32] Yet, the colonial administrators in Northern Nigeria insisted that "the slave who redeems himself or who is redeemed by his relations is, generally, a man who deserves freedom."[33] It should be stressed that the colonial administration encouraged and even recommended that enslaved people in Northern Nigeria should obtain their freedom through ransoming and redemption. As noted earlier in this section, the Colonial Government in Northern Nigeria encouraged the liberation of the slave through negotiation between the slaves and the slave owners. Many slave-owners freed their slaves, although slaves would have to obtain such freedom through ransoming.

The Colonial Government, through the Provincial and Native courts, set the specific amounts for slaves' redemption. As records reveal for Jega district in Gombe province, for instance, slaves paid £210.00 for their freedom. It should be pointed out that there was no uniformity in the amount paid for slave redemption throughout Northern Nigeria. It would appear that amounts for redemption were carefully negotiated between the slaves and the masters, with courts, in most cases, serving as the witnesses. In Northern Nigeria, the early colonial period witnessed redemption among slaves who began to obtain their freedom in courts after paying specific amounts of money to their masters. Two enslaved men, named after their

[31] NAK SNP 15/1 acc. 90B/1905: Register of Freed Slaves Borno Province for month of December 1905.

[32] NAK SNP 15/1 acc.121/1906: From the Resident Bauchi Province to The Political Assistant, Northern Nigeria 8th August 1906.

[33] Ibid.

masters, were liberated in the Alkali Courts in Gombe and Bauchi on November 6, 1906. Mai Kai's slave and Mallam's slave were liberated in the Courts only after paying redemption fees to their masters. While the relative of Mallam's slave paid 120000 C, Mai Kai freed his slave after paying 400 cowries.[34]

In addition to self-redemption and redemption by relatives, new or potential "employers" could also redeem slaves. Runaway slaves were mainly the focus of redemption by new employers. Many slaves who ran away from their masters were able to secure new employment. The story of Kolo, a former slave of Balirabe, was one example. In 1913, Kolo became an employee of Sarkin Zungeru after he had escaped from his master Balirabe. The same year, Kolo came to Kano with his new employer. Interestingly, Balirabe recognized Kolo at the Durba in Kano, and the latter dragged his runaway slave before the Alkali (the Native Court Judge). In his judgment, Alkali ordered that Sarkin Zungeru, the new employer of Kolo, should pay a redemption fee of £1 to Balirabe for Kolo's freedom.[35] Although it allowed new employers to redeem runaway slaves, the government tried to prevent a situation in which slaves were only transferred from one master to another.[36] It should be stressed that slaves could be ransomed through cash payments or the equivalent in goods. The Native Courts decided the amounts to be paid or the number of bags (of certain produces) equivalent to cash payment.[37] There were other cases of joint redemption and marriage.[38]

---

[34] NAK SNP 15/1 ACC/121, Return of Freed Slaves Bauchi Province for Quarter Ending 31st December 1906.

[35] NAK SNP 10/1, 130p/1913: Kolo Ex-Kano Slave Redemption by Serikin Zungeru from his Former Master 26th February, 1913.

[36] Ibid. Lovejoy and Hogendorn maintain that efforts of the colonial government in preventing transfer of slaves through redemption to marry were not always successful. See *Slow Death for Slavery*.

[37] NAK SNP 15/1, ACC121: Register of Freed Slaves Bauchi Province for the Month of May 1906; Register of Freed Slaves Bauchi Province for the Month of August, 1906.

[38] NAK SNP 15/1, ACC121: Register of Freed Slaves Bauchi Province for the Month of February 1906.

The last means of liberation of slaves in Northern Nigeria during the colonial period was rescue/liberation from the slave traders. There was a very great import of slaves from German Adamawa territory.[39] Moreover, some astute slave dealers were much interested in taking advantage of the native court, as noted above, to purchase slaves. Many Residents were aware of this, and the Bauchi Resident declared that unless the native court was honest and watchful, the astute slave dealers were ready to use the native court to acquire slaves if permitted.[40] When slave dealers were discovered, their slaves were usually seized. Slave dealers always resorted to escaping when found, leaving their slaves behind. The Government made a scapegoat out of a few slave dealers that were captured by sentencing them as a deterrent to other slave dealers. For instance, Arri and Momodu were arrested in 1905 and sentenced to one year's imprisonment each.[41] The slaves that were seized from the slave dealers would still need to formalize their liberation by the courts.[42]

Desertion was also another way enslaved people escaped bondage in every society. Slaves were also abolitionists and were not passive participants in the process of abolition in Northern Nigeria. Indeed, slaves weaponized the presence of the British in Northern Nigeria and deserted their masters at any given opportunity. Whenever they came in contact with colonial officials, deserting slaves always argued that slavery was over.[43] In June 1906, some of the slaves that were liberated in the Borno province were those who deserted their owners. When information (about the British abolition in Northern Nigeria) reached enslaved people in the

[39] NAK SNP 15/1, ACC90B: Lugard to Alfred Lyttelton, M.P, Secretary of State for Colonies, 7th February 1905.

[40] NAK SNP 15/1, ACC121: Resident Bauchi province to the Political Assistant, Northern Nigeria, 6th August 1906.

[41] NAK SNP 15/1 ACC121: Political Assistant, Northern Nigeria to the Resident Borno Province, 4th January, 1905.

[42] See NAK SNP 15/1 ACC121: Freed Slaves' Homes provincial Returns, 1906, SNP 15/1 ACC121.

[43] See Lovejoy and Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery.*

German territory, they quickly crossed to the British colony. They were promptly entered into the Freed Slaves Register "to prevent their being reclaimed" by the owners.[44] Yet, the government insisted that exodus or desertion of slaves was not a proper means of liberation. Thus, to discourage slave desertion, the government instructed that chiefs should not give land to slaves.

Slave desertion had a significant impact on the economy and social life in Northern Nigeria. The available colonial records suggest that slavery was central to the economy of Northern Nigeria in the pre-colonial periods. Alder Burdon, one of the prominent British administrators in colonial Northern Nigeria, discussed the effects of slave desertion in the early twentieth century. His discussion reveals the importance of slaves in the economy and household in the pre-colonial period. As Burdon noted, should slaves run away, the masters would have "lost…his whole wealth." He commented further, "His farms lie idle…his house falls down…his wives or at any rate concubines have gone with…his children, he is left destitute and as the farm slaves have been careful on going to take all the grain and crops…he has not even food to support the remnant that stays with him."[45]

Disposal of the Freed Slaves during the Early British Rule

In the early period of British colonial rule, the government was concerned about what became of the liberated slaves in Northern Nigeria. Many formerly enslaved people had no known relatives and therefore had no social connections. In Northern Nigeria, where slavery was still very prevalent, many liberated slaves could be re-enslaved. Many would also become social

[44] For a case of "runaway from Mandara" and details of acquiring runaways, see NAK SNP 15/1, ACC121: Resident Borno to the Political Assistant, Zungeru, 29th March 1906.

[45] Lovejoy and Hogendorn , *Slow Death for Slavery,* 76.

vagrants. To deal with these challenges, the government arranged for the distribution of freed slaves. In distributing the formerly enslaved people, the government adopted different methods. Firstly, the government tried to repatriate or restore them to their families. Adult females were married off immediately after liberation (or later) to available suitors. The government settled other adult slaves at the Liberty Farm. And many slaves were allowed to follow their inclinations.[46] Some found their way to colonial institutions under the protection of government or respectable guardians. Those under the guardianship of government were sheltered at the Freed Slaves' Homes.[47]

The process of distributing the freed slaves needs to be discussed. Restoration to the families was the government's first attempt to dispose of the liberated slaves. This was a means of reintegrating them into society, and the general practice was to allow formerly enslaved people to locate their former relatives and return homes.[48] For instance, fifteen-year-old girl Ayashe and eighteen-year-old woman Bugari were liberated in Kotangora province and handed over to their fathers in 1912.[49] However, it was always difficult for the government to return liberated slaves to former homes and restore them to families. The case of Tenni, a girl of about 12 years, who was liberated in 1907, proves unsuccessful attempts by the government to repatriate freed slaves. In an unsuccessful move to repatriate Tenni to her family, British administrators found that the liberated girl was of Dakkakarri tribe from the town of Isgogo, Sakaba District in Kontagora Province. Unfortunately, Tenni's father was dead and her mother

[46] See NAK SNP 7/9, 5005/1908: Return of Slaves Freed in Northern Nigeria from 1st January 1907 to 31st December, 1907.

[47] The chapters that follow focus on the Freed Slaves' Homes.

[48] NAK SNP 15/1, ACC12/1906: Resident Bauchi Province to the Political Assistant, Northern Nigeria, 30th July, 1906.

[49] Register of Freed Slaves' Homes Kontagora Province Quarter Ending 30th June 1912

could not be located, according to Dwyer the Resident Kontagora Province.[50] Perhaps, government was able to restore a few liberated slaves to families.[51] But as the case of Tenni demonstrates, this was often difficult, and therefore the majority of slaves who were liberated in the early twentieth century were disposed of through means other than restoring to families.

Because repatriation of former slaves was not always possible or successful, many liberated slaves were allowed to follow their inclination.[52] And after the government Freed Slaves' Homes were closed in 1909/1910, "to follow inclination" became the most prominent means through which the government disposed of formerly enslaved people. For instance, 6,971 of 7,583 slaves liberated in Northern Nigeria in 1912 were allowed to follow their inclination.[53] This is more than 90% of the total slaves liberated and disposed of in 1912. It is also clear that the majority of the liberated slaves that followed their inclination were adult men. Although the government allowed many liberated slaves to follow their "own inclination," liberated slaves were expected to work.

For the government, "following their inclination" meant that the liberated slaves should work for wages, as Lugard made it clear that slaves that left their masters must be willing to work for wages. The colonial vagrancy law made this form of labor [control?] possible. Indeed, although it was originally meant to prevent the flight of slaves, the vagrancy law was a weapon that helped push the liberated adult men into the labor market as wage earners. Colonial tax reforms had the same consequences (albeit direct ones).[54] Even though the government allowed

[50] Dwyer,

[51] NAK SNP 15/1, ACC12/1906: Resident Bauchi Province to the Political Assistant, Northern Nigeria, 30th July, 1906.

[52] See Memo No. 32 of December 1902. Memo No. 4 deal more with disposal of liberated slaves Cited in Lovejoy and Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery*, 83.

[53] NAK SNP 10499p/1913: Return of Slaves in Northern Nigeria from 1st January to 31st December 1912.

[54] Lovejoy and Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery*, 85.

adults to follow their inclination, with the colonial vagrancy law and taxation in place, many liberated slaves were forced to choose between accepting wage labor and going back to their former masters to negotiate a better relationship known as *murgu*.[55]

For the liberated women, marriage was the surest future. The place of women in the early colonial Northern Nigeria was very clear: "Women were either married, under the guardianship of relatives or other custodians, or an undesirable element in society that was associated with prostitution and crime."[56] The fear of vagrancy considerably influenced Lugard's policies and his subordinates' concerning formerly enslaved women. To the British administrators, liberated women were potential prostitutes when not "engaged" or under the guardianship of respectable male custodians. Therefore, women were compelled to remain with their masters until a man was willing to redeem her with an assurance of her subsistence. Indeed evidence reveals that the majority of liberated women were married immediately upon liberation or shortly after by the men that ransomed them. In some cases, women were allowed to select husbands they desired. In many other cases, the government took it upon itself to find responsible suitors for liberated women, particularly among the African employees.[57]

It should be noted that some of the slave women already had relationships and children with men before the liberation. Men with whom slave women had borne children redeemed and married them.[58] Slave women who had children with their masters were also married to them

[55] *Murgu* was a modified form of relationship or an arrangement in which the masters allowed their slaves to work on their own on the agreement that the slaves would pay regular fee. See Lovejoy and Hongendorn, *Lsow Death for Slavery,* 160.
[56] Ibid, 243.

[57] NAK SNP 15/1 ACC121/1906: Resident Bauchi Province to the Political Assistant, Northern Nigeria, 30th July, 1906,

[58] A case was a 22 years old woman named in the register as Mattan Mallam. She was freed and married by Mallam in October 1906. Another case was a 19 years old slave woman whom one Ibrahim redeemed and married through

after they were liberated through Court.[59] Indeed, former masters were allowed to marry their former slaves even when they did not have children together.[60] Those who were not married off immediately were placed under the guardianship of male custodians. The government subjected the husbands and/or guardians to continuous periodic supervision, and it was the Resident's duty to see that they fulfilled their obligations."[61]

For those who could not be repatriated to former homes or were not allowed to follow their inclination, the Colonial government established a Freed Slaves Village. The Freed Slaves Village was also referred to as Liberty Farm, although it was not the same as the Vi*llages de Liberte* established in French colonies. In every slave society after emancipation, the liberated slaves confronted another challenge- survival. In America and the Caribbean, the former slaves had to grapple with landlessness. The same challenge of landlessness confronted the liberated slaves in Northern Nigeria during the colonial period. Without access to land, the freed slaves in northern Nigeria found it increasingly difficult to support themselves and their families after liberation. To address the problem of landlessness, the colonial government in Northern Nigeria settled the liberated slaves on the Liberty Farm. The Liberty Farm or Freed Slaves Village served as a settlement for the liberated slaves who were old enough to look after themselves but incapable of making a living upon liberation. As earlier noted, the Government couldn't

---

the Alkali court. See NAK SNP 15/1, ACC121, Return of Freed Slaves Bauchi Province for Quarter Ending 31st December, 1906.

[59] NAK SNP 15/1 ACC121, Return of Freed Slaves Bauchi Province for Quarter Ending 31st December, 1906,

[60] A woman whose age was not mentioned but simply named Jelani slave was married to her former master in May 1906. See SNP 15/1, ACC121, Register of Freed Slaves Bauchi province for Month of May 1906,

[61] Memo No. 32 of December 1902. Memo No. 4 deal more with disposal of liberated slaves Cited in Hogendorn and Lovejoy, *Slow Death for Slavery*, P.83.

repatriate this set of liberated slaves, and they were "not fit to be set at large in a strange land with a strange language."[62]

In the Freed Slaves' Village in Northern Nigeria, the liberated adults were given land to farm and make a living. Part of the colonial administration's plan was that these adult freed slaves would live in the Liberty Village, where they would marry their kind and live their own lives.[63] The Government provided support for those settled in the Liberty Village, including start-up funds and periodic payments such as 6/- per week and later 12/- per month. In Government's estimation, the periodic period would cease as soon as they stabilized. "so that when the crops ripened the village could become self-sufficient."[64] The founding of the Freed Slaves Village helped the Government to deal with the perceived risk of the likely emergence of vagrants and classes of criminals among the liberated slaves.[65]

Conclusion

This chapter examines the history and nature of slavery in the region that became known as Northern Nigeria. Focusing partly on the pre-colonial period, it stresses that internal African factors, including the jihad wars, played a decisive role in the expansion of the slave population and in the increased use of slaves in the productive sector. The chapter maintains that on the eve of British rule, a closed system of slavery dominated the region that became Northern Nigeria and that despite touting abolition as the justification for colonial rule in Northern Nigeria, the British found themselves in complex political situations which demanded they aligned with the local political elites who were mainly slaveholders. It was partly this alignment that led to the

[62] G. O Olusanya, "Freed Slaves' Homes: An Unknown Aspect of Northern Nigerian Social History," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria,* 3, no. 3 (1966): 527.

[63] SNP 7/8, 3631/1907, Resident of Borno to the Secretary to the Administration, Zungeru.

[64] Olusanya, 527

[65] See Lovejoy and Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery*

slow demise of slavery in Northern Nigeria. In elaborating on the slow demise of slavery in Northern Nigeria, the chapter emphasizes how the government supervised the liberation of a substantial number of slaves through courts and how the government rescued many slaves, particularly children, from the slave dealers through slave patrols.

It is shown that causes of liberation, age, and gender shaped the post-emancipation experiences of ex-slaves. Thus, most of the liberated adults, particularly male adults, were settled at the liberty villages and/or were allowed to follow their inclinations. Most of the liberated women were either married off or put under male guardians, often Europeans or some respectable Africans, immediately after liberation. Children who constituted a large number of liberated slaves in Northern Nigeria were sent to the Freed Slaves' Homes. Freed Slaves' Homes were perhaps the most significant intervention by the colonial government in Northern Nigeria to cater to a significant number of the liberated slaves. At the Freed Slaves' Homes, the government would enroll the children in different skills that would make them earn an honest living and become respectable members of society. The chapters that follow focus on the Freed Slaves' Homes and experiences of the liberated children.

CHAPTER TWO

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FREED SLAVES' HOMES AND BACKGROUND OF THE LIBERATED CHILDREN

The question of slavery and emancipation had been dealt with across the World. The (ex-) slaves, slaveholders, and the colonial government responded to slavery and emancipation in different ways. These responses differed according to the geographical, racial, economic, and other conditions in each of the societies involved in slave emancipation. In the British Caribbean, the British parliament devised an apprenticeship system to deal with post-emancipation questions. Although apprenticeship was to be a win-win strategy, the system, however, allowed former slave owners and allies to determine what work freed people could do and how they could do it.[1] In the United States, some of the attempts to cater for and secure "homes" for the emancipated slaves resulted in the subsequent relocation of people of African descent to Liberia where, as the advocates of colonization argued, freed slaves could enjoy their freedom.

In Northern Nigeria, the Freed Slaves' Homes were one of the responses and the most tangible institutional intervention by the British colonial administration to deal with the problem of slavery and emancipation. Given the difficulty in repatriating a significant number of liberated slaves, particularly the children who were too young to be married or allowed to follow their inclinations. Being orphans and homeless, the children would become vagrants at best, and they risked re-enslavement at worst. Fredrick Lugard discouraged fugitive slaves by instituting a

[1] Natasha Lightfoot, *Troubling Freedom*: *Antigua and the Aftermath of British Emancipation,* United States: Duke University Press. , 2015, P. 8

combination of land regulation and vagrancy law.[1] To address the problem of the liberated children, Lugard came up with the idea of the Freed Slaves' Homes, and the colonial government in Northern Nigeria "pioneered the keeping of liberated slave children in such homes."[2]

The aim of this chapter is to examine why the colonial government established the Freed Slaves' Homes and what the British were trying to do with them. The chapter also describes the physical layout of the Homes and the structures that alternately supported and constrained the day-to-day life of the liberated children. The chapter considers the backgrounds of liberated slaves admitted into the government. Lastly, the chapter uses the experience of the children at the Freed Slaves' Homes to investigate how childhood was constructed by the British in the early twentieth century. Although previous works have examined why the colonial government established Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria, they have largely overlooked the physical structure of the Freed Slaves' Homes, the background of the liberated children, and the construction of childhood in Northern Nigeria during the early period of the British rule.

By focusing on the layout of the Freed Slaves' Homes and the background of their wards, this chapter suggests that the construction, renovation, and expansion of the various Freed Slaves' Homes structures were shaped not simply by the need to accommodate and train wards, but also by geographical, profit, security, and health considerations. In focusing on these issues, it also critically assesses available freed slaves' registers and other colonial records as a means of demonstrating that identity is a social construct, stressing gender issues, and of identifying what

[1] For more information on how land regulation and vagrancy law in Northern Nigeria, See Paul E. Lovejoy and Jan S. Hogendorn; *Slow Death for Slavery: The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria, 1897-1936* (Cambridge University Press, 1993)

[2]Mohammed Bashir Salau "Archival and Digital Sources on Unfree Labor in Northern Nigeria," *African History (2020)*: 7

the colonial administration considered as "children" in terms of age, and how gender shaped the British construction of childhood.

The Establishment of the Freed Slaves' Homes

The history of Freed Slaves Homes dates back to the British creation of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria at the beginning of the twentieth century. It is not clear whether the British experiences in other colonies in the nineteenth century influenced the establishment of the Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria. Freed Slaves' Homes were established in several British colonies, although we do not know when or where the first Freed Slave Home was established. Indeed, so far, all the Freed Slaves Homes I have come across happened to be in British colonies in Africa and the Middle East. The establishment of Freed Slaves' Homes may, therefore, not be unconnected with the overall British strategies against slavery and the slave trade. My aim here is not only to draw attention to other societies outside of the study area that had the institution in question but also to point to relevant topics that need further research.

The Cairo Home for Freed Women Slaves was the only known example of official homes for the liberated slaves in Africa before establishing the Freed Slaves Homes in Northern Nigeria. Opened in January 1885, the Cairo Home was primarily established to accommodate the formerly enslaved African women and children who were liberated in Egypt during the late nineteenth century. Cairo Home was established through the "joint effort by a committee in London associated with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (BFASS)" and "a second committee in Cairo, presided over by Baring, which dealt with the logistics."[3] Even though the

[3] Beth Baron, "Liberated Bodies and Saved Souls: Freed African Slave Girls and Missionaries in Egypt," *Christian Missions and Humanitarianism in the Middle East, 1850-1950*, II, (Sept. 2020): 41-61.

Home was called the Cairo Home for Freed Women Slaves, liberated children under the age 14 were also sheltered at this Home.

The Cairo Home was very important both as an instrument to combat slavery and as an institution to cater to the liberated women and children. Its establishment followed the 1877 Anglo-Egyptian convention, which outlawed the slave trade in Egypt. Even though the slave trade was outlawed at this convention, the lack of a home to cater to children and women served as an impediment to the enforcement of the 1877 convention and the emancipation of slaves. It was, therefore, mainly to aid the enforcement of the decisions reached at the 1877 convention that the Cairo Home was established. It should be emphasized that the Cairo Homes were private undertakings. In particular, they were established through the efforts and collaboration of philanthropic and missionary organizations.

Unlike the Cairo Home for Freed Women Slaves, the Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria, particularly in the first decade of the twentieth century, were established, funded and managed by the British colonial government. The efforts of the British Colonial Government to provide shelters for liberated children in Northern Nigeria date back to the establishment of colonial rule in the Protectorate. As early as 1901, the Government had set up a Home at Lokoja (an important territory for the British colonial presence in Nigeria at this period) for the children liberated from the slave traders intercepted at various parts of Northern Nigeria. As of December 31, 1901, the Lokoja home had forty-six children.[4]

Lugard, who was instrumental in the establishment of the Freed Slaves' Homes, confirmed its existence in 1901 but seemed dissatisfied with the reports he received about the institution. Thus, in the same document in which he recognized the presence of the Home and

[4] C. N. Ubah, "The Colonial Administration in Northern Nigeria and the Problem of Freed Slave Children," *Journal of Slavery and Abolition,* 14, no. 3 (1993): 200.

gave the total number of inmates as 46, he cautioned that "the returns from the Freed Slaves Home are not entirely accurate; its management has so frequently changed hands, and it was only put on a proper basis during the year."

Lugard concluded that he would have the institution under his watch as soon as the Government completed the new Freed Slaves Home, and believed there would be a very great improvement in the conditions.[5] Following these statements by Lugard, the government completed the first permanent Freed Slaves Home at Zungeru by October 1903. By that date, a total of 75 children in the temporary Lokoja Home were transferred to the Zungeru Home.[6] Despite this fact, the Zungeru Home was officially opened only in early 1904.

Location was an important consideration when establishing the Zungeru Freed Slaves' Homes. In siting it at Zungeru, the Government considered the region's strategic location and its climatic condition. Zungeru was among the first headquarters of the British colonial administration in Northern Nigeria.[7] On precisely why the government headquarters was situated here, one senior colonial official noted, Zungeru was "well situated about one and a half miles from the Kaduna River, and is cut in two by a small river---the Dago---from which the water supply was drawn."[8] This colonial official suggested that the accessibility of the geographical area in which Zungeru was situated was one factor that shaped the decision to establish government headquarters there. In terms of the Freed Slaves' Home, the accessibility of the area

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ubah, "The Colonial Administration in Northern Nigeria and the Problem of Freed Slave Children," 210.

[7] See F.G. Bagnall, "A Year in Northern Nigeria" in *The Colfeian, Being the Chronicle of the Old Boys of Colfe's Grammar School, Lewisham,* (Printed by Charles North, the Blackbeath, November 1905), 126-128. http://colfesarchive.daisy.websds.net/Filename.ashx?systemFileName=Colfeian_1905_011.pdf&origFilename=Colfeian_1905_011.pdf; Paul E. Lovejoy and Jan S. Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery: The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria*, 1897-1936 (Cambridge University Press, 1993), *20.*

[8] F. G. Bagnal, "A Year in Northern Nigeria," 126-128.

ensured that liberated children could be moved to and from Zungeru with ease. Recognition of this fact shaped the decision to site the Freed Slaves' Home in Zungeru.[9]

The second reason the government settled for Zungeru was related to health. Zungeru was considered a very safe and healthy place partly because, unlike many places, it had little or no tsetse fly. By sitting the Freed Slaves' Homes at a location that was virtually tsetse fly free, the government sought to reduce sickness and death among the liberated children. In April 1904, the government opened another Home in Maifoni, Borno Province. The decision to establish another Home was directly related to the difficulties experienced in transferring the liberated slaves from the hinterland to the Zungeru Home. The difficulties involved in sending the liberated children from Bauchi province to the Zungeru Home have been noted in the previous section.[10] The journey to Zungeru and the danger it posed to the children recently rescued from slave dealers are fully discussed in chapter four. While slaves were liberated in virtually all provinces in Northern Nigeria, the large number of children liberated in Borno significantly informed the Government's decision to establish another Freed Slaves Home in the Province.[11] The new Freed Slaves Home in Borno would serve the children liberated in and around Borno, and allowed the government to reduce the difficulties encountered in sending these children to the Zungeru Home.

The Zungeru and Borno Homes were the only two substantial Homes established by the colonial government for the liberated slaves and only lasted till about 1910. When the Government closed the Government's Freed Slaves' Homes in Zungeru and Borno, it transferred

[9] SNP 17/1/10228, B. G. Cullough to Governor-General of Nigeria, 31st December 1917.

[10] SNP 15/1, Acc 121, Resident Bauchi Province to the Political Assistant, Northern Nigeria, 30th July, 1906.

[11] Lugard to Chamberlain, September 2nd, 1903, "Colonial Reports-Annual, No. 409, Northern Nigeria, Report for 1902," p., 74 Annual Report of the Colonies, Northern Nigeria, 1902 (illinois.edu).

the wards in those Homes to the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Home. The Lucy Home was established by the Sudan United Mission in 1910 at Rumasha, Benue, in memory of one of its founders and leaders. Although the Lucy Memorial Home was established and largely managed by the SUM, the Colonial Government in Northern Nigeria supervised and participated in funding the Home. (See chapter 3)

The Purpose and Objectives of Freed Slaves Homes

In 1909, William Wallace, the acting High Commissioner in Northern Nigeria, gave a powerful speech concerning the Freed Slaves' Homes and liberated children in Northern Nigeria. "The British Government opened to you the Doors of Liberty, and saved you from the clutches of the slave-owners and from lifelong oppression and misery," Wallace declared in the opening of his speech. "I hope you will ever be grateful, and that you will grow up to be useful members of society and loyal citizens under the great King whom we all serve" the acting High Commissioner concluded.[12]

Wallace's speech was on the occasion of the official opening of the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home, an orphanage established by the Sudan United Mission. The Lucy Home became significant following the closing of the Government's Freed Slaves' Homes in Borno and Zungeru. The official commissioning of the Lucy Home by the then most important British official in the region symbolized the government's continued involvement in the activities and running of the Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria. Yet the speech was significant not only for the continuity, but it is also perhaps more significant in revealing the purposes and objectives of the Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria.

[12] SNP 7/9, 751/1908, William Wallace, Speech Delivered during the Opening of the Lucy Memorial Home, Rumaisha.

Although Wallace's speech was brief, the acting High Commissioner was concise enough to aptly capture the purpose and objectives for which the British established the Freed Slaves' Homes across the protectorate of Northern Nigeria. Given that the British colonial rule was established on the premise of the abolition of slavery, the establishment of Homes in Northern Nigeria for the formerly enslaved children rescued from the slavers and slave dealers was a move in the right direction. Hence, in his speech, Wallace asserted that providing shelters for the liberated slaves was at the center of the establishment of the Freed Slaves' Homes.

Wallace's speech also stressed the theme of the civilizing mission of Britain in Africa. In particular, it emphasized that the liberated children would not only enjoy "liberty" but would also benefit from the British overall civilizing mission in Northern Nigeria. However, in the speech, Wallace also noted that the newly found "liberty" and "civilization" were not without a price; the loyalty of the children to the British Empire. By demanding loyalty from the liberated children, Wallace was able to connect and tie the Freed Slaves' Homes to the overall colonial enterprise in Nigeria.

The first purpose of the Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria was to serve as shelters for the formerly enslaved children, the most vulnerable of the formerly enslaved people. Even though most of these liberated children were recently enslaved before liberation, many of them were very young and could not readily remember and locate their former homes. For the few who did remember their homes and could identify their relatives, the government was able to restore them to their families. However, the government largely found it difficult to repatriate the majority, as many could not locate family members. The British administrators in Northern Nigeria also noted the practice in which parents sold their children and understood that restoring

these children to those parents meant they would be sold again. Lugard explained the difficulty in repatriating a significant number of freed slaves;

> By far the greater number, however, cannot be repatriated, either (a) because They come from German territory, and to send them back, were it possible, would mean re-enslavement, or (b) because they are small children who do not know where their homes are, or © because they have been sold by their own people, and, if returned, would, presumably, be sold again.[13]

In the light of incessant cases of enslavement and the pervasiveness of internal slave trading in Northern Nigeria, the liberated children risked re-enslavement if they were not protected.[14] Given the inability of the majority to locate parents or relatives, the colonial Government in Northern Nigeria became the official guardian of liberated children. In this capacity, the colonial administration had the moral obligation to provide shelter for the children.

The Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria did not only provide accommodation for the liberated children but also housed some liberated women. The government sometimes sent liberated women for whom it could not readily find suitors to the Freed Slaves Homes, and the officials in charge of the Homes understood that they had to occasionally accept women. Therefore, the Freed Slaves Homes were "intended to provide sanctuary for women and children who could not otherwise be disposed through marriage or adoption or apprenticeship."[15] Women were only allowed to stay at the Freed Slaves' Homes, pending the time the government would find suitors for them. Even at that, very few women were sent to the Freed Slaves' Homes. The majority of women were married off immediately upon liberation. The colonial government

[13] "Document 5: Memorandum No. 6- Slavery Question, 166.
[14] Ubah, "The Colonial Administration in Northern Nigeria and the Problem of Freed Slave Children," 210.
[15] Lovejoy and Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery*, 72.

preferred that the liberated women were "entrusted to a guardian [or] placed with a mission,"[16] and this means that such women were "rarely sent to a Freed Slaves' Home."

To ensure that they mainly served as shelters for the liberated children, Lugard made serious efforts to prevent the Freed Slaves' Homes from becoming safe havens for older female runaway slaves. To this end, the few older girls and/or women admitted at the Homes had to go through thorough screenings, and they were only allowed to enter relevant premises after assigned officials confirmed that they passed such exercises. There are many examples of cases in which older females were not admitted into the Freed Slaves' Homes either because they failed the admission screening exercise or because of similar reasons. For instance, in one case, two big girls or women were refused into the premises of the Zungeru Home, and instead, they were kept at the isolation camp from which they were sent to their newly found guardians. The Lady Superintendent who was then directly in charge of the day-to-day running of the Zungeru Home supported the Cantonment Magistrate's[17] decision of disposing these big girls before being admitted into the Home and associating with the girls already at the Home.[18] With the strict rule of the operation of the Homes, it is safe to argue that Lugard's real interest was in "preventing the Homes from becoming a sanctuary for escaped slaves,"[19] while children's shelter was his focus in establishing the Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria.

Another important purpose of the Freed Slaves Homes was that they served as technical institutions. Understandably, these destitute children were orphans who were too young to fend

[16] Ibid, 122.

[17] See Chapters three and four for information on the personalities and functions of Lady Superintendent and the Cantonment Magistrate.

[18] * SNP 7/7, 1242/1907, Resident Kontagora and Borgu Province to the Political Assistant, Zungeru, "Rex vs Mallam Bako," 28th March 1907.

[19] Lovejoy and Hogendorn and Lovejoy, *Slow Death for Slavery*, 83.

for themselves. But at a certain point, they would leave the Homes for Freed Slaves. Part of Wallace's opening speech that the formerly enslaved children should "grow up to be useful members of society" meant they would have to be self-sustaining and make a living after their release from the Freed Slaves' Homes. To make a living for themselves after leaving the "Homes," the government needed to prepare the Freed Slaves' Homes children by introducing them to vocational skills and to the habit of working "hard."[20] Put simply, in the Freed Slaves' Homes, the liberated children would be prepared to be self-supporting and be useful members of the society. The Freed Slaves' Homes proved very significant in this regard, as the government trained the liberated children in vocational skills such as tailoring, carpentry, and baking among others. The Homes effectively became the government vocational institutions where the liberated children learned various vocational and technical skills that would be useful for them and help them earn an honest living.[21]

Freed Slaves' Homes also served as sites where cheap and unpaid labor was tapped. The Liberated children, after being trained at the Freed Slaves' Homes, became available and suitable for domestic and other duties. Individuals, Commercial/business entities, government departments, and missionary outlets were beneficiaries of the Freed Slaves' Homes as sources of cheap labor. (See chapters 5 and 6) In placing the Freed Slaves' Homes children to individuals and government departments as well as missionary organizations, the government did not hesitate to stress that the children had been duly trained in domestic duties and other aspects to better serve the guardians. While the majority of the guardians of the children from the Freed

[20] Ibid.

[21] Virginia A. Salamone and Frank A. Salamone, *The Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Homes: The Sudan United Mission and the British Colonial Government in Partnership,* (Maryland, USA, University Press of America, 2008), 49.

Slaves' Homes resided within the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, the government extended the services of these children to government officials, individuals, and missions based outside the protectorate of Northern Nigeria, including those based in other British colonies in Africa such as the colony of Gold Coast.

Physical Structures of the Freed Slaves' Homes

The Freed Slaves' Homes were institutions established by the colonial government in Northern Nigeria as part of the overall policies against slavery and the slave trade. Although the British colonial government had started liberating enslaved people, particularly children, in Northern Nigeria since the earliest period of colonial rule, official buildings that would accommodate the liberated children were not built until 1903, and they were not officially opened until 1904. Before this time, the first sets of liberated slaves were placed first with families based in several parts of Northern Nigeria, and later at the Lokoja Home.

The Zungeru Home was formally opened in 1904, while the Borno Home was opened a few months after. Constant mentions in the reports of these Freed Slaves' Homes make it possible to describe what their physical structures looked like. Based on such reports, it is clear that the layout of the Freed Slaves' Homes featured dormitories, hospitals, and various departments such as those for tailoring, laundry, bakery, and gardening. There were also isolation centers at both Freed Slaves' Homes.

Dormitories were no doubt the most relevant as far as the sheltering of the liberated children was concerned. At the Zungeru Home, there were two large dormitories divided into

several rooms for the children based on sex and age.[22] Although none of these two dormitories was initially exclusively reserved for any gender group, this situation changed as the number of children continued to increase. This change took place in October 1905, and it followed the Lady Superintendent's recommendation to the High Commissioner that boys be separated from girls. By the end of 1905, therefore, one of the two dormitories was exclusively reserved for boys above the age of 7. The other compound was reserved exclusively for girls of all ages, but it also accommodated boys below the age of 7.[23] Within or close to the girls' dormitories were rooms for patrons. In addition to the rooms meant for patrons, there were office rooms for the Superintendents.[24]

In addition to dormitories, the Freed Slaves' Homes also had some houses, units, and stores reserved for different departments such as the bakery, sewing, laundry, and carpentry departments. These departments used their units for vocational/educational classes. Departments such as bakery and laundry also used their units to generate revenue. For instance, in 1905, the Freed Slaves' Home put a store in the Bakehouse, so that it would be easy to cater to officers and others passing through Zungeru.[25]

Laundry deserves special discussion at this point, because of the great importance the British colonial government placed on it. As will be observed in the subsequent chapters, laundry was significant not only for training the children at the Homes, particularly the girls, but also served as an important source of internal revenue for the Freed Slaves' Homes. Like other

[22] G. O Olusanya, "Freed Slaves' Homes: An Unknown Aspect of Northern Nigerian Social History," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 3, no. 3 (1966): 527.

[23] ***SNP 7/7, 97/1906,

[24] SNP 7/9, 5746/1908, S. W. Thompstone, Freed Slaves Home Buildings to be Handed over to the Medical Department as a Native Hospital, 27th November 1908.

[25] SNP 7/7, 97 1906, Emily Jardine to the Acting High Commissioner, Report of Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for the month of May 1905.

departments, the Laundry Department had separate units, but unlike other departments, it enjoyed frequent renovations. The frequent renovation of the Laundry Department is tied to its importance as a revenue-generating unit. This fact is reflected in a 1905 report of the Zungeru Home in which the Lady Superintendent vigorously pushed for the improvement of the Laundry Department building in the areas of tilling and wooden floor. According to her, if washed clothes fell on the floor, they would have to be washed again leading to double efforts, reducing the profits.[26]

The High Commissioner's response was not favorable as Government was not ready to commit more financial responsibility to the Homes. Given the huge returns the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru made from laundry, the Superintendents were concerned about the government's indifference toward the renovation of the physical layout of the Zungeru Home. She was particularly disappointed that "no further expense might be incurred at present at the Home in the way of Building,", particularly in the case of the department that would generate at least E15l per month.[27] Based on the Lady Superintendent's report, the Cantonment Magistrate made plans to look for other ways to finance the laundry building. In particular, he planned to source the money from the accumulated earnings of the Home.[28] In the end, the High Commissioner finally approved the renovation and improvement of the laundry department after Captain G. W. Tumeame inspected the Zungeru Home and recommended a wooden floor for the laundry unit.[29]

As noted in the previous chapters, the majority of the liberated children that arrived in Lokoja were emaciated. The British colonial government in Northern Nigeria not only envisaged

[26] SNP 7/7 97/1906, Emily Jardine Report of Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for April 1905, 23rd May 1905.

[27] Ibid; SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Cantonment Magistrate to the Secretary to the Administration, 25th May, 1905.

[28] Ibid.

[29] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Emily Jardine, Report of Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for June 1905.

sicknesses among such liberated children who were subsequently admitted into the Zungeru Home, but it also clearly recognized the initial health challenges faced by liberated children at Lokoja. Consequently, it included hospitals among the physical structures that it built within the Freed Slaves' Homes even before liberated slaves were moved into the institutions.[30] At the early stage, the Freed Slaves' Homes, grappled with sickness that was common among children, particularly among the new arrivals. Available evidence suggests that the size of hospital buildings changed over time, and such changes were partly shaped by the number of sick children on the ground. For instance, an increase in the rate of sickness among the children in the Freed Slaves' Homes in 1905 led to the enlargement of hospital accommodation. The initial hospital, according to the Lady Superintendent of the Zungeru Home, was not adequate for the unusual number of the sick.[31] Apart from the hospital for the children in Freed Slaves' Home, the colonial government also established a "native" hospital for the local people in Northern Nigeria.[32]

Isolation camps, in most cases, were located within the Freed Slaves' Homes but typically not too close to the dormitories. Isolation camps served different purposes, including accommodation for African Male Assistants. To shelter such assistants, huts and dormitories were erected at the isolation camps. By housing African Assistants at isolation camps, the colonial government was able to prevent unsatisfactory arrangements in which African male

[30] SNP 7/7 97/1906, Emily Jardine to the Secretary to the Administration, 7/11/1905.

[31] SNP 7/7 97/1906, Emily Jardine, Report of Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for January 1905.

[32] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Emily Jardine to the Secretary to the Administration, (Reply to High Commissioner's Query regarding the six big boys admitted to the Home on July 29 1905.

employees would be sleeping in the main dormitories which had children, particularly girls.[33] By far the major significance of the isolation camps was that they served as quarantine stations for the children battling sicknesses, particularly contagious diseases. The insufficiency of houses at the Freed Slaves' Homes for preventing intercourse or intermingling between those suffering from various infectious diseases further made the isolation camps even more important as units of the Homes.[34]

The isolation camps became more relevant to the Freed Slaves' Homes during outbreaks of epidemics when children were isolated and not to be brought to the dormitories in the Homes unless all were fully recovered.[35] Due to the prevalence of diseases among them, new arrivals were also placed in isolation camps where they were usually observed and monitored for fourteen (14) days.[36] The purpose of putting the new arrivals in an isolation camp was to prevent them from mixing with the children already at the Homes.

Lack of fences at Isolation camps sometimes posed dangers to the operation of the Freed Slaves' Homes and particularly endangered those housed in such camps. For instance, in August 1906, the Lady Superintendent expressed anxiety over the possibility of wild animals attacking the isolation camp due to the lack of fencing. Mitchell had also expressed similar anxiety in March 1906 over the possibility of wild animals like hyenas prowling around the huts at the

[33] For the discussion on the impropriety of male assistants to be sleeping within the main building at the Freed Slaves' Home and Lugard's comment, See SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, April 1905.

[34] See SNP 7/8 150/1907, "Remarks by Medical officer and other official visitors", in Emily Jardine, Report of Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for October 1906.

[35] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, G. R Twomey, Entries in "Visitors Book" for May 1906, 1st June, 1906 in Elizabeth Mitchell, Report on the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for May 1906, 7th June, 1906.

[36] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, G. R Twomey, Medical officer's remark for the monthly Visitation, 28/2/1906, in Elizabeth Mitchell, Report on the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for February 1906.

isolation camp night after night with small children around. She suggested that since there would not be an iron fence to spare for the isolation camp, something substantial should be erected to sufficiently prevent the entrance of animals at night. She also suggested that this mystic fence should have only one gate, which could be locked.[37]

Lastly, the isolation camps also served as escape routes for notorious deserters.[38] One of the big boys deserted the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru when he escaped via the isolation camp. Mitchell only observed that a boy had escaped only during the roll call. Mitchell, who didn't suspect the boy of any intention to run away, had no reason to put him under close observation. The immediate cause of this boy's desertion is not clear but Mitchell had reasons to suspect that the reduction of food played a role in the boy's desertion. Bigger children in the Home would never take in good faith a reduction in food, explained Mitchell, who always found it difficult to make the bigger children understand the reasons for the reduction.[39] Desertion and other acts of resistance are fully discussed in chapter four.

The Background and identity of the Liberated Children at the Freed Slaves' Homes

Except for the Borno Home, the majority of the children in the Freed Slaves' Homes did not come from the provinces in which the Homes were sited. The Freed Slaves' Homes' periodic reports and registers of admission reveal important details about the children including names, gender, age, places of origins, and places of liberation. By analyzing names, ages, genders, place of origin, and place of liberation, it is possible to reconstruct the life histories of some of the

[37] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report on the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for March 1906,

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

liberated children who resided in the Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria during the early period of the British colonial rule.

Name was perhaps the most significant aspect of the identities of the liberated children, and the British colonial administrators took them very seriously. In onomastic literature, it is self-evident that identity and names are closely intertwined.[40] Lugard was interested in the records of freed slaves and instructed his subordinates on the importance of entering the names of the children on arrival at the Freed Slaves' Homes.[41] Scholars of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade have criticized the data set of the trade which "thousands of names of shipowners and ship captains, but … no names of the millions of slaves carried to the Americas."[42] Historians have used the concept of "social death" to explain the space that (enslaved) Africans occupied in American slave societies.[43] In Africa, slavery was an institution of marginality, and slaves who remained in Africa before and after liberation have appeared in the literature in most cases as anonymous.[44]

Names together with details in the register of the freed slaves make it possible to study the liberated children beyond the number of slaves that were liberated. Names such as Audu and Amadu for the boys and names such as Fatima, Mariama, and Zanabu for the girls appeared consistently in the records of the Freed Slaves' Homes. In cases where two or more children had the same name, numeral figures such as "I" and "VI" were usually added to relevant names to differentiate children with the same names. For instance, at the Zungeru Home, several boys

---

[40] Emilia Aldrin, "Names and Identity," *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming* Edited by Carole Hough, 2016

[41] Lugard, Document 5: Memorandum No.6, 167.

[42] David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein, *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. A Database on CD-Rom (*New York, Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1-2.

[43] See Vincent Brown, "Social Death and Political Life and the Study of Slavery", *American Historical Review*,. 114, No .5 (2009), 1233.

[44] Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff, eds. *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977).

were identified as Audu, and many girls were identified as Mariama. One thus finds records mentioning, Audu, Audu I, Audu VIII, and Audu XIII for boys and Mariama, Mariama II, and Mariama V for girls.[45] In addition, each of the children at the Freed Slaves' Homes had a unique registration number to further differentiate them.

The registration number was particularly significant in situations where two or more children were identified by the same name without a numeral figure at the end of the name, such as simply Audu, or with also the same numeral figure at the end, such as Audu II, the only way by which the management and the caregivers at the Homes could differentiate them was their registration numbers. Between 1904 and 1906, four Audus (without any numeral figures added) were admitted into the Zungeru Home. Even though they were registered with the same name (Audu), each of the four Audus had unique registration numbers, such as Audu (467), Audu (436), and Audu (252). It is not clear how the management of the Homes arrived at the registration numbers. However, it seems that assigning numbers was based on the arrival times, such as who was admitted at the Home first.

The names given to them on arrival at the Freed Slaves Homes allowed the liberated children to acquire a new form of identity, albeit the one given to them by the British colonial government. Slaves went through constant change of identities in the course of their enslavement first by the enslavers and later by the masters. Upon enslavement, slaves lost their (social) identities becoming what Mier and Kopytoff have called "an ambiguous being without name, position or status."[46] Assigning new names to freed slaves was the first move by the British in

[45] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Elizabeth Mitchell, List of Admission at the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for November 1905, in Emily Jardine, Report on the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for November 1905.

[46] Mier and Kopytoff, 15.

proclaiming a new form of identity. As Lugard made clear, all the "children sent to the Homes will be re-named on arrival."[47]

The British administrators relied on the notion of the superiority of the host society in creating a new identity for the liberated children. It should be noted that the names recorded for the majority of the children at the Freed Slaves' Homes were Hausa and Muslim names. Although many of these children already had names recorded for them during liberation, it is not certain if the names were their original names. The management of the Freed Slaves' Homes noted that the majority of these children did not speak Hausa or any language intelligible to anyone. As Dr. Blair, the Superintendent of Borno Home lamented that the newly admitted children "speak the language quite unknown to any helpful individual in the Home."[48] Moreover, the majority of the children came from Yola province, where Islam was not as strong as in the core "Mohammadan" or Muslim emirates. As Dr. Cargill C.M.G, the Resident of Benue, pointed out sometime in 1907, "the Majority of the slaves in the home came I believe from Muri and Yola Provinces and are pagan savages."[49]

Since the children had Hausa/Muslim names but could not speak the Hausa language, the slave owners or slave traders might have given these children such names while in captivity. The slave traders and raiders may also have taught them another language to disguise the children from the prying eyes of the government. As Olusanya has observed, "The practice among the Nupe (the greatest slave traders of this period) was that children bought as slaves were given

[47] Lugard, Document 5: Memorandum No.6, 167.
[48] SNP 15/1, Acc 121, Cameron Blair, Monthly Report on the Borno Freed Slaves Home for January 1906, 19th February, 1906.
[49] SNP 7/8, 2823/1907, Featherstone Cargill, Resident of Benue Province to the High Commissioner, Northern Nigeria, 26th August, 1907 .6

Nupe facial marks and taught Nupe to prevent detection."[50] The names of the liberated children, particularly those placed with the missionary bodies, went through further changes. Whatever the case, government officials sought to retain the names the children provided them upon arrival at the Homes. In some cases, however, officials of the Freed Slaves' Homes gave new names to liberated slaves upon their admission. As the Superintendent of the Borno Home would learn, the liberated children in his care refused to answer to the new names that were given to them.[51]

The registers of the Freed Slaves' Homes also reveal places of origins of the liberated children and/or the places from which they were liberated. According to the registers of admission, these children came from virtually all the provinces in Northern Nigeria. The locations of each of the Freed Slaves Homes largely coincided with the places or provinces from which the children were liberated. Available evidence indicates that the majority of the formerly enslaved children sheltered at the Freed Slaves' Homes were liberated in the provinces of Muri and Yola. Since the period in which a temporary Freed Slaves Home was located at Lokoja, the majority of the liberated children were sourced from the provinces of Yola and Muri.[52] Similarly, at the Zungeru Home, more children had their origin in Muri and Yola provinces than in any other province in Northern Nigeria. For instance, of the total increase of 22 children in February 1905, 10 came from Muri, 11 from Yola, and just 1 from Kabba. The figure was quite similar in July 1905 when 32 children arrived at the Home; 31 came from Muri and Yola, and the remaining 1 from Kano.[53]

[50] G. O Olusanya, "Freed Slaves' Homes," 524.

[51] SNP 15/1, ACC121, Cameron Blair, Monthly Report on the Borno Freed Slaves Home for January 1906, 19th February, 1906.

[52] SNP 15/ACC64/1905, Political Assistant, Northern Nigeria to the Resident Muri Province, undated.

[53] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Emily Jardine, Report on the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for the month of July, 1905.

That the large number of formerly enslaved children placed at the Freed Slaves' Homes had their origin in Muri and Yola confirms the important position that these provinces occupied in enslavement and slave trading up to the early twentieth century. Yola and Muri had a reputation for themselves as the provinces notorious for children kidnapping and slave trading. In these provinces, the administrators found that even parents were prepared to sell their children into slavery during the famine period.[54] Despite G. N. Barclay's, the Resident of Yola, claim in 1907 that, "Fortunately slave dealing has been so greatly reduced that the question is not now at large,"[55] kidnapping and enslavement of children continued to be an important feature of Yola.

Like Yola, German Adamawa was also popular for slave dealing. German Adamawa was then outside British influence. Notably, slaves who fled from their masters in German Adamawa into the British territories in Northern Nigeria were often quickly liberated in court to prevent the owners from reclaiming them. Children were among those slaves who crossed into the British territories. The majority of the children liberated at Yola originated from German territory. As Fredrick Lugard noted in 1905, "there was a very great import of [children] slaves from German territory." The majority of the freed slave children were seized from the slave traders who emanated from German Adamawa.[56]

Unlike at the Zungeru Home and the temporary Lokoja Home that preceded it, the majority of the children at the Borno Home did not come from Yola or Muri province. The large number of children who arrived at the Borno Home came from within the Borno province. As the relevant registers of admission indicate, the majority of the children admitted to the Borno

[54] See chapter two.

[55] SNP 7/8, 2823/1907, Resident Yola to the Secretary to Government, 20th September 1907, in High Commissioner, Freed Slaves Home Zungeru-Report by Committee appointed to investigate matters connected with, 25th July, 1907.

[56]SNP 15/1, ACC90B Lugard to the Right Honorable Alfred Lyttelton, M.P, Secretary of State for Colonies, 7th February, 1905.

Home were liberated in Borno North and Borno South. For instance, in April 1905, all the children that were admitted to the Borno Home came from Southern Borno.[57] The July 1905 register also shows that of the 19 children that arrived at the Borno Home during the month, 17 came from Northern Borno and 2 came from Southern Borno. The case was more or less the same for the October, November, and December 1905 quarters. Of the 34 liberated slaves that arrived, 33 came from Northern and Southern Borno, while just 1 came from Yola.

Admission and Classification of Children in the Freed Slaves' Homes

The registers of the return of the slaves liberated in Northern Nigeria and the registers of the Freed Slaves' Homes together make it possible to estimate the number of liberated slaves admitted into the various Homes since 1900. From January 1st, 1900 when the British established the protectorate of Northern Nigeria, the colonial government recorded the number of slaves liberated and how they were disposed of. The Freed Slaves' Homes at Zungeru and Borno also kept records of the liberated slaves they received on monthly basis. Examining the larger Registers of return of Slaves freed in Northern Nigeria and the registers of admission in each of the Freed Slaves' Homes, it is possible to account for the number of children that were sent to each of the Freed Slaves' Homes.[58]

The Zungeru Home had the highest number of admissions. Between 1901 and 1906, the total number of children admitted at the Zungeru Home was 1,000, the yearly average being 200 admissions. More children were admitted between 1907 and 1909/10. It should be acknowledged that during this second period, the admission to the Freed Slaves' Homes had drastically reduced due to the decline in the number of children among the liberated slaves in Northern Nigeria. If

[57] SNP 15/1, ACC90B, Cameron Blair, Report on the Freed Slaves Home, Borno for June 1905.

[58] SNP 7/9 5005/1908, Return of Slaves Freed in Northern Nigeria from 1st January 1907 to 31st December, 1907.

we take the yearly average between 1907 and 1909/10 to be 100 (half of 1901-1906 admissions), the total number of children admitted at the Zungeru Home can be estimated between 1300 and 1400.

The Borno Freed Slaves Homes Borno and the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home had lesser admissions than the Zungeru Home. In the case of Borno, the admission was lower not only because Zungeru Home was the first to be established but also because the focus was always on the Zungeru Home. Moreover, the Borno Home had merely existed for just about three years by the time the government decided in 1907 that the Home should be closed. In the case of the Lucy Memorial Home, the continued decline in the number of children among the freed slave population was responsible for the limited number of admissions in comparison to the Zungeru Home. Moreover, the majority of the first set of children that were admitted at Lucy Home were transferred from the Zungeru Home. In short, the Lucy Memorial Home was just an institution that would manage the last phase of a dying Governmental project.

By design and policy, the children eligible to be admitted at the Freed Slaves' Homes would typically range between 0 and 15 years. However, there were older girls and women above the age of 15 who were still admitted into the various Homes.

At the Freed Slaves' Homes, the management categorized the wards according to age and sex. The classification of children was significant mainly because it was through it that the Government monitored the progress and the time each group would leave the Freed Slaves' Homes. The classification of the children at the Freed Slaves' Homes focused more on age than sex. The registers of the Freed Slaves' Homes have columns with different age groups such as "infants," children aged 7 and below; "Little Girls/Boys" aged between 7 and 12 and "Big Girls" aged between 12 and 15. There are also columns for "Women" between the age of 15 and 25 and

"women over 25." The columns of age groups in the registers of admission at the Freed Slaves' Homes make it possible to deduce and determine at what point/age a boy or girl ceased to be a child.

The classification of the liberated slaves in Northern Nigeria into age groups was unique to the Freed Slaves' Homes. In the mainstream Registers of the Freed Slaves in Northern Nigeria, the liberated slaves were not classified into age groups. Even though these registers account for the summary of the liberated slaves in categories such as male vs female and adult vs juvenile, the mainstream registers do not classify the children into age groups. Thus, it is still very difficult to understand what age group the government considered juvenile and adult. For instance, in the Quarter ending March 31st, 1912, the Zaria province administration liberated a total of 190 slaves at provincial and Native Courts: Male Adults 64, Male Juveniles 3, female adult 111, female juvenile 12.[59] From these statistics, we do not know at what ages the liberated slaves were juveniles and at what ages they ceased to be juveniles.

Yet at the Freed Slaves' Homes, emphasis was always placed on age during registration. The management typically created a column each for different age groups in their registers. The registers suggest that it was difficult to determine the actual age of children arriving at the Freed Slaves' Homes. The ages of many of these children could not be readily ascertained at the time they arrived at the Homes, even though the majority of them already had records of their details including age in the mainstream Registers of the Freed Slaves. As noted earlier, the government always made serious attempts to record every detail about the liberated slaves including ages and sex. Even though the mainstream registers of the Freed Slaves in Northern Nigeria specified

[59] SNP 10499p/1913, Acting Resident Zaria, Table of Slaves Freed in Zaria Province During the Quarter Ending 31st March, 1912. SNP 10499p/1913.

ages, it was difficult, as the management of the Freed Slaves' Homes would soon find out, to ascertain the actual and real ages of the children upon liberation.

The difficulty to ascertain the actual age of the children arose from the limited means of documenting births (particularly of slave children) in Northern Nigeria up till the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In cases where there was documentation due to the influence of Arabic education in Northern Nigeria, the fact that the majority of the children were kidnapped at such tender age made it very difficult (or nearly impossible) for them to know their actual ages. Because there were no birth certificates that could have helped the government determine the actual or real ages of liberated children, the colonial officials simply assigned ages to the children for convenience. It is not clear what yardstick these officials used to determine the individual age of the children. They may have assigned different ages for these children based on their physical appearance. Having no alternative means to determine the age of the children when they arrived at the Homes, it is certain that the management at the Homes relied in most cases on the ages the government recorded for the children in the Registers of Freed Slaves at the time of liberation.

The ages that the government recorded for the children during their liberation turned out in most cases to be wrong. The management of the Freed Slaves' Homes had to grapple with the need to always alter the ages of the children at different points in time. There were many instances that the Home recorded certain ages for some children when they arrived, but it turned out later that the children were either older or younger than the ages that were recorded for them at the time of their arrivals. The case was even worse for the liberated children who arrived at the Home very emaciated and in very bad conditions. In such cases, it was almost impossible to determine their ages even through physical appearance. Thus, the majority of the children in this

category were only assigned "random" ages on arrival. However, by the time these children recovered from sickness, they certainly looked older than the ages that were apportioned to them on arrival when they were very thin. As the Cantonment Magistrate of Zungeru noted, the hitherto emaciated children were "found to be of more mature age than was apparent" when they entered the Homes.

The Cantonment Magistrate in particular always fumed about the unnecessary alterations in the "sub-heads of age" in the annual slates, which were significant aspects of the annual reports. The Cantonment Magistrate of Zungeru made the confusion clear; "Perhaps somewhat confusing one for the reason, among others, that a girl of say 11 years of age as recorded at entry may after perhaps two-year care develops into a more mature girl of say 15 or more instead of 13 as per record."[60] It was based on such confusions that preparing annual reports became a frustrating task for the Superintendents. Emily Jardine, the Lady Superintendent of the Zungeru Home, lamented about these confusions in 1906 and revealed that, "nearly all the ages required altering."[61] Jardine complained about the delay caused by the age altering which always "proved a difficult, tedious, and at the same time most necessary matter."[62] It was a necessary matter because it helped the government determine when the children would leave the Freed Slaves Homes. The consequence of these confusions arising from the difficulty in ascertaining the ages of the children was always the delay in preparing the report, just as Jardine experienced in 1906.

[60] SNP 7/8, 813/1906, C. F. Rowe (Cantonment Magistrate, Zungeru) to Secretary to the Administration, Annual Report on the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for 1906, 30/1/1907.

[61] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Emily Jardine, Report on Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for August 1906, 15th September, 1906.

[62] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Emily Jardine, Report on Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for September 1906, 25th October, 1906, SNP 7/8 150/1907.

The uncertainty about the age of the children arriving at the Freed Slaves' Homes was more complicated, particularly for the girls. Many girls at the Freed Slaves' Homes were there only waiting for the time the government would find suitors for them. The uncertainty over the ages of girls came to play whenever the girls were to be married to suitors. The Cantonment Magistrate demonstrated this, citing the example of a girl with a physical appearance of 15 or 16 years but had 12 or 13 recorded for her based on her appearance upon arrival at the Home. Since the majority of the girls were to be eventually married off, the Cantonment Magistrate argued that "it would be inadvisable to show this girl as being married at the age of 13 whereas 15 or 16 years would be an age more consonant with native custom."[63] Apart from the controversy that arose concerning the marriage of girls, recording 13 years for Freed Slaves Wards who were supposed to be 16 meant they would stay longer at the Homes and thereby extending the expenses of the Government.

Duration of the Children's Stay at the Freed Slaves' Homes

The government expected the children to stay in the Freed Slaves' Homes until they were adults. It maintained that upon reaching adulthood, the Freed Slaves' Homes wards were expected to follow their inclinations, beginning to earn their livelihood independently. Although the registers of the Homes that had details of the children did not clearly state exactly when the children became adults, one could get a clue in the registers by looking closely at the columns of age groups. The relevance of these columns in determining who was an adult among the children would be discussed shortly. The columns that cover the age of the children from infants to 12 years old did not discriminate between boys and girls. However, from 12 years upward, the

[63] SNP 7/8, 813/1906, C. F. Rowe (Cantonment Magistrate, Zungeru) to Secretary to the Administration, Annual Report on the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for 1906, 30/1/1907.

columns represented age groups for girls and women only, as boys above 12 years were rarely represented in the registers.

By policy and design, the boys were to live in the Homes till they were 14, while the Girls were allowed until they were 15. However, in practice, the gender of inmates shaped the length in which they resided at the Homes. In practice, boys above the age of 12 were rarely allowed to remain at the Homes. As already observed in the classification of children, there was no column for the boys above the age of 12 in the registers of the Freed Slaves' Homes. In the January 1906 report, the Superintendent at the Borno Home complained about boys who were over 12 years who were still staying in the Home. According to the Superintendent, the boys ought to have been released.[64] The chances of admission were even slimmer for boys above 12 years old. It was not uncommon to see boys above 12 only allowed to follow their inclination or placed with guardians immediately after liberation or sent to the Freed Slaves' Village to be supervised by the adults. This was the case with Momma, a 15 years old boy, originally (from) Nupe, who was liberated in May 1906 and was only allowed to follow his inclination.[65]

Girls and women were allowed to stay longer than the boys in the Freed Slaves' Homes. Girls were originally to stay in the Homes until they were 15. The columns for "big girls," (aged between 12 and 15 years) in the Freed Slaves' Homes registers confirm that the policy of girls remaining in the Homes beyond the age of 15 was safeguarded and implemented. Although the policy only allowed girls to stay in the Homes up to the age of 15 years, the government sometimes allowed girls above 15 years to remain in the Homes. Also, while boys 15 and above

[64] SNP 15/1, ACC121, Cameron Blair, Report on the Borno Freed Slaves Home for January 1906, 19th February, 1906.

[65] SNP 15/1, ACC121 "Register of Freed Slaves Nupe Province for Quarter Ending June 30 1906," 23rd July, 1906, in Freed Slaves' Homes provincial Returns, 1906.

were not eligible for admission at the Freed Slaves' Homes, girls above 15 years were admitted into the Homes. This was particularly the case for those big girls who were not easily married off or placed with guardians upon liberation.

The government rarely allowed such girls to follow their inclination or sent them to the Freed Slaves' Village. This was the case in January 1905 in Borno when seven out of nine slaves liberated in an Alkali Court were sent to the Freed Slaves' Homes. The two that were not sent to the Home were women aged 25 years and above.[66] 25 years above was not an obstacle for older girls or women to be admitted to the Freed Slaves' Homes; there were even instances in which women above 50 years were admitted to the Homes. In one case, Sarah, a 55-year old woman who was liberated in Borno in 1906 was admitted to the Borno Home.[67] It is important to stress however that the older girls were only allowed to be admitted or to remain at the Freed Slaves' Homes pending such time that suitable suitors would be found.

At the Zungeru Home, there was a disagreement among the members of the management over whether to allow older girls and women to stay at the Home. C. F. Rowe, the Cantonment Magistrate of Zungeru, always advocated that all adults including women should not be admitted to or retained in the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru. On the other hand, Emily Jardine, the Lady Superintendent of the Zungeru Home, insisted advocated that girls above 15 years and women be allowed to remain in the Home. Jardine considered it a pity to send the adult women, particularly those who were not quite strong, to earn their living. She mentioned a particular woman whom the medical officer "did not think her condition warranted his prohibiting her from leaving the

[66] SNP 15/1, ACC121, Register of Freed Slaves Borno Province for Month of January 1906, Freed Slaves' Homes provincial Returns, 1906.

[67] Ibid.

Home when the Cantonment Magistrate had made arrangement for her." [68] Given the disagreement, the High Commissioner gave Jardine permission to use her discretion as regards the wholesale removal of adults from Home on their first arrival.[69] Although the Cantonment Magistrate maintained in many cases that adult women should not be retained in the Home, the registers reveal many instances in which adult women were not only admitted but also retained at the Homes.

It should be emphasized that even though "women 15-25" and "women over 25" were admitted to the Freed Slaves' Homes, they represented an insignificant number of the liberated slaves sent to the Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria. Children under age 15 were by far the majority of the formerly enslaved people admitted at the Freed Slaves' Homes. According to record, of the total 168 freed slaves at the Zungeru Home in February 1905, children aged 15 and below accounted for 163, 4 were girls/women between 15 and 25, and only one was categorized under "women over 25".[70] Children, therefore, represented more than 95% of the total number at the Home. For the same period at the Borno Home, of the total number of 105 freed slaves, inmates above 15 accounted for just 18, while children aged 15 below accounted for 87.[71]

Conclusion

The state-owned Freed Slaves' Homes were established to serve as shelters for the liberated children, to serve as spaces in which such children would be prepared to be self-supporting and

[68] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Emily Jardine, Report on the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for the month of July 1906, 19th August, 1906.

[69] Ibid.

[70] ***SNP 7/7, 97/1907.

[71] SNP 15/1, ACC90B, M. Cameron Blair, "Monthly Slate, Borno Freed Slaves Home for February 1905," in Cameron Blair, Report on the Freed Slaves Home, Borno for June 1905.

be useful members of the society, and to serve as sites where cheap and unpaid labor was tapped. The layout of the Homes featured dormitories, hospitals, and various departments such as those for tailoring, laundry, bakery, and gardening. There were also isolation centers at both Freed Slaves' Homes. It is shown that diverse factors, including the rate of sickness among the inmates, shaped the construction and expansion of the structures that existed at the Homes.

By design and policy, the children eligible to be admitted at the Freed Slaves' Homes typically ranged between 0 and15 years. However, there were older girls and women above the age of 15 who were still admitted into the various Homes. It is shown that irrespective of age and gender, inmates generally go through a rigorous admission process. In terms of ethnicity, this chapter demonstrates that those admitted into the state-owned Homes were mainly children from diverse backgrounds. Although many of the inmates were originally non-Muslims and non-Hausa, it is shown that at the Homes, most of them were ultimately "taught" the Hausa language and that they had Hausa or Muslim names.

CHAPTER THREE

FUNDING AND MANAGEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT FREED SLAVES' HOMES

By the early twentieth century, the British viewed women as physically weaker than men and considered them best suited to the domestic sphere. Based on such widespread belief, it is unsurprising that men dominated the colonial administrative structure that the British established in Northern Nigeria. Lugard, one of the men who dominated this administrative structure, helped to raise funds for running the Freed Slaves' Homes and played a key role in determining the organizational structure of the Homes. Despite the gender ideology embraced by most, if not all, of the male colonial administrators in Northern Nigeria, under Lugard's watch, at least two women held leadership roles at the Zungeru Home.

This chapter provides an overview of the organizational structure of the Freed Slaves Homes to highlight the relationship between the officials who supervised the Freed Slaves Homes and interacted with liberated children therein. The chapter first elaborates on the role of Lugard in raising funds for running the Homes. It then discusses the management of the Homes. Thirdly, it examines the conflicts or disagreements among the management and staff at the Homes. The chapter stresses that most of the funds internally generated as well as provided by the government and private bodies for running the Homes were not used for the direct care of the inmates, and it demonstrates that the administration of the Homes was hierarchically structured. The main contribution of the chapter, however, lies in its examination of the conflicts or disagreements among the management and staff at the Homes. In examining this issue, the chapter shows how the "native staff" undermined their superintendents partly by bypassing them

and reporting directly to more senior colonial administrators. In addition, in addressing this same issue, the chapter sheds light on European attitudes towards African workers. Lastly, the chapter argues that even though female superintendents brought unique perspectives to the administration of the Homes, they helped to perpetuate gender inequality in colonial Northern Nigeria.

Funding the Freed Slaves' Homes

Freed Slaves' Homes required huge funds to care for the liberated slaves. For this reason, the Cairo Home never allowed more than 15 to 20 inmates at any given time because it was "simply not equipped to care for young girls on a long-term basis; they would have taken up room and cost money to feed, house, and educate."[1] In Northern Nigeria, as in Cairo, housing, feeding, and educating the liberated children were very important considerations in establishing Freed Slaves' Homes. Consequently, when the British colonial administration decided to establish such Homes in Northern Nigeria, funding was one of the first things that Lugard considered.

In establishing the Zungeru Home, Lugard calculated that caring for 100 children together with one European supervisor, two European assistants, and two African Assistants who would manage the Home and cater to the children would cost the government a sum of £1400 per annum.[2] £1400 was a huge amount, and to put it in perspective, it dwarfed just £250 yearly subvention the Egyptian government gave the Cairo Home.[3] Even though Lugard based his calculation on 100 children, there was no uniform figure for the annual government grant to the Freed Slaves' Homes. It is notable that the fluctuating number of children in the Freed Slaves'

[1] Beth Baron, "Liberated Bodies and Saved Souls: Freed African Slave Girls and Missionaries in Egypt," *Christian Missions and Humanitarianism in The Middle East, 1850-1950, II*, (Sept. 2020): 225.

[2] G. O Olusanya, "Freed Slaves' Homes: An Unknown Aspect of Northern Nigerian Social History," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 3, no.3 (1966): 526

[3] Baron, "Liberated Bodies and Saved Souls," 226.

Homes partly explains the lack of uniformity in this yearly grant from the government. In terms of the number of liberated slaves at the Homes, an annual report of the Zungeru Home reveals the average number of children; 181 in 1904, 198 in 1905, 191 in 1906, 208 in 1907, and 209 in 1909.[4]

Although catering to the liberated children was at the center of the government's financial commitment to the Freed Slaves' Homes, it is difficult to know the exact amount that the government allocated to the children's use partly because in the award document, the £1400 the government budgeted for the Zungeru Home included amounts meant for the feeding and clothing of the liberated children as well as for the salaries of the staff. Despite the lack of such precise figures in relevant award documents, however, the estimates of children's feeding and clothing for 1909-1910 in other relevant colonial documents give some clues on the yearly grant channeled directly to children's use. For this year, the government provided a grant of £640 for clothing and feeding of 180 children at the Zungeru Home only, and this means that roughly £3.5 was provided per child for this year[5] If we apply the estimates of £3.5 a year per child to the earlier years, particularly to the budget of £1400 that Lugard had calculated for caring for children and paying the staff for 1909/1910, the cost of feeding and clothing 100 children per annum was £350. This, in turn, means that only 25 percent of the £1400 yearly budget was allocated for the children's upkeep, while the majority of the fund covered staff salaries.

From the above analysis, it is clear that the Freed Slaves' Homes were expensive projects that required stable and steady government funding. From the start, Lugard realized that "the

[4] SNP 7/8, 813/1907, C. F. Rowe, Yearly Report on the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, for 1906.

[5] SNP 7/9, 751/1908, Sir Percy Girouard, Governor of Northern Nigeria to Right Honourable, Earl of Crewe, Secretary of State for Colonies, 13th November, 1908. See also SNP 7/9, 751/1908, C. P. Lucas, Colonial Office Clerk to C. Wigan, a representative of Rebecca Hussey Slave Charity, 12th September, 1908.

care for children is not lucrative." He also understood that the government alone could not provide adequate funding for running the Homes. Accordingly, to supplement the government grants, he sourced external funds on behalf of the Freed Slaves' Homes. Lugard's personality and connection facilitated grants from the private philanthropist organizations that were interested in the welfare of the formerly enslaved Africans."[6] Ultimately, given the efforts of Lugard and other colonial administrators, the Homes received donations from charity organizations such as the Giles Memorial Trust for the Relief of Slavery and the Rebecca Hussey Slave Charity. These two charity organizations focused on the liberation and education of slaves. Because the Freed Slaves' Homes were established as part of the larger efforts of the British to suppress slavery and slave trade in Africa, these institutions naturally attracted the attention of such charity organizations and antislavery groups in Britain and elsewhere.[7]

The Giles Memorial Trust for the Relief of Slavery and the Rebecca Hussey Slave Charity often donated cash to the Freed Slaves' Homes. The two charity organizations, particularly the Rebecca Hussey Slave Charity, were renowned for their roles in the liberation and education of people of African descent. The Rebecca Hussey Slave Charity was established in England in 1865 with an £11,000 endowment from Rebecca Hussey (1668-1714).[8] Little is known about Rebecca Hussey, but there is evidence that she lived at the beginning of the last quarter of the seventeenth century and that she came from a wealthy Lincolnshire family and dedicated her life to philanthropy. [9] The objectives of the Rebecca Hussey Slave Charity included

[6] Parliament Paper 19U6, LXXIV Report on Northern Nigeria 1904-22, 2684-22, Cited in Olusanya, "Freed Slaves' Homes,"526.

[7] C. N. Ubah "The Colonial Administration in Northern Nigeria and the Problem of Freed Slave Children," *Journal of Slavery and Abolition,* 14, 3, (1993): 211.

[8] "The Friendly Societies Lending A Hand." http://sainthelenaisland.info/friendly.htm#hc Accessed on 9/28/2020.

[9] Ibid.

"the redemption of slaves in Africa and African slaves elsewhere and the promotion of education and welfare of persons of African descent…" [10] This charity organization paid particular emphasis on the education of freed slaves.[11] No wonder it supported the Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria.

The Freed Slaves' Homes began to receive donations from philanthropic organizations in 1906. In late 1906, the Giles Memorial Trust for the Relief of Slavery gave it a sum of £120. A few months later, in January 1907, it also received the sum of £100 from the Rebecca Hussey Slave Charity. All the donations were received through Lugard. The Rebecca Hussey Slave Charity intended to make donations annually or bi-annually. In April 1907, its trustees indicated their preparedness to consider making a further donation in the future at their next Quarterly Meeting.[12] However, the trustees put a clause that the donations would continue if there was no possibility of the government closing either the Borno Home or the Zungeru Homes "as a result of the severance of Sir Fredrick Lugard's connection with Northern Nigeria."[13] That the trustees inserted this clause is not surprising, given suggestions elsewhere that Lugard might have been a trustee of the Rebecca Hussey Slave Charity.[14] Whatever the case, Lugard's personality, whether

[10] Andrew Pearson, *Distant Freedom: St. Helena and the abolition of the slave trade, 1840-1872*. (Liverpool, University of Liverpool Press, 2016). https://books.google.com/books?id=UYnADAAAQBAJ&pg=PA251&lpg=PA251&dq=Rebecca+Hussey+Slave+Charity&source=bl&ots=-muJz6KSbL&sig=ACfU3U3TOS6Lr0mx5zyXpD37uIKnTYIZDA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiG3r6wiYvsAhVSQ6wKHRQ4B4QQ6AEwB3oECAEQAQ#v=onepage&q=Giles%20&f=false.

[11]The Friendly Societies Lending A Hand." http://sainthelenaisland.info/friendly.htm#hc Accessed on 9/28/2020.

[12] SNP 7/9, 751/1908, C. P. Lucas, Colonial Office Clerk to C. Wigan, a representative of Rebecca Hussey Slave Charity, 12th September, 1908.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Virginia A. Salamone and Frank A. Salamone, *The Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Homes: The Sudan United Mission and the British Colonial Government in Partnership, (*Maryland, USA, University Press of America, 2008), 52.

as a trustee member of Rebecca Charity or as the most important British administrative/political officer in Northern Nigeria, significantly contributed to facilitating donations from the charity organizations,

In addition to receiving financial support from the government and charity organizations, the Freed Slaves' Homes generated revenue internally. Internally generated revenues included fees such as those received from those who came forward to serve as guardians for the liberated children, bride price from prospective suitors for the girls, and cash for services and articles either provided or produced by the different departments/classes in the Homes. In terms of guardian-related revenue, part of the conditions for receiving children from the Freed Slaves' Homes was that the prospective guardians would pay a sum of money to the Homes.

Other relevant conditions stressed that guardians are required to pay for the clothes with which they received the children and that guardians must pay wages to the wards for the services the latter rendered to the former. Because the wages that the children received from their guardians generally formed part of the earnings of the Freed Slaves' Homes, even the colonial government officials who received children from the Freed Slaves' Homes were not exempted from paying such wages. The Cantonment Magistrate who supervised the Zungeru Home made it clear to government officials who requested for the service of the liberated children that they had to pay wages and that the children's wages were a source of revenue for the Freed Slaves' Homes.

In terms of revenue generated through works from the various departments in the Homes, Punkah[15] boys' wages, profits from laundry, sales of eggs, and articles from the carpentry class

[15] Punkah was a "ceiling-mounted contrivance," the mechanical device that was widely used by the British and Europeans against the "mighty foes -scorching sun and suffocating humidity." The invention seems to have originated in colonial India in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Punkah was extended to other parts

contributed significantly to such income. In the last quarter of 1904, the Zungru Home generated a total of £61 from laundry, £23 from Punkah boys' wages, £14 from sales of eggs, £10 from articles made by carpentry classes.[16] Income from laundry services and Punkah boys' wages appear to be the most vital sources of internally generated earnings for the Homes. For instance, out of about a total of £57 generated in Zungeru Home in 1905, laundry and Punkah's boys' wages accounted for £52.[17]

Management

The colonial government acted as the official guardian of the liberated children before, during, and after their stay in the Freed Slaves' Homes. Because there were other more demanding administrative tasks for the British colonial government, there was a need to set up a management team to supervise the day-to-day activities in the Freed Slaves' Homes. The management team in turn reported to and took instructions from the High Commissioner. In short, the layers of authority over the Freed Slaves' Homes or the liberated inmates included the High Commissioner, the Cantonment Magistrate, Zungeru/the Resident of Borno Province, the Superintendents, and the "Native Staff."

The High Commissioner was the head of the British colonial administration in the protectorate of Northern Nigeria. He had the overall and final decision in matters of the Freed

---

of the British Empire including Northern Nigeria in the twentieth century. The humidity in Northern Nigeria was very high and needless to say that the British and other Europeans in the protectorate would require punkah. As will be discussed in detail in the following chapters, many boys from the Freed Slaves' Homes were sent out to work as punkah boys, thereby generating revenue for the Homes. See SNP 7/5, 2373/1904, C. F. Rowe, Report on the Freed Slaves Home for July 1904.

[16] See SNP 7/6, 150/1905, C. F. Rowe, Earning Account in Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for December 1904.

[17] SNP 7/7, 424/1906, C. F. Rowe, Freed Slaves Home Zungeru Earning Account for 1905; SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Rowe, Zungeru Home Earning Account for 1st January – 31st March.

Slaves' Homes. Fredrick Lugard was the first High Commissioner in Northern Nigeria. He held the position from 1900 to 1906, when he served as the Governor of Hong Kong. After serving in Hong Kong, Lugard became the Governor of Northern Nigeria in 1912 and Governor-General of Nigeria in 1914, following colonial administrative reorganizations. The point here is that in addition to being instrumental in the establishment of the Freed Slaves' Homes, Lugard closely monitored the running of these government institutions as the High Commissioner. Even though Lugard was the High Commissioner for the larger part of the government's Freed Slaves' Homes' existence, whenever he was away on leave, his subordinates served as acting High Commissioners and, by extension, acting overseers of the management of the Homes. For instance, Sir William Wallace served as the acting High Commissioner in September 1906 and in May 1908.[18] In 1907, Sir Percy Girouard replaced Lugard as governor.[19]

With regards to the management of the Freed Slaves' Homes, the High Commissioners acted on behalf of the British colonial administration. Since the children in the Freed Slaves' Homes were viewed as children of the government and children who were expected to be loyal to the British Empire, the government was responsible for their wellbeing till such time they could fend for themselves. Indeed, although the Freed Slaves' Homes were Lugard's idea, other British administrators in Northern Nigeria accepted that the government was responsible for safeguarding the interests of the formerly enslaved children until they attained the age of discretion[20] In safeguarding the interests of liberated children, Lugard and other administrators

[18] The Acting High Commissioner Wallace joined Walter Egerton, one of the members of the Visiting Committee, to inspect the Zungeru Home on September 30, 1906. See, SNP 7/8, 150/1907, "Remarks of Medical officers and other official visitors" in Emily Jardine, Report on Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for September 1906, 25th October, 1906.

[19] Title of High Commissioner was changed to governor.

[20] SNP 7/8, 3222/1907, Acting Secretary to Resident of Muri, 27th August, 1907,.

recognized that they could not effectively monitor the Homes on their own given their far-reaching administrative responsibilities. Given such far-reaching administrative responsibilities, therefore, Lugard inaugurated Visiting Committees to regularly monitor situations at the Freed Slaves' Homes.

The committee responsible for the Zungeru Home included some top colonial administrators, including the Cantonment Magistrate of the Zungeru. The main function of the Visiting Committee was to supervise the general running of the Freed Slaves' Home on behalf of the High Commissioner.[21] In carrying out its function, the Visiting Committee screened the guardianship and other applications, and it often offered relevant recommendations to the High Commissioner. Thus, it was based on the recommendations of the Visiting Committee that the High Commissioner approved or denied applicants' requests for the Freed Slave children.[22]

In addition to supervising the running of the Freed Slaves' Homes, the colonial government took necessary steps to ensure that the formerly enslaved children were not ill-treated or inappropriately disposed of by guardians.[23] For instance, given that the children assigned to guardians in other protectorates and colonies were not in the jurisdiction of the High commissioner of Northern Nigeria, the High Commissioner or his representative often reached out to administrators of such protectorates or colonies to guarantee the safety and wellbeing of those children.[24]

Occasionally, the High Commissioner also inaugurated Ad Hoc Boards to deal with specific urgent issues such as those related to equipment and other material properties in the

[21] G. O Olusanya, "Freed Slaves' Homes," 527.

[22] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, C. F. Rowe, to the Secretary to the Administration of Northern Nigeria, 5th March, 1906.

[23] SNP 7/8 3222/1907, Acting Secretary to the Administration, Northern Nigeria to the Colonial Secretary, Sierra Leone, 26th November, 1907.

[24] SNP 7/8 3222/1907, The Resident of Muri Province to Secretariat, 27th August, 1907.

Freed Slaves' Homes. In 1907, one such board, the Board of Survey, was inaugurated by the High Commissioner to check the store and examine certain articles and materials at the Freed Slaves' Homes.[25] In addition to the Board of Survey, the committee that investigated the viability of the Freed Slaves' Homes, perhaps the most important Ad Hoc Committee established by the High Commissioner, was assembled in July 1907. Notably, the recommendation of this committee was crucial in the High Commissioner's decision to close down the government's Freed Slaves' Homes in 1909.[26]

Assisting the High Commissioner in managing the Freed Slaves' Homes were the Cantonment Magistrate of Zungeru and the Resident of Borno Province. The High Commissioner passed instructions and made decisions on the Freed Slaves' Homes through these officials. It should be pointed out that Residents were very powerful political officers in the British colonial administrative system. Next in rank to the High Commissioner, they were political and administrative heads in charge of provinces, the largest administrative units within the protectorate. Unlike Borno province which had a Resident, Zungeru was the administrative capital of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria, and it had no Resident. This explains the government's decision to appoint the Cantonment Magistrate to oversee the management of the Zungeru Home. Although their titles were different, both the Resident of Borno and the Cantonment Magistrate of Zungeru performed the same functions, managing the Freed Slaves Homes Borno and Zungeru respectively.

[25] SNP 7/7, 1108/1907, A. Bain, "Proceedings of a Board of Survey, Zungeru Home, 4th April, 1907." See also SNP 7/8, 3631/1907, Cameron Blair, "Board of Survey Held on Freed Slaves Home Stock, Borno Province."

[26] SNP 7/8, 2823/1907, High Commissioner, Freed Slaves Home Zungeru-Report by Committee appointed to investigate matters connected with, 25th July, 1907.

According to record, Captain C. F. Rowe was the first Cantonment Magistrate Zungeru with the supervisory responsibility for the Zungeru Home. Records indicate that Rowe assumed the position immediately after the establishment of the Zungeru Home, and continued to serve in that capacity till early 1908 when he was replaced by H. C. Hall. Hall remained the Cantonment Magistrate till the last government Freed Slaves' Home was closed down in 1909.

The Cantonment Magistrate and Borno Resident served as the bridge between the High Commissioner and the Superintendents who were directly responsible for the day-to-day running of the Freed Slaves Homes. The High Commissioner passed instructions on the affairs of the Freed Slaves' Homes to the Cantonment Magistrate and Borno Resident who then passed them to the Superintendents. It was also through the Cantonment Magistrate and Borno Resident that the Superintendents sent their reports to the High Commissioner. In addition to this, the Cantonment Magistrate and the Borno Resident not only advised the High Commissioner on major decisions concerning the Freed Slaves' Home but also moderated some internal decisions in some cases that did not require the attention of the High Commissioner. These administrative patterns allowed the Cantonment Magistrates and Borno Resident to sometimes upturn the decisions of the Superintendents even before the issues got to the High Commissioner.

Superintendents of the Freed Slaves' Homes took take instructions from the Cantonment Magistrate and the Resident of Borno province. Nevertheless, they played the most important role in the day-to-day management of the Freed Slaves' Homes was concerned. A Superintendent of a Freed Slaves Home was not a substantive position within the colonial administrative structure. Yet the day-to-day supervision and running of such institutions were the immediate responsibilities of Superintendents. Notable individuals who served as Superintendents at the Borno Home include Dr. Allen C. Parson who was appointed as the

Superintendent in April 1904 and Dr. Blair who acted as Superintendent whenever Parson was away on leave.[27] Parson and Blair were originally Medical officers in Borno Province, but they were seconded to serve as superintendents because of the government's interest in the wellbeing of the formerly enslaved children. At the Zungeru Home, Emily Jardine and Elizabeth Mitchell were notable Superintendents. The latter often acted as Superintendent whenever the former was in England on leave. Because women were the superintendent of the Zungeru Home, each of them was designated "Lady Superintendent."[28]

Although there is little information regarding the salaries of the staff of the Freed Slaves' Homes, we know that Parson wrote a letter to the Political Assistant of Northern Nigeria in April 1906 requesting information concerning his allowance as the Superintendent of the Borno Home. In the letter, he specifically "wished to know whether I was entitled to any duty pay for the work done in connection to the FS Home."[29] Based on Lugard's recommendation, a sum of £100 per annum was approved for the Superintendent of the Borno Home.[30] This amount was referred to as extra duty pay apparently because Parsons was a medical officer, an employee of colonial government but only seconded to supervise the Borno Home. Half pay was approved for the Assistant Superintendent since the government would hire a matron to support him, as he could not fill Parson's shoes on his own. It could also be because Parson would be on salaries even when he was on leave.[31]

---

[27] In a letter to Alfred Lyttelton in February 1905, Lugard explained the responsibilities of both Parsons and Blair regarding the Borno Freed Slaves Home. See SNP 15/1, Acc.90B, Lugard to Alfred Lyttelton, 7th February, 1905.

[28] SNP 7/6, 150/1905, "Handing Over charge of Freed Slaves Home from Acting Lady Superintendent (Miss E. Mitchell) to Lady Superintendent (Miss Jardine) 15th December, 1904," in C. F. Rowe, Report on the Freed Slave Home for December 1904.

[29] SNP 15/1, ACC121, Resident Borno to Political Assistant Northern Nigeria, 8th March, 1905.

[30] SNP 15/1, ACC90B, Alfred Lyttelton to High Commissioner Northern Nigeria, 4th May 1905.

[31] SNP 15/1, ACC121, Resident Borno to Political Assistant Northern Nigeria, 8th March, 1905.

Since the Superintendent of Borno and his counterparts in Zungeru performed the same functions, one is tempted to conclude that the Lady Superintendent of Zungeru also received £100 per annum as duty pay. However, Lugard's estimate of £1400 for the upkeep of 100 children and staff salary per annum cast doubt on any suggestion that the Lady Superintendent received just £100 per annum. Elsewhere in this chapter, we have calculated feeding and clothing of 100 children at £350 per annum and established that £1050 was typically leftover. Assuming that the leftover £1050 was meant for the annual salaries of one European supervisor, two European assistants, and two African Assistants, the Lady Superintendent would receive £210 per annum. However, it is unimaginable that Africans within the colonial setting would receive the same wages as Europeans.

Given that the day-to-day supervision and running of the Freed Slaves' Homes rested with the Superintendents, it is not surprising that they resided in the Homes with the children. While residing at the Homes, Superintendents were directly responsible for the social, physical, and health conditions of the Home and the children. They performed difficult tasks of looking after the well-being of the children who were placed in their care, moderating the vocational training, and supervising the educational instructions of the children in the Home. Because of such demanding daily tasks, superintendents found their schedules so tight that they hardly had time to teach the children. At the Borno Home, for instance, the superintendent had to teach the children during his meal due to the tight schedule.[32]

African and other Non-European Staff

[32] SNP 15/1, ACC121, Allen C. Parsons, Report of the Freed Slaves Home Bornu for Quarter Ending September, 1906.

Directly under the Superintendents were African and other non-European employees including Indians and African-Americans who were collectively referred to as "Native Staff." When the Zungeru Home was opened, it was put "under the charge of a Lady Supervisor assisted by several Africans."[33] Indeed, in each of the departments at this Home and elsewhere, "Native staff" was dominantly drawn from the local population, but also sometimes consisting of non- "natives such as Africans from other British protectorates and colonies, African-Americans, and non-Europeans such as Indians. African and non-European employees in the Freed Slaves' Homes had designations such as "Native Matrons," "Native Instructors," and "Male Assistants," heading and/or serving in various departments such as laundry, bakery, carpentry, and garden departments as well as the isolation centers.

Most of the African staff that came from the protectorate of Northern Nigeria was illiterate largely because western education was not emphasized early in the region. Given that the promotion of western education in the region in question was delayed, the Freed Slaves' Homes had to rely on Africans from other British protectorates and colonies such as Southern Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and Liberia for the task that required reading and writing. Superintendents also engaged the service of West Indian men and women who could read and write.

Matrons" were very prominent in the reports of the Freed Slaves' Homes. They were specifically in charge of laundry and sewing, but they sometimes served in hospitals. The main functions of the matrons included training the children, particularly girls in sewing, laundry, and baking among others. Because various departments, most particularly laundry, were set up to generate revenues for the Freed Slaves Homes, the "native matrons" received some bonuses if

[33] G. O Olusanya, "Freed Slaves' Homes: An Unknown Aspect of Northern Nigerian Social History," 527.

they performed very satisfactorily. Sometimes matrons were allowed to take some percentage of earnings in their departments to encourage productivity. For instance, in 1905, one Laundry Matron who was not performing her duty satisfactorily, Mrs. William, was allowed to take part of earnings for this purpose.

In addition to manning specific departments such as laundry and sewing, African matrons also assisted the Superintendents in carrying out more general responsibilities. In the Zungeru Home, for instance, the African matrons, particularly the Head Matron, assisted the Lady Superintendent in monitoring the children, especially the girls. Mrs. Wilson who later became the "Head Native Matron" together with other Matrons proved very important in the day-to-day running of the Freed Slaves' Homes. It will not be an exaggeration to suggest that to a very large extent that many activities in the Homes depended largely on them.

Instructors, as members of the African staff, were also important in the day-to-day running of the Freed Slaves' Homes. As C. N. Ubah has noted, the management provided Instructors who were experts "for kinds of training they considered necessary."[34] Different departments for which instructors were employed to train the children included carpentry and bakery. The carpentry instructors trained the boys on how to use tools. In most cases, instructors that would teach different vocational classes at the Freed Slaves Homes were usually employees in various departments of the colonial government. Of all government departments, the Public Works Department was the most prominent for seconding staff as instructors to the Freed Slaves' Homes. It is also clear that in 1906, the carpentry instructor training the boys how to use tools was the head carpenter of the Public Works Department.[35]

[34] C. N. Ubah, "The Colonial Administration in Northern Nigeria and the Problem of Freed Slave Children," 214.

[35] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, C.F Rowe, Report of Lady Superintendent on the Freed Slaves Home for January 1905.

It should be noted at this point that not all instructors at the Freed Slaves' Homes were Nigerians. For instance, in 1908, the instructor for carpentry class at the Zungeru Home was an Indian man from Transport Department.[36] It should also be stressed that not all instructors were drawn from government departments or that instructors could also be private individuals hired to work at the Homes. At the Zungeru Home, for instance, the Bakery instructors were not seconded from the government departments, and as such, they and other private instructors had no fixed salary. As the case of a baker who worked at the Zungeru Home in early 1906 indicates, private instructors signed agreements with the Homes. This agreement allowed them to pay "£5 per month with 5 percent discount on all sale."[37]

At the Freed Slaves' Homes, Male Assistants were in charge of looking after the wards. They were responsible for coordinating the daily activities of the children, particularly boys, in the areas of drilling and recreation. Male Assistants would drill the children on daily basis. At one point, there was more than one Male "Native" Assistant at the Zungeru Home. In cases in which there was more than one Male Assistant, the junior assistant was assigned to man the isolation camp.

Male Assistants helped the liberated children grow not only physically, but also sometimes taught them some useful skills such as mat making. Another duty of Male Assistants was looking after the garden. Indeed, under these assistants, big boys were employed in farming and other agricultural duties such as goat dairy. In many instances, the Lady Superintendents and the Cantonment Magistrate showered praises on the Male Assistants at the Zungeru Home not

[36] SNP 7/9, 2017/1908, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report on the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for the Quarter ending 31st December 1908; SNP 7/9, 606/1909, C.F Rowe, Report on the Freed Slaves Home for the Quarter ending 31st December 1908.

[37] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Emily Jardine to Secretary to the Administration, 3rd October, 1905.

only for their satisfactory conduct but also for their enthusiasm towards their work or for the way they maintained discipline among the boys.[38]

Unlike the instructors, Male Assistants were allowed to live permanently in the Freed Slaves' Homes. The management preferred Male Assistants whose spouses could provide additional services at the Freed Slaves' Homes. It needs to be stressed that the skills that the spouses of Male Assistants possessed or the service they could provide sometimes shaped the management's decision to recruit or retain Male Assistants. For instance, in 1906, one Sani Illorin was retained as a Male Assistant in the isolation camp at the Zungeru Home because his wife provided additional useful service and that she was kind.[39] Similarly, Sani Illorin's fortune declined, and he faced serious scrutiny immediately after his wife left him. In May 1906, Mitchell reported that the work of African staff, including male assistants, progressed satisfactorily. However, she singled out Illorin, who she claimed was performing very unsatisfactorily.[40] Considering that Illorin's wife's services were more valuable than what he was perceived to perform and in recognition that she had left him, the Cantonment Magistrate immediately replaced Illorin with a more suitable male assistant without wasting time.[41]

Race, Gender, and Conflicts in Work Place

The presence and contributions of African staff members have been noted. One important contribution is that they helped to reduce the difficulties that the Superintendents experienced while managing the Homes. Indeed, in the course of attending to very demanding daily duties,

[38] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report on the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for April 1906.

[39] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report on the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for March 1906.

[40] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report on the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for May 1906.

[41] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, C. F. Rowe, Report on the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for March 1906.

these Superintendents sometimes found it difficult to meet up with some of the monthly duties, especially those related to record-keeping. Due to the need to meet record-making deadlines or the need to perform daily and monthly duties effectively, Superintendents sometimes called for the recruitment of more staff. The example of Emily Jardine illustrates this fact. Jordan left behind records in which she sometimes lamented the difficulties she experienced while running the Zungeru Home.[42] In one of such records, Jardine reveals that in 1904, she was forced to put aside the preparation of several important correspondences, such as the registers of liberated children with guardians, due to other important duties at hand. "I have so much to do now that whatever I take up means that something perhaps equally as important is delayed or left undone," the frustrated Lady Superintendent revealed. Ultimately, to help reduce her workload, she requested a clerk.[43]

In 1906, Miss Clark, an African staff, arrived at the Zungeru Home to take over the hospital duties as a Matron to the joy of Mitchell, the then Acting Lady Superintendent. Before Clark's arrival, many hospital duties had rested on the shoulder of the Lady Superintendents. They attended to patients, trained the nurse assistants, and carried out other general duties in the Home. At that time, one of the "Native" Matrons, Wilson, had just left the Home for three months' leave of absence. This made the schedules in the Home more tedious for the Acting Lady Superintendent who had to write a monthly report and who had other specific and general responsibilities. Clark's arrival at the Home in this context, therefore, made life easier for

[42] C. N. Ubah "The Colonial Administration in Northern Nigeria and the Problem of Freed Slave Children," 210.

[43] SNP 7/6, 150/1905, C. F. Rowe, Half Yearly Report on the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru Ending December 1904.

Mitchell.[44] Mitchell documented this fact, and in June 1906, she praised one of the Male Assistants as "a capable man," under whom the boys were properly drilled.[45]

The African Staff sometimes undermined or even sabotaged the effective running of the Freed Slaves' Homes. As useful as the "Native" Matrons were, they could sabotage the Home and undermine the Superintendents' authority. The Superintendents recognized this fact. At the Zungeru Home, one of the Lady Superintendents complained about the conduct of Wilson, the Head "Native" Matron, who did not only exceed her duties but was also supplanting the Lady Superintendent. In April 1905, this Head "Native" Matron successfully broke the chain of communication by reporting directly to the Cantonment Magistrate or by bypassing the Lady Superintendent (the official to whom she was directly amswerable).[46] At some points, Wilson even *illegally* acted as the Lady Superintendent in the absence of Jardine. On becoming aware of this fact, Jardine reported to her superiors and noted that Wilson certainly "required a strict hand to keep her in her place." She also recommended that Wilson's salary be reduced to cut her wings. As a matter of fact, in her report, Jardine emphasized that the salary of the Head Matron was too high for her position and duties.[47] On reading Jardine's report, the High Commissioner, who was shocked by Wilson's recalcitrance, found "the supplanting" simply incomprehensible and emphasized that "the Lady Superintendent whose position is so far above her coloured assistants should just be as far from such disposition."[48]

The Conflicts between the European management team and non-European staff were not only racial but sometimes gender-based. The intersection of race and gender in the conflicts can

[44] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report on the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for March 1906.

[45] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Emily Jardine, Report on the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for June 1906.

[46] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Emily Jardine, Report on the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for April, 1905.

[47] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Emily Jardine, Report on the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for May, 1905.

[48] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, C. F. Rowe, Report on the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for April, 1905.

be observed at the Zungeru Home where the Male Assistants and Instructors occasionally gave the Lady Superintendents tough times. As earlier noted, Emily Jardine at the Zunegru Home usually praised the Male Assistants and Instructors, although she did not consider all of them worthy. Some Male Assistants and Instructors were lazy, irresponsible, worthless, and irregular in attendance, in the superintendent's mind. Even those who had earlier received praises from the Lady Superintendent soon turned "irresponsible" at some points.[49] A good example of a Male Assistant who was once described as a good disciplinarian and drill instructor but later classified as irresponsible was James Obatunwashe. Obatunwashe was in charge of drilling the boys. He was reported to have "grown careless, and… omitted many of his duties." According to Jardine, Obatunwashe hardly drilled the boys even after the former had given him an order to do so. Obatunwashe usually had the habit of drilling the boys only on the day he was given instructions to do, and perhaps the following day. Even though drilling was a daily exercise, Obatunwashe would only wait for another order before he would perform his daily duty. After consistent criticism and complaint by Mitchell, the Cantonment Magistrate reprimanded[50] Obatunwashe and finally dismissed him "for insolence to the Lady Superintendent."[51]

Affosie, another Male Assistant, sent his resignation letter to the Cantonment Magistrate, bypassing the office of the Lady Superintendent. "In an irregular manner," Affosie only verbally informed the Lady Superintendent of his resignation. In reaction, she advised that Affosie be summarily dismissed and condemned him as "a worthless servant mostly erratic in his work, vehemently devoting himself to one duty for a short time to the neglect of all other duties."

[49] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Emily Jardine, Report on the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for July, 1906.

[50] SNP 7/9, 2872/1908, Emily Jardine, Report on the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for May, 1908.

[51] See SNP 7/10, 1763/1909, Cantonment Magistrate, Zungeru, Annual Report on Freed Slaves Home, 1908 ; SNP 7/9, 2017/1908, Emily Jardine, Report on the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for September, 1908.

Affosie was found by the Lady Superintendent to be "constantly acting in his own initiative" and presented as never taking correction in good faith. In emphasizing several acts of insubordination by Affosie, the Lady Superintendent remarked that he was "noisy and insolent in both manner and speech to me on occasion when it has been my duty to speak to him." She equally maintained that Affosei not only had a violent temper but also possessed "comprehensible and most objectional knowledge of English swearing." For the Lady Superintendent, these qualities alone made Affosei unsuitable for a job that involved controlling/teaching small boys.[52]

Lack of adequate staffing in the Home had led the management "to rely on unprofessional service of part-time staff," whose inefficiency sometimes also resulted in avoidable and regrettable accidents that would have been foreclosed had there been adequate staffing.[53] While this writer is not aware of any available record that stresses the recalcitrant attitude of any part-time staff, the recalcitrance of the full-time staff may be a reaction to the racialized colonial working environment. In many colonial workplaces (such as mines and railways), African workers were often subjected to racial slurs/epithets, and the materials used in this study also point to the racist attitudes of the European officials.[54] Moreover, the African staff may have been overworked as practiced elsewhere in colonial Nigeria and other colonies, particularly settlers' colonies.

At the Freed Slaves' Homes, conflicts among the European staff were usually based on gender and the expression of masculinity. In Zungeru, there were constant power struggles between the Cantonment Magistrate and the Lady Superintendents. Many times, the Cantonment

[52] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Emily Jardine, Report on the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for April, 1905, 23rd May 1905.

[53] SNP 7/8, 678/1907, Emily Jardine, Report on the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for January 1907.

[54] See Carolyn *Brown, We are All Slaves: African Miners, Culture, and Resistance at the Enugu Government Colliery*, (Portsmouth, HN: Heinemann, 2003), 13-14; Lisa Lindsay, *Working With Gender:Wage labor and Social Changes in South Western Nigeria* (Portsmouth, N.H: Heinemann Press, 2003).

Magistrate overruled the decisions of the Lady Superintendent on the basis that she would not dictate to him. The struggle between Rowe and Jardine was reflected in their relationship with the African and other non-European staff. In many instances, Rowe commended some of the African employees whom the Lady Superintendent condemned. It is very common to find records where the Cantonment Magistrate would override the Lady Superintendent in matters concerning the discipline of African staff. Overall, the disagreements between the Cantonment Magistrate and the Lady Superintendents or their occasional contradictory views may have been partly responsible for the insubordination and recalcitrance among African Staff members.

The British brought with them to Africa the idea of Victorian women. In terms of this idea, it is interesting that European women who worked for the British colonial administration in Northern Nigeria also supported women's subordination and reinforced the gendered notion of work. For instance, Jardine suggested in 1906 that the salary of the senior African matron be reduced to about £60 per annum, though it may be allowed to rise to £72. What is interesting here is Jardine's justification for this reduction, arguing that women's work was less important than men's work. In her words, "these women are at the present receiving salaries equal to those of native clerks," yet the work they did was less important. Jardine insisted that "it is unusual to pay women on the same scale as men."[55]

Beyond gender-based conflicts, ideology was another source of conflicts between and among the European staff and management. In certain instances, Jardine and Mitchell disagreed over the Christianization of the formerly enslaved children in their care. Also, Jardine and Rowe over the viability of the goat dairy as a source of milk for the freed slave wards and revenue for the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru. These are discussed in detail in chapter four.

[55] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Emily Jardine, Report on the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for July, 1906.

Conclusion

The Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria turned out to be expensive institutions. To ensure the existence of these government institutions, the colonial government provided monthly grants. In addition to the government's grant, Lugard helped to mobilize funding from private charity organizations such as the Giles Memorial Trust for the Relief of Slavery and the Rebecca Hussey Slave Charity. To supplement the government grant and the funds from the charity organization, the management of the Freed Slaves Homes also generated some revenues internally. The internal revenues were generated partly through different vocations that centered on the children's activities and partly through the fees received from the guardians who obtained children as servants or apprentices.

The management teams of the Freed Slaves' Homes included the highest political office holders such as the High Commissioner (later Governor) and the Residents of the provinces. However, the Superintendents were the ones charged with the day-to-day running of the Homes. The most important aspect of their work was looking after the liberated children in feeding, clothing, and training in different vocational skills. The Superintendents were directly assisted in these daily tasks by the African and other non-European staff members. Although conflicts and disagreements among and between the management teams and staff sometimes threatened the smooth running of the Homes, both the management teams and the staff played an important role in the running and sustenance of the Freed Slaves' Homes. The Superintendents and the non-European staff that assisted them in the daily tasks of running the Freed Slaves' Homes also shaped the experience of the formerly enslaved children at the Homes.

Even though the African staff assisted in the day-to-day running of the Freed Slaves' Homes, racial ideology influenced the European attitudes towards African workers. Many racial slurs, such as "lazy" and "illiterate," among others, were used by the Europeans in addressing Africans who worked at the Freed Slaves' Homes. In response to these racist attitudes, African workers sabotaged the Lady Superintendents by disobeying her instructions or bypassing her office in matters relating to their employment at the Freed Slaves' Homes.

Race also intersected with gender, and many conflicts between Africans and Europeans and among Europeans were gender-based. For instance, the majority of the African workers that disobeyed or bypassed the Lady Superintendents were male workers. Although they may have been victims of gender politics, the European ladies also contributed to the discourse of gender roles at the Freed Slaves' Homes. They accepted that African women were not supposed to receive the same wages as African men as their work was less important. It should be pointed out that since these gendered remarks were made about African staff, race relations could have played a significant role in this regard.

CHAPTER FOUR

LIFE AT THE FREED SLAVES' HOMES

For the inmates of the Freed Slaves' Homes, their lives were very different from their pre-enslavement and enslavement lives. At the homes, the liberated children had no parents or relatives, and they did not have to deal with the kin group of any slave master. However, while there, they were in unfamiliar surroundings, met children from various parts of Northern Nigeria, met colonial officials of different backgrounds, and underwent a wide range of new experiences.

This chapter deals with the experiences of children resident at the Freed Slaves' Homes. It highlights the different experiences of girls and boys at the Homes, explores how the children exercised agency, and examines the inmates' interaction with each other as well as with colonial officials. The chapter also comments on the liberated children's education, feeding and clothing, involvement in vocational training, participation in recreational activities, and illness and death. Taken together, this chapter offers the first comprehensive study dealing with the experiences of liberated children resident in the Freed Slaves' Homes, and it argues that a focus on this topic allows us to fully understand how the Homes were tied into the colonial government. The chapter also argues that despite the colonial separate spheres ideology, girls sometimes filled boys' shoes. Again, Christian religious education took place at the Homes, despite official instructions against Christinazing the liberated children. Moreover, it is suggested here that even though the children in the Freed Slaves' Homes were among the first to be exposed to education in Northern Nigeria, most of the training they received was designed to generate revenue and reduce the costs of colonial administration.

Feeding and Clothing

As the proprietor of the Homes, the government considered itself to have a moral and legal responsibility to provide feeding and clothing for the inmates. Accordingly, Lugard took feeding and clothing into consideration right from the moment he started planning to establish the Homes.[1] Presumably, on Lugard's instruction, the visiting committees often took the issue of feeding seriously during their periodic inspections. The reports they left behind always emphasized how the children were well fed. The importance that the government attached to feeding is also reflected in the budgets of the Homes. These budgets suggest that one of the biggest spending categories was spending on feeding.

For the daily feeding of inmates, the management hired local contractors to supply foodstuff. At the Zungeru Home, Jardine, with the approval of Lugard, entered an agreement with local contractors in which the latter would receive the rate of £-/2 for the food meant for each inmate per day.[2] This arrangement was, however, frustrated in mid1905 when it became difficult for the contractors to obtain food at the agreed rate. Jardine realized how difficult it was for the suppliers to continue supplying the Home at the old price of £-/2, as the food supplies were generally not impressive.[3] Even when the contractors were able to meet the quantity and quality of food satisfactorily, the quantity and quality of meat and beef required at the Zungeru Home could not be met.[4] Jardine eventually blamed a butcher, Seriki Pawa, for the beef and meat

[1] G. O Olusanya, "Freed Slaves' Homes: An Unknown Aspect of Northern Nigerian Social History," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria,* 3, no.3 (1966): 526

[2] *See January 1905 Report for Freed Slave Home

[3] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, C. F. Rowe, Lady Superintendent's Report of the Freed Slaves Home for February, 1905,..

[4] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, This seems to be the case for the majority of 1905. See Jardine, Report of Freed Slaves Home for March, April and May, 1905,.

supply problem. In addition to reporting that his conduct was not all satisfactory in meeting the quality and quantity of the meat in demand, she urged the government to make arrangements for an improved contract with food suppliers at an early date.[5]

What types of food did the inmates eat, or what kinds of food were supplied by the contractors? According to reports on the food supplies made by the contractors and the food items produced by the Homes, the typical food delivered by contractors included yam and beans. In terms of food production, the Zungeru Home had a bakery, and this means that it produced bread. However, because the bread was not a staple food in Northern Nigeria, it is most likely that the children did not eat bread as part of their daily meals. Moreover, as will be discussed further in this chapter, the bakery section was established for training and commercial purposes; hence more than anything else, bread was produced to generate earnings for the Zungeru Home.[6]

Besides producing bread, to supplement the food supplied by local contractors and reduce the cost of feeding, certain food items were produced within the Homes. The Garden Department was responsible for most food items produced at the Homes. Some of the food items produced by this department included beans, yams, bananas, pawpaw, and sweet potatoes. The government was able to reduce the amount it paid contractors for food supplies by using "big boys" at the Homes to grow varieties of food within the Homes' premises.[7] The food crops grown by such inmates, as the case with those supplied by contractors, were not measured or quantified in available reports. Thus, it is impossible to compare the quantity of the food crops supplied by contractors and those produced internally by the liberated slaves.

[5] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Emily Jardine, Report of Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, June 1905.

[6] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Emily Jardine, Report of Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, May 1905.

[7] SNP 7/6, 214/1905, C. F. Rowe, Annual Report of the Freed Slave Home Zungeru, 1904,.

Although it is impossible to compare the quantity of the food crops supplied by contractors and those produced internally at the liberated slaves, C. N Ubah suggested that the Homes may not have produced tangible amounts of food crops because agriculture did not feature prominently at the Zungeru Home.[8] Ubah may have arrived at this conclusion based on his reading of a report written by the Commission set up to assess the affairs of the Freed Slaves' Homes in 1907. The report specifically maintained that, at the Zungeru Home, "neither food, nor clothing, nor housing entirely depends on the activities" of the children themselves."[9] However, based on close reading of other materials, particularly reports written by superintendents, one finds that these officials suggest that the Homes produced tangible amounts of food crops internally.

In the gardens, the "big boys" did not work independently. Typically, they worked under the supervision of African Male Assistants who were in charge of such units. In working in the gardens, the boys were responsible for preparing the ground for planting. Typically, they completed this task by March. After preparing the land, the boys focused on planting crops, and as the rainy season approached.[10] In June 1905, boys in the Borno Home planted millet, maize, beans, and groundnut.[11] At the Zungeru Home, the planting of all sorts of fruits and food crops like "yam, sweet potatoes, and other native vegetables"[12] was carried out by the boys after March 1906. By August of this year, the garden showed promise of good crops.[13] It is noteworthy that planting continued throughout the year once it commenced in about March. It is also notable that

[8] C. N. Ubah, "The colonial administration in Northern Nigeria and the Problem of Freed Slave Children" *Slavery & Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies*, 14, no.3, (1993): 214.

[9] SNP 7/8, 2823/1907, E. C. Watson, Committee's Report on the Zungeru Home, 25th July, 1907.

[10] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report on the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for March 1906.

[11] SNP 15/1, ACC90B, Blair, Report on the Borno Freed Slaves Home for June 1905,.

[12] SNP 7/8, 150 1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, The Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for May 1906.

[13] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, The Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for January 1906.

supervisors often recognized the boys' efforts in food production. In 1906, Jardine tied the garden's success to the "very crucial and valuable" assistance of the big boys.

Although the gardens mainly relied on the labor of the big boys, there were instances in which they had to rely more on the labor of little boys and even girls. In most cases, little boys and female labor became pronounced when most big boys worked in other capacities outside of the agricultural sector. Available evidence suggests that whenever most of the big boys did not participate in farming, food crop production by the garden departments suffered. In 1905, there was a complaint that the garden was not doing well because only a "few boys were [available] to do the work." In 1908, the garden at the Zungeru Home was declared "a complete failure" partly due to the lateness of rain, but mainly due to the same reason of labor shortage. For most of 1908, "all the boys have been sent away" either as apprentices or Punkah boys.[14] The few boys left in the Home were too young for the heavy work of watering the plants. This "[in]sufficient labour" eventually forced Lady to employ girls in planting,[15] the work that was originally boys' reserve.

The formerly enslaved children were also involved in animal husbandry at the Freed Slaves' Homes. At the Zungeru Home, the Lady Superintendent started a goat dairy to produce the milk needs of the Home. The milk derived from goat and cow were special diets given to the children, especially the younger and emaciated children, to gain more weight.[16] As noted in chapter two, most of the children arrived at the Homes emaciated. Milk was generally

[14] SNP 7/9, 2017/1908, Emily Jarden, Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for March and April, 1908; Emily Jarden.

[15]Ibid

[16] SNP 15/1, ACC90B, Blair, Report on the Borno Freed Slaves Home for June 1905.

recommended as part of the treatment of emaciated children[17]. In 1906, the Lady Superintendent complained about the Niger Milk.[18] In that year, the quality of the milk was bad. In the judgment of the Lady Superintendent, the bad milk would do more harm than good to the patients in the hospital.[19] Based on the bad quality of the Niger Milk that year, therefore, she made a case for the establishment of a goat dairy at Zungeru Home,

In making a case for setting up a goat dairy, the Lady Superintendent argued that in addition to catering for the milk needs of the Zungeru Home and cutting government's expenses, the surplus from the goat dairy would be sold. Initially, Captain Rowe, the Cantonment Magistrate, did not support the idea of establishing a goat dairy. He was more concerned about "who is to look after them [goats]?" Captain Rowe was not in favor of children taking goats for grazing all day, and he feared that if not properly herded, the goats would eat up all the produces in the garden.[20] Despite Rowe's opposition, however, the Lady Superintendent was able to convince the government to set up the goat diary that would help the government cut down expenses on milk supplies, In her own words, the goat dairy was useful as a source of milk supply to the Freed Slaves' Home Hospital.

Elementary Education

To achieve the objective of making liberated slaves self-supporting and responsible members of society, the government offered the children vocational training that would enable them to acquire skills essential for carpentry, laundry, sewing, nursing, gardening, and bakery, among

[17] SNP 7/8, 150/1907Before the goat dairy was set up, the Freed Slaves Home sourced milk from Niger Co. See Emily Jarden, Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for November and December, 1906.

[18] The records do not clearly state what the Niger Milk means or where it was produced.

[19] SNP 7/8, 150/1907.

[20] , SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Cantonment Magistrate, the Report on the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for October 1906.

others. As the colonial government, abolitionists and antislavery societies were interested in the training and the education of liberated children. These societies raised funds and championed the education of liberated slaves, although they experience unique challenges in places like Egypt and Northern Nigeria where most of the population, or at least the ruling elites, were Muslims. Because of the British alliance with the Muslim ruling elites, colonial administrators prevented, to a very large extent, missionary activities, including missionary education in Northern Nigeria. Similarly, at the Cairo Home, missionaries were asked to "refrain from proselytizing among those who sought shelter."[21] However, because the Cairo Home had limited funding for educating liberated slaves, it sent the youngest of the freed people to missionary schools.

Unlike in Cairo, in Northern Nigeria, the government decided to fund the education of liberated children in the Freed Slaves' Homes instead of sending them to mission schools. This government's decision was based on the fear that sending the liberated children to mission schools was politically risky. In particular, the government feared that the wholesale Christianization of the formerly enslaved children through mission education could annoy the Muslim leaders in Northern Nigeria or could frustrate the development of an administrative and political alliance between the British and Muslim rulers in the protectorate.

Schooling was an important daily activity, and children were expected to attend classes on weekdays and sometimes during the weekends. Superintendents in each of the Homes organized classes where the children learned how to read and write. Typically, classes focused on the three Rs of education[22] , namely reading, writing, and arithmetic. Interestingly, English, the "colonial" language, was not the lingua franca. Instead of using English as the language of

[21] Beth Baron, "Liberated Bodies and Saved Souls: Freed African Slave Girls and Missionaries in Egypt," *Christian Missions and Humanitarianism in the Middle East, 1850-1950*, Vol. II, (Sept. 2020): 226.

[22] SNP 7/8, 813/1906, C. F. Rowe, Annual Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, 1906.

instruction in these classes, the British used Hausa to educate the children. It should be stressed that the majority of the children were not originally of Hausa ethnicity, and many of them were brought from different backgrounds.

Superintendents were directly in charge of the educational instructions of the children. However, due to other daily demanding tasks, they were often substituted by African assistants in this task. Dr. Parson, the Superintendent of the Borno Home, could not cope with his teaching responsibilities in 1906. In one particular report, Parson explained the difficulties he faced in that year. According to him, the only available time he had to teach the children was only during his meal.[23] Given his inability to effectively cope with his teaching responsibilities, Parson recommended that the colonial government send a teacher to the Borno Home "if the education of the children was [indeed] taken seriously." In addition to offering this suggestion, Parson made extra efforts to train "two of the promising children with the hope that they would teach others."[24]

At the Zungeru Home, the Lady Superintendents faced similar problems with teaching. Accordingly, they often allowed the African Assistants to substitute them in teaching. However, there were instances in which these assistants were unavailable to assist the superintendents. In 1906, for instance, Wilson the head matron who assisted Mitchell in teaching was on leave. Her absence forced Mitchell to use four bigger girls who were advanced in education to assist her in teaching the smallest children.[25] In addition to inadequate manpower, other challenges superintendents faced in teaching include shortage of or late arrival of materials. It is notable that

[23] SNP 15/1, ACC121, Allen C Parsons, The Report of the Freed Slaves Home Bornu for Quarter Ending September 1906.

[24] Ibid.

[25] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, The Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for May 1906.

in 1905, educational instructions at the Zungeru Home were disrupted and suspended for some times "partly because clothes were urgently needed for the inmates."

Even though bigger girls assisted the Zungeru Home Superintendent in teaching the younger ones, the management of all Homes generally emphasized the education of boys. At Zungeru Home, for instance, the training of the girls focused on domestic duties. Even girls placed with missionary ladies were to receive training in domestic duties but not in learning how to read, write, or become efficient scholars who could be employed in mission schools.[26] At the Borno Home, the Superintendent did not hide his preference for boys' education over girls' education. Indeed, Parson could not see the goal of educating girls. For him teaching the girls how to write and read would only amount to "sheer waste of time." Parson argued that the girls could be more profitably employed in other ways.[27] He looked upon the boys from a different standpoint and advocated that "for them [the boys] I should like to see the freed Slaves Homes stand as preparatory schools to some more advanced academy or training institution."[28] Overall, the bias of the superintendents in favor of boys' education is paradoxical given that these inmates were always away from the Freed Slaves' Homes to work as Punkah boys or apprentices in colonial government departments.

Ubah has criticized the education provided for the children at the Freed Slaves' Homes as very weak. He argued that that type of education was incapable of leading the children to earn an honest living or become useful members of society.[29] Given the overall British colonial

[26] SNP 7/8, 3195/1907, A. W. Banfield, (Mennonite Brethren Mission) Application for Four Freed Slaves Wards, 5th August 1907.

[27] SNP 15/1, ACC121, Allen C. Parsons, The Report of the Freed Slaves Home Bornu for Quarter Ending September 1906.

[28] Ibid.

[29] C. N Ubah "The Colonial Administration in Northern Nigeria and the Problem of Freed Slave Children," 215.

educational policies in Northern Nigeria and the specific challenges faced in the academic classes at the Freed Slaves' Homes, it is tempting to conclude that the education system in the Homes was weak and a failure. However, a different picture emerges if one places the situation in the Homes side by side with the conditions in the protectorate of Northern Nigeria in matters of education. It should be emphasized that in the first decade of the twentieth century, there was no single government elementary school in Northern Nigeria.[30] It was not until the second decade of the twentieth century that the colonial government began to establish primary and elementary schools in the headquarters of provinces in Northern Nigeria.[31] The government was not interested in spearheading education in Northern Nigeria, and also effectively limited the large-scale spread of missionary activities and mission schools in the protectorate. The colonial government's policy towards education and missionary evangelization was greatly informed by the alliance of the British and the political elites in Northern Nigeria. It was this alliance that necessitated and even sustained the system of Indirect Rule.

Even though colonial policy and colonial administrators, including Lugard, discouraged the conversion of children in the Freed Slaves Homes, attempts were made to "Christianize" these children. At the forefront of the efforts to convert inmates to Christianity were missionaries and Mitchell at the Zungeru Home. Even though the majority of the liberated children at the Freed Slaves' Homes were not Christians, the management did not emphasize the teaching of their African or Islamic religions. Instead, it allowed the teaching of Christianity by the representatives of various missions. By 1905, therefore, Christian religious education had

[30] Although there were one or two informal schools, these were mainly for the sons of the chiefs and emirs.

[31] Peter Kazenga Tibenderana, "The Emirs and the Spread of Western Education in Northern Nigeria, 1910-1946," *The Journal of African History*, 24, No. 4 (1983): 517-534.

become an important aspect of education at the Home. Even though Christian religious education became important at the Home, there is no evidence that Muslim rulers reacted against it.

Unlike Mitchell, Jardine was not in favor of allowing Christian missionary societies to give religious instructions at the Zungeru Home. She declared that she was not a missionary and absolved herself from being "responsible for the Christianizing of 180 people" many of whom had no idea of religion. She also absolved herself from responsibility for whatever "the so called native Christian staff may teach" the inmates.[32] Despite Jardine's protest or disapproval, by 1908, the children in the Zungeru Home Zungeru had already "had three years of Christian teaching and training." However, in an interesting twist, albeit contradictory one, many children who had gained Christian education were placed under the guardianship of Muslim emirs. This move could neutralize the Christain culture that these children had learned at the Home, and it was a source of concern for some colonial officials. Unsurprisingly, at a point. Mitchell, who had earlier expressed confidence that the children at the Zungeru Home would never forget the Christian knowledge they had learned, condemned the practice of assigning supposed "Christianized" children to serve under Muslim emirs.

Many children could "read and write in English quite well," even though the government emphasized that the children at the Freed Slaves' Homes should be instructed in Hausa, the dominant local language.[33] A 1906 report of the Zungeru Home indicates that the children progressed well, and even the tiniest boy of 3 years knows his alphabet.[34] Overall, given the government's lack of interest in promoting education and its non-commitment to checking

[32] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Emily Jarden, Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for November and December, 1906.

[33] SNP 7/9, 2017/1908, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of the Freed Slaves Home, December, 1908.

[34]SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Emily Jardine, Report of Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, July 1906, 19th August, 1906.

missionary activities in early colonial Northern Nigeria, it is safe to argue that the children in the Freed Slaves' Homes were among the first to be exposed to education in Northern Nigeria.

Vocational Training

Vocational training in the Freed Slaves' Homes, as Olusanya and Ubah have noted, included needlework, baking, sewing, gardening, laundry work, carpentry, tailoring, and drilling.[35] Children were put in different kinds of training according to gender. For instance, boys were put in classes such as carpentry, building, gardening, and Punkah pulling. In contrast, girls attended classes that focused on laundry, "nursing," cloth weaving, and sewing.

Carpentry and bakery were among the most important departments in the Freed Slaves' Homes. As with the gardening class, boys dominated the carpentry class. Like in other departments, the management hired instructors to train the boys on how to use tools in the carpentry unit. In most cases, the government sent those it considered experts from different government departments, such as Public Works, to the Freed Slaves' Homes as instructors to train the children. A carpentry instructor whom the Cantonment Magistrate, Zungeru praised in 1906 as a responsible man who did not take advantage of the boys, originally worked in the Public Works Department.[36] In another instance, a carpentry instructor that the Lady Superintendent condemned as notorious and "most irregular in attendance" was an Indian man from the Transport Line. Even though this Indian man was described negatively, the evidence indicates that most carpentry instructors did satisfactory jobs and showed commendable interest

[35] G. O. Olusanya, "Freed Slaves' Homes, 258.

[36] SNP 7/7, 97 1906, C. F. Rowe, The Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, January 1905.

in the boys.[37] It is also clear that the boys took great interest in carpentry classes. One report indicates that many of these boys had begun to master how to use tools, even though some misbehaved and were absent from classes sometimes.[38] The brightest boys in the carpentry class were apprenticed to the government departments such as the P.W.D and the Marine Department Lokoja. A Lady Superintendent was confident that if given the opportunity in such organizations, the big boys in carpentry class would do well, given the excellent record of their conduct and work in the Home.[39]

In addition to training the boys on how to use tools, carpentry classes were also useful for repair work and generating revenue. A Lady Superintendent reported that the chief work done by the carpentry class in January 1906 was the repairs in the Home.[40] In 1908, the boys in the class in question also made several useful articles, including a lampstand for the Lady Superintendent. On receiving the lampstand, the Lady Superintendent remarked that making the item was a very tedious hard work for small boys of their age. She also noted that the boys in the carpentry class made these articles from timber they cut and sawed.[41] As mentioned in chapter three, carpentry was an important source of internally generated revenue. The Freed Slaves' Homes sold articles produced in the carpentry class to generate earnings for the Home.[42]

The carpentry class continued to be a source of earnings throughout the existence of the government Freed Slaves' Homes. In June 1908, when the government was finalizing the closure of the Zungeru Home and the transfer of the children to the Lucy Memorial Home, the carpenter

[37] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, The Report of the Freed Slaves Home for May 1906; SNP 7/7, 97/1906, C. F. Rowe, The Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, January 1905.

[38] SNP 7/6, 150/1905, C. F. Rowe, The Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, December 1904,.

[39] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, March 1906,.

[40] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, March 1906,.

[41] SNP 7/9, 2017/1908, Emily Jardine, The Report of the Freed Slaves Home, March 1908.

[42] SNP 7/6, 150/1905, C. F. Rowe, The Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, December 1904.

boys worked on a small bookcase, which, according to the Lady Superintendent, was quite a creditable work. This Lady Superintendent was so much impressed by the carpentry class who continued to turn out several useful articles that she contemplated apprenticing two of the Carpenter boys to government departments.[43]

Like carpentry, the bakery served two purposes: training the children and generating earnings for the Homes. At the Zungeru Home, the Lady Superintendent noted with enthusiasm that the bakery class provided an opportunity for the boys, whom themselves showed great interest in learning. Even the baker noted the interest of the boys in learning, and he spoke very well of them. As part of the bakery department, the children were a reliable source of unpaid labor. In helping this department, they went into the bush to fetch woods and assisted in delivering bread to customers.[44] The bakery at the Zungeru Home targeted European buyers because of the high concentration of Europeans in Zungeru. Apart from the fact that Zungeru was the headquarters of the British colonial government in Northern Nigeria, the Royal Niger Company, that practically controlled the whole of the European trade of Northern Nigeria had stores for the collection of "native" products and sale of European goods at Zungeru.[45] The Europeans working for such organizations as the Royal Niger Company and the colonial government were, in short, mainly the targets of the Zungeru Home Bakery department.

---

[43] *** SNP 7/92872/1908, Emily Jardine, Report of the Freed Slaves Home, June 1908; SNP 7/9, 606/1909, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for Quarter Ending December 1908.

[44] SNP 7/8 150/1907, Emily Jardine, Report of the Freed Slaves Home for February 1905;.SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, January 1906.

[45] F.G. Bagnall, "A Year in Northern Nigeria" in *The Colfeian, Being the Chronicle of the Old Boys of Colfe's Grammar School, Lewisham,* (Printed by Charles North, the Blackbeath, November 1905), 126-128. http://colfesarchive.daisy.websds.net/Filename.ashx?systemFileName=Colfeian_1905_011.pdf&origFilename=Colfeian_1905_011.pdf.

To generate more earnings, the Zungeru Home Bakery Department put a store in the Bake House in 1905 for better and easier coverage of officers based in Zungeru as well as for other Europeans passing through the city.[46] The bakery unit made huge profits. Part of this profit was used to cover its expenses, and the remaining was often remitted to the earning accounts of the Homes. Although the bakery unit largely made profits, there were instances in which the revenue it generated was relatively low. In 1906, for instance, the sales of bread and the relevant earnings decreased considerably due to the decrease in the number of Europeans residing in the station.[47]

Laundry and sewing were among the vocational classes mainly reserved for the girls. Like other colonial authorities in Africa, the colonial government and missionaries in Northern Nigeria applied the western notion of gender identities. Under the influence of such notion, laundry and sewing were among the classes the management of the Freed Slave' Homes thought would equip the girls in domestic duties after they left the Homes. The management employed African women as Matrons and placed them in charge of the laundry and sewing. Two women identified as Mrs. William and Mrs. Wilson were among the African matrons who were to train the girls in laundry and to become needlewomen.[48] Under these African matrons, the girls learned how to iron, and make and mend clothes, the training that girls took very seriously.

Typically, girls remained in the Homes until they reached the age of marriage. On the exit of big girls or women from the Homes, small girls quickly replaced them in laundry classes. Usually, in the beginning, the small girls were considered soft for the difficult tasks in the laundry department, such as ironing. However, the "small girls" often adapted quickly and

[46] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Emily Jardine, Report of the Freed Slaves Home, May, 1905.

[47] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, January 1906.

[48] SNP 7/7, 97/1906., Emily Jardine, Report of the Freed Slaves Home, June 1905.

became efficient to the extent that a Zungeru Home Superintendent commended the small girls in charge of laundry, which, according to her, did creditable work despite their young age and size.[49]

The laundry work at the Homes was an important "source of education for the wards."[50] The girls in laundry classes soon became "experts" themselves in the laundry to the extent that they could perform with little or no supervision by the African matrons. For instance, in 1908, when there was no single matron, the girls continued to do an excellent job in the laundry department. The Zungeru Home Lady Superintendent praised these laundry girls and exaggerated that they were better even without the African matrons.[51]

In addition to their significance for training the girls, laundry and sewing were important partly because they helped the management save costs and because they served as sources of revenue for the Freed Slaves' Homes. Sewing classes particularly helped to cut down the Freed Slaves' Homes' expenditure on clothing. The girls in sewing class always took care of the clothing needs at the Freed Slaves' Homes.[52] Girls in sewing classes were not only engaged in making new clothes but also mended old ones. Sometimes they were called upon to rescue other departments. For instance, in 1906, when the school or the educational classes could not run partly because clothes were urgently needed for the children, all the girls in the sewing class were quickly employed to make the needed clothes for the educational class.[53] The management of the Freed Slaves' Homes often praised the girls in the sewing class, and one of them

[49] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Emily Jardine, The Report of the Freed Slaves Home, February 1905.

[50] SNP 7/8, 813/1907, C. F. Rowe, Annual Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for 1906.

[51] SNP 7/9, 2017/1908, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, for the Quarter Ending December 1908; SNP 7/9, 606/1909, Emily Jardine, The Report of the Freed Slaves Home, September, 1908.

[52] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Emily Jardine, The Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for June 1905.

[53] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Emily Jardine, Report of the Freed Slaves Home for July 1906.

specifically noted that she was very impressed that several girls could now cut and join together clothes in a marvelous way. This Lady Superintendent also remarked that the "work girls" in sewing class would make good needlewomen.[54]

The laundry department may have originally started to cater to European clothes, and this suggests that it must have been mainly meant for generating revenue for the Homes. Indeed, as pointed out in the previous chapter, more than any other department, this laundry unit generated the highest revenues for the Homes in 1905. The earning from laundry in that year was "£34-19s-6d." The next highest source of earning was the Punkah boys' earnings which amounted to "£17-8s-4d." Other earnings combined were "£4-11s-9d."[55] The laundry department at the Zungeru Home was mainly patronized by the Europeans.[56] In early 1906, after some changes in the laundry staff, this department recorded good work, which in turn yielded more European customers.[57] Although girls were not trained to be wage earners, the earnings from the laundry, which was girls' domain, significantly supported the homes.

In general, the educational and vocational training that children received at the Freed Slaves' Homes was very useful when they were placed with guardians as domestic servants. The skills acquired in laundry, sewing, and baking particularly helped the girls to better serve their guardians. In one report related to the inspections of the Freed Slaves' Homes wards who were

[54] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, for February 1908; SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Emily Jardine, The Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for June 1905.

[55] SNP 7/7, 424/1906, C. F. Rowe, "Zungeru Freed Slaves Home earning Account for 1905.

[56] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, SNP 7/5, 2373/1904Emily Jardine, The Report of the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for July, 1906.

[57] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, for January 1906.

(P.149)

placed with guardians, it was noted that some girls were useful in sewing and laundry work and that their usefulness was "the result of instruction [they received] when in the Home."[58]

Recreations at the Freed Slaves' Homes

The government took great interest in the physical well-being of the children based at the Freed Slaves' Homes. From the beginning, drills were part of daily activities at the Freed Slaves' homes, but this was a physical exercise particularly meant for the boys. The management recruited African Male Assistants to drill the boys daily without interfering with other daily vocational and educational training at the Homes. Special times were scheduled for drilling activities. Obatunwashe, "a capable man" and "a good disciplinarian," was in charge of drills, drilling the boys between 1903 and 1909. This was before he grew "careless and omitted many of his duties" towards the end of his career.[59] Top colonial government officials witnessed and commented on the drilling and physical exercises at the Zungeru freed Slaves Home. During one of the official inspections in 1906, acting Treasurer J. H. Brath witnessed the physical exercise among the boys. In May, G.R Mathews, acting Secretary, also reported that the "boys appeared to be deriving much pleasure from this physical exercise."[60] It is notable that in addition to the time allocated for drilling, there were times meant for meals and recreation at the Homes.[61]

Drilling of the boys was tied to military conscription and to the personal needs of European military officers. During World War I, the British administration in Nigeria "recruited

[58] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, for February 1908.

[59] SNP 7/8 150/1907, Emily Jardine, Report of the Freed Slaves Home, July, 1906.

[60] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, G. R. Matthew, Report of Monthly Inspection for May 1906, in Elizabeth Mitchell, Report on the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for May 1906.

[61] Olusanya P.527.

13,980 troops, and supplied approximately 10,000 carriers."[62] One of the questions that early historians[63] of the colonial army examined was the class of Nigerians the British recruited into the colonial army in the early twentieth century. The evidence related to the Freed Slaves Homes' provides part of the answer to this question. In particular, it shows that while many boys were placed with military officers as apprentices,[64] some of them found their way into the Nigerian Regiment of the West African Frontier Force.[65] However, it should be stressed that military conscription was not the sole purpose of drilling boys at the Freed Slaves' Homes. To be sure, the primary function of drilling was the improvement of the boys' physical fitness.[66]

To further enhance the physical fitness of the boys at the Homes, the management also introduced other sports. Football was one of these sports, but it was not played daily. Rather it was played seasonally. Weather played an important role in deciding whether to play football at any given time. The superintendents were careful not to play this sport in hot weather, understandably not to compromise the children's health. For instance, the Superintendent at the Borno Home, who was eager to start football training, could not initiate this program in 1906 because the weather was unsuitable for such training at that time. Although the Superintendent, Parson, acknowledged that the weather was unsuitable for football, he also remarked that, "as soon as the weather was a little colder, football will be started."[67]

Apart from the daily drills and occasional/seasonal sports such as football, special days such as festivals and important holidays also provided opportunities for sports and recreation at

[62] John Barrett, "The Rank and File of the Colonial Army in Nigeria, 1914-1918," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Mar, 1977, 15, No. 1, (Mar, 1977):105.

[63] Ibid.

[64] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Emily Jardine, Report of the Freed Slaves' Home Zungeru, for May 1905.

[65] C. N. Ubah "The Colonial Administration in Northern Nigeria and the Problem of Freed Slave Children," 214.

[66] Ibid.

[67] SNP 15/1, ACC121, Allen Parson, Report on the Borno Freed Slaves Home for Quarter Ending September 1906.

the Homes. One of the holidays observed at these Homes was the "Empire Day," celebrated every May 24th. The idea of commemorating Empire Day emerged in 1897. The first Empire Day was held in 1902 and only became officially recognized in the British Empire in 1916. By 1916, children in schools in all parts of the British Empires participated in the Empire Day celebration. Thus, such children assembled at the playground where the Union Jack was hoisted, and they typically saluted the flag and sang various heroic songs.

Before it became officially recognized in 1916, the children at the Freed Slaves' Homes had joined their counterparts in Britain and all over the British Empire to observe Empire Day. As early as 1907, the colonial government declared a holiday for not only children at the Freed Slaves' Homes but also the members of staff and management to observe the "Empire Day." Mitchell explained to formerly enslaved children and African staff members at the Zungeru Home the meaning, essence, and the reasons for setting that particular day aside for this holiday.

Empire Day would later become very popular among the African elites in the Northern protectorate. Of course, sports and games held during the Empire Day celebration in Northern Nigeria were considered part of the visual extension of British sportsmanship. Yet, the competitive sports held for Africans, as Andrew Apter has noted, "brought out from among them the best of the British, identifying them with the approving gaze of the British community as one of their own.[68] Traditional elites, including the Emirs, participated in Empire Day celebrations along with British colonial officers as guests in a "stratified field of spectatorship." As Apter has demonstrated, the Empire Day Celebration was among the ceremonies through which Africans and Europeans negotiated political and social relations.[69]

[68] Andrew Apter, "On Imperial Spectacle: The Dialectics of Seeing in Colonial Nigeria," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 44, No. 3, (Jul. 2002): 582.

[69] Ibid.

It is not clear if Empire Day was celebrated among Nigerian children in the protectorate of Northern Nigeria outside the Freed Slaves' Homes. School children in Lagos and the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria joined other children across the British empire as early as the first decade of the twentieth century to celebrate Empire Day. This was before Empire Day was made official across the British Empire in 1916. These children celebrated Empire Day with cultural dances, school sports, parades, and even fireworks.[70] As noted earlier, unlike in the protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the colony of Lagos, there was no single government school and only a few mission schools in the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in the first decade of the twentieth century. The only evidence of the celebration of the Empire Day among the children in Northern Nigeria was found in the Freed Slaves' Homes.

At the Freed Slaves' Homes, the "Empire Day" celebration was always elaborate. Children were allowed to participate in games and sports competitions. Important colonial officials attended the Empire Day celebration at Zungeru Home in 1907. The Transportation Department was noted to have helped in organizing this 1907 event. It probably handled the logistics associated with transportation for the games while the Niger Company lent the Zungeru Home gramophone that was used for the celebration.

Giving prizes during Empire Day was common. For instance, all the children who participated in sports and games during the 1907 "Empire Day" at Zungeru Home were given prizes. Such prizes made the day more memorable for the children. Also memorable for the children was the Empire Day sporting event. This event proved to be a great success, "judging from the apparent enjoyment of the children and the native assistants." The visitors who were

[70] Ibid, 587.

present at the Zungeru Home on that occasion also found the game very interesting. For Mitchell, this was very encouraging and "much appreciated by myself and staff."[71]

Perhaps the most important form of entertainment at the Freed Slaves' Homes was dancing on moonlight nights. During this time, different performing groups were invited to entertain and teach the children how to dance. Mandara Sara folk were by far the most important and the keenest performers in this direction. The Mandara Sara folk seemed to have been "a repertoire of national dancers." In addition to the groups of performers that were occasionally invited, generally once a week, the Superintendents (and other Europeans who were interested in these children) also took the time to teach the best dancers among the children some English dances. However, the English dances taught were generally simple ones that the children could easily learn. To the satisfaction of the Superintendents, the boys didn't take too long to learn several English plays. Undoubtedly, dancing on moonlight nights, as one Superintendent revealed, was the "chief form of amusement common to all."[72]

Sickness and Death

Sickness and death were also part of inmate experiences in the Freed Slaves' Homes. Sickness was a common phenomenon. The registers of admission of children to the Freed Slaves' Homes are useful in understanding the health and physical conditions of the children on arrival. The column named "details" in this register gives full descriptions of each of the children admitted to the Homes. Unlike the registers of admission, the registers of sickness at the Homes exclusively reveal details about the number of sicknesses and deaths every month.

The records of sickness and other colonial reports collectively make it possible to account for the actual number of deaths and sicknesses in the Freed Slaves' Homes. These records reveal

[71] SNP 7/8 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, Zungeru for May 1906.

[72] SNP 15/1, ACC/121, Blair, Report on the Borno Freed Slaves Home for September 1906.

that between December 1903 and December 1904, among around 200 children in the Zungeru Home, fifty-seven (57) were admitted to the Hospital for various sicknesses. In December 1904 alone, more than thirty (30) children were receiving treatment at the Hospital.[73] Although the rate of sickness was higher among the newly admitted children, sickness was a general phenomenon in the Freed Slaves' Homes. Common sicknesses in the Homes included diarrhea, yaws, mumps, pneumonia, dysentery, and fever.

New arrivals were often the sources of sickness in the Homes. The high rate of sickness among them was directly connected to the long journey from the various provinces of liberation to the Freed Slaves' Homes. The Journey to the Zungeru Home was very stressful and risky for the children because it eventually involved crossing river(s) for many days from Lokoja to Zungeru. Even though Lugard did not believe that this journey could produce a high rate of sickness and death among the children at the Zungeru Home, at some point, he ordered an investigation to find out the sources of illness among the newly admitted children. The investigation revealed that, in addition to the stressful nature of the journey from Lokoja to Zungeru, the health condition of the children before the journey and their treatment by the officials of the Zungeru Homes also accounted for the high rate of sickness and deaths.

The investigation revealed that most of the children sent to the Zungeru Home were not fit for the long journey. Many of them would have been already tired as a result of the previous land journey from places of liberation to Lokoja. But then, the investigation revealed that many children who were put on the journey to Zungeru had left the hospital just the previous evening before the long journey the following morning. Wilson, one of the staff in the care of whom the children traveled, revealed that of the six (6) children in her charge in December 1905, three (3)

[73] SNP 7/6, 150/1905, C. F. Rowe, Report of Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, December, 1904.

arrived at Zungeru Home very emaciated. These three children who arrived in critical conditions, according to Wilson who was transporting the children, had just been "brought out of the Native Hospital the previous evening in a serious condition."[74]

In addition to the critical health conditions in which the children undertook the journey to Lokoja, the investigation also exposed that bad treatment of these children during the journey also contributed to the high rate of sickness and death among newly admitted children. Firstly, there was no sufficient, adequate, and/or quality food that would last the children throughout the journey. While the journey lasted for nine days, the food that was provided only lasted seven days. The consequence was that the children stayed on empty stomachs for a combined period of two days. Furthermore, the food was only good enough for the healthy ones among the children on the journey, as the unhealthy ones required more diets supplement. There was no provision for milk to supplement the diets of the emaciated children. In what he called "appalling," the Resident of Borno linked the rate of deaths among the children sent from Borno to Zungeru not only to the disastrous overland and canoe journey but also to the change in food. Change from Goro to yam and "dawa," according to the Resident, affected the children as they arrived emaciated with some infectious and skin diseases.[75]

Another dimension of bad treatment during the journey was that adequate provision was not made to mitigate the harsh weather on board. There was a need to cover the children in blankets and other clothes to protect them from the harsh weather. However, available records indicate that the children were poorly clothed and that this ultimately exposed them to severe weather onboard during the journey to Zungeru. In one instance, Wilson had to use her clothes

[74] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Assistant Secretary to Principal Medical Officer, Zungeru, 16th February, 1906, in C. F. Rowe, Report on the Zungeru Freed Slaves Home for December 1905.

[75] SNP 15/1 ACC90B, Lugard to Alfred Lyttelton, 7th February 1905.

and blankets for children in her charge en route to Zungeru because no blankets were sent with them. One senior colonial officer confirmed Wilson's story, that "no blankets were sent with them, ill as they were, one of them had no cloth at all."[76] The Lady Superintendent was not impressed and declared that "It is admissions of this nature which involve so much nursing and increase so highly the death-rate of the home-the expenditure on extra diet….to say nothing of the inhumanity of such treatment.[77]

The British colonial officers in Zungeru and their counterparts in Lokoja shifted blame regarding the unhealthy conditions of liberated slaves. While the Zungeru officers tied this bad condition to the maltreatment of the children by officers at Lokoja, the Lokoja officials blamed the emaciation of the children on the conditions in which the children were liberated. The official at Lokoja accused slavers in Yola, who had a reputation for starving slave children. They stressed that most of the liberated children were already emaciated and very thin when they arrived at Lokoja. [78]

Regardless of whom to blame and indict, the colonial administration was concerned about how to prevent or reduce sickness and diseases to a bearable minimum. Accordingly, Lugard passed instructions that officials in Lokoja must always ascertain the fitness of the liberated children before they sent them down to Zungeru. To ascertain compliance with these instructions, Lugard also requested the Medical officer(s) in Lokoja to attach a "certificate of fitness" to the list of children being sent to Zungeru Home. Following this up, Lugard instructed

[76] See SNP 7/7, 97/1906, "High Commissioner's Comments" in C. F. Rowe, Report on the Zungeru Freed Slaves Home for December 1905.

[77] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, C. F. Rowe, Report of Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, December, 1905(P.12).

[78] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Cantonment Magistrate to the Secretary to the Administration of Northern Nigeria.

the Medical Officer on the ground in Zungeru to always confirm the conditions of the liberated children on arrival at the Freed Slaves Home. Despite Lugard's instructions and the measures he put in place to prevent the high rate of sickness among the children, reports indicate that children continued to arrive at the Freed Slaves' Homes unfit and emaciated.

The children who arrived emaciated continued to be a source of sickness in the Freed Slaves' Homes after 1904. In January 1905, the Lady Superintendent at the Zungeru Home blamed the high rate of sickness and death among the children on the emaciated and "starved condition in which the poor children were received."[79] This trend continued, and in January 1906, the prevailing disease in Zungeru Home was intestinal parasites, recorded chiefly among the newly admitted children. Three of the five children that eventually died of intestinal parasites were among new children who were already "very ill on admission."[80]

Although most of the sick children were newly admitted, the evidence indicates that children who had already stayed long at the Homes also suffered from sicknesses. The evidence also shows that both groups of children fell sick during epidemics. At the Homes, outbreaks of epidemics were common, but 1906 stands out as the year of epidemics. In that year alone, there were outbreaks of Guinea Worm, 'Cra-Cra" (Skin disease), and smallpox at Borno Home, while whooping cough ravaged the Zungeru Home.[81]

Outbreaks of diseases at the Freed Slaves' Homes were preventable. Yet superintendents soon realized how hopeless it was in practice to ward off the diseases. In the case of the "Cra

[79] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, High Commissioner's Minutes, in Emily Jardine, the Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for September 1905.

[80] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, for January 1906.

[81] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, for March 1906; SNP 7/8 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, April 1906.

Cra," rigid and complete supervision by a large staff needed to be instituted to prevent the highly contagious disease, which was not confined to the inmates of the Freed Slaves Home but existed among the larger community. The children themselves contributed to the spread of these diseases. As the Borno Superintendent observed, children, particularly the younger ones, needed to be monitored day and night to prevent them "from drinking any but boiled water."[82] The management used different methods to treat diseases in the Freed Slaves' Homes. It used hot water + anointed oil + Sulphur, and boiled the clothes of children suffering from ailments to prevent infecting others.[83]

Isolation or quarantine was by far the most effective strategy used to reduce diseases in the Freed Slaves' Homes. Following the persistence of whooping cough in Zungeru Home, R. Twomey, Medical Officer in Zungeru, recommended that children affected by this illness be placed in the isolation camp and not be allowed to return to the dormitory until they were fully recovered.[84] Also, in Borno Home, children with smallpox were placed in isolation camps.

Sickness and epidemic of diseases led to the death of children in the Freed Slaves' Homes. At the Zungeru Home, About 25% of children died in 1901. In 1902 the Zungeru Home recorded an annual death rate of 27%. While in 1903, the death rate reduced to 15%, 1904 witnessed an unprecedented high rate of deaths at the Zungeru Home. Out of the 219 children received, 92 died, and only 193 survived. The highest death rate was recorded in December 1904. Of the seventeen decreases among the children at the Zungeru Home this year, only seven were sent to the guardians, while ten died.[85]

---

[82] SNP 15/1, ACC121, Allen Parsons, Report on Freed Slaves Home Borno for Quarter Ending September, 1906.

[83] Ibid.

[84] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, G. R. Twomey, Medical Officer's Report, in Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, May 1906.

[85] SNP 7/6, 214/1905, C. F. Rowe, Annual Report on the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for 1904.

Dysentery and starvation were identified as the main causes of death in the Freed Slaves Homes. Of the ninety-two (92) deaths recorded in Zungeru Home in 1904, forty-three (43) were caused by Dysentery, while fifteen were caused by starvation. As these figures make clear, starvation and dysentery represented more than half of the total deaths recorded among the children in Zungeru Home in 1904. The government associated the high death rate in 1904 with the epidemic that ravaged the Homes.[86]

For instance, in July 1905, of the average of 13 children being treated at the hospital, two died of dysentery, and another two died of starvation. Deaths resulting from starvation were recorded more among the newly admitted children who must have been badly starved before they were rescued from their slavers. It should be emphasized that the high rate of death in 1904 had much to do with the emaciated and starved condition, as noted earlier in which the new children were admitted at the Zungeru Home.[87] In 1905, some newly admitted children died a day or two after their admission at the Home, reported Jardine. She identified anemia as severe disease in the Home. She, however, believed that with an extra meal diet, tonic, and port wine, those with anemia would be fine.[88] Also, at Borno Home, deaths were not uncommon among the children. Among the children placed in the isolation camp following the outbreak of the smallpox epidemic in Borno Home, three eventually died from the disease.[89]

Resistance and Punishment

[86] SNP 7/8, 813/1907, C. F. Rowe, Freed Slaves Home Zungeru Annual Report for 1906 - Yearly balance Sheet of-, 8th March 1907.

[87] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, High Commissioner's Minutes, in Emily Jardine, the Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for September 1905. See also SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Emily Jardine, Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, July 1905..

[88] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Jardine to Secretary of Administration, Northern Nigeria, 3rd October 1905.

[89] SNP 15/1, ACC121, Allen Parsons, Report on Freed Slaves Home Borno for Quarter Ending September, 1906.

Desertions were not uncommon, despite the government's efforts to provide education/vocational training, shelter, feeding, and clothing for the liberated children at the Freed Slaves' Homes. In 1904, desertions were rampant at both the Zungeru and Borno Homes to the extent that the High Commissioner questioned the popularity of the Freed Slaves' Homes even among the liberated children.[90] In 1905, more than 50 children deserted the Zungeru Home, while 19 children deserted in 1906. At the Borno Home, "chaos reigned" in the last quarter of 1905 as twenty-three (23) children out of the newly admitted thirty-four (34) children deserted.[91] In January 1906, 12 more children ran away, and one woman ran away with her infant.[92]

Mass flights were common, particularly among girls and young women. Mass desertions were reported in Zungeru Home in April and August 1905. In each of these cases, nothing less than twenty inmates deserted as a group, and most of those involved were girls and older girls, including women. For instance, of the 20 children that escaped from the Zungeru Home in April 1905, 19 were girls. The only boy among them was paralyzed. Similarly, all the twenty-three inmates who fled the Borno Home in the last quarter of 1905 were female. It should be noted that the arrangement that allowed girls of more than 15 years to be retained in the Homes might be partly responsible for the dominance of girls and young women among deserters. Although it seems that women aged 15- 25 or older shaped the level of desertion at the Homes, it is evident that among the Zungeru Home deserters, there were six young girls aged between 7 and 15. Also, it is clear that at the Borno Home, in which there were boys of over 12 years, no single boy was among the deserters in late 1905.[93]

---

[90] See Olusanya.

[91] SNP 15/1, ACC 90B, Allen Parsons, Report on Freed Slaves Home Borno for November and December 1905; SNP 15/1, ACC 121, Allen Parsons, Report on Freed Slaves Home Borno for January, 1906.

[92] Ibid.

[93] SNP 15/1, ACC90B, Allen Parsons, Report on Freed Slaves Home Borno for November and December 1905.

Running away from the Freed Slaves' Homes was not without dangers. The children risked starvation and re-enslavement while escaping. Indeed, there is evidence that some deserters were re-enslaved by slave dealers who easily disguised the children and sold them to other towns.[94] Other children, who were not re-enslaved, faced starvation when they deserted Homes and suddenly found themselves inside the bush for many days without food. The twenty freed slaves who left the Home in August 1905 were eventually found in a starving condition, requiring immediate medical attention.[95] The children's commitment and determination to flee were well beyond the imagination of the management of the Homes. This management refused to accept the reality that children found outside life better than in the Freed Slaves' Homes. Put differently, the British administrators were not ready to accept the social agency of the children.

Managements of the Freed Slaves' Homes, working in conjunction with the colonial police, sometimes successfully brought deserters back to the Homes. They also put measures in place to prevent future desertion. Punishment was one strategy the management employed to prevent or limit desertion among the children. One way the supervisors of the Homes punished deserters was to lock them up in a small room for twelve or twenty-four hours.[96] In 1905, for instance, the children who deserted and were brought back through the efforts of the police were locked up for three days and given half rations. They were also detailed for latrine duties for one month. On a general note, strict discipline was necessary at the Freed Slaves' Homes not only because of deserters but also because of "some shady characters, particularly amongst the women."[97]

---

[94] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Emily Jardine, The Report of the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for September 1905; See also SNP 7/7, 97/1906, C. F. Rowe to the Registrar Supreme Court, 1st February 1906.

[95] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Emily Jardine, The Report of the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for September 1905.

[96] ***See Report on Freed Slave Home March 1904.

[97] G. O Olusanya, "Freed Slaves' Homes," 527.

Desertion of children from the Freed Slaves' Homes opens up discussion on the conditions of the children at the Homes and how the children understood these conditions. Visiting Committee's Monthly reports indicate that the children in the Homes were well-fed and looked healthy and happy**.** Based on such reports, there is no doubting the mindset of the British in Northern Nigeria was that the liberty of the liberated children would better be realized at the Freed Slaves' Homes.

In 1907 the government set up a commission to determine, among other things, whether the children in the Freed Slaves' Homes were satisfied with their conditions. The government relied on the report/findings of this commission in closing the last government-owned Freed Slaves Home in 1909. The commission's report presents that the children were satisfied with their lot. Despite reports that children were happy and healthy, life was not always rosy for them. Indeed, evidence suggests that the children were not always satisfied with their confinement in the Freed Slaves Homes. As C. N Ubah has also argued, the Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria "were unpopular among those children who thought that a better life was possible elsewhere or who hated confinement."[98] Undoubtedly, the children's desire for freedom was indeed a significant factor in desertion.

Other factors may also explain the constant desertion of children from the Freed Slaves' Homes. Children realized that their situation and conditions in the Freed Slaves' Homes were not different from slavery. It was common for most of the boys who left the Homes as apprentices or as domestic servants never to want to return to the Homes. A particular boy placed with the High

[98] C. N Ubah "The Colonial Administration in Northern Nigeria and the Problem of Freed Slave Children," 215.

Commissioner as an apprentice/domestic servant refused to wear clothes brought from the Freed Slaves' Homes. According to the boy, the clothes looked like slave clothes.[99]

Starvation was another reason for desertion from the Homes. In March 1906, one big boy named Imoru with reg. No. 359 was under watch at the isolation camp when he ran away. Imoru ran away from the Zungeru Home without anybody suspecting until Mitchell realized he was missing during the roll call. The cause of his flight, according to Mitchell, was nothing other than "that of necessary reduction of food."[100] Even though Mitchell and other administrators sometimes found food reduction necessary, justifying such reduction to bigger children was always a difficult task, especially "when they are not sufficiently well to have lost the desire for the ordinary diet."[101] However, whether or not administrators were justified in reducing relevant food, the case of Imoru suggests that Mitchell was aware that starvation was partly responsible for desertion at the Freed Slaves' Homes.

The African staff's lapses, conspiracy, or overbearing were also factors that encouraged desertion. According to colonial records, Male assistants were particularly guilty of conspiracy, and they were sometimes overbearing. Following a police investigation in August 1905, the government had reasons to suspect one African Male Assistant of aiding desertions at the Zungeru Home. This police investigation classified this unnamed Male Assistant as a suspect because at the same time that 19 inmates fled, he was also missing from the Home.[102] The case of Suboro, another Male Assistant at the Zungeru Home, gives credence to the suspicion that

[99] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Lugard's Minutes, in Emily Jardine, the Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for September 1905.

[100] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report on the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for March 1906.

[101] Ibid.

[102] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Lugard's Minutes, in Emily Jardine, the Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for September 1905.

African Male Assistants aided or influenced the desertions at the Homes. One of the Lady Superintendents found Suboro intimidating the children who fled because they were scared after Suboro told them lies. In particular, he said to them that the white man would be leaving the country shortly and that liberated children would soon fall into the hands of the black man who would kill them. After listening to such lies by Suboro, some children, as mentioned, fled.[103]

Another was Affosei, whom one of the Lady Superintendents at Zungeru Home had occasionally suspected of violently lashing the boys without her knowledge. The Lady Superintendent noted several acts of wickedness by Affosei, although evidence was insufficient to prove his rascality and highhandedness. Although they were afraid to speak against Affosie, the boys sometimes appeared to the Lady Superintendent and showed injuries caused by Affosei. Ultimately, looking more closely at Affossie's past, it was uncovered that he had earlier been disengaged from other government departments before he was hired at the Zungeru Home. This finding partly strengthened Lady Superintendent's suspicion of Affosei's wickedness and *worthlessness.*[104]

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the life and daily activities of the liberated children at the Freed Slaves' Homes. It shows that in addition to accommodating the formerly enslaved children, the Homes served as institutions where the government introduced the liberated children to education and other useful crafts. In the judgment of relevant colonial officials, vocational training was necessary for the liberated children to earn an honest living and ultimately become responsible members of the community. Based on this official viewpoint, the

[103] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Emily Jardine, The Report of the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for September 1905.

[104] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Emily Jardine, The Report of the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for April 1905, 23rd May 1905.

management of Homes focused on preparing the children for specific trades such as carpentry, bakery, laundry, and sewing. Children were enrolled in different skills according to their interests, ability, and gender.

This chapter shows how the Freed Slaves' Homes were tied to the colonial government. Many instructors who trained the children in different classes, including carpentry, were seconded from the colonial government departments such as Public Work Department. Also, the government apprenticed many of the children to various colonial departments as apprentices or servants. (see Chapter Five). Gender was also a factor in the children's experiences at the Freed Slaves' Homes. For instance, boys received training that was considered masculine, but girls enrolled in classes that would prepare them for future domestic duties. Also, the chapter shows that despite the efforts of the government (particularly Lugard) to prevent religious teaching and conversion of children at the Freed Slaves' Homes, Mitchell, with the support of some colonial administrators, aided Christian teaching among the children.

The chapter has emphasized the death rate and sickness issues among the liberated children in the early period. It also demonstrates that the government introduced interesting recreational activities, including sports such as football, to make the Homes lively for liberated children. Although the government introduced recreational activities to enhance the children's physical fitness and ensure that children in the Freed Slaves Homes were satisfied, several acts of resistance show that the children were not satisfied with their conditions at the Homes. In contrast to the government, those dissatisfied children believed that they would live their freedom and liberty better outside the Homes. Given this fact, they deserted the Homes in large numbers.

CHAPTER FIVE

GUARDIANSHIP AND APPRENTICESHIP IN COLONIAL NORTHERN NIGERIA

In September 1906, Mr. A. Willoughby Osborne, the Attorney General of the Gold Coast, wrote a letter to the High Commissioner of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria. In the letter, he requested two girls between the age of eight and ten from the Freed Slaves Homes in Northern Nigeria. In November, the British colonial government in Northern Nigeria put Asene (F, 13) and Fulike (F, 9) in the custody of Osborne. In his September application letter, Osborne had informed the government in Northern Nigeria of the main reason he requested these girls: to serve as domestic servants for his wife. Osborne was ready to bear the cost of maintaining these girls in return for their labor, particularly in "practical training in household work generally." However, he "[wouldn't] undertake to send them daily to school." Osborne was willing to have the guardianship of these girls for five years "if I remain so long in West Africa." He promised to return these girls to Northern Nigeria "at the end of period of their service," and even "in the event of my death or of my permanently leaving the coast [of West Africa] before the end of [his] mandate on these girls.[1]

Asene and Fulike were among the formerly enslaved children sheltered in the Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria by the British colonial government. These liberated children had received basic literacy education and other vocational training at the Freed Slaves' Homes. In addition, the government also "required the children to serve as apprentices, servants, and

[1] SNP 7/7, 3263/1906, A. Willoughby Osborne to the Acting High Commissioner, Application for Two Freed Slave Girls for His Wife as Domestic Servants, 9th September.

other such roles."[1] To this end, the Government introduced the guardianship and apprenticeship systems to further prepare the liberated children for life after their release from the Freed Slaves' Homes. According to the colonial government, the guardianship and apprenticeship system would allow the Freed Slaves Home children to acquire additional skills as they performed different labor for their guardians and employers. This chapter aims to extend the history of the Freed Slave Home children beyond the traditional focus on "campus" experiences of Freed Slave wards by examining the experiences of these children as domestic servants and apprentices.

By examining the children's varied experiences and working conditions outside the Freed Slaves' Homes, this chapter provides a broader view of state-imposed "forced labor," extending it beyond the "masculine" jobs undertaken in the public sphere previously studied by historians. This chapter discusses the role of government in the distribution of children from the Freed Slaves' Homes to guardians and how the British notion of gender and domesticity affected such distribution. It reveals that children were mainly assigned to government departments and male government officials. It shows the disproportionate number of girls employed in the domestic sector against the government departments reserved exclusively for boys. The chapter argues that although varied wages were proposed for the Freed Slave children who worked outside of the Homes according to gender and age, these children were, in reality, unpaid workers with little or no say in determining the terms of their employment.

Lastly, the chapter demonstrates that the formerly enslaved children who worked outside the "campuses" of the Freed Slaves' Homes were not passive actors. Despite the government's efforts to monitor children assigned to guardians and others, the liberated children were not

[1] Muhammed Bashir Salau, "Archival and Digital Sources on Unfree Labor in Northern Nigeria," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of A frican History (2020)*: 7.

always well treated. The chapter argues that children's experiences shaped their cooperation and rebellion in the domestic sector and other related labor.

The Role of the government in the distribution of liberated children to guardians

The government hired out the formerly enslaved children as domestic servants and apprentices under the twin system of guardianship and apprenticeship. The guardianship system allowed the management to place children with guardians to perform household services and other labor. Under the apprenticeship system, children are trained to be skilled in specific jobs under the guidance of experts in various government departments and private businesses.

The Freed Slaves' Homes management distributed children to individuals and government departments every month based on request. The British tradition inspired the practice in which liberated children were placed under experts as apprentices. In Britain, the apprenticeship system emerged in the post-emancipation period, and it was designed to foster the transition from slave to free labor within this country and in its colonies in various parts of the world, including in Africa. Two possibilities awaited liberated slaves after the 1807 Abolition Act illegalized the trade in slaves: military service and "apprenticeship." While military service was for men, an apprenticeship of up to fourteen years was for children and women."[2]

Apprenticeship in Britain and her colonies was not without controversy. Seymour Drescher has extensively dealt with post-emancipation apprenticeship and the controversies surrounding the system in Britain. Drescher argues that the post-emancipation apprenticeship was an "intermediate position between wages and whip," as apprentices were "required to work

[2] Sean M. Kelly, "Precedents: The "Captured Negroes" of Tortola, 1807-22" in *Liberated Africans and the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1807-1896*, edited by Richard Anderson and Henry B. Lovejoy. (New York, University of Rochester Press, 2020), 25-44.

for their ex-masters for a fixed number of hours per day for a specified number of years." Drescher concludes that critics attacked the apprenticeship system on the ground that it was "merely slavery under a disguise" and it "resembled slavery more than liberty." In the face of widespread criticisms and agitations, particularly in the British parliament, the British government eventually abolished the post-emancipation apprenticeship in 1838, two years before it was to end officially.[3] Studies focusing on British and West Africa, including Sierra Leone and Senegal, have revealed how liberated Africans, including children, became sources of cheap and unfree labor in the name of apprenticeship and guardianship.[4]

However, the apprenticeship system in Northern Nigeria in the early twentieth century differed from the nineteenth-century post-emancipation systems that developed in other British colonies, particularly in West Indies and Sierra Leone, and the guardianship in French West Africa in the early twentieth century. In the French West African colony of Senegal, the guardianship system emerged in 1849 to serve the labor need of the colony. Still, it was reformed in 1903 to "address concerns about guardians inappropriately benefitting from liberated minors' labor."[5] Unlike the guardianship in French Senegal and apprenticeship in British Sierra Leone, guardianship and apprenticeship emerged in the British Protectorate of Northern Nigeria to help the government offset some of the expenses associated with training and feeding the formerly enslaved children at the Freed Slaves Homes. Unlike in Sierra Leone and Senegal, the children that the British colonial government in Northern Nigeria recruited into guardianship and

[3] Seymour Drescher, *The Mighty Experiment: Free Labor vs. Slavery in British Emancipation* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2002), 128-138.

[4] Suzanne Schwarz, "The Impact of Liberated African "Disposal" Polices in Early Nineteenth-Century Sierra Leone." In *Liberated Africans and the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1807-1896,*.4; Kelly M. Duke Bryant, "Changing Childhood: Liberated Minors, Guardianship and the Colonial State in Senegal, 1895-1911," *Journal of African History* 60, no. 2 (2019): 213.

[5] Kelly M. Duke Bryant, 213.

apprenticeship passed through the Freed Slaves' Homes; these government institutions were not available in the other colonies in West Africa.

In addition to cutting government expenses, the government in colonial Northern Nigeria also argued that the system of apprenticeship and guardianship would allow liberated children to learn additional skills that would eventually make them self-supporting when they reached the age of discretion. Thus, Fredrick Lugard, the first High Commissioner in Northern Nigeria, declared that placing the children from the Freed Slaves' Homes with guardians was "a good opportunity" to develop formerly enslaved children.[6]

The government carefully selected guardians for the liberated children in Northern Nigeria. Before approving relevant guardianship applications, the government carried out multiple background checks. Applicants were required to provide attestations of good moral character from their Provincial Commissioners, who often gave necessary information after extensive inquiries about the applicants. Attestation letters used in this study indicate that Provincial Commissioners described applicants in certain terms, including as "a highly respectful middle-aged man," "married in church," had "a grown up family," and "comfortably off."[7] Christianity was not a requirement but such descriptions and the background check reports submitted by Provincial Commissioners, in general, allowed the colonial government in Northern Nigeria to determine whether the applicants could "properly be entrusted with the care of these children."[8] It is noteworthy that demonstrating past ability to take care of liberated

[6] SNP 7/8, 2720/1907, Cantonment Magistrate to the Secretary of the Administration Northern Nigeria, 16th February, 1907.

[7] SNP 7/8, 3035/1907, H. C. W. Grimshaw, Provincial Commissioner of Cape Coast Castle, to Colonial Secretary Accra, 5th October, 1907.

[8] SNP 7/8, 3035/1907, H. C. W. Grimshaw, Provincial Commissioner of Cape Coast Castle, to Colonial Secretary Accra, 5th October, 1907.

children assigned to them was another advantage for the applicants. Lastly, it is also notable that promising to train the children in education and domestic duties could be advantageous for the applicants.[9]

The government required guardians to adhere to certain conditions upon approval of guardianship applications. The Government Standing Order (GSO) spelled out these conditions. According to this document, the guardian should ensure that the freed slave children placed in their custody attend Government School and "the usual conditions as to food and clothing,"[10] The most significant provision of the GSO has to do with the status of these children. This provision demanded that relevant children be recognized as "freed," hence they should be paid wages as domestic servants and apprentices.[11] The GSO also emphasized that upon reaching the "age of discretion" when they could earn their livelihood, the children should be free to go their way. In this case, the guardians would allow boys "to work" and "the girls to get married" without any compensation for the guardians."[12] After reading the GSO and accepting the conditions specified, the government required the guardians to sign an agreement form upon receiving the children.[13]

After the guardians gained custody of the children, the government made efforts to ascertain that the children were well treated. Such efforts to establish whether children were well treated by their guardians may not be unconnected to the maltreatment many children experienced in the context of the earlier practice in which liberated children were placed with

[9] SNP 7/7, 3263/1906, Willoughby Osborne, Attorney General of the Gold Coast colony to Secretary of Administration, Northern Nigeria, 9th September, 1906.

[10] , SNP 7/7, 3263/1906, M. H. D Beresford to Willoughby Osborne, 2nd November 1906.

[11] ****SNP 7/7, 3263/1906; SNP 7/7, 3263/1906; SNP 7/7, 97/1906; SNP 7/7, 97/1906.

[12] SNP 7/8, 3035/1907, H. C. W. Grimshaw, Provincial Commissioner of Cape Coast Castle, to Colonial Secretary Accra, 5th October, 1907.

[13] SNP 7/7, 3263/1906, Secretary to the Administration Northern Nigeria to C. F. Rowe, 2nd November, 1906.

"respectable" local families. Before establishing the Freed Slaves' Homes, such local families treated liberated children as slaves, and Lugard confirmed that the local people saw no difference between these children and slaves at that time.[14]

Experiences elsewhere in parts of the British Empire in the nineteenth century may have also informed the government's lack of confidence in the guardians. For instance, in Sierra Leone, scholars have noted how "the apprenticeship system allowed re-enslaving and slave-trading" of the liberated African children.[15] Therefore, considering the previous experience, the colonial government in Northern Nigeria instituted a policy of compulsory inspections in which guardians were to present children in their custody for periodic inspections by government officials. This policy was spelled out under the GSO.[16] Guardians who had the reputation of treating their wards well could get other children more quickly if the earlier ones left or their mandate expired.[17]

The GSO provided that responsible guardians who obtained clearance could be allowed to take freed slave children out of the protectorate, although at the discretion of the High Commissioner. Many guardians took advantage of this provision and got permission to take Freed slave wards in their custody with them when leaving the protectorate of Northern Nigeria. In one case, one Mr. Davies, who was making plans to travel with his domestic servants in late 1907, referred to this provision in his letter to the High Commissioner on August 12, 1907.

[14] C. N Ubah "The Colonial Administration in Northern Nigeria and the Problem of Freed Slave Children," *Journal of Slavery and Abolition,* 14, no. 3, (1993): 217.

[15] F. Harrison Rankin, *The White Man's Grave*, Vol. II, 91, cited in E. Malek Delgado, "Children, Childhood and Slavery in Sierra Leone: The Experiences of Liberated African Children C.1808-1834, A Ph.D Thesis, University of Worcester, 2017).

[16]****SNP 7/8, 3035/1907, Freed Slaves Application Four.

[17] SNP 7/8, 3222/1907, Ben F. During, Head Clerk Muri Province to Resident, Muri Province 25th July 1907.

Davies specifically cited relevant GSO provisions such as No. 60 Para II in his letter requesting that the two children he obtained from the Freed Slaves' Home be allowed to accompany his wife to Sierra Leone. The High Commissioner in Northern Nigeria granted Davies' request on 29th November 1907. To help ensure that these two children were not maltreated or disposed of while based outside Northern Nigeria, the government reached out to colonial authorities in Sierra Leone to take necessary steps to monitor and protect these children and ensure that the guardian(s) return to Northern Nigeria with these children. Available records show that Davies's wife returned to Nigeria with the girls in April 1908.[18]

The Registers of disposal and the periodic reports of the Freed Slaves' Homes make it possible to survey the biographies of the liberated children who were placed with guardians both within the protectorate of Northern Nigeria and outside the protectorate, including the colonies of Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and Liberia. The registers of disposals reveal important details about the children and the guardians who received them. There are several columns for information such as names, occupations, place of residence of the guardians, and to what use the children would be put. The registers also noted whether individuals who received the children were "native" or "non-native." Both the registers of disposal and the periodic reports of the Freed Slaves' Homes do not, however, significantly clarify and distinguish who were "native" and "non-native." For instance, while the management team of the Freed Slaves' Homes presented the African employees as the "Native" Staff, it identified Europeans and non-Europeans in the employ of the colonial government who received children as "non-natives."

[18] SNP 7/8, 3586/1907, Acting Colonial Secretary Sierra Leone to the Secretary of Administration, Northern Nigeria, 11th May 1908, in Principal Medical Officer, Northern Nigeria, "Mr. I. Davies- permission for two 'Freed Slaves Wards' to accompany his wife to Sierra Leone."

Through the management team of the Freed Slaves' Homes, the government always favored placing the freed slave children with government officials as guardians. These children were sent out as domestic servants or apprentices, performing domestic services and other related labor for their guardians. As such, the Homes served as a steady source of cheap and unpaid labor for British colonial officers. Indeed, "many other British officials in other services" such as police, health, and military" also benefitted from this source of cheap labor.[19] Europeans' having children from the Freed Slaves Homes as servants had its root in the pre-British occupation of Northern Nigeria. While Britain championed the abolition of the slave trade and condemned slavery worldwide, the British and other Europeans in West Africa relied progressively on the service of runaway slaves. Evidence shows many slaves who deserted their masters became servants for the British and other Europeans in Northern Nigeria.[20] Since the abolition of slavery was the British justification for the conquest of African territories, the British and other Europeans understood there was no moral justification for using slaves as servants.

In Northern Nigeria, Freed Slaves Homes provided an alternative, a more "legitimate" source of largely free but unpaid labor. Senior colonial administrators in Northern Nigeria received children from the Freed Slaves' Homes as domestic servants and/or apprentices.[21] From the High Commissioner to Residents of Provinces and District Officers, colonial political and administrative officers obtained the services of the freed slave wards. In 1906, the acting High

[19] C. N Ubah "The Colonial Administration in Northern Nigeria and the Problem of Freed Slave Children," 219.

[20] Some of the colonial officials in Northern Nigeria confirmed this; if all the slaves who ran in the pre-British occupation should be returned to their masters, "no employees of the Europeans will be safe." See Cantonment Magistrate, Zungeru to Kano Resident, 21th January 1913.

[21] C. N Ubah "The Colonial Administration in Northern Nigeria and the Problem of Freed Slave Children," 219.

Commissioner, Colonel Lawrie, received a seven-year-old boy Allabira.[22] The Acting Secretary to the Administration of Northern Nigeria, G. R. Matthews Esq., also received an eight-year-old boy Jugamama.[23] Another administrative officer who received a child from the Zungeru Homes was F.G. Bagnall Esq., Assistant Treasurer, Zungeru. Bagnall received a ten-year-old boy named Jabu in 1905.[24] Residents of provinces, ranked next to the High Commissioner in the administration of Northern Nigeria, also obtained formerly enslaved children from the Freed Slaves' Homes. For example, Captain Dwyer, Resident of Ilorin Province, received a five-year-old Abuduramanu, a boy originally from German territory and liberated in Court on 24 May 1906.[25] The Sokoto Resident, Alder Burdon, also had a charge of a boy, Bamuyi, who resided with him until the latter's death.[26]

It is interesting to note that members of the management teams of the Freed Slaves Homes also obtained the services of the liberated children. All residents, including the Borno Resident who directly supervised the Freed Slaves Home Borno, obtained liberated children as servants. Captain C. F Rowe, the Cantonment Magistrate of Zungeru who directly supervised the Zungeru Home, obtained freed slave wards.[27] The Superintendents at both the Zungeru and

[22] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, List of Wards allotted to Guardians, June 1906 in Emily Jardine, Report of the Freed Slaves Homes Zungeru, June 1906.

[23] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, List of Wards allotted to Guardians, May 1906 in Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of the Freed Slaves Homes Zungeru, May 1906.

[24] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, List of Wards allotted to Guardians, March 1906 in Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of the Freed Slaves Homes Zungeru, March 1906.

[25] SNP 15/1, ACC121, The Register of Freed Slaves Ilorin Province for 1906, in Dwyer to Political Assistant, Northern Nigeria.

[26] SNP 7/6, 1760/1905, Alder Burdon, Resident Sokoto Province to the Lady Superintendent, Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, 21st March 1906.

[27] List of Wards allotted to Guardians, May 1906 in Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of the Freed Slaves Homes Zungeru, May 1906, SNP 7/8, 150/1907.

Borno Homes also enjoyed the services of some of the children they were meant to "look" after on a daily basis. Military officers and other British professionals in Northern Nigeria also recruited domestic servants from the Freed Slaves' Homes. Thus, in 1904 Captain Gallagher, who subsequently led a British expedition "against the Munshi tribe" in January 1906, obtained a freed slave from the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru. The boy Jailora aged 8, was a servant of Gallagher. Jailora remained with Gallagher until 1906 when the latter was absent from Zungeru, and the former returned to the Zungeru Home.[28]

Well-placed African employees of the British colonial administration, such as clerks and interpreters, were also allowed to recruit domestic servants from the Freed Slaves' Homes. On 25 July 1907, Ben During, the HeadClerk in Muri province in Northern Nigeria, obtained two freed slave wards, Rabi and Usuman, and brought them with him to Sierra Leone. Privately run businesses and individual Africans did not lack information about the existence of child servants in the Freed Slaves Homes in Northern Nigeria. Thus, in 1906, J. Opobo, a registered tailor in Zungeru, obtained a girl Jaboyissu aged 13, for his wife as a servant.[29] Abraham, a tailor, got a thirteen-year-old girl Piare for "Housework."[30] Among private individual applicants who recruited children from the Homes was one widow Mrs. Porter, a native of Sierra Leone and doing business in Sekondi, Gold Coast colony. Upon learning of "the Zungeru Home for alien children," Lady Porter requested a boy or girl between nine and eleven. In her relevant

[28] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for March 1906. For more information on Gallagher expedition, see Colonial Reports-Annual, No. 516, Northern Nigeria, Report for 1905-6, https://libsysdigi.library.illinois.edu/ilharvest/Africana/Books2011-05/3064634/3064634_1905_1906_northern_nigeria/3064634_1905_1906_northern_nigeria_opt.pdf,

[29] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, List of Wards taken over by Guardians, November 1905 in, Report of the Freed Slaves Homes Zungeru, November, 1905.

[30] List of Wards allotted to Guardians, February 1905 in Emily Jardine, Report of the Freed Slaves Homes Zungeru, February 1905., SNP 7/7, 97/1906.

application, Porter promised to give the children proper education if the government granted her guardianship.[31]

Some colonial employees in Northern Nigeria and other British colonies applied and requested permission to marry freed slave girls. For instance, Tagoe, a carpenter in Public Work Department in Northern Nigeria, applied to marry Beresu, a girl from one of the Freed Slaves' Homes. Available evidence confirms that Beresu was married to Tagoe in Gold Coast.[32] It is important to note that, like Tagoe, the majority of the African colonial employees who obtained freed slave children from the Homes were not originally from Northern Nigeria. Rather, most of them were from other protectorates and colonies, including Southern Nigeria, Gold Coast, and Sierra Leone. For instance, Ben During, the Head Clerk of Muri Province who traveled to Sierra Leone with two freed slave wards, was a "native" of Sierra Leone. Similarly, G. I. Davies, a clerk in colonial Northern Nigeria who obtained two girls as domestic servants for his wife, was also a Sierra Leonean.[33]

Attitudes of the Indigenous Population to Guardianship and Apprenticeship

The indigenous population of Northern Nigeria did not feature in the lists/registers of guardians who recruited children from the Freed Slaves Homes for domestic labor. The colonial administrators blamed the attitude of the indigenous population for this absence. The prevalence of domestic slavery in Northern Nigeria was a source of serious concern among the senior British administrators, and there were fears that the local people would turn the liberated children

[31] A. Porter, Sekondi to Secretary to the Administration, Northern Nigeria 29th October 1908., SNP 7/9, 5580/1908,

[32] Robert Tagoe's Application to Marry Freed Slave Girl Beresu II for May 1905., SNP 7/6, 1606/1905.

[33] Mr. G. I. Davies Permission for Two Freed Slaves Wards to accompany his wife to Sierra Leone, September 1907, SNP 7/8, 3586/1907.

into slaves if the former were allowed to recruit the latter for domestic services. Lugard understood that the local people would not be able to differentiate between the liberated children and slaves.

More than the British administrators' fears, the indigenous population in Northern Nigeria approached the system of apprenticeship and guardianship with indifference at best and with suspicion at worst. This indifference can yet be understood and analyzed within the prevalence and persistence of slavery in colonial Northern Nigeria. As Lovejoy and other scholars have noted, despite the slavery proclamations by the British colonial administration, slavery and internal slave trading did not only persist among the local population in Northern Nigeria till the 1930s, but slavery also survived in a modified form among the people in question.[34] The available evidence suggests that the British colonial government in Northern Nigeria to a very large extent encouraged the survival of slavery in a modified form and even of domestic slavery in the true sense of the word. The story of Mallam Bako, who successfully (re) claimed "ownership" of three "freed slave' girls at the Zungeru Home, supports this line of argument.

The story happened in 1904 when Bako discovered that three girls (Salamatu, Nassara, and Baimaradi) he referred to as "his domestic slaves" were in Zungeru Home. He quickly proceeded to court to (re) claim these girls whom the colonial government had put in a Freed Slaves Home. The court, without hesitation, granted Bako's request and gave him "paper" to that effect. After receiving this document, Bako presented it to the management of the Zungeru Home

[34] Paul E. Lovejoy and J. S. Hogendorn, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance to Colonial Rule in the Sokoto Caliphate, 1905–6," *Journal of African History*, 3, No. 2 (1990): 230-241; Paul E. Lovejoy and J. S. Hogendorn, "The development and execution of Frederick Lugard's policies toward Slavery in Northern Nigeria', *Slavery and Abolition*, X, Vol. I, (I989): I-43.

and demanded the custody of his "domestic slaves." However, only Salamatu (aged 5/6), the youngest of these three girls, remained at the Zungeru Home.[35] The other girls had either been married off or placed with a guardian. When contacted regarding Bako's request, the three girls refused to return to this master, even though they recognized him. Considering this stalemate situation, "The only solution to this impasse," the Cantonment Magistrate declared, was that "Mallam Bako should receive compensation for the loss of his domestic slaves who were forcibly taken away from him and found in the Freed Slaves' Home."[36] The payment of compensation for Bako confirmed that the British colonial administration in Northern Nigeria was not rigid about slave abolition.

The indifference among the local people in Northern Nigeria toward the apprenticeship and guardianship system, coupled with the British administrators' fear that the local population would see these children as slaves, could have influenced the government's decision to advertise (and extend) the guardianship system to the colonial employees in Southern Nigeria. In June 1907, the Secretary to Administration of Northern Nigeria sent a letter to his counterpart in the protectorate of Southern Nigeria informing him about the availability, in the Freed Slaves' Homes, of girls and young women for domestic services. He enquired, "If there were government employees who might need the service of and would gladly undertake the guardianship of the wards from the Freed Slaves' Homes."[37] However, even before this 1907 letter was written, some liberated children from the Freed Slaves' Homes had already been given

[35] Nassara was married to a Goldsmith while Baimaradi was a servant to Mrs Faulkner, wife of Clerk Faulkner.

[36] SNP 7/7, 1242/1907, "Rex v Mallam Bako" in Resident Kontagora &Borgu to the Political Assistant, Zungeru, 28th March 1907. See also SNP 7/8, 1242/1907, C. F. Rowe, Compensation for Baimaradi, Nassara & Salamtu taken from Mallam Bako, 19th April 1907.

[37] SNP 7/8, 2314/1907, High Commissioner, Northern Nigeria Guardianship for Freed Slaves' Homes Zungeru, 19th June 1907.

to guardians based outside the protectorate of Northern Nigeria. Before the 1907 letter, people in British protectorates and colonies in West Africa knew of the "alien children" in the Freed Slaves' Homes.[38] Since British subjects in other colonies had previously obtained servants from the Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria, the 1907 letter only marked the renewed efforts and determination by the British administrators to distribute the liberated children beyond Northern Nigeria.

The government considered its employees in various departments "responsible" and believed it was easier to monitor the liberated children assigned to this set of guardians. Consequently, the 1907 letter targeted colonial employees even outside the Freed Slaves' Homes' base in Northern Nigeria. In response to this letter, many government employees in Southern Nigeria indicated an interest in serving as guardians to the children in the Freed Slaves' Homes. Thus, the Zungeru Home received applications from provinces in Southern Nigeria such as Lagos, Calabar, and Warri. Applicants from Warri and Calabar included J. H. Holdbrock, Assistant Chief Clerk, Secretariat; H. H. Leigh, Assistant Chief Clerk, Treasury; P. Hall-Gage, First Class Clerk Customs; and J. Daniels, Native Inspector of Police. To strengthen their applications, such applicants based in Warri and Calabar requested their Provincial Commissioners to attest to their excellent character. In the letter of attestation, the Warri Provincial Commissioner emphasized that applicants from his province were "responsible persons and are able to satisfy the requirements" for the guardianship of the children from the Freed Slaves' Homes.[39]

Like other applicants, those from Southern Nigeria specified the types of children they wanted to get from the Freed Slaves' Homes regarding sex and age. Children between the age of

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

8 and 12 were in popular demand. The Colonial employees in Lagos Secretariat, such as S. M. Reffell Assistant C. C. and S. T. Jones Chief Clerk, requested girl wards of 12 years or a little less.[40] Between September and October 1907, the Honorable Colonial Secretary, Southern Nigeria, sent three sets of requests to the Freed Slaves' Homes on behalf of the government officials and religious missions in Southern Protectorate. The colonial government employees in Warri all together requested nine girls.[41] By the time the applications reached the Freed Slaves' Homes, a new policy was already in place regarding the disposal of liberated children, particularly girls.

New Policies regarding the Distribution of Freed Slave Children

The colonial government in Northern Nigeria introduced new policies between July and August 1907 to reform guardianship and apprenticeship. The British government developed these policies in consultation with the Freed Slaves' Homes management. This reform emphasized that the government would no longer place girls from the Freed Slaves' Homes with guardians other than European ladies or missionary bodies. This reform greatly limited the choices of prospective guardians and many applications for freed slave girls were rejected. Based on this reform, the applications by colonial employees in Southern Nigeria, who mostly requested girls' services, were summarily denied. On 6 November 1907, the Secretary to the Administration, Northern Nigeria, notified his counterpart in Southern Nigeria that the government of Northern Nigeria had considered it undesirable to place formerly enslaved girls with people other than European ladies or European religious institutions.[42]

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

It should be stressed that the reform and the new policies were influenced by the recommendation of the Visiting Committee of the Zungeru Home in July 1907. The Visiting Committee, in turn, based its recommendations on some circumstances that happened after the June 1907 letter sent to the Secretary of Southern Nigeria.[43] Available records do not reveal what "these circumstances" were. Rather, they indicate that up to mid-1907, girls from the Freed Slaves' Homes were being placed with individuals other than missionary bodies and European ladies. For instance, Willoughby Osborne, Attorney General of the Gold Coast colony, who requested two girls from the Freed Slaves' Home in November 1906, had "never been without female servants" for over nine years. Osborne, whose November 1906 request was approved by the High Commissioner, revealed that the freed slave girls approved for him (and his wife) would be in the company of two other girls who had been with them for the past six years.

Similarly, Mr. Amissah, an African colonial employee in Northern Nigeria, had an unnamed girl from the Freed Slaves' Home Zungeru under his custody shortly before the new policy was introduced. In May 1907, Amissah requested the guardianship of this unidentified girl who was already living with him and his wife. He indicated that he wanted the girl as a maid for his wife, and he "promised to support the girl and provide her with all necessities."[44] It should be noted that this was not a fresh application, as the girl was already in his custody. However, the government did not approve Amissah's request for the unnamed girl's continued "guardianship."

There is a reason to suggest sexual exploitation by the male guardians of the girls from the Freed Slaves' Homes placed with them as domestic servants. Although there is no concrete

[43] SNP 7/7, 3263/1906, A. Willoughby Osborne to the Acting High Commissioner, Application for Two Freed Slave Girls for His Wife as Domestic Servants, 9th September, 1906.

[44]SNP 7/8, 1879/1905, C. R. Amissah to the Secretary to the Administration, Freed Slave Girl for His Wife as a Maid, 22nd May 1907.

evidence in the available records to support this claim, experiences elsewhere suggest that sexual exploitation and abuses of girls were not uncommon. Even before the reform and new policies regarding the distribution of freed slave wards, the government was always cautious in placing girls with male guardians. This tendency to exploit the sexuality of the formerly enslaved girls was always present, which may explain why the colonial government rarely released girls from the Freed Slaves' Homes to male applicants. As a rule, girls were only given to "guardians who were married and of approved standing,"[45] although the rules were sometimes waived for European colonial officials before the 1907 reform.[46]

Interestingly, even though the British colonial government was reluctant to place freed slave girls with male guardians, particularly after the 1907 reform, almost all the applications for guardianship before and after the reform came from men. The available records that this writer is currently aware of show that just one guardianship application was submitted by a woman, Mrs. Porter. Even then, her request was rejected, as discussed above. The reason for the almost total absence of guardianship applications submitted directly by women can be understood within the nature of the colonial society. The male-dominated public sphere in which virtually all colonial officials and government employees in Northern Nigeria were men explains why nearly all applicants for guardianship were men. Although men mainly submitted guardianship applications, the twist was that most of the applicants requested children for or on behalf of their wives. For instance, Osborne, who requested two freed slave girls, as many other applicants

[45] C. N Ubah "The Colonial Administration in Northern Nigeria and the Problem of Freed Slave Children."

[46] Studies of liberated children in Sierra Leaone reveals that sexual abuse of girls by Europeans was not on common. See, Erika Malek Delgado

showed in their applications, clearly indicated that he wanted "the girls as domestic servants for his wife."[47]

Another significant aspect of the reform was that by the end of 1907, the government had altogether stopped placing wards from the Freed Slaves' Homes to guardians based outside the protectorate of Northern Nigeria. By this date, many applications for liberated children submitted by people resident in the Gold Coast colony and Sierra Leone were serially turned down. One application that was turned down is dated 26th July 1907. In this application, Mr. S. P. Longdon from Cape Coast requested four wards (two boys and two girls) from the Zungeru Home "for my children as servants." To strengthen his application, like other applicants who had earlier been granted guardianship of these formerly enslaved children, Longdon promised to take good care of the wards and also train them "in domestic and other useful work by my wife."[48] Longdon supported his application with an attestation letter by H. C.W Grimshaw, the Provincial Commissioner in Cape Coast Castle. In the attestation letter, Grimshaw described Longdon as a "highly respectful middle-aged man," who was "married in church." The Provincial Commissioner emphasized that Longdon had "a grown-up family and is considered comfortably off" to take care of the children he requested from the Freed Slaves' Home.[49] The attestation in support of Longdon's letter followed the usual need for a background check on the

[47] SNP 7/7, 3263/1906., A. Willoughby Osborne to the Acting High Commissioner, Application for Two Freed Slave Girls for His Wife as Domestic Servants, 9th September, 1906.

[48] SNP 7/8, 3035/1907, Mr. S. P. Longdon to the High Commissioner Northern Nigeria, Application for Four Freed Slave Wards, 26th July 1907.

[49] SNP 7/8, 3035/1907, H. C.W Grimshaw to the Colonial Secretary Accra, 5th October 1907, in Mr. S. P. Longdon to the High Commissioner Northern Nigeria, Application for Four Freed Slave Wards, 26th July 1907.

applicants by the colonial government in Northern Nigeria.[50] Longdon's application was summarily dismissed on the 14th of November 1907 based on the reform despite the favorable attestation. This confirmed the High Commissioner's ruling that "it is not advisable that these children should be placed with guardians outside the Protectorate."[51]

Similarly, in a guardianship application submitted in December 1907, Mr. R. W. Nugent of the Gold Coast requested "two slave girls of between 10 and 12 years of age."[52] The government denied Nugent's application in 1907 and those that followed in 1908 based on the same ruling; the government would no longer place children with guardians who lived outside the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria.[53]

Liberated Children in Domestic Work

Gender played a significant role in hiring liberated children from the Freed Slaves' Homes to guardians. The types of training that the liberated children received at the Homes either limited or enabled their chances to do domestic work. At the Homes, it should be stressed again that girls received training exclusively in such skills as laundry, sewing, and "nursing." Because girls were trained solely in such areas, it is not surprising that more girls found themselves in domestic sectors than boys. Despite the limited number of boys involved in domestic work, they proved as valuable as the girls in this sector.

---

[50]SNP 7/8, 3035/1907, Acting Colonial Secretary, Northern Nigeria to Colonial Secretary, Accra Gold Coast colony, 22nd August 1907, in Mr. S. P. Longdon to the High Commissioner Northern Nigeria, Application for Four Freed Slave Wards, 18th October, 1907.

[51] SNP 7/8, 3035/1907, Williams, Acting Colonial Secretary, Accra Gold Coast colony to the Acting Colonial Secretary, Northern Nigeria to 22nd August 1907.

[52] SNP 7/8, 4750/1907, R. W. Nugent, Application for Two Freed Slave Girls, 16th March 1907.

[53]SNP 7/9, 5580/1908, Secretary to the Administration, Northern Nigeria to Mrs A. Porter, Sekondi Gold Coast Colony, 23rd November 1908.

Most of the children who passed through the Freed Slaves' Homes served as domestic servants. According to the Freed Slaves' Homes' "monthly states," the "detail of decrease" has three primary means, namely; "married," "apprenticed," "died," and "others." Analysis of these monthly states and other periodic reports indicate that "apprenticed" or "sent to guardians" were the primary sources of the decrease at the Freed Slaves Homes. For instance, records of the Zungeru Home between 1904 and 1906 confirm that most children were allocated to guardians to do domestic work. From 1904 to 1906, 261 wards were sent to guardians as domestic servants while 134 inmates died, suggesting that apprenticed or placed with guardians represented the highest means of decrease in the Freed Slaves' Homes.[54]

It is good to differentiate between domestic servants and apprentices among the children sent to guardians. The majority of the children sent to guardians were domestic servants. The record for 1906 shows that, out of the ninety-three children sent to guardians, eighty-two were domestic servants while 8 were apprentices, just two were adopted.[55] Having established that the majority of the children hired out to work under guardians were domestic servants, it is crucial to examine the responsibilities of the liberated children while in their guardians' homes. What kind of work did the children as domestic servants do for their guardians?

The "nature of employment" column in the registers of disposal left behind by the Freed Slaves' Homes specifically used terms such as "Homework," "Servant to his wife" and "houseboy" to describe the nature of employment of the children placed with guardians. While the term "Homework" is not gender-specific, "Houseboy" and "servant to his wife" were terms reserved for boys and girls, respectively. In general, houseboys boiled water and carried luggage

[54] SNP 7/8, 813/1907, C. F. Rowe, 1906 Annual Report for the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru and Yearly balance Sheet., 8th March 1907; Also See SNP 15/1, ACC 121, Freed Slaves Homes, provincial Returns, 1906.

[55] Ibid.

for their guardians, among other duties. The Acting Treasurer of Northern Nigeria, F. G. Bagnall, used the liberated boys he acquired from a Freed Slaves' Home for such purposes in 1905 when he was traveling to Wushishi for Christmas break. In this regard, Bagnall informs us that he and his colleague packed food, camp furniture, and other necessaries and "sent them in charge of our boys to Wushishi." It is clear that the "boys" who trekked twelve miles from Zungeru with food and furniture were sent ahead of Bagnall and his colleague who "rode down to Wushishi] later in the day."[56]

The government ordered that the liberated children should receive wages for their labor. The proposal for wages was meant to foster the perception among the colonized that each of the liberated children hired out as domestic servants had a new status. As Lovejoy and Hogendorn have noted, Lugard realized the significance of the ex-slaves receiving wages, and he described the implication of children from Freed Slaves' Homes not receiving a wage from their guardians:

> The people of this country are apt to be unable to discriminate in these niceties. They see the Government seize a slave in transit for whom they have paid hard cash or whom they have received in liquidation of a just debt. If then the Government hands over the freed slave to be the domestic servant of a European or Non-Native Clerk without payment of wages they perceive no difference in its new status, and if the slave being a child, is not allowed to run away I confess that the difference, if it exists, is hard to see. I have, in my experience, known Missions to claim a property in their native

[56] F.G. Bagnall, Assistant Treasurer, A Year in Northern Nigeria in *The Colfeian, Being the Chronicle of the Old Boys of Colfe's Grammar School, Lewisham,* (Printed by Charles North, the Blackbeath, November 1905), 126-128. http://colfesarchive.daisy.websds.net/Filename.ashx?systemFileName=Colfeian_1905_011.pdf&origFilename=Colfeian_1905_011.pdf

> protégés which accentuated this undesirable position and those who desired to leave were prevented from doing so.[57]

In terms of wages, children were not to receive the same amount even in situations where the children performed the same functions. For instance, a nine-year-old boy Lowell assigned to Captain White, the Assistant Resident Wushishi, in December 1904, received food and clothing plus £4/- month as wage for "homework." Yet another boy of the same age, Abubokuri (assigned to Dr. Ellis in Sokoto), received food and cloth plus £3/- per month for doing the same job. Similarly, another boy Jailora, aged eight and assigned to Captain Gallagher, received food and cloth plus £5/- monthly.[58] At the Zungeru Home, although the Lady Superintendent suggested that boys from the Freed Slaves' Homes should receive £5/- per month in 1905,[59] liberated children were never paid the same wages following this suggestion.

In addition to revealing that boys did not receive the same wage, available evidence suggests a slight but consistent disparity in wages of boys and girls. For instance, in 1904, the government proposed £2/- monthly for girls. Consequently, girls such as Zambudi (aged 12) and Gatta III (aged 11) were placed on the same day in December 1904 with E. K Spencer (a Telegraph clerk) and J. Daniel (a Treasury clerk) were to receive food, clothing, and £2/-monthly as wages.[60] Whereas, Alhamdu, a ten-year-old boy assigned to Dr. Miller, had "food," "clothes," and £4 per month listed as his proposed wage, even though he had "home-work" listed for him

[57] Cited Paul E. Lovejoy and Jan S. Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery: The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria*, 1897-1936 (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 84.

[58]SNP 7/6, 150/1905, List of Wards placed with Guardians during December 1904 in C. F. Rowe, Report on the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, December 1904; SNP7/7, 97/1906, List of Wards placed with Guardians during December 1905, in Elizabeth Mitchel, Report of the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru, Decmber 1905.

[59] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Emily Jardine, to the Acting High Commissioner, Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for May 1905.

[60] SNP 7/6, 150/1905, List of Wards placed with Guardians during December 1904 in C. F. Rowe, Report on the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, December 1904.

under the nature of employment. Even a seven-year-old boy AllabeeraIII also had £4 per month in addition to food and clothes listed as his proposed wages with similar work as the girls mentioned above.[61]

Colonial officials recognized the pay gap between boys and girls, and at least one of them sought to explain this disparity in April 1904. In that month, a girl, Yotti, was placed with a guardian, apparently without the knowledge of the High Commissioner. One discovering this, the High Commissioner asked the Lady Superintendent, who authorized the girl's release to the guardian. He also asked her whether the girl was being paid wages. In her response, Jardine mentioned reminded the High Commissioner of a proposal that Yotti was "to receive nothing less than 4/pmm."[62] Yet, Jardine confirmed that up to that period, "no woman placed under guardianship has been in receipt of wages" since "the cost of clothing [of girls] being a consideration and much heavier than with boys."[63] In addition to explaining why girls received little or no wages, Jardine referred the High Commissioner to the new Freed Slaves' Homes Rules G.S.O 150 on the salaries of young women and girls, and she emphasized that the "money given for clothes might be considered as wages.[64]

It was not only freed slave girls that were not receiving wages for their domestic services. There is no evidence that any liberated child hired out received any pay. Therefore, this study suggests that in the absence of any proof of wages, these formerly enslaved children hired out from the Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria were only working for free. In the French colony of Senegal, evidence revealed that liberated children received wages only after they

[61] Ibid
[62]SNP 7/5, 1237/1904, Emily Jardine, Report on the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, March 1904.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.

reached the age of discretion, the expiration of guardianship.[65] The experience in Senegal confirms the tendency to exploit the labor of formerly enslaved children, and British Northern Nigeria was not an exception. All available evidence suggests that the liberated children were unpaid workers. Of course, the government charged prospective guardians fees after approving their applications. The records reveal that the guardians' fees and the wages they were "required" to pay the domestic servants formed part of the internal earnings of the Homes.

Despite the wage disparity in theory and the evidence/suggestion that liberated children from the Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria were unpaid workers, both boys and girls employed in domestic work proved very useful to their guardians. In many cases, some of the children assigned to guardians were, in addition to doing everyday domestic work, asked to perform industrial and agricultural duties. However they were employed, guardians occasionally gave feedback regarding their conduct to the Freed Slaves' Homes management. Such feedbacks were usually provided during the compulsory periodic inspections of children under guardians. In one of such inspections, the Cantonment Magistrate noted how children, particularly girls, benefitted their guardians. He specifically mentioned the "usefulness of some of these girls in sewing and laundry work." He emphasized that the valuable contribution of the girls was "the result of instruction when in the Home."[66]

Apart from giving relevant feedback during the periodic compulsory inspections, guardians also sometimes provided feedback through letters they sent to the management of the Freed Slaves' Homes. For instance, in one letter addressed to Mitchel, Dr. Blakiston Houston praised his domestic servant, Goori, who gave him "entire satisfaction during the eight months he has had him." Given the satisfaction that Goori gave Houston, it is not surprising that when he

[65] Kelly M. Duke Bryant, "Changing Childhood," 224.

[66] SNP 7/8 150 1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report on the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, February 1906.

was temporarily leaving Nigeria, he requested High Commissioner's permission to take his ward to Burutu and transfer him to Lt. E. Howell, who was coming in.[67]

In a related development, Mr. and Mrs. During (both natives of Sierra Leone) requested permission from the High commissioner to take their domestic servants with them to Sierra Leone. In his letter of request, Mr. During mentioned, "Since Rabi and Usuman become adopted into our family circle; they have developed remarkably both in their moral and industrial training and invariably manifest tokens of future usefulness." He also stated that in order "to be of greater usefulness in the long run" Rabi and Usuman needed to accompany their guardians to Sierra Leone, where they would receive elementary education, even if in the three 'Rs. The Resident of Muri understandably read During's letter before forwarding it to the High Commissioner. In so doing, he added comments to the letter in which he recommended the approval of During's request and in which he stated that the children under During were "very well cared for and brought up." On another occasion, when the children returned to Northern Nigeria with Mrs. During, specifically in September 1908, the Resident also stressed that Rabi and Usuman "are the best examples of freed slaves given as wards by High Commissioner that I have as yet encountered."[68]

Far from being a story of entire satisfaction, some guardians sent complaints to the Freed Slaves' Homes regarding the children assigned to them. Some of these complaints related to children not performing domestic duties to the satisfaction of their bosses. Others were related to children's refusing to reside with their guardians. For instance, on 26 March 1907, Mr.

[67] SNP 7/7, 303/1906, C. F. Rowe, to Secretary to the Administration, Northern Nigeria, Blakiston Houston- Application for Permission to Take his freed slave ward "Coori" to Burutu and to Transfer him to Howell, 1906.

[68]SNP 7/8, 3222/1907, Ben During to Resident Muri Province, 25th July 1907 in F. A Ruxton, the Resident of Muri Province, Mr. B. F. During- Permission to Take Freed Slave Wards Rabi and Usuman to Sierra Leone. 25th July 1907.

Wuthwich reported "A slave girl," Amina, who left his house a day earlier. According to Wuthwich, Amina "was led away by one of her friends."[69] This friend had stayed with her for a few days, only to leave with Amina on the night of March 5. Following Wuthwich's letter of complaint, the Cantonment Magistrate saw Amina in Pategi, but all efforts to "recapture" her proved unsuccessful. In the end, it was discovered that Amina was of the age of discretion, and the High Commissioner could "not see why the Slave Home Sup[intendent] should further trouble in the matter." Based on the High Commissioner's recommendation, her name was removed from records, and Captain Rowe, the Cantonment Magistrate of Zungeru, confirmed that "Amina now disappears from F.S.H books."[70]

In a separate but related case, even though one Mr. Hesse treated his ward well and considered her a member of the family, she refused to reside with her guardian. The girl in question preferred marrying a sergeant in the police department, but she was not allowed to do this because she was considered too young to marry. Rather than allowing her to marry the sergeant and considering that she refused to reside with her guardian, she was sent back to the Freed Slaves' Homes. On getting there, she threatened to commit suicide unless she was allowed to stay with her suitor's mother, pending the time she would be of age to get married to her sergeant lover.

Apart from refusing to reside with their guardians, liberated children sometimes sabotaged their masters or weakened the colonial system. F. G. Bagnal, Assistant Treasurer at Zungeru, was a victim of such sabotage. In his early days at Zungeru, no condenser was erected

[69] M. Wuthwich to Jardine, 26th March 1907, in C. F. Rowe, As to Where-about of Freed Slave Girl "Amina"/Ruling as to Recapture of Freed Slaves Leaving their Guardians.

[70] SNP 7/8, 1743/1907, C. F. Rowe, As to Where-about of Freed Slave Girl "Amina"/Ruling as to Recapture of Freed Slaves Leaving their Guardians

for filtering the water supplied to Europeans. Bagnal realized this and assigned his wards to regularly boil and filter the water he required. This process of boiling and filtering water was tedious, and Bagnal soon discovered that his "boys" would cheerfully omit this duty "if they were not strictly watched." Bagnal also found that freed slave children hired as domestic servants were "experts in the arts of pilfering- and obtaining situations under false pretenses." They manipulated the "books" provided to them by the guardians that were meant to help them secure another job quickly. It was not uncommon to see guardians give their boys such "books," only for the boys to pass them on to other boys. Thus, a boy seeking another employment could have two or three different names when looking for another job. To Bagnal's surprise, one boy presented a book that he had given to another boy a few days earlier. The boy was "surprised when I destroyed it!" he informs us.[71]

Unlike Bagnal, Mr. Osborne was less concerned about the sabotage activities of his ward than with her "intellect." From the moment he received the custody of the two girls assigned to him by the Zungeru Home around late November or early December 1906, he noted that "one seems somewhat deficient in intellect." Osborne decided to return that girl, Faliki, to the Zungeru Home for "being useless for domestic service" and on the suspicion that the Freed Slaves' Home management was aware of the defects in Faliki even before she left the Home.[72] Osborne's suspicion that the management's awareness was because he heard the older girl brought with Faliki, Azana, telling other domestic servants in his household "that the younger child (Faliki) had previously been twice sent out to service from the Home at Lokoja, and as often returned." Although Osborne knew "the value of corroboration of any statement made by a native," he was

[71] F.G. Bagnall, Assistant Treasurer, "A Year in Northern Nigeria," 126-128.

[72] SNP 7/7, 3263/1906, A. Willoughby Osborne to the Secretary to the Administration Northern Nigeria, 31st January, 1907.

convinced that Faliki's "own demeanor lent color to the story."[73] At some point, the Cantonment Magistrate became aware of Osborne's complaint, but he disagreed that Faliki was deficient in intellect, and he was in favor of receiving her back at the Zungeru Home. No wonder Osborne eventually arranged "for her to live elsewhere other than my house," for the fear that he was under obligation to abide by the agreement of guardianship.[74]

Even though the Freed Slaves' Homes management disagreed with Osborne over Faliki's intellect, most disagreements with guardians over whether liberated children were problematic were with African guardians. According to administrators like the Lady Superintendent at Zungeru, the problem had to do with the African guardians not living up to expectations. In March 1908, the Lady Superintendent complained that many small children should

> not [be] given out as domestic servants; more particularly to the native clerks, with regards to the latter, they are incapable of training a good domestic servant; the boys who go to him are unfitted to take service with a white man, and unfitted to take any trade afterward, they become drudges and slaves again…with regards to officers, many are most disappointed with our boys, and with good reasons; not one in thirty of these boys is adapted for domestic service. The Demand for them continues the supply is an order…by no means a pleasant duty for me, since I know by experience what the result in most cases will be; I do not deny exceptions few and far between." "[On the contrary] the boys are so willing and quick to learn such occupation as carpentry, tailoring, and shoemaking; and all who have been apprenticed do so well, that I beg your Excellency will urge the committee to consider this seriously again."[75]

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid.

[75],SNP 7/9, 2017/1908, Emily Jardine, Report of the Freed Slaves' Homes Zungeru for March 1908.

The Lady Superintendent's criticism may relate to the general tendency to blame Africans as the ones not treating the liberated children well.[76] Whatever the case, while she was against sending children to serve under African guardians, she favored sending boys to government departments as apprentices. The following section will focus on the experiences of such apprentices.

Liberated Children and apprenticeship

Apprenticeship in Northern Nigeria had a different meaning from the apprenticeship available elsewhere in Africa and outside Africa. For instance, the most common form of apprenticeship was placing the formerly enslaved with former masters or private individuals for a fixed period in preparation for and transition to wage labor. In Northern Nigeria, apprenticeship meant putting the freed slave children in government departments as messengers, interpreters, and others. Most of the children who served as apprentices were boys. The government assigned these boys as apprentices to colonial departments and individuals. The unique skills that these boys acquired in the course of training at the Homes, made them particularly very suitable for a different form of work in various government departments.

Jardine always emphasized the central place of apprenticeship in the overall existence of the Freed Slaves' Homes. In the relevant reports she left behind, she stressed the increasing monthly demands for boys as apprentices. Jardine also noted in one of the reports that, Owing to the large demand for boys … there are now only very small boys left in the Home" and that "The demands for those children by no means decrease and the report from wards continue to give

[76] See E. Melek Delgado, "Children, Childhood and Slavery in Sierra Leone: The Experiences of Liberated African Children, 1808-1834." A PhD diss. (University of Worcester, 2017).

satisfaction."[77] It is safe to conclude that Jardine was praising the apprentice boys, given that she criticized the boys who were not good at domestic work.

The increasing demands for boys as apprentices affected their learning at the Freed Slaves' Homes. Mitchell was less impressed with the progress in boys' classes than with the advancement in girls' classes in 1906. She blamed this situation on the "More frequent changes in the boys' classes owing to the demand, and as a rule, the most intelligent are those sent out as wards.[78] Although sending out boys as apprentices affected their learning, the government considered the apprenticeship system an excellent opportunity for the boys.[79] Indeed, even though Mitchell and Jardine sometimes disagreed, they both agreed that apprenticeship affected boys' learning. Still, they also agreed that it served as an opportunity for the boys to develop themselves.

Most boys were apprenticed to the government departments such as Public Works, Transport, and Marine departments. In government departments, apprentices performed various functions, including serving as messengers. Government departments, particularly the Public Works Department, derived benefits from using forced labor. According to Mohammed Bashir Salau, the PWD extensively used "forced labour of slaves and convicts in colonial Northern Nigeria."[80] In addition to the labor of slaves and convicts, the Public Works Department and Marine department were already using the labor of the apprentices they recruited from the Freed Slaves' Homes as early as 1904.

---

[77]SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Emily Jardine, Report of the Freed Slaves' Home Zungeru, April 1906.

[78] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of the Freed Slaves' Home Zungeru, April 1906.

[79] SNP 7/8,, 2720/1907, C. F. Rowe to the Secretary of Administration, 16th July 1907, in H. B. Hemans to Cantonment Magistrate Zungeru, 24th June 1907.

[80] Mohammed Bashir Salau, "Convict Labour in Early Colonial Northern Nigeria: a Preliminary Study," in *From Dust to Digital: Ten Years of the Endangered Archives Programme,* edited by Maja Kominko *(*Open Book Publisher, 2015), 305-313.

The Lady Superintendents were advocates of sending more boys to government departments as apprentices. In May 1905, Jardine made a solid recommendation to the High Commissioner that small boys should be allowed to go to officers as apprentices.[81] In April 1906, eight big boys from the Zungeru Home were apprenticed, six to the Transport Department and two to the Marine.[82] In May 1906, six more boys were apprenticed to the Public Works Department and two boys to the Marine department under colonial administration.[83]

There was a symbiotic relationship between the Freed Slaves' Homes and the government departments. As noted in the previous chapter, the colonial administration, in many cases, sent experts from the PWD and Transport Department as instructors to train the boys in using tools.[84] It was, therefore, no coincidence that most of the boys were apprenticed to the Public Works Department. At the Freed Slaves Homes, the boys showed great interest and enthusiasm in different sets of training, particularly carpentry, and some of them even desired to practice the vocational trade they learned to earn a living. At the Zungeru Home, for instance, some boys showed great enthusiasm in carpentry and informed the Lady Superintendent of their interest in becoming carpenters.[85] In situations in which boys expressed such interest, the Lady Superintendent did not waste time in recommending that "the more intelligent" among them be allowed to serve as apprentices.[86] Even when there was no opening for apprentices in Public Work Department Zungeru, as the case in March 1906, Mitchell applied to PWD and Marine

[81] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Emily Jardine, Report of the Freed Slaves' Home Zungeru, May 1905.

[82] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of the Freed Slaves' Home Zungeru, April 1906.

[83] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, List of Wards to Guardians May 1906, in Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of the Freed Slaves' Home Zungeru, May 1906.

[84] SNP 7/9 606/1909, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report on the Freed Slaves Home for the Quarter ending December 1908. See also SNP 7/9, 2017/1908.

[85]SNP 7/5, 2064/1904, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of the Freed Slaves' Home Zungeru, June 1904.

[86] Ibid.

Department both at Lokoja to take two boys from the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru as apprentices.[87] Mitchell was very confident that these boys would do well as apprentices in government departments, judging from their good conduct and work in the Home.[88]

Although some boys from the Freed Slaves' Homes showed interest in a particular craft or trade, they could not control where, how, and to whom the government apprenticed. The colonial government made the choice of whom to work for and where to work on behalf of the children. In addition to colonial government departments, the Freed Slaves' Homes boys were also were apprenticed to individuals, albeit in a lower number. For instance, in 1906, J. Opobo (a registered tailor in Zungeru received a boy Abugalla II aged 13 as an apprentice,[89] while J. B. Sagoe, a Leatherworker, received a boy Malakinga aged 9 as an apprentice.[90] In 1907 the Freed Slaves' Homes' Zungeru received applications for two boys from Gold Coast. The colonial government in Northern Nigeria approved the requests, as the government always considered "it a good opportunity" for the boys to be apprenticed "to a very respectable person in the Gold Coast."[91] In 1908, Mr. Loo, a photographer, also obtained a boy as an apprentice.[92]

Lugard's position on the need to give wages to domestic servants also applied to the apprentices. In May 1905, he did not approve a proposal for the employment of boys by officers in government departments without payment of wages because it was contrary to the G.S.O.

[87] SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Mitchell Mitchell, Report of the Freed Slaves' Home Zungeru, March 1906.

[88],SNP 7/8, 150/1907, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of the Freed Slaves' Home Zungeru, April 1906.

[89] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Elizabeth Mitchell, List of wards taken over by Guardians, November 1905, in Emily Jardine, Report fo the Freed Slaves' Home Zungeru November 1905.

[90] , SNP 7/7, 97/1906, C. F. Rowe, List of Wards allotted to Guardians in February 1905, in Report on the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for February 1905.

[91] , SNP 7/8, 2720/1907, C. F. Rowe to the Secretary of the Administration, 16th July 1907, in H. B Hemans, Application for Freed Slave Boy from the Freed Slaves Home, 24th June 1907.

[92] SNP 7/10,1763/1909, Cantonment Magistrate, Annual Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru.

Again, the Master and Servant Proclamation of 1902 "carefully distinguished between free servants working for wages and fugitive slaves obtaining their subsistence through payment in kind for their labor." Lugard emphasized the necessity for apprentices, particularly boys aged ten to thirteen, to receive wages when apprenticed to government departments.[93] Like the High Commissioner Lugard, the Cantonment Magistrate Rowe also insisted that boys detailed as apprentices to government departments should receive wages. He declined a request in 1906 that two ex-slave boys be detailed to the judicial department as messengers (apparently to render services for free). In rejecting this request, he maintained that "these boys earnings are a source of resource and again it would create a precedence which other officers who now pay for the services of such boys would not be slow to take advantage of."[94]

It should be mentioned that higher wages were proposed for boys apprenticed to government departments and individuals in most cases than those proposed for domestic servants. For instance, 6 boys who were apprenticed to the Transport Department in May 1906 were slated to receive a wage of E10 a month each.[95] Even small boys who went to officers as apprentices were to receive a wage of 5/per.[96] The high wages of the apprentices in comparison to domestic servants may have to do with the fact that feeding and clothing were not listed in the proposed wage for the apprentices, as it was for domestic servants.

The apprenticeship system continued to feature in the reports of the Freed Slaves' Homes till the Government Freed Slaves' Homes were closed in 1909. Even as the colonial

[93] See Lovejoy and Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery*.

[94] SNP 7/7, 4657/1906, C. F. Rowe, to the Secretary to the Administration, 7th November, 1906, in Chief Justice, Requesting services of two Freed Slave Boys as Messenger, Judicial Department, 5th November, 1906.

[95] SNP 7/8, 150/1907,.Elizabeth Mitchell, List of Wards to Guardians May 1906, in Report of the Freed Slaves' Home Zungeru may 1906.

[96] SNP 7/7, 97/1906, Emily Jardine, Report of the Freed Slaves' Home Zungeru, May 1905. .

administration made arrangements to close down the Freed Slaves' Homes and hand the children to the missionaries, the Zungeru Home continued to send boys as apprentices to various government departments. By May 1908, there was a shortage of big boys at the Zungeru Home. This shortage was linked to the apprenticeship system, and one of its consequences was that the "punkah" pulling, which constituted a significant source of internally generated revenue, was now left in hands of very small boys. Indeed, even the Lady Superintendent Zungeru complained that the Punkah boys were too small for the work, and she observed that they were only being employed in that task because there were no other boys to supply for the Punkah pulling as the bigger boys had been sent away.[97]

Conclusion

Gender played a crucial role in the distribution of the liberated children from the Freed Slaves' Homes to the guardians and the types of work they did for their guardians. Girls were disproportionately hired out as domestic servants while only boys exclusively found "opportunities" in colonial government departments as apprentices. The gendered training at the Homes meant that girls who were being prepared almost exclusively for marriage were trained in domestic duties, while boys were trained in different vocational skills that enhanced their opportunities as apprentices in colonial government departments. Despite the specific and gendered types of work they performed, the liberated children from the Freed Slaves' Homes were found very useful as domestic servants and government apprentices.

For the labor they performed in the domestic sphere and government departments, the children were meant to receive wages. The Government and Lugard, in particular, emphasized

[97] SNP 7/9, 2872/1908, Emily Jardine, Report of the Freed Slaves' Home Zungeru, May 1908.

the importance of wages for the ex-slaves, emphasizing that wage was the only thing that would differentiate the liberated children from slaves. As the study reveals, the payment of wages to the liberated children who became domestic servants and apprentices was only in theory. In practice, this set of formerly enslaved children were unpaid workers who were working for free. Although wages were made compulsory, and indeed amounts to be received by the freed slave children were listed in the Registers of "disposal" (to guardians), no evidence indicates that formerly enslaved children received wages.

In place of wages, the registers of disposal and lists of wards placed with guardians reveal that "feeding," "Clothing," and "training in school" were listed as wages of the formerly enslaved children who were engaged in domestic services and other related labor. One of the British colonial officials further confirmed this when the said official justified that "clothes might be considered as wages."[98] Even though the guardians were sometimes required to pay the wages, there is no evidence that this was implemented. And in sporadic cases, when guardians seemed to pay for the domestic and related labor they did, the wages did not get to the formerly enslaved children themselves. Instead, the guardians paid those in charge of the Freed Slaves' Homes, who received the wages as part of the internally generated revenue. Captain Rowe, the Cantonment Magistrate Zungeru who directly supervised the Zungeru Home, confirmed this when he stated that the wages for the domestic services performed by the liberated children were a source of revenue for the Freed Slaves Homes. (See Chapter Two)

Despite the lack of evidence that domestic servants and apprentices received wages, the formerly enslaved children placed with guardians in most cases cooperated with the system of guardianship and apprenticeship. The reports of satisfaction by the guardians confirm the general

[98],SNP 7/5, 1237/1904, Emily Jardine, Report of the Freed Slaves' Home Zungeru, March 1904. .

well behavior and “productivity” of the domestic servants and apprenticeship. However, in some cases, the liberated children rebelled and challenged the system of guardianship through a variety of actions such as running away, disobedience, and others. The cooperation with and their rebellion against guardianship and apprenticeship by the formerly enslaved children were influenced by the treatments they received from their guardians, who sometimes still mistreated these children, despite the government surveillance.

CHAPTER SIX

Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Home: Change and Continuity

In 1915, Blair, a senior Sanitary officer in Kaduna, inspected the general conditions of the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Home. To his astonishment, while inspecting the structure, he bumped into a young woman who had been a child at the Borno Home.[1] It is interesting that Blair himself was in charge of the Borno Home while the young woman was there and that he demitted this charge in 1906 or shortly before the Borno Home was closed.[2] The story of Blair and the unnamed girl exemplifies the continuity between the Government Freed Slaves' Homes and the SUM's Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home. Like this unnamed young woman, many freed slave children at the defunct Government Freed Slaves' Homes were transferred to the Lucy Home and handed over to the Sudan United Mission. Also, like Blair, the government and its officials continued to feature in the operation of the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home and in looking after the liberated slaves in Northern Nigeria in general.

The chapter offers an important historiographical contribution to the literature on the Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria. The important work by Virginia and Frank Salamones extends the study of the Freed Slaves' Homes beyond the government's institutions and beyond the period previously studied by Olusanya and Ubah. Although the Salamones' work is important, it offers little comparative analysis. The position herein is that to fully understand the broader history of the Freed Slaves' Homes, there is a need for more comparative analysis of the

[1] SNP 17/2, Vol1/10228, Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Home_Wukari_1915.

[2] Ibid.

Lucy Home and the government-owned Homes. To be sure, such a comparative study will allow us to understand better the extent of the colonial government's involvement and influence on the operations and management of the Lucy Home.

Olusanya and Ubah, in their separate studies, concluded that the British colonial government in Northern Nigeria closed down the Borno and Zungeru Homes largely because of financial consideration and that the closing of these government-owned Homes marked the end of an era or beginning of a new one in the history of Freed Slaves' Homes. They argued that the state transferred the burden of looking after the formerly enslaved children to the Sudan United Mission. Evidence in this chapter reveals that the government was never in doubt of its moral and constitutional obligation to provide for the liberated children. Although it provided financial support to the Lucy Home, the government was also concerned about the financial implication of running the Freed Slaves' Homes or about the cost of staff salaries and allowances. The government's continued participation, albeit a reduced one, undermines the notion that the Lucy Home was radically different from the state-owned Homes in terms of functions, operations, and management.

This chapter has four sections. The first comments on the origins of the Lucy Home. The second considers the transfer of children from the government-owned Homes to the Lucy Home. The third and fourth examine the continuity and change in the structure, management, funding, and operations of the Freed Slaves' Homes. They also consider the children's experiences in the Lucy Home and labor-related issues compared to the government-owned Homes.

The Origins of the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Home

The Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home was opened in 1909 when the last government-owned Freed Slaves Home at Zungeru was closed. Yet the history of Lucy Home did not begin in 1909. The Sudan United Mission (SUM) that founded and managed the Lucy Home had been very active in missionary work in Northern Nigeria since the early 1900s, and it was in 1909/1910 that the Lucy Home joined the projects of the SUM in Northern Nigeria. The overall goal of the SUM's missionary works in Africa and Northern Nigeria, in particular, was to make Christianity more accessible to Africans. It was in furthering this goal of evangelization that the SUM established the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home in Northern Nigeria. To fully grasp the importance of evangelization and other factors in the establishment of the Lucy Memorial Home, it is important to discuss the activities of SUM in Africa with a particular focus on Northern Nigeria.

The SUM came into being on November 13, 1902, with the original name of Sudan Pioneer Mission (SPM). It was on 15 June 1904, after extensive consultations, that this name was changed to Sudan United Mission (SUM).[1] Karl Kumm and Lucy Kumm were the central figures in the establishment of the Sudan United Mission. Karl and Lucy got married in 1900. Before their marriage, both Kumm and Lucy (formerly Lucy Guinness) had a rich history of missionary work and social activism. On her part, Lucy had served as the editor of *Regions and Beyond*, a Mission publication. In addition, Lucy had also worked as an undercover in a factory where she exposed the maltreatment of female workers. She chronicled the sad experience of young female

[1] https://dacb.org/stories/nigeria/windibirizi-david/.

factory workers in *Only a Factory Girl*, published in 1886 when she was just 21.[2] Karl Kumm, on the other hand, had been a member of the North African Mission in Egypt, where he had learned Arabic and Hausa.[3] Although Lucy and Karl were the central figures in the founding of the SUM, the original idea for the mission's presence in Sub-Saharan Africa came from Guinness, Lucy's father.[4]

One of the main objectives of the founding and presence of the SUM in Sub-Saharan Africa was to serve as a check on the spread and expansion of Islam in Africa. Islam had dominated in Sub-Saharan Africa particularly in the West and East Africa, with Islamic (Arabic) language and culture serving as "a useful lingua franca among the merchants from diverse ethnic groups."[5] Islam had continued to have a particularly enduring influence in West Africa, and by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Islamic reformist states had been established including the Sokoto Caliphate. Sokoto Caliphate, at its peak, covered most of present-day Northern Nigeria, parts of Niger, and Cameroon.[6] Through the Sokoto Caliphate, Islam continued to be influential and dominant in Northern Nigeria through the establishment of the British colonial rule in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[7] It is this predominance of Islam in Sub-

[2] Virginia A. Salamone and Frank A. Salamone, *The Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Homes: The Sudan United Mission and the British Colonial Government in Partnership,* (Maryland, USA, University Press of America, 2008), 2.

[3] https://dacb.org/stories/nigeria/windibirizi-david/.

[4] https://dacb.org/stories/nigeria/windibirizi-david/

[5] Jacob K. Olupona, *African Religions: A very Short Introduction*, (Oxford University Press, 2014), 89.

[6] Bernard Salvaing, "Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa, 800-1900," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Islam in Africa*, edited by Fallou Ngom et al, (2020), 29.

[7] For recent important works on the influence of the Sokoto caliphate, See among other Paul E. Lovejoy, *Jihad in West Africa during the Age of Revolution.* (Ohio, Ohio University Press, 2016) and Mohammad Bashir Salau, *Plantation Slavery in Sokoto Calipath: A Comparative and Historical Studies* (New York, University of Rochester, 2018)..

Saharan Africa, particularly in the region that became Northern Nigeria, that the SUM wanted to challenge. As SUM's Karl declared, the primary goal "is to counteract the Moslem advance among the Pagan tribes in the Benue region." [8]

In July 1904, Karl and three other missionaries sailed to Nigeria. On the recommendation of the High Commissioner Lugard, Karl and his entourage settled around the town of Wase, less than eighty miles from the Benue River. The choice of the Benue region was partly because it was considered a fertile ground for evangelization and missionary work since it had a significant "pagan" population.[9] Focusing on the "pagan" population was central to SUM's ambition of challenging the Islamic dominance in Northern Nigeria. Challenging Islamic expansion in Northern Nigeria "cannot be done by going to the Mohammedans," argued Karl who declared that "Our work will lie among the pagan tribes."[10] SUM's operation among the "pagan tribes" made sense since the British colonial administration was not ready to alienate the Muslim rulers in Northern Nigeria.

Another important goal for the founding of the SUM was to help in putting an end to slavery in Africa. Within a short period of settling at Wase, the SUM quickly progressed, expanding from Benue to other non-Muslim parts of Northern Nigeria including Yola. Benue and Yola regions became central to the missionary (and abolitionist) activities of the Sudan United Mission. It should be stressed that Benue and Yola constituted important sources of the (liberated) slaves in Northern Nigeria, owing to the prevalence of enslavement and slave dealing in these areas. As noted in chapter two, Yola was notorious for slave dealings, and many children put in the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru were liberated in Yola province. To the SUM, abolition

[8] Cited in Salamone and Salamone, *The Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Homes*, 10.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

and evangelization went hand in hand, and it is within the context that the SUM decided to establish a Home for the liberated slaves named the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home.

The Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home derived its name from Lucy, who died shortly before its founding. It was a memorial for Lucy, who helped to establish the S. U. M. and who devoted herself "to the cause of the oppressed and downtrodden" throughout her life. Before her death, Lucy and Karl were committed to the moral and mental enlightenment of the people in Africa.[11] Following Lucy's death, members of the SUM and friends of Karl decided to found a Memorial to her life and work. In a unanimous decision, these members of the SUM agreed that the "most suitable Memorial would be a Home for the Freed Slave Boys and Girls of Northern Nigeria."[12] Lucy's last book, *Our Slave State*, reveals her concerns for "the poor, dark, homeless and parentless little ones of Africa,"[13] and Karl argued that establishing a Home for such children in her memory was appropriate.

By April 1908, the S. U. M. forwarded a proposal to the government regarding taking over the then-only state-run Zungeru Home. As negotiations regarding this proposal were ongoing, the Sudan United Mission was deciding on where to locate the buildings that would accommodate the freed slave children. Initially, it proposed to erect the Freed Slaves Home at Ibi, where it also proposed to make the headquarters for the Mission. After much investigation, "Ibi was found to be a Mohammedan town, and therefore closed for Mission purposes."[14]

After deciding against erecting relevant structures at Ibi, the S. U. M. proposed locating its Freed Slaves Home and Agricultural Settlement "at Udeni, a small pagan town near the

[11]SNP 7/9, 751/1908.

[12] Salamone and Salamone, *The Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Homes*, 55.

[13] Ibid.

[14] SNP 7/9, 751/1908.

junction of the Modu River with Benue." An agricultural settlement was proposed along with the Freed Slaves Home so that the liberated slave children would also receive industrial and agricultural training in addition to "religious instruction."[15]

To confirm whether Udeni was a suitable site for the Lucy Home, the SUM carried out the necessary investigation. It appointed A. E. Martin, an experienced farmer from Kansas, U.S.A., to lead this investigation. Following the conclusion of the investigations, Martin strongly advised against locating the Lucy Home at Udeni.

It is notable that while carrying out the aforementioned investigation, Martin found that Rumasha, on the Benue River between Lokoja and Udeni, was "suitable in every way" for the Lucy Home.[16] Rumasha was a town of about twelve to fifteen hundred inhabitants. Unlike Ibi, Rumasha, in Martin's judgment, was predominantly inhabited by non-Muslims. For Martin, the indigenous people of Rumasha were known as the Quattah or Quatto, people whom Martins considered "pagans." Although he found that there were Hausa and Nupe traders in Rumasha, Martin stressed that these traders were only nominal Muslims. He concluded that they were nominal Muslims partly because he could not find any mosque around the settlement. Consequently, based on the conclusion "that the Mohammedans are not yet very strong there,"[17] Martin recommended that the Lucy Home be located at Rumaisha.

After its establishment, the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home would remain in Rumasha until 1917 when it was relocated to Wukari. This time, environmental and health factors played an important role in this relocation. Rumasha was notorious for tsetse flies and mosquitoes, and in a letter to the Governor-General, the Acting Superintendent of the Lucy

[15] SNP 7/9, 751/1908, Sir William Wallace, Acting Governor, Mr. Martin report.

[16] Ibid.

[17] SNP 7/9, 751/1908.

Home Dr. Forbes declared that "the present site of the Home is far from satisfactory as regards the health." Given the significant presence of many tsetse flies and mosquitoes in Rumasha, it was considered dangerous for liberated children, particularly those already emaciated, to live in such an environment. Indeed as they were settled at Rumasha, many children suffered sleeping sickness and other similar illnesses.

In addition to concerns about the children's health, there was concern about the health of staff members. These staff members were not immune from sicknesses caused by tsetse and mosquitoes; hence many of them eventually had serious health problems.[18] One female staff member, who had sleeping sickness, was flown to London for treatment at the Hospital for Tropical Diseases. The lady in question eventually returned to Nigeria after two years, but her doctor warned that she should never reside at Rumasha again.

Earlier in 1915, Dr. Blair had investigated the health conditions at the Lucy Home in Rumasha. He concluded, among others, that the "site is an unhealthy and dangerous one" and that "tsetse flies are plentiful." Nonetheless, he did not advocate for immediate removal from Rumashain part because the Lucy Home was an institution "dying a natural death" as "most of the inmates would have reached the age limits in a very few years, and new freed slaves no longer come in." After all, "a move means money: and Mission Societies are particularly hardly hit, financially, by the war."[19] It is notable that at about the time in which Blair arrived at such conclusions, Wukari was free from tsetse flies, and it was deemed by far a healthier alternative, according to Dr. Forbes.[20]

[18] SNP 17/2, Vol1/10228, Governor-General to Dr. Forbes (Acting Superintendent)'s, January 23rd, 1917.

[19] SNP 17/2, Vol1/10228, Blair.

[20] SNP 17/2, Vol1/10228, Forbes to the Governor-General, February 19th, 1917; Salamone and Salamone, *The Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Homes*.

The Transfer of The Government-Owned Freed Slaves' Homes to The Sudan United Mission

The Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home was officially opened in August 1910, when the Acting Governor of Northern Nigeria, Sir William Wallace, commissioned the Home.[21] However, before this date, the government toyed with transferring Freed Slaves' Homes to missionary bodies. For instance, by 1904, both the Deputy High Commissioner and the Resident of Muri Division requested that the Sudan United Mission "take over the running of the Freed Slaves' Homes" already in existence or "open a freed Slaves' Home" in Muri.[22] Missionaries had been part of the history and development of the government-owned Freed Slaves' Homes. However, the involvement of missionaries was limited to assisting in teaching the children.

Unlike the Deputy High Commissioner and the Resident of Muri, Lugard was initially not a fan of handing the liberated children and/or the Freed Slaves' Homes to missionaries. In the early 1900s, when W. S. Sharpe, the Resident of Lokoja, suggested that the government collaborate with the C.M.S Mission in caring for the liberated children, Lugard rejected this suggestion. One of the major reasons he rejected the suggestion is related to concerns that missionaries would convert the freed slaves to Christianity.[23] As noted earlier, Lugard was against the conversion of the freed slaves by missionaries because he feared that their conversion would frustrate and jeopardize his administration, which was based on an alliance with influential Muslim rulers.

[21] SNP 7/9, 751/1908.

[22] Salamone and Salamone, 54.

[23] G. O Olusanya, "Freed Slaves' Homes: An Unknown Aspect of Northern Nigerian Social History," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria,* 3, No.3 (1966): 525.

By 1907, the government had embraced the idea of abolishing the Freed Slaves' Homes and handing them over missionary bodies. Thus, in 1907, it closed the Borno Home. Two years later, the government also closed the more influential Zungeru Home, and this brought to an end decade-long government ownership of institutions that were meant to address the problems of the liberated children.

The closing of the government-owned Freed Slaves' Homes followed concerns raised over the viability of the Homes in 1906. Consequently, in July 1907, the government set up a committee to investigate certain matters connected with the functions and operations of the Freed Slaves' Homes. The committee had the task of examining whether the training at the Homes would lead the children into self-sufficiency when they became adults. According to the report, the committee should determine whether the Freed Slaves' Homes children would become "people who can hold their own unaided, among their own people and in their native environment and working at the same industries with the same implements and methods." After completing its investigation, the Committee was not in favor of the state ownership of the Zungeru Home. Put differently, "The Committee, having carefully gone into the regime and internal economy of the Home at Zungeru, considers that life in the existing Freed Slaves Homes is not likely to result in the inmates becoming 'self-supporting' and 'useful members of society.'" [24]

In place of state ownership of the Zungeru Home, the Committee suggested that the government hand over the ownership and running of the Freed Slaves Home to Christian missions. According to the committee, the government should approach "the Missions with a

[24] SNP 7/8 2823/1907.

view to their consenting to the taking over of the existing inmates in question."[25] It was this Committee's report that helped to water down Lugard's (or, more broadly, the government's) initial reluctance to hand over the Freed Slaves' Homes to missionaries. Another factor that encouraged the government to close the Zungeru Home and hand over the existing wards to missionaries relates to the cost of operating the Homes. Indeed, the economic consequences of running the Home had weighed on the administration. It was within the framework of the financial implication of running the Freed Slaves' Homes that the government closed down the Zungeru Home on 10 August 1909 and handed over to the representatives of the SUM at Rumasha 155 children from the defunct Zungeru Home.[26]

Structure and Management

There is not yet much information about the physical structures or buildings of the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home. However, from the limited available information, it can be suggested that physical structures at the Lucy Home were modeled after those in the former government Freed Slaves' Homes. In 1915, Crane assessed the set-up of the Lucy Home. In so doing, he noted that the SUM housed the children in native huts instead of European housing. According to him, "the girls and the boys quartered in round mud huts with grass roofs." This arrangement could have been made based on the philosophy of the British administrators in Northern Nigeria that the children should be trained for "native" life. If this suggestion is right, then this is a sharp contradiction to the SUM's claim of operating a civilizing mission in Northern Nigeria. According to one SUM official, "It is the desire of the Director of Sudan

[25] Ibid.

[26] SNP 7/9, 751/1908.

United Mission to assist the representatives of His Majesty's government in the education and civilization of the natives of Northern Nigeria."[27]

The security of the children at the Lucy Home was a priority. Consequently, at the Lucy Home, few European staff members were made to live close to the children. For instance, one European lady lived in the girls' compound to monitor activities, while one or more men lived within the boys' compound. As archival records reveal, at a point, Mr. Tulloch and one other unnamed European male lived within the boys' compound. Although the security of all the children was taken seriously, particular attention was paid to the security of the girls at the Lucy Home. For this reason, the compound housing the girls was fenced with unclimbable iron fencing and barbed wire.

In running the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home, the SUM carried out the day-to-day management activities while the government supervised (albeit in a limited way) or monitored this missionary management team. Considering the government's continuing involvement with the Lucy Home affairs, especially those concerning the children, it is not surprising that the structure of management at the government level, as with the relevant structure of the defunct Borno and Zungeru Homes, involved the Governor[28] at the highest level.

Like the previous government-owned Freed Slaves' Homes, the staff involved in the day-to-day running of the Lucy Home consisted of European and African members. The European staff included the Supervisors, the Superintendent, teachers, and the medical man. The evidence indicates that Mr. Martin and Dr. McCullough were some of the notable Superintendents of the Lucy Home, while Dr. Forbes served as an acting Superintendent. It is not easy to determine the

[27] Ibid.

[28] During the 1910s, the political structure of Nigeria was reorganized and the position of Governor replaced the High-Commissioner.

number of staff in Lucy Home, and numbers may vary from year to year. In one particular year, the Lucy Home staff consisted of the Acting Superintendent (Mr. Forbes), his wife, the medical man, two European ladies, and African staff.[29] It could be suggested that the two European ladies were teachers. Unlike the European staff, we know very little or nothing about the role of the African staff. In 1920, the Lucy Home had three European Staff and six Nigerian staff members. While the African staff members were unnamed in available records, the European staff is said to include manager H. G. Farrant, and two teachers with English certificates, Miss Rimmer and Miss Overy.[30] It is safe to suggest that the African staff played the familiar roles of the matron and such others.

The Lucy Home also used pupil teachers technically as part of the staff. These pupil teachers were probably the older children who were advanced in education. Like in the previous government Freed Slaves' Homes, the pupil teachers at the Lucy Home typically assisted the main staff who had a more demanding schedule. One report reveals the importance of the pupil teachers in training the younger children at the Freed Slaves' Homes. In 1921, according to this report, the Lucy Home had three European staff and three Pupil teachers.[31]

Funding

A major difference between the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home and the Government-owned Freed Slaves' Homes is in funding. Like the government-owned Homes, the Lucy Home received funds from different organizations and partially from the government. It should be stressed that funding was one of the significant issues discussed by relevant parties in the process

[29] SNP 17/2, Vol1/10228.

[30] Salamone and Salamone, 58.

[31] Salamone and Salamone, 62.

of transferring children from the Zungeru Home to the Lucy Home. Indeed, how to cover the cost of maintaining the children transferred to the Lucy Home and to cover the cost of Lucy Home's staff salary was a source of serious contestations and debates among the representatives of both the government and the SUM who carefully negotiated the cost of running the Lucy Home.

When the government was transferring the children from the Zungeru Home to the Lucy Home, the belief was that the financial burden would be transferred to the SUM. There are many factors responsible for the closing of the Zungeru Homes, but it should be stressed that financial consideration was perhaps the most important. Indeed the government administrators accepted that closing the Zungeru Home was a win only in terms of financial benefits.[32] On moral grounds, however, many government administrators conceded that the government still had a moral responsibility to support the maintenance of formerly enslaved children. One such official noted that closing the Zungeru Home was desirable only "if financial considerations alone are to be borne in mind and not the ultimate good effected upon these children's lives and future."[33] In addition to moral obligations, some leading administrators argued for the continued support of the maintenance of the formerly enslaved children on constitutional grounds. According to Wallace, the government needed to continue to support the maintenance of liberated children transferred to the Lucy Home on constitutional grounds. For Wallace, these children were practically the government's wards.[34] It was based on this understanding that the government agreed to support the cost of running the Lucy Memorial Home.

[32] SNP 7/9, 751/1908.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

Representatives of the SUM involved in negotiation regarding the transfer of liberated children to the Lucy Home requested, among other things, that:

1. That the total grant from Government and private funds should not be less than the cost of maintenance of the children;
2. That the administrative charge be proportionate to the number of children transferred;
3. That a portion of Zungeru staff be transferred to or assist temporarily at Rumasha;
4. Government to pay the cost of removal;
5. Government to give any useful furniture from Zungeru or Borno Home;
6. Government to give a grant to the hospital.[35]

The government approved most of these requests but asked for the following concessions:

1. For expenses per head of wards transferred, a grant until death or departure from the Mission, the age of 14 for a boy or 15 for a girl, or until the transfer to the Mission of the present charitable bequests of 1d. per diem;
2. Transfer of current charitable grants E220, but to be included in the capitation grant in (a);
3. For administrative expenses, E350 in the first year diminished by E50 per annum.[36]

Although the government was willing to support the children financially for their transfer to the Lucy Home on moral and constitutional grounds, it was not committed to funding the Lucy Home staff. Laying off the Zungeru Home staff amounted to some financial benefits for the government. Thus, top government officials maintained that the government would not only

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

"benefit financially by the abolition of the headquarters staff," but it was also "economical and advisable to pay the maintenance in food and clothing of the children [only]."[37]

Despite its reluctance to fund the Lucy Home staff, the government transferred some Zungeru Home staff members along with liberated children to the Lucy Home. The Lady Superintendent and a few African workers that the government moved to the Lucy Home in Rumasha meant to aid or ease the smooth transitioning at the Lucy Home. The government accepted to pay "for emoluments of the Staff for the period of one month from the date of arrival at Rumasha," although it is not certain if it fulfilled this commitment. However, it is evident that in March 2010, A. E. Martin, a representative of the SUM who later became the Superintendent of the Lucy Home, wrote a letter to the Secretary to the Administration of Northern Nigeria in which he revealed that the Treasurer to the Administration informed him that, "he has no authority to pay us any amount at all for the upkeep of the staff."[38]

In response, the Secretary to the Administration informed Martin that the Treasurer had been authorized to give money. He, however, noted that of the amount government had originally set aside for funding liberated children, some percentage would be deducted from the total amount due to the Lucy Memorial Home since some of the children transferred to this institution had either died or deserted.[39] It is interesting that regardless of the Secretary of Administration's response, it is still not clear if the salary of the staff transferred from the Zungeru Home to the Lucy Home was ever paid. As Wallace's statement above makes clear, the government's priority was always the children who were morally and "constitutionally" its

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

wards.[40] In the end, in addition to assisting in providing financial support for the children transferred from the Zungeru Home to Lucy Home, the government continued to send newly freed slaves to the latter institution from time to time. However, there is no evidence that the SUM submitted grant applications to the government after it received Zungeru Home children.[41]

The government grants only covered the maintenance of the children at the Lucy Home, especially the children that were transferred from the Zungeru Home. It did not cover the salaries and allowances of the staff. To cover such costs, therefore, the SUM received additional funds from different charity organizations including the Rebecca Hussey Slave Charity, which was also at the forefront of funding the defunct government-owned Homes.

The government also played an important role in this regard by encouraging charity organizations to support the Lucy Home. For instance, in 1908 before closing the Zungeru Home, the government sent a letter to such organizations supporting it in funding the government-owned Homes. The charity organizations were reminded of Lugard's hope for further and larger donations in the letter.[42] Similarly, the charity institutions were encouraged to continue to donate, and the government promised that the whole amount received would be expended directly on the children. Moreover, the government bluntly asked the charity organizations whether they would continue to donate even after the Home was wholly transferred to the SUM.[43]

It was based on the government's effort that the Rebecca Hussey Slave Charity began to negotiate with the SUM even before the Lucy Home was formally opened. Based on initial

[40] Ibid.

[41] SNP 17/2, Vol1/10228.

[42] SNP 7/9, 751/1908.

[43] Ibid.

negotiations, the charity organization transferred the sum of £100 to Lucy Home before the end of January 1909. The Rebecca Hussey Slave Charity guaranteed that it would give the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Home this same amount every year, and it also promised to give a grant of £50 half-yearly. Although the Trustees were not sure if the £100 annual grant and the £50 half-yearly payments would be permitted by the government, the charity organization guaranteed that the yearly grant would "continue to be paid to that Home, at any rate for the present."[44]

Children in the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home

In their book, the Salamones reveal little information about the day-to-day experiences of the children at the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home. A 1915 report of an inspection of the Lucy Home by Blair, a Senior Sanitary officer from Kaduna, also provides some information regarding daily activities at the Lucy Home. Combining information provided in Blair's report with those featured in Salamones' book will, therefore, help us to determine how life was for the formerly enslaved children at the Lucy Home and compare it with the experience(s) at the Government-owned Freed Slaves' Homes.

According to the sketchy information provided by Salamone, the daily activities of the children in the Lucy Home were not different in any significant way from the daily activities of those at the defunct Zungeru and Borno Homes. According to Blair, the time-table[45] of daily activities at the Lucy Home is as follows:

[44] Ibid.

[45] SNP 17/2, Vol1/10228.

Activities	**Time**
Turn out	6am
Food	8 to 9am
Work	9am to 12 noon
School	2 to 3-30 pm
Thereafter Fieldwork	for one hour (presumably 4-5 pm)
Food	6 pm

As the timetable reveals, the daily activities at the Lucy Home began around 6:00 a.m, apparently with Morning Prayer. Thereafter, the children had their breakfast between 8 am and 9 a.m. Work for the day followed immediately after the meal and ended at noon. The children attended educational classes from 2 pm to 3:30 p.m. Fieldwork followed, and it was done between 3:30 pm when the children finished school and 6 p.m when they had a meal.

It would seem that between 9 a.m and noon, the children were made to learn additional vocational education, just as was the case at the Government Freed Slaves' Homes. Yet again, the British notion of gender roles influenced the enrolment of boys and girls at the Lucy Home. For instance, like in government-owned Homes, girls were enrolled in classes such as laundry, shaking out bed mats and blankets, getting the lunch ready, and whatever else was "considered women's work." Boys, on the other hand, were put in charge of feeding the animals, including leading the goats out to pasture and other works considered "masculine."[46]

Like at the Government Freed Slaves' Homes, schooling was important at the Lucy Home. From the timetable featured above, it is clear that the time allocated for school and work

[46] Salamone and Salamone, *The Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Homes,* 87.

is higher than the time meant for other activities. At the Lucy Home School, instruction was given in Hausa, and subjects included reading, writing, and arithmetic. During his visit to the Lucy Home, Blair did not see the children at school because the school had already dismissed the day he arrived at the Lucy Home at a time when the school had closed, and he left the following day before school resumed.

Although Blair did not meet the children learning in school, he made useful comments on the educational system at the Lucy Home. According to him, he could not be expected to criticize the SUM system even if he had observed the students in school.[47] The educational approach adopted by SUM in teaching the children was centered on religious teaching.

At the defunct Borno and Zungeru Homes, the government was able to prevent religious education to a considerable extent. Lugard was particularly careful of religious teaching that could lead to Christianization among the children. Despite Lugard's rejection of teaching religious education, some officials still circumvented Lugard and involved the missionaries in educating the children at Zungeru Home. A 1908 report indicates that children at the Zungeru Home already "had three years of Christian teaching and training."[48] By 1910 when the government transferred the children to the SUM, religious training had already gained ground. "Christianity has certainly taken a great hold of all the inmates," according to Jardine, who was confident that the children would never forget the Christian knowledge.[49]

It is not clear who allowed the teaching of religious education at the government-owned Freed Slaves' Homes. It could have been Wallace who occasionally acted in the absence of Lugard. It should be stressed that Wallace was an Acting Governor when he instructed the

[47] SNP 17/2, Vol1/10228.

[48] SNP 7/9, 2017/1908.

[49] SNP 7/9, 2872/1908.

Mission to teach the children industrial and agricultural knowledge and religious teaching during the official opening of the Lucy Home.[50] Unlike Wallace, Lugard was not keen on religious education and conversion of the children because it was a move capable of pitching the British colonial administration against the dominant Muslim leaders/rulers in Northern Nigeria.

Lugard may have done everything possible to prevent religious teaching and conversion of formerly enslaved children. Yet it should be stressed that everything Lugard opposed was important to SUM in establishing the Lucy Home. For instance, Dr. Kumm, the founder of the SUM, once declared that "as religious teaching would form one of the main features of the proposed Memorial Home, the liberated slaves on their return would become, we may hope, evangelists to their own people."[51] As the case with the Zungeru and Borno Homes, to further escape the scrutiny of Lugard, who was bent on preventing large-scale conversion in Northern Nigeria, those in charge of the Lucy Home deliberately termed religious teaching moral instruction.

The examinations conducted at the Lucy Home reveal the dominance of religious teaching at its school. Examinations were conducted on students in areas of knowledge such as Scripture, Reading, Writing, Dictation, Drawing, Composition, Hygiene, Arithmetic, Geography, Cooking, and Laundry Work. Students excelled in Scriptures and moral instructions more than in other aspects.[52] The fact that children performed better in moral instructions and scripture than in other classes confirms the focus of teaching at the Lucy Home. It is not surprising that education at the Lucy Home focused on moral instruction, given the primary goal of the SUM in establishing the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Home.

[50] SNP 7/9, 751/1908.

[51] Cited in Salamone and Salamone, *The Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Homes,* 55.

[52] Salamone and Salamone, *The Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Homes,* 59.

In contrast to religion, students' general performance was very weak in composition, but they did well in Reading. Composition and reading were conducted in Hausa, and therefore there is no ready answer to why children did well in reading but were weak in composition. It should be stressed that Hausa remained the lingua franca at the Lucy Home and, more broadly, in Northern Nigeria. To implement Hausa as the lingua franca, the government instructed the SUM that it should not use English but their local language or Hausa in teaching the children. When a government representative visited/inspected the Lucy Home in September 1909, the official "found that the teaching is being given in Hausa."[53]

Available evidence indicates that senior students (pupil teachers) were trained earlier before the general school hours in the afternoon. There was a class for pupil teachers between 6 a.m and 8 a.m. These teachers, in turn, acted as monitors in the afternoon school. Some of these children were trained to become mission teachers. However, there were those whom the Superintendent considered not fit for a career in teaching either due to intelligence or character. This set of children was encouraged to pursue other careers such as printing work, agriculture, or other industrial training. There was a story of a boy Alka Margani interested in becoming a mission teacher in 1924. The Superintendent did not consider Alka Margani fit for a teaching career as he "lacked the character necessary to make a successful Mission teacher."[54] The Superintendent preferred that the boy should be put in the Sudan United Mission printing shop to learn printing work instead.

The children transferred from the Zungeru Home arrived at the Lucy Home disease-ridden. Thus, the first assignment of the management team at Lucy Home was to restore the children to health. The health condition of these children in the first two years became terrible,

[53] SNP 7/9, 751/1908.

[54] SNP 17/2, Vol1/10228.

leading to the death of many children while "others found it difficult to respond to treatment."[55] Instances of deaths among the children continued well till 1915. Between 1914 and 1915, 10 children (seven girls and three boys) were reported to have died from various serious diseases/ailments such as chronic dysentery, convulsions, double pneumonia, meningitis, malaria fever, and trypanosomiasis as well as from other circumstances such as drowning and snake bite.

Health conditions at the Lucy Home began to improve after 1915. Blair's report in that year reveals generally good average health among the staff and children in 1915. In 1925, Nachi died due to the "absence of the lung." He was admitted to the Home in 1911.[56]

At Lucy Home, inmates also participated in recreational activities such as physical exercises, basketball, football, singing, and competitive games. Soccer was by far the favorite among the children.[57]

Life after Passing out of Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home

The Lucy Home was officially closed on 31 December 1925, after more than seventeen years of providing a home and education for parentless children. Before it closed, many children had left the Home upon reaching the disposal age. The aim of this section is twofold. First, to discuss what life meant for the liberated children who had passed out of the Lucy Home. The second is to examine the life of relevant children after the closing of the Lucy Home.

As the children grew up at the Lucy Home, the SUM transferred some of them to mission stations where they "act as the missionary's personal attendants and helpers, receiving in this way a further training and education." Some were sent to the Training Institute to become

[55] Salamone and Salamone, *The Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Homes,* 64.

[56] SNP 17/2, Vol1/10228.

[57] Salamone and Salamone, *The Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Homes,* 87.

evangelists. Those trained as evangelists were mainly boys. "Not considered as potential evangelists," girls were sent to the Institute so that they might "find proper Christian husbands, providing appropriate wives for Christian evangelists." It was believed that the male evangelists and their devoted wives would provide "the firm foundation of the larger Church of the future."[58]

Boys who wanted to become carpenters were apprenticed to the Public Works Department. In 1924, 16 years old Barau was apprenticed to the P.W.D. Some boys were also sent to the Sudan United Mission printing shop to learn printing work.[59] There are instances in which boys who were not making progress in school were apprenticed to farmers with ties to the SUM. In one case, a boy, Mamman, decided to learn to farm, and he was placed with "a respectable farmer in Wukari" who was an "adherent of the Mission."[60]

As for the girls, Marriage remained the surest path. During his visit to Lucy Home, Dr. McCullah mentioned to Blair that "the common sphere found for them (girls) being marriage with male ex-inmates, or with males under the influence of the various Missions."[61] In September 1922, Zara received approval to marry a carpenter boy under SUM. A native of "kamaruns," Zara was rescued from a Hausa slave dealer who died at Bakundi, Muri Division. She was sent to the Freed Slaves Home Wukari in July 1918. She was seventeen years three months when the marriage was approved, and her mandate was terminated.[62] Another girl, Saude, received approval to marry in 1923.[63]

[58] Ibid, 61.

[59] SNP 17/2, Vol1/10228.

[60] SNP 17/2, Vol1/10228.

[61] Ibid.

[62] SNP 17/2, Vol1/10228, Acting Superintendent to the Resident, Muri Province…

[63] SNP 17/2, Vol1/10228.

The S. U. M. missionaries took some liberated slaves to Europe, especially to London. Some of these children became teachers, some became pastors, and some became interpreters. Many may have stayed back in the UK and other European capitals. Others may have returned to Nigeria to continue evangelization among their people.

The children who passed through the Lucy Home maintained close ties with the SUM. The Salamones reveal that liberated children who passed through the Lucy Home maintained contacts through visits and correspondences. Although the records are hard to come by for the children who were sent to London and other European cities, reports of the Lucy Home reveal that the majority of the former inmates who resided in Northern Nigeria always returned to the Home. Their coming back to the Lucy Home doesn't mean they were lazy or easy loafers, as those in charge of the Home argued, but this resulted from their kinlessness and resembled ordinary young people making temporary visits home.[64] This goes to tell of the strong ties between the children and the Freed Slaves' Homes.

In 1925, the Lucy memorial Freed Slaves Home was closed. That the Home was closed is not surprising partly because the Governor-General had mentioned, while transferring the children to the Lucy Home, that the government would not replenish/replace the current inmates of the Home. Therefore the Home would soon become extinct.[65] Even though the government continued to send liberated children to Lucy Home, their number paled so much that by 1925 the number of children left was very insignificant.

[64] Ibid.

[65]SNP 17/2, Vol1/10228, F. D. Lugard to Dr. Forbes, 23rd January, 1917.

After the Lucy Home was closed, a large percentage of its inmates were sent to Sudan Interior Mission School at Wushishi.[66] For other liberated children, the government continued to issue mandates for the custody of the children, while most of the girls were married off.[67]

Some parents identified and claimed their children from the Freed Slaves Home in some rare cases, but some refused to go back to their parents. For instance, in 1920, there was a request for permission to remove a boy named Mamudu from the Freed Slaves Home Wukari to Ibi. Mamudu was sent to the Lucy Home in January 1919 after being rescued from a slave dealer, Adama, who was convicted of slave dealing in August 1918. A woman named Ajiai had claimed Mamudu as her son. Upon investigation, Mamudu was to be removed from the Lucy Home and his mandate canceled. However, Mamudu declined to go with his mother and preferred to remain at the Lucy Home. Based on the culpability of his mother in getting the young boy into the hands of Adama, under whom the boy suffered ill-treatment, the boy was sent back to the Lucy Home Wukari.[68]

Other children were willing to live with their parents when found. The management team of the Lucy Home discovered that the parents of one of the boys living in the Home resided close by. Before this discovery, the boy, Mamuda, was rescued from a slave dealer in a canoe going to Yola. His mother Gumbo had placed Mamuda with her brother Adama as per custom to "look after." That was when he was enslaved. However, when the Lucy Home informed Mamuda that it had discovered his parents, he was "anxious to live with either or both of his parents."[69]

[66]SNP 17/2, Vol1/10228.

[67] For more info on Disposal after closing of Lucy Home, See Minprof 83/1926.

[68]SNP 17/2, Vol1/10228.

[69] Ibid.

Conclusion

The Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home came to existence in 1909/1910 when the Zungeru Home was closed by the government, and its wards were transferred to the SUM. The materials offered in this chapter become useful for meaningful comparison between the Lucy Home and the government-owned Freed Slaves' Homes discussed in previous chapters. Previous studies on the Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria have generally assumed that the closing of the Zungeru Home and the transfer of the children to the Lucy Home marked the end of an era and the beginning of a new one. To the previous historians, the opening of the Lucy Home by a Christian mission represented a complete change in the history of the Freed Slaves' Homes. Contrary to the assumption of these historians, this chapter reveals that the history of the Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria is one of both continuity and change.

The Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Homes assessment shows that several aspects and elements associated with the previous state-owned Freed Slaves' Homes remained after the Lucy Home emerged. For instance, the structure, organization, and operations of the government-owned Freed Slaves' Homes and the mission-led Lucy Home were more similar than they were different. In terms of funding and management, the government continued to perform its responsibilities and obligation toward the children. As the chapter reveals, the government continued to be involved in the supervisory role through its official inspection of children and the Lucy Home in general. The chapter also shows that the government continued to pay for the maintenance cost of the formerly enslaved children, particularly in terms of feeding and training. This is contrary to Ubah's argument that the government was not interested in funding the cost of catering for the well-being of the children. In addition to funding the cost of catering to the

children, the government also mobilized some charity organizations that had previously funded the Borno and Zungeru Homes also to help fund the Lucy Home.

This chapter also reveals changes in the history of Freed Slaves' Homes. One very significant change had to do with religious education. Religious teaching and conversion of children were prevented mainly at the Borno and Zungeru Homes both by the colonial administration and the officials in charge of these Homes. In contrast, at the Lucy Home, religious teaching was central to educational activities. Even when the government instructed that religious education should be discouraged, the officials in charge of the Lucy Home did everything possible to circumvent the colonial government, including naming religious education as moral instruction.

It is not surprising that Lucy Home focused more on religious education. It should be stressed that the sole objective of the SUM in Northern Nigeria was to counteract the spread of Islam, and the Lucy Home was useful in achieving this goal. Some British colonial administrators acknowledged this during the process of transferring the children to the Lucy Home: as the "only Missionary Society working amongst Pagans in Northern Nigeria," the SUM considered their work "indirectly a great political force in countering the flood of Mohammedanism which is sweeping over this province and recognized to be a danger to the peace of the Province."[70]

The changes surrounding religious education and evangelization also affected other Freed Slaves' Homes aspects, such as career and marriage. For instance, the distribution of children to guardians was now focused almost exclusively on strengthening the SUM objectives in Northern Nigeria. For example, boys were placed with missionaries or trained to become teachers in

[70] Cited in Salamone and Salamone, *The Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Homes,* 55.

mission schools or evangelists who spread their gospel across Northern Nigeria. On the other hand, the girls were married off to the African members of the SUM.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

The state-owned Zungeru Freed Slaves' Home was established in Northern Nigeria in 1903. The following year, the colonial administration established another Home in Borno. The British colonial administrators who established both Freed Slaves' Homes had to deal with the problem of internal slavery in Northern Nigeria. Having used the rhetoric of abolition of slavery and slave trade as justification for conquest, they were expected to live up to their promise of ending internal slavery. Consequently, establishing Freed Slaves' Homes in Northern Nigeria was a measure the relevant British colonial administrators took to combat the menace of slavery. These same colonial administrators stressed other efforts to combat the menace of slavery in a series of anti-slavery proclamations and policies issued by the early twentieth century. Although British anti-slavery policies and proclamations were an inefficient or half-hearted solution to the problem of slavery in the early colonial period, they helped liberate some slaves in the Northern protectorate. Most of the liberated slaves became vulnerable not only because many of them could not locate their original homes but also because they risked being re-enslaved. In this context, the government established homes for the freed slaves in Northern Nigeria. With the Freed Slaves Homes establishment, thousands of liberated children spent significant parts of their lives in these institutions. This study focuses on the experiences of these children. It reveals that the children were released from the Homes when they reached a certain age, that they worked in various sectors while residing at the Homes, and that the government enrolled them in

educational and vocational training. Although the skills acquired made the children productive/effective in domestic and other sectors, it is argued here that because the children had little or no say on their employment contracts and were largely not directly paid, the liberated children were *freed* but not free. In other words, this dissertation suggests that liberated children occupied a complicated position between slavery and freedom.

In demonstrating that liberated children occupied a complicated position between slavery and freedom, this study stresses that the Freed Slaves Homes were not just meant to house the freed slaves, nor were they simply meant to foster idleness. They were also sites where ex-slaves would be prepared for the future. Indeed, the inmates of the Freed Slaves Homes were given some education. They were also trained to do different things such as carpentry, laundry, farming, and cooking, among others. In making the Homes self-reliant and instilling the culture of self-support among the Freed Slaves' Homes inmates, the colonial government provided minimal financial assistance for the homes and expected the inmates to "produce" some of the things they used, such as food and clothing. In addition to providing minimal financial assistance in feeding and clothing, it was a general practice for the administration to assign the freed slaves to "guardians" to serve as apprentices. The government required those seeking apprentices to further train the children to help contribute to the administration's vision of self-reliance for the freed slaves and to take care of the cost involved in maintaining the inmates assigned to them. The government also required the guardians to pay fees to their liberated children, some pocket money monthly for their services.

Nevertheless, this dissertation argues that under the guardianship and apprenticeship systems that the government fostered, most of the liberated children were forced workers. Indeed, it is shown that even though the government required that wages be paid to the children,

they were denied wages. In addition to stressing that liberated children were unpaid workers, the study also reveals they had little or no say in determining the terms of their employment. Overall, by arguing that liberated children were forced laborers, stressing that state-imposed forced labor extended beyond the "masculine" jobs undertaken in the public sphere, and examining their varied relevant experiences, this dissertation allows for a better understanding of state-imposed "forced labor

In the context of demonstrating that liberated children occupied a complicated position in colonial Northern Nigeria, this dissertation shows two related things: that the children were active agents and that age and gender dictated their different experiences as well as how they responded to the condition that the British sought to impose on them. It is shown that as active agents, the liberated children confined within the Homes used different methods of resistance such as desertion, defiance, and deliberate sabotage. Of these methods, mass flights were common, and it was probably the most potent form of resistance at the Homes. Based on its recognition that mass flight was common at the Homes, the colonial officials sometimes questioned the popularity of the ' Homes. They were also aware that outside of the Homes, the liberated children also challenged oppression and maltreatment they experienced under guardians and other such employers and that the government's efforts to monitor children did not stop many guardians/employers from maltreating the liberated children. As this dissertation demonstrates, maltreatment was a key factor determining whether liberated children resisted the conditions of their bondage.

To date, no study has addressed several issues related to the history of the Northern Nigerian Freed Slaves' Homes such as how they were tied to the colonial government, the management of the Homes, and the factors responsible for the construction, renovation and

expansion of the Homes. In contributing to addressing such gaps, this dissertation helps to confirm that the Freed Slaves' Homes played a significant role in colonial Northern Nigeria. Furthermore, in contributing to addressing such gaps, it shows, among others, that the construction, renovation, and expansion of the various Freed Slaves' Homes structures were shaped not simply by the need to accommodate and train wards but also by geographical, profit, security, and health considerations.

This dissertation has contributed to our understanding of the significance of the Freed Slaves' Homes to the abolitionist efforts of the British colonial administrators in Northern Nigeria in the early twentieth century. Indeed, the study of the Freed Slaves' Homes is very crucial to any meaningful understanding of the process of abolition in Northern Nigeria during the early twentieth century. Fredrick Lugard, the champion of abolition in colonial Northern Nigeria, followed the Indian model of ending slavery; hence he tied the institution of the Freed Slaves' Homes to the imperial strategy of ending slavery in Northern Nigeria. This strategy meant that despite making enslavement and trade in slaves illegal, there was "Slow Death of Slavery" or that the British did not emancipate slaves in Northern Nigeria as they did in the Caribbean in 1834.

Even though most chapters in this study focus on the state owned Homes, chapter six largely deals with the privately/missionary owned Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Homes. In so doing, it addresses issues that allow for a comparison of the state-owned Homes and the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home and allows for the analysis of change and continuity in the operations of relevant homes. As the chapter partly demonstrates, the management of the relevant Homes and the experiences of children based in various institutions were similar but not identical.

This dissertation's focus on the experiences of liberated children provides a broader view of "childhood" as a category of analysis. In addition to identifying the government's definition of childhood, it demonstrates the ages at which children could leave the Freed Slaves' Homes to lessen the financial implication of catering to the children. The government set fourteen (14) for boys and fifty (15) for girls as the ages they were allowed to follow their inclination. The evidence presented in this study reveals that while it was infrequent to find boys who stayed beyond the age of 14, the government not only allowed many girls who were above 15 to remain at the Freed Slaves' Homes but many girls who were over 15 were newly admitted.

In recent times, digital humanities have significantly enhanced the ability of historians to carry out research. Historians interested in the Atlantic Slavery and abolition have contributed to developing relevant digital platforms. One of the digital platforms developed by a historian deal with *Liberated Africans*[1] … the micro-history of abolition and the micro-histories of the individuals involved. In addition to the digital archive that focuses exclusively on liberated Africans, Endangered archival materials held at the British Library are now readily accessible to historians interested in studying not just Atlantic slave trade related slave numbers but also the biographical details such as names, age, height, and physical descriptions related to enslaved Africans.

Given the growing emphasis on developing digital archives on formerly enslaved people, it is not surprising that there is an increasing number of scholarly publications on liberated Africans. One of the recent major studies on the topic is edited by Suzanne Schwarz, Henry Lovejoy, and Richard Anderson, and it is entitled *Liberated Africans and the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1807-1896.* In this particular study, various contributors attempted to reconstruct the history of the formerly enslaved people on both sides of the Atlantic. They are concerned

[1] https://liberatedafricans.org/

about several issues, including the human consequences of the British abolition on the formerly enslaved Africans, the identities of the supposed beneficiaries of the abolition, and the meaning of abolition for the so-called liberated slaves. Overall, the contributions of the relevant authors indicate that new tasks such as forced apprenticeships, marriage (for women), and forced conscription into the army/navy awaited the liberated slaves. As the relevant works reveal, even though formerly enslaved Africans were designated "liberated Africans," they were not actually free in the real sense partly because they were "forced into apprenticeships" that was nothing short of "indentured servitude."[2]

This dissertation adds to the literature on the liberated Africans by focusing on Northern Nigeria and the early twentieth century. While the conventional focus of extant works on liberated Africans in the nineteenth century and on coastal West Africa is important, this study suggests a focus on Northern Nigeria in the twentieth century contributes significantly to our understanding of the experiences of liberated slaves in Africa. Nevertheless, this dissertation's findings support the mainstream literature argument that forced apprenticeship/forced labor and marriage (for females) were the future that awaited the liberated Africans.

[2] Richard Anderson and Henry B. Lovejoy. *Liberated Africans and the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1807-1896* (New York, University of Rochester Press, 2020), 2-4.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival Materials

Nigerian National Archives Kaduna

Secretariat Northern Province

SNP 7/7 97/1906, Report on Zungeru Freed Slaves' Homes for December 1905.

SNP 7/6 150/1905, C. F. Rowe, Report of the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for December 1904.

SNP 7/6 214/1905, C. F. Rowe, Annual Report of the Freed Slave Home Zungeru, 1904.

SNP 7/7 424/1906, C. F. Rowe, Freed Slaves Home Zungeru Earning Account for 1905.

SNP 7/7 1108/1907, A. Bain, Proceedings of a Board of Survey, Zungeru Home, 4th April, 1907.

SNP 7/7 1242/1907, Resident Kontagora and Borgu Province to the Political Assistant, Zungeru, "Rex vs Mallam Bako," 28th March 1907.

SNP 7/8 150/1907, C. F. Rowe, Report on the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru 1906.

SNP 7/8 813/1906, C. F. Rowe, Annual Report on the Freed Slaves Home Zungeru for 1906, 30th January, 1907.

SNP 7/8 813/1907, C. F. Rowe, Yearly Balance Sheet of Freed Slaves Home Zungeru, Annual Report, 8th March, 1907.

SNP 7/8 2823/1907, High Commissioner, Freed Slaves Home Zungeru-Report by Committee appointed to investigate matters connected with, 25th July, 1907.

SNP 7/8 3195/1907, A. W. Banfield, (Mennonite Brethren Mission) Application for Four Freed Slaves Wards, 5th August 1907.

SNP 7/8 3222/1907, Resident Muri Province, Mr B. J During 27th August, 1907.

SNP 7/8 3631/1907, Cameron Blair, Board of Survey Held on Freed Slaves Home Stock, Borno Province, 3rd August, 1907.

SNP 7/9 751/1908, Sir Percy Girouard, Governor of Northern Nigeria to Right Honourable, Earl of Crewe, Secretary of State for Colonies, 13th November 1908.

SNP 7/9 5746/1908, S. W. Thompstone, Freed Slaves Home Buildings to be Handed over to the Medical Department as a Native Hospital, 27th November 1908.

SNP 7/9 5005/1908, Freed Slaves Return for 1st January to 31st December 1907.

SNP 7/10 1763/1909, Cantonment Magistrate, Zungeru, Annual Report on Freed Slaves Home, 1908.

SNP 7/9 751/1908, Proposal by Soudan United Mission to take over Freed Slaves Home, 22nd February 1908.

SNP 7/9 2017/1908, Elizabeth Mitchell, Report of the Freed Slaves Home, September 1908.

SNP 7/9 606/1909, Cantonment Magistrate, Report of the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru for December Quarter, 1908.

SNP 10/1 130p/1913, Kolo Ex-Kano Slave Redemption by Serikin Zungeru from his Former Master 26th February, 1913.

SNP 10499p/1913, Freed Slaves Return for year 1912.

SNP 15/1 ACC90B, Lugard to Chamberlain, September 2nd, 1903, "Colonial Reports-Annual, No. 409, Northern Nigeria, Report for 1902," Annual Report of the Colonies, Northern Nigeria, 1902.

SNP 15/1 ACC 90B/1905, Freed Slaves Provincial Returns 1905, Bauchi, Muri, Zaria, Kano, Bornu and Yola provinces.

SNP 15/1 ACC121, Resident Borno to Political Assistant Northern Nigeria, 8th March, 1905.

SNP 15/1 ACC 121, Freed Slaves Provincial Returns, 1906.

SNP 15/1 ACC121/1906, From Resident Bauchi Province to the Political Assistant, Northern Nigeria, 30th July, 1906.

SNP 17/1 10228, Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Homes Wukari- Proposal as to closing of and Disposal of the Children, 5 August, 1915.

Lugard to Alfred Lyttelton, 7th February, 1905.

Parliament Paper 19U6, LXXIV Report on Northern Nigeria 1904-22, 2684-22

Minna Provinces

Minprof 83/1926, Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home, Wukari, Muri Province Closing down and distribution of inmates among SUM Stations, 25th August 1930.

National Archives of Ghana Cape Coast (NAGCC)

NAGCC, ADM 23/126 Slave Children.

NAGCC, ADM 23/161 Recruiting Labor.

NAGCC, ADM 23/1/207 Child Labour.

NAGCC, ADM 23/676 Domestic Servants.

Other Sources

Adeleye, R. A., *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804-1906: the Sokoto Caliphate and its Enemies* (Humanities Press, 1971).

Aderinto, Saheed, ed., *Children and Childhood in Colonial Nigerian Histories* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

_____., "Empire Day in Africa: Patriotic Colonial Childhood, Imperial Spectacle and Nationalism in Nigeria, 1905–60," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 46, iss. 4 (2018).

Afigbo A. E., *The Abolition of Slave Trade in Southeastern Nigeria, 1885-1950,* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2006).

Akurang-Parry, Kwabena O., "Colonial Forced Labor Policies for Road-Building in Southern Ghana and the International Anti-Forced Labor Pressures, 1900-1940," *African Economic History* 28 (2000).

_____"Labour Mobilization and African Response to the Compulsory Labour Ordinance in the Gold Coast (Colonial Ghana), 1875-1899" *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* , 2000-2001, New Series, no. 4/5 (2000-2001).

Aldrin, Emilia., "Names and Identity," *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming,* 2016.

Apter, Andrew., "On Imperial Spectacle: The Dialectics of Seeing in Colonial Nigeria," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44, no. 3, (Jul. 2002).

Asiegbu, Johnson U.J., *Slavery and the Politics of Liberation 1787-1861* (New York: Africana Publishing Corporation, 1969).

Austin, Gareth., *Labour, Land and Capital in Ghana: From Slavery to Free Labour in Asante, 1897–1956*. (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2005).

Bagnall, F. G., "A Year in Northern Nigeria" in *The Colfeian, Being the Chronicle of the Old Boys of Colfe's Grammar School, Lewisham,* (Printed by Charles North, the Blackbeath, November 1905).

Barrett, John., "The Rank and File of the Colonial Army in Nigeria, 1914-1918," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* Mar, 1977, 15, no. 1, (Mar, 1977).

Baron, Beth., "Liberated Bodies and Saved Souls: Freed African Slave Girls and Missionaries in Egypt," *Christian Missions and Humanitarianism in the Middle East, 1850-1950* II, (Sept, 2020).

Bellagamba, Alice., Green, Sandra E., and Klein, Martin A. eds. *African Voices on Slavery and the Slave Trade*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Bivins, Mary Wren., *Telling Stories, Making Histories, Women, Words and Islam in Nineteenth Century Hausaland and Sokoto Caliphate*. (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann Press, 2003).

Blackstone, Amy., "Gender Roles and Society," in *Human Ecology: An Encyclopedia of Children, Families, Communities, and Environments* eds. by Julia R. Miller, Richard M. Lerner, and Lawrence B. Schiamberg (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2003).

Bonnet, Michel., (Translated by Maguire Lucie), "Child Labor in Postcolonial Africa," in *The World of Child Labor: An Historical and Regional Survey eds. by* Hindman, Hugh D., and Hindman, Hugh (New York: Routledge, 2009).

Borja, George J., *Labor Economics,* (New York: The McGraw-Hill COMPANIES, INC., 1996)

Brown, Carolyn., *We are All Slaves: African Miners, Culture, and Resistance at the Enugu Government Colliery (*Portsmouth, HN: Heinemann, 2003)**.**

Brown, Vincent., "Social Death and Political Life and the Study of Slavery," *American Historical Review* 114, No .5 (2009).

Bryant, Kelly M. Duke., "Changing Childhood: 'Liberated Minors,' Guardianship, and the Colonial State in Senegal, 1895-1911," *Journal of African History* 60, no. 2 (2019).

Burnham, Philip., "Raiders and Traders in Adamawa: Slavery as a Regional System." In *Asian and African Systems of Slavery* ed. by James L. Watson. (Berkeley: University of California

Press, 1980).

Buttner, Thea., "On the Social-Economic Structure of Adamawa in the 19th Century. Slavery or Serfdom?" In *African Studies* eds. by W. Markov. (Leipzig: Karl Marx University Press, 1967).

Christelow, Allan., "Slavery in Kano, 1913–1914: Evidence from the Judicial Records." *African Economic History* 14 (1985).

Christensen, P. M, and James, Allison., *Research with Children: Perspectives and Practices* (Routledge, 2017).

Coe, C., "Domestic Violence and Child Circulation in the Southeastern Gold Coast, 1905-1928" *Domestic Violence and the Law in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa* eds. by Emily Burrill, Richard Roberts, and Elizabeth Thornberry. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010).

Curtin, Philip D. and Vansina, Jan., "Sources of the Nineteenth-Century Atlantic Slave Trade," *Journal of African History* 5, no.2 (1964).

Curtin, Philip D., "The Abolition of the Slave Trade from Senegambia," in *The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade* eds. by James Walvin and David Eltis. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981).

Dehaven, Lamont King., "State and Ethnicity in Precolonial Northern Nigeria," *JAAS* 36, no.4 (2001).

Delgado, E. Malek., "Children, Childhood, and Slavery in Sierra Leone: The Experiences of Liberated African Children C.1808-1834, A PhD diss., (University of Worcester, 2017).

Diallo, Yacouba., "Children's Work, Child Domestic Labor, and Child Trafficking in Côte d'Ivoire," in *The World of Child Labor: An Historical and Regional Survey eds. by* Hindman, Hugh D., and Hindman, Hugh (New York: Routledge, 2009).

Diptee, Audra & Trotman, David., "Atlantic Childhood and Youth in Global Context:

Reflections on the Global South," *Atlantic Studies: Global Currents* 11, no. 4 (2014): 438;

Drescher, Seymour., *The Mighty Experiment: Free Labor vs. Slavery in British Emancipation* (New York: Oxford, 2002).

Duane, Anna Mae ed., *Child Slavery before and after Emancipation. An Argument for Child-*

Centered Slavery Studies, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Duff, S. E., *Changing Childhoods in the Cape Colony: Dutch Reformed Church Evangelicalism and Colonial Childhood, 1860-1895* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

Eltis, David et al., *The Atlantic Slave Trade. A database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Fage, J. D., "Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Context of West African History," *Journal of African History* 10 (1969).

Falola, Toyin., "Africa and Slavery in a Global Context" The UNESCO Slave Route Project, http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/images/Falola_Eng.pdf Accessed 10/11/2020.

Fika, Adamu Mohammed., *The Kano Civil War and British Over-rule 1882–1940*. (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1978).

Freund, Bill., *Capital and Labour in the Nigerian Tin Mines.* (London: Humanities Press, 1981).

Garba, Tijani., "Taxation in Some Hausa Emirates, c. 1860–1939." PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 1986.

George, Abosede., *Making Modern Girls: A History of Girlhood, Labor, and Social Development in Colonial Lagos* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2014).

Grier, Beverly., *Invisible Hands: Child Labor and the State in Colonial Zimbabwe* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2006).

_____., "Child Labor in Colonial Africa." in *The World of Child Labor: An Historical and Regional Survey eds. by* Hindman, Hugh D., and Hindman, Hugh (New York: Routledge, 2009).

Guarcello, Lorenzo., "Influence of Orphanhood on Children's Schooling and Labor: Evidence from Sub-Saharan Africa," in *The World of Child Labor: An Historical and Regional Survey eds. by* Hindman, Hugh D., and Hindman, Hugh (New York: Routledge, 2009).

Heywood, C., *A History of Childhood: Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001).

Hill, Polly., "From Slavery to Freedom: The Case of Farm-Slavery in Nigerian Hausaland," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 18, no. 3 (1976):

Hunter, M., "The Bond of Education: Gender, the Value of Children, and the Making of Umlazi Township in South Africa," *Journal of African History* 55, no. 3, (2014).

Jumare, Ibrahim M., "The Late Treatment of Slavery in Sokoto: Background and Consequences of the 1936 proclamation," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 27, no. 2, (1994).

Kani, Ahmad Mohammed., "Aspects of Moral Education in Sokoto Caliphate," in *New Perspectives in Moral Education* eds. by Otonti A. Nduka and O. E. Iheoma. (Ibadan: University of Ibadan Press, 1983).

Kelly, Sean M., "Precedents: The "Captured Negroes" of Tortola, 1807-22" in *Liberated Africans and the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1807-1896* eds. by Richard Anderson and Henry B. Lovejoy (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2020).

Klein, Martin A., *Historical Dictionary of Slavery and Abolition* (Lanham, Maryland, and London: The Scarecrow Press, 2002).

_____., *Slavery and Colonial Rule in French West Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

_____., "Women and Slavery in the Western Sudan," in *Women and Slavery in Africa* eds. by Claire C. Robertson and Martin A. Klein (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1997).

_____., "The Study of Slavery in Africa," *Journal of African History* 19, no. 4 (1978).

_____., "Slave Resistance and Slave Emancipation in Coastal Guinea," in *The End of Slavery in Africa.* eds. by Suzanne Miers and Richard Roberts (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).

_____., "Slavery in the Western Sudan," in *African Systems of Slavery*. Eds. by Jay Spaulding and Stephanie Bestwick (Asmara and Trenton, NJ: Red Sea Press, 2010).

Konings, Piet., *Gender and Plantation Labor in Africa: the Story of Tea Pluckers Struggles in Cameroon* (Cameroon: Langaa RPCIG, 2012).

Kunkel, Sarah., "Forced Labour, Roads, and Chiefs: The implementation of the ILO Forced Labour," *International Review of Social History* 63, Iss. 3, (2018).

Lange, Albertine de., "Trafficking for Labor Exploitation in West and Central Africa," In *The World of Child Labor: An Historical and Regional Survey eds by* Hindman, Hugh D., and Hindman, Hugh (New York: Routledge, 2009).

_____., "Child Labor in Burkina Faso," in In *The World of Child Labor: An Historical and Regional Survey eds by* Hindman, Hugh D., and Hindman, Hugh (New York: Routledge, 2009).

Law, Robin., *The Oyo Empire, c.1600-c.1836: A West African Imperialism in the Era of Atlantic Slave Trade* (Clarendon press, 1977).

Lieten G. K., "Child Labor Union in Africa," in *The World of Child Labor: An Historical and Regional Survey eds by* Hindman, Hugh D., and Hindman, Hugh (New York: Routledge, 2009).

Lightfoot, Natasha., *Troubling Freedom*: *Antigua and the Aftermath of British Emancipation*, (United States: Duke University Press, 2015).

Lindsay, Lisa A., *Working With Gender: Wage labor and Social Changes in South Western Nigeria* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann Press, 2003).

Loftkranz, Jennifer., "Protecting Free Born Muslims: The Sokoto Caliphate's Attempts to Prevent Illegal Enslavement and its Acceptance of the Strategy of Ransoming." *Slavery and Abolition* 32, no.1 (2011): 109–27.

Lofkrantz, Jennifer, and Olatunji Ojo., "Slavery, Freedom and Failed Ransom Negotiations in West Africa, 1730–1909," *Journal of African History* 53, no.1 (2012): 25–44.

Lord, Jack., "Child Labor in the Gold Coast," *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 4, no. 1, (2011).

Lovejoy, Paul E., *Jihad in West Africa during the Age of Revolution* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2016).

_____., "Slavery in the Sokoto Caliphate," in *The Ideology of Slavery in Africa.* eds. by Paul E. Lovejoy (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1981).

_____., *Transformation in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

_____., *Slavery, Commerce and Production in the Sokoto Caliphate of West Africa* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2005).

_____., "Problems of Slave Control in the Sokoto Caliphate," in *Africans in Bondage: Studies in slavery and the Slave Trade: Essays in Honor of Philip D. Curtin* eds by Paul E. Lovejoy (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986).

_____., "Scarification and the Loss of History in the African Diaspora," in *Activating the Past Historical Memory in the Black Atlantic*, eds. by Apter, Andrew and Deny, Lauren (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholarly Publishing, 2010)

_____., "'Freedom Narratives' of Transatlantic Slavery," Slavery and Abolition 32, no. 1 (March 2011).

_____., "The Children of Slavery – the Transatlantic Phase," *Slavery and Abolition* 27, no. 02 (2006).

_____., “Biography as Source Material: Towards a Biographical Archive of Enslaved Africans,” in *Source Material for Studying the Slave Trade and the African Diaspora*, ed. by Robin Law (Sterling: Centre of Commonwealth Studies, University of Sterling, 1997)

_____., *Salt of the Desert Sun. A History of Salt Production and Trade in the Central Sudan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

Lovejoy, Paul E. and Jan S. Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery: The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria, 1897-1936* (Cambrideg: Cambridge University Press, 1993)

_____., “Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance to Colonial Rule in the Sokoto Caliphate, 1905–6,” *Journal of African History* 3, no. 2 (1990).

_____., "The Development and Execution of Frederick Lugard's Policies Toward Slavery in Northern Nigeria', *Slavery and Abolition* X, vol. I, (I989).

Lugard, Fredrick., “Document 4: Proclamation on the Conquest of Kano, 1903” in *African Economic History*, 2012, 40, Special Issue: Documents Relating to Slave Laws & Practices in West Africa (2012).

_____., *The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa*. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1922).

_____.,*Political Memoranda: Revision of Instructions to Political Officers on Chiefly Political and Administrative 1913-1918.* (London, 1970).

_____., “Document 6: Memorandum No.22: The Condition of Slaves. And the Native Law Regarding Slavery in Northern Nigeria), *African Economic History* 40, Special Issue: Documents Relating to Slave Laws & Practices in West Africa (2012).

Mack, Beverly., “Women and Slavery in Nineteenth Century Hausaland,” in *The Human Commodity: Perspectives in the Trans-Saharan Slave Trade* ed. by Elizabeth Savage (London: Frank Cass, 1992).

Mason, Michael., “Working on the Railway: Forced Labor in Northern Nigeria, 1907- 1912,” *African Labor History*. Edited by Peter C. W. Gutkind, Robin Cohen, and Jean Copans. (London:Sage, 1978).

Meillassoux, Claude, translated by Alide Dasnois., *The Anthropology of Slavery: The Womb of Iron and Gold* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

Turner, Michael J., “The Limits of Abolition: Government, Saints, and the ‘African Question,’ c.1780-1820,” *The English Historical Review* 112 (April 1997).

Miers, Suzanne and Roberts Richard eds., *The End of Slavery in Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).

Miers, Suzanne, and Kopytoff Igor, eds., *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977).

O' Hear, Ann., *Power Relations in Nigeria: Ilorin Slaves and their Successors* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1997).

_____. "Ilorin as a Slaving and Slave Trading Emirate," in *Slavery on the Frontiers of Islam* ed. by Paul E. Lovejoy (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2004).

Okia, Opolot., *Labor in Colonial Kenya after the Forced Labor Convention, 1930-1963* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

Olusanya, G. O., "Freed Slaves' Homes: An Unknown Aspect of Northern Nigerian Social History," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 3, no. 3 (1966).

Omoiya, S. Y., *Origin and British Colonial Impact on the Cosmopolitian Community of Ilorin in the 20th Century* (LINCOM, 2009).

Pearson, Andrew. *Distant Freedom: St. Helena and the abolition of the slave trade, 1840-1872* (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 2016).

Prout, Allan & James, Allison eds., *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood (*London: Falmer Press, 1997).

Rankin, F. Harrison., *The White Man's Grave* vol. II, 91.

Richardson, David., "Involuntary Migration in the Early Modern World, 1500-1800," *The Cambridge World History of Slavery* (2011).

Rodney, Walter., "African Slavery and Other Forms of Social Oppression on the Upper Guinea Coast in the Context of the Atlantic Slave-Trade," *Journal of African History* 7, (1966): 431–43.

Salamone, Virginia A. & Salamone Frank A., *The Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves' Homes: The Sudan United Mission and the British Colonial Government in Partnership (*Maryland, USA: University Press of America, 2008).

Salau, Mohammed Bashir., "Archival and Digital Sources on Unfree Labor in Northern Nigeria," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of A frican History (2020)African History (2020).*

----------., *Plantation Slavery in the Sokoto Caliphate: a Historical and Comparative Study* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2018).

----------., "Convict Labour in Early Colonial Northern Nigeria: a Preliminary Study," In *From Dust to Digital: Ten Years of the Endangered Archives Programme* ed. by Maja Kominko (Open Book Publisher, 2015).

----------., "The Role of Slave Labor in Groundnut Production in Early Colonial Kano," *Journal of African History* 15, no. 2, (2010).

_____., "Slavery in Kano Emirate of Sokoto Caliphate as Recounted: Testimonies of Isyaku and Idrisu" in *African Voices on Slavery and the Slave Trade* eds. by Alice Bellagamba, Sandra E. Green, and Martin A Klein (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

_____., *The West African Slave Plantation: A Case Study* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

Saul, Mahir., "Koranic Schools and Child Labor in West Africa," in *The World of Child Labor: An Historical and Regional Survey* eds. *by* Hindman, Hugh D., and Hindman, Hugh (New York: Routledge, 2009).

Schwarz, Suzanne., "The Impact of Liberated African "Disposal" Polices in Early Nineteenth-Century Sierra Leone." In *Liberated Africans and the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1807-1896* eds. by Richard Anderson and Henry B. Lovejoy (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2020).

_____., "Reconstructing the Life Histories of Liberated Africans: Sierra Leone in the Early Nineteenth Century," *History in Africa* 39 (2012).

_____., "Extending the African Names Database: New Evidence from Sierra Leone," *African Economic History* 38 (2010).

Smith, M. G. "Slavery and Emancipation in Two Societies," in *Social and Economic Studies* 3, no. 3-4 (1954): 239–90.

Smith, Mary., *Baba of Karo. A Woman of the Moslem Hausa* (London: Faber and Faber, 1955).

Tembo, Alfred., "Coerced African Labor for Food Production in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) during the Second World War, 1942-1945," *South African Historical Journal* 68, no. 1 (2016).

"The Friendly Societies Lending a Hand." http://sainthelenaisland.info/friendly.htm#hc Accessed on 9/28/2020.

Tibenderana, Peter Kazenga., "The Emirs and the Spread of Western Education in Northern Nigeria, 1910-1946," *The Journal of African History* 24, no. 4, (1983).

Toledano, Ehud., *As if Silent and Absent: Bond of Enslavement in the Middle East* (New Haven:

Yale University Press, 2007).

Ubah, C. N., "The Colonial Administration in Northern Nigeria and the Problem of Freed Slave Children," *Journal of Slavery and Abolition* 14, no. 3, (1993).

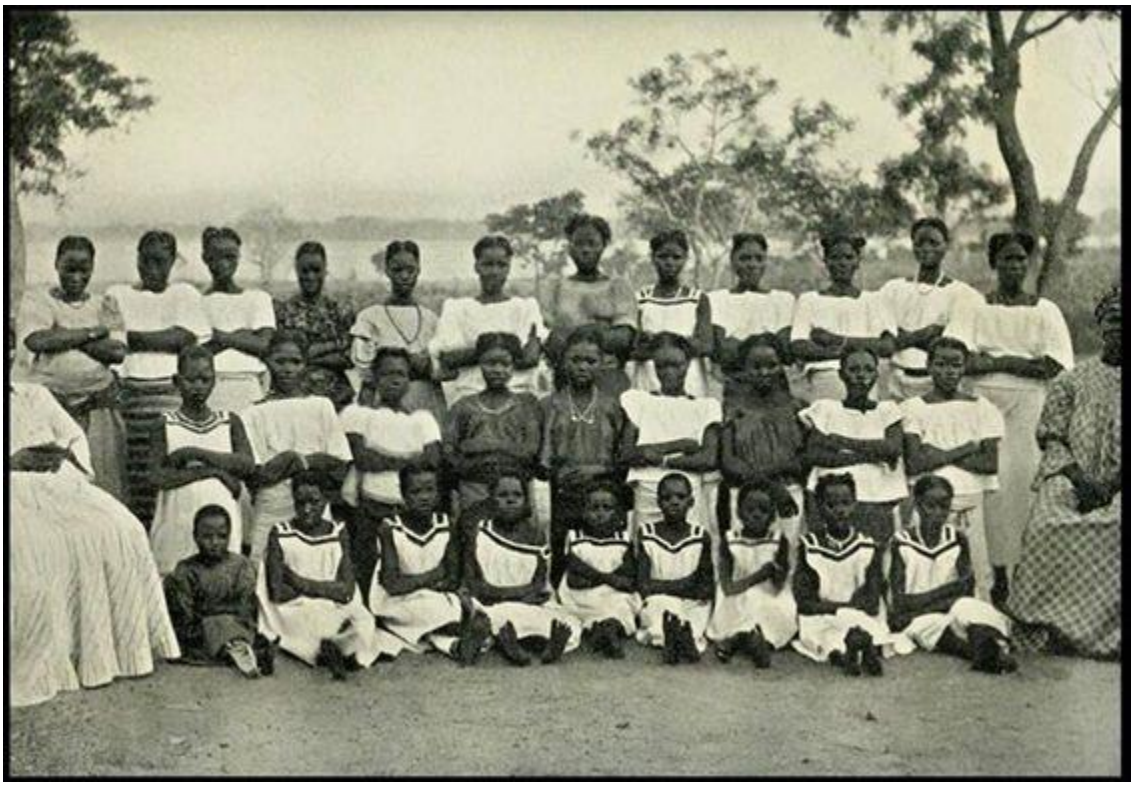
Vongsathorn, Kathleen., ""A Real Home": Children, Family, Mission, and the Negotiation of Life at the Kumi Children's Leper Home in Colonial Uganda," *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 8, no. 1 (2015).

Whitaker Jr, C. S., *The Politics of tradition: Continuity and Change in Northern Nigeria* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970).

White, Owen., *Children of the French Empire: Miscegenation and Colonial Society in French West Africa*,1895-1960 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 199).

APPENIDIX

Appendix



Girls class at the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home, 1910.
Source: Pinterest

VITA

AJIBOLA A. ABDULRAHMAN

Department of History, University of Mississippi
abdulrahmanajibola@yahoo.com

EDUCATION

2022 PhD History, UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI (UM)
Fields: African History, Slavery, Labor, African Diaspora, Atlantic World

2014 MA History, UNIVERSITY OF ILORIN, NIGERIA
Nigerian Administration

2010 BA History, UNIVERSITY OF ILORIN, NIGERIA

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

2021-... **University of Mississippi** (Oxford, Mississippi)
Graduate Professor
HIST 170: Introduction to African History

2017-2021 **University of Mississippi** (Oxford, Mississippi)
Teaching Assistant
HST 387: Modern Japanese History
HST 170: Introduction to African History
HST 131: US History since 1877

2014-2017 **Kwara State University** (Malete, Nigeria)
Lecturer
HIS 111: History of Africa from 1500-1800
HIS 103: History of Africa since 1800
HIS 102: History of West Africa from 1500-1800
HIS 101: History of Nigeria to 1800
HIS 201: History of Nigeria 1800-1900,
HIS 303: Nigeria in the Inter-War period
HIS 301: History of Nigeria from 1900-1970
HIS 403: Economic History of Nigeria in the twentieth century
HIS 207: Africa and European Imperialism
HIS 304: USSR from 1905

BOOK CHAPTERS

2021 "Nationalism and Decolonization in Africa" in Falola, Toyin, and Mohammed Bashir Salau, eds. *Africa in Global History: A Handbook*. Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG, 2021.

"James Meredith, Diasporic Politics and Nigeria's Ambivalent Contributions to Pan-Africanism," in Toyin Falola and Emmanuel Mbah eds., *Reflections on Identity and Gender in a Changing Africa*, (With reviewers)

JOURNAL ARTICLES

2022 *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* – In Press
"Politicizing the Pandemic: COVID-19 and its Impact on the Nigerian Economy," (Co-authored with Olanrewaju John Shola)

2014 *Historical Research Letter*
"The Impact of Military Rule on Nigeria's Nation Building, 1966-1979."

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

April 2019 The African Conference, University of Texas—Austin
"'American Defender of One-Nigeria': James Meredith and Nigerian Civil War"

July 2019 Babcock University, Nigeria
"Religion and Politics in Pre-colonial Africa: The Ilorin Emirate in the Nineteenth-Century"

Nov 2019 10th Biennial ASWAD Conference, William & Mary University
"'In Support of One-Nigeria': Meredith's Pan-African Vision and Nigerian Civil War"

April 2021 The African Conference, University of Texas—Austin
"History of Freed Slaves Homes in Northern Nigeria"

June 2021 Lagos Studies Association Conference, Lagos, Nigeria.
"Gender, Children, and Domestic Labor in Africa: Freed Slaves Homes from 1903-1926"

FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS, AND HONORS

2022 American Historical Association
A Community-Engaged, Participatory Historic Preservation Project for African American Blues Communities
The Mt. Zion Memorial Fund for Blues, Music, and Justice
61,323.61

2021 Dalrymple Summer Research Grant ($8,600)
2017-2021 Ventress Summer Fellowship ($5000 each summer)
2020 The University of Mississippi Dissertation Fellowship Award ($7,000)
2020 Dalrymple Summer Research Grant ($4000)

PUBLIC HISTORY

2018 to … The Mt. Zion Memorial Fund – [LINK]
Historian

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Historical Association (AHA)
Lagos Studies Association
Association for the Study of Worldwide African Diaspora
African History Association
Historical Society of Nigeria