Slavery and the Impact of External Trade: The Sulu Sultanate in the 19th Century

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During the late 18th and 19th centuries, a strong state emerged within the Sulu trading zone, an extensive region encompassing the southern rim of the Sulu Sea and the whole of the Celebes Sea basin. The formation and prosperity of the Sulu Sultanate, as this account of its social history indicates, was based above all else on slaves. It was the role of the Sulu state, within its larger trading zone, to maintain the material and social conditions for the recruitment and exploitation of slaves.

The zone encompassing the Sulu Sultanate is the historic home of peoples, languages and cultures as varied as its landscape. The Taosug (people of the current), the dominant ethnic group in the Sulu Archipelago (now part of the Philippines), are the sole residents of Jolo Island, the historical seat of the Sultanate. Originally fishermen and traders with martial skills, numbers of them adopted agriculture. With the introduction of Islam in about the 15th century, they evolved a highly organized political and economic system. The institution of the Sultanate established formal dominance of the Taosug over indigenous Samal speaking peoples and later migrants to Sulu.

The Samal, strand dwellers with close ties to the sea, possessed of highly developed boat-building techniques and sometimes practising simple garden agriculture, are the most widely dispersed of all ethno-linguistic groups in the Sulu chain. Manifesting the greatest degree of internal linguistic and cultural difference, Samal communities predominate on the coraline island clusters in the northern and southern part of the Sulu archipelago, Northern Borneo and Celebes. The Samal distinguish among themselves by dialect, locality and cultural-ecological factors (principally between sedentary, Muslim shore-dwellers and nomadic animistic boat-dwellers).

Samals tend to identify themselves with a particular island, island cluster or regional orbit. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries they comprised several groups which occupied non-contiguous territories along the southern Mindanao shore, on the south coast and in the near interior of Basilan, and on the islands of the Tapisian Tana group, Cagayan de Sulu and the Balangingi cluster. Expert voyagers at sea, particular Samal groups had fixed bases of operation on a series of low, coral and sand islands flanking the northeastern side of Jolo. This group of islands, named Los Samales by the Spanish, was a springboard for launching seasonal raids against coastal villages from Luzon to Celebes. The most important island was Balangingi, dwelling place and organizational centre of the major slave-
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By 1800 regional redistribution had become the main pattern of the economy of the Sulu Sultanate. Indirectly, it was the insatiable demand for tea that initiated European interest in Sulu's natural products and its sudden rise to regional primacy. During the 18th century tea replaced tea as the national beverage in England and was especially popular among the poorer classes. China was almost the sole supplier of tea to England. These merchants were quick to recognize the potential of participation in the long-standing Sino-Sulu trade as a means of redressing the one-way flow of silver from India. Marine and jungle products, highly valued in China, were needed to stem it. Sulu's ascendancy towards the end of the 18th century developed out of the expanding trade between India, Southeast Asia and China. Commercial and tributary activity became linked with long distance slave raiding and incorporation of captured peoples in a system which made Jolo a principal entrepôt for extracted produce for the China trade.

As the Sultanate organized its economy around the collection and distribution of marine and jungle produce, there was an increased need for large-scale recruitment of manpower in Sulu's economy to do the labour-intensive work of procurement. Slaving activity developed to meet the accentuated demands of foreign trade. Jolo became the nerve centre for the co-ordination of slave raiding. The second part of the study analyzes the technical aspects of the seasonal raiding programs in search of additional manpower to service the procurement of trading produce. The final section delineates the parameters of slavery as an institution in Sulu and describes in some detail how “slaves” who were captives served as dependants of the Sulu
elite and were able to better their condition and end up, at least in the second
generation, as assimilated members of the Taoseg and Samal population.9

I have drawn upon anthropological concepts, particularly the idea of a "segmentary state",10 European documents in several languages with excerpts and examples from official reports, diaries, letters, journals and newspapers and local accounts to examine the economic vitality of the independent Sulu Sultanate’s role as an entrepôt for European and Asian commerce in the China trade from the late 18th to the late 19th century, and its effect on the way slaves worked, lived and interacted with their masters.

Among the most important sources consulted are the manuscripts in the archives of Spain (principally Seville) on trade from Manila to the Sulu Sultanate between 1768 and 1846. When compiled and ordered as a time series these documents (particularly the estados and the almojarifazgo) suggest the overall level of commercial activity, shifts in market preferences, and the economic interdependence of Manila and Jolo in the period.11 A careful reading of these documents thus reveals the level of economic integration achieved by Sulu and its Bornean dependencies in the wider island economy, the magnitude of the change that occurred after 1770, and possible reasons for shifts in the trade patterns over time. These data go far towards rounding out the detailed evidence which Van Leur saw to be lacking for maritime powers in the Indonesian archipelago.

In the late 18th and 19th centuries the population of Sulu was heterogeneous but changing — socially, economically and ethnically. This was a direct result of external trade. The populating of the Sulu zone by captives from the Philippines and various parts of the Malay world — primarily from Celebes and the Moluccas — and their role in the redistribution economy centred at Jolo cannot be underestimated. It has not been explored in detail. Previous historical studies of the Sultanate depended largely on published colonial records and accounts to understand the economic and social role played by the slaves in the economy, rather than on records produced by the slaves themselves. Slavery in Sulu was observed through the eyes and preconceptions of European observers and writers who viewed Sulu as the centre of a world fundamentally hostile to their interests — an Islamic world whose activities centred upon piracy and slavery.12 Nevertheless, it is still possible to research aspects of the social history of the ethnically diverse slaves of the Sulu population.

I have drawn upon the statements of the fugitive slaves of the Sulu Sultanate which present a unique account from the perspective of the slaves themselves. From over 180 fugitive slave accounts, manuscript sources and travel literature, clear patterns of social life and economic activity can be constructed.13 As a historical source the published and unpublished testimonies of the fugitive slaves of the Sulu Sultanate are both invaluable and neglected. The testimonies tell us much about the experience of slavery in Sulu that could never be found in more traditional sources. The experiences of captives from the moment of seizure, and their passage in the slave prafulus to their settlement, life and labour in Sulu, emerge from anonymity in the slave testimonies. The total effect of these in-

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dividual lives and cases of fugitive slaves is to throw very considerable light on the internal processes — the ethnic and social transformations — in the Sulu trading zone during the 19th century.14

The trade data and the statements of the fugitive slaves complement one another and together enable us to resolve many fundamental questions about the size of Sulu's indigenous trade and its flourishing slave population; about how these changed over time as a consequence of external trade; and where, how and in what quantities the natural produce was harvested.

Slavery and External Trade in Sulu

The impact of external trade on the pre-industrial economies of African kingdoms has received considerable attention from Catherine Coquery, Samir Amin and Yves Person.15 In their analyses of indigenous African trade and markets they stress that the wealth and power of the aristocracy is based on the careful regulation of external trade in the form of rights and tolls. According to Emmanuel Terray, however, such a viewpoint which stresses the monopoly or highly centralized political control of the trade can underestimate the role of slave labour in producing the surplus which is the foundation of the social and political hegemony of the aristocracy. Terray shows that the central concern of the political leaders of the Aboran kingdom of Gyaman was labour.16 In this society external trade enabled the aristocracy to "realize" the surplus productivity extracted from the labour of its slaves. Above all, it was manpower and not foreign trade that was the direct and immediate foundation of the political economy of Gyaman.

The importance of a mode of production based on slave labour in the Sulu Sultanate is perhaps more apparent. Power and wealth in Sulu were defined only secondarily in terms of territory. A leader’s power and status was based more on his control over personal dependants, either slaves or retainers, that he could mobilize at a given moment for what was deemed to be either commercially or politically expedient, than on the formal state structure. A report expressly prepared in 1812 for Sir Stamford Raffles, the Lieutenant Governor of Java, by J. Hunt, who lived in Jolo for six months, recognized the significance of the slave mode of production in Sulu’s social formation: "The power and weight of the chiefs arise solely from their wealth, or like the Barons of old amongst us, from the number of ambas [slaves] or retainers each entertain."17

The accumulation of wealth and the transmission of power and privilege in Sulu was facilitated by the ownership of slaves. This was even more the case after the advent of European trade in the Sulu Archipelago in the late 18th century. The establishment of European and Asiatic enterprise and capital at Jolo on a hitherto unprecedented scale stimulated the production of tri pang and other strand commodities and made labour the chief source of wealth. Slave labour in the tri pang and pearl fisheries helped to provide the products introduced into the external trade. The expansion of slavery in Sulu occurs then as a direct consequence of developments similar to those in the Aboran kingdom of Gyaman.

An abundant supply of labour was of considerable significance in producing
power and wealth among the Taosug aristocracy. A datu who could acquire large numbers of slaves could engage more people in procurement activities and trade, and with the surplus wealth they produced attract others to him. The efforts of ambitious Sulu datu to participate in this burgeoning international trade, with its extraordinary profits, forced the demand for additional labour up and swelled the flow of external trade. The need for a reliable source of labour was met by the Ibanun and Balangi, the slave raiders of the Sulu zone. Indeed, the rapid growth of slave raiding was to keep pace with Sulu’s foreign trade by providing the prime requisite for the continued growth and prosecution of the littoral and riverine procurement trade — manpower. Thus the Sulu state created and reproduced the material and social conditions for the recruitment and exploitation of slaves. More than anything else it was this source and application of labour that was to give Sulu its distinctive predatory character in the eyes of Europeans in the 19th century as a “pirate and slave state”.

The Social Integration of Slaves in Sulu

The testimonies of fugitive slaves and historical accounts leave no doubt that slavery was an essential element in determining the economic, military and social patterns of the Sulu state. In large measure it was the slaves who held the fabric of Taosug society together in the period under consideration. In contrast to the industrial-plantation slavery of the West, slaves in Sulu were not solely defined in terms of their status as property. Slavery in Sulu as in other areas of Southeast Asia was primarily a property relation but not exclusively so, and a slave’s social position was determined by a number of factors, often independent of his servile status. In the Sulu Sultanate, banyaga (chattel-slaves) could have family roles as husband or wife, they could own property, and they often filled a variety of political and economic roles — as bureaucrats, farmers and raiders, as concubines and traders — by virtue of which they were entitled to certain rights and privileges accorded to other members of the community.

Slavery was a means of incorporating people into the Taosug social system. Banyaga were enrolled in the followings of datu for political support, but far more than anything else they were needed in labour in the fields and fisheries to maintain an expansive redistributive economy and the flow of external trade. They were predominantly Visayan, Tagalog, Minahasan and Buginese speakers, although almost every major ethnic group of insular Southeast Asia was to be found among their ranks. Some inherited their status. Others were obtained as a form of tax or in fulfilment of debt obligations. But all banyaga or their ancestors had been seized by professional slave raiders and retained in communities throughout the Sulu zone.

A distinction was drawn by Taosug between chattel-slaves (banyaga, bisaya, ipun, ammas) and bond-slaves (kiapangdilihan). Banyaga were either the victims or the offspring of victims of slave raids. Kiapangdilihan were persons from the ranks of commoner Taosug whose servility was the direct result of personal debt. The familiar roads to recruitment into slavery were capture and birth. Capture in
attached themselves to a leader. The creditor claimed rights over only a *kiapongdilihan's economic services and, in theory, was not allowed to harm him physically. In return for subsistence a *kiapongdilihan was obliged to work for his creditor but his services did not generally count toward repayment of his debt. Many *kiapongdilihan became dependents for life and their families might remain obligated for several generations. Indebtedness enabled *datu to command the labour of Taosug commoners to ensure the manpower reserves they required in the functioning of the social formation. Debt bondage as an economic institution in Sulu was mostly fully developed at the end of the 19th century, when the Taosug could no longer rely on Belangeli raids to supply sufficient numbers of *banyaga for their remittances, by increasing the amount of tribute ordinarily collected from clients and making the fines in the legal codes prohibitive.  

The legal position of a *banyaga in the Sultanate of Sulu was determined by the Sulu code, a body of law codified from custom and precedent as well as Islamic law. 23 In theory, as defined in the Taosug code, a *banyaga had no legal personality; a *banyaga could not hold property; a *banyaga could be transferred, bought or sold at will; and a master held the power of life and death over a *banyaga who could be punished for the slightest infraction of the law. The legal expression of social distinction is exemplified in the scale of penalties and fines in the codes for the offences of murder, adultery, theft and inheritance. Punishments were much more severe for *banyaga than members of other social classes. For example, if a male *banyaga had sexual intercourse with a free woman, he could either be killed outright or be severely punished and become the property of the woman's husband or family. 24 On the other hand, if a free man had sexual relations with a married female slave he need only pay a fine of 20 lengths of cotton cloth. 25 Less severe penalties for adultery between *banyaga derived from their inferior social status. The Taosug commonly associated such degrading behaviour with slaves.

Although these laws provided institutional opinion on the debasement of people, and further reflected the low opinion of slaves held by masters, in fact *banyaga were often socially and economically indistinguishable from free men and in some respects more secure. The actual situation of many individual *banyaga as revealed in their testimonies contradicted their legal status as a group. *Banyaga were encouraged to adopt Islam and marry; some *banyaga were permitted to purchase their freedom and assume a new status and ethnicity; the children of a female *banyaga and a freeman inherited the status of their father; some *banyaga could bear arms; any slave could own property which reverted to his master at death.

The basic differences between slavery among the Taosug and slavery as it was generally understood in the West was the variability of social distance that existed between slave and master. William Pryer stated that on the east coast of Borneo the relation was that of follower and lord rather than slave and master. 25 The power and wealth of a *datu was commensurate with the number of slaves he owned. The more slaves a *datu acquired, the greater was his reputation and the willingness of people to seek protection within his settlement in return for services.

*Banyaga were often well clothed, carried fine kris, and were entrusted with long journeys for their masters. 27 The personal and economic ties of slaves in the Sulu Sultanate "provided a sense of security which bound them to their masters and gave them identity and ... [incentive] to labour." 28 A master was constrained to feed and clothe his *banyaga or give them sufficient opportunities to earn a living, otherwise his slaves might demand to be sold. 29 It appears to have been a common practice in the Sultanate to allow a *banyaga, when he desired, to change masters rather than risk desertion.

Nevertheless there are statements of fugitive slaves and other reports which present the master-slave relationship in a much more severe light. In principle, the master's ownership was absolute and his authority unbounded. A *banyaga could suffer bodily degradation and be put to death; he could be sold, bartered or given away if it served his master's interests. 30 Pryer noted the ambivalence in theory and practice that existed in the relationship between slave and master:

Masters have the power of beating them [slaves] or even chopping them, but as a rule slavery here [Sundakan Bay and the coastal area] is regarded much as servanthood is elsewhere ... but a former Dato here cut one of his slaves to pieces for trying to escape. 31

While there is evidence of contrasting degrees of benevolence and hardship, what is important to ascertain in assessing the system is whether cruelty and maltreatment were modal characteristics of slavery in the Sultanate. The fact that a *datu defined his economic power in terms of the number of slaves he possessed, and that slaves were able to run away to another *datu or try to escape to Zamboanga or Menado, placed important constraints on his actions. A purely antagonistic relation would little benefit a master if only because the successful exploitation of Sulu's natural produce hinged on the large-scale organization of the co-operation of the slaves and their dependants. In 1842, an American sailor who accompanied the Wilkes expedition wrote:

We saw several captives here who had been captured among the islands in the Sulu Sea [Visayas] or Philippine group. One was taken out of a fishing boat in the harbour of Batavia ... This man, who belonged to Batavia, spoke some English, but very imperfectly. He states they were treated well by their masters, and did not seem anxious to obtain their freedom. 32

A master was liable to neglect or mistreat a *banyaga who was remiss in his duties, but the statements of escaped slaves and travel accounts of observers reveal that slaves, and especially those with knowledge and skills, had good relations with their masters and were not easily distinguished among his followers.

Manumission was commonly practised in the Sulu Sultanate and freed slaves were merged into the general population, assuming a new ethnicity and status. 33 For *banyaga, conversion and marriage were prerequisites to manumission. The
process of manumission in the Taosug social system (occurring primarily among those banyaga in close contact with their masters), tended to be a gradual one in which incorporation was implicit. An indio who altered his ethnic identity by becoming a Muslim and thereby achieving manumission found a new range of opportunities open to him as a freeman and a “Taosug”.

A banyaga could purchase his freedom in the Sulu Sultanate. This was frequently the case among those banyaga who had an aptitude for trade. Their owners often found it best to allow such slaves to acquire property so as to encourage initiative and establish their loyalty. In time the slave might purchase his freedom with his master’s backing, having profited from participation in his commercial affairs. Once free, reciprocal obligations continued to bind them — now as patron and client instead of master and slave.

Manumission was an important feature of the Taosug social system. The steady leakage of manumitted slaves swelled the ranks of a datu’s retainers and hence increased his political hegemony and prestige. The likelihood of manumission was essentially a function of occupation. Banyaga who provided immediate and indispensable services to their masters, who served in their households or on their trading vessels, had better chances of manumission than those who laboured in the fields or fisheries.

But for many slaves among the Taosug and Samal, escape rather than manumission remained their central ambition. Naturally it was during the early years of captivity that the desire to escape was greatest. This was particularly the case of indio men who had been torn away from their homes and families and had experienced the hardships of the Balangingi traffic. The initial social isolation created by differences in language, customs and status exacerbated the loneliness and yearning for the lost past. Some never did find the “indispensable margin of social and psychological space” necessary to overcome the trauma of transition and settle down. They constantly reworked their past lives; the remembrance of their pueblos and kampungs, family and companions did not fade away. One can feel in reading the statements of some of the fugitive slaves their desperation and incredible determination to secure freedom and rekindle the fabric of their family and community life. All such banyaga lived in expectation of that eventual return.

The Taosug system was such that controls were difficult to apply, and 100 to 200 banyaga who chafed under oppression fled annually to foreign vessels at Jolo, to the interior of Jolo or some other island in the archipelago, or to Zamboanga and Menado. Very little is known about the fate of those indios who actually managed to return to their pueblos. Undoubtedly, an indio sometimes reached home to find some or all of his family dead, his wife remarried, and outstanding debts and reciprocal obligations remaining to be fulfilled. Many who escaped were left to make a new life, the reality of which was harsher than that which they had fled.

The Economic Integration of Slaves

Slavery, I have emphasized, became crucial to Sulu’s economic and cultural life towards the end of the 18th century. Most accounts of the Sulu Sultanate written before 1780 indicate that the internal demand for slaves at Jolo was on a much smaller scale than it was destined to become in the 19th century. The impact of the West’s commercial intrusion in China was a watershed in the formation of the Sulu state. Slaves who were valuable for the variety of their labours essential to the growth of the state came to play a more avowedly important role in Sulu at this time. For example, among the Taosug, banyaga were used in trading ventures, in diplomatic negotiations, as slave raiders, as concubines and wet nurses, as tutors to their masters, as craftworkers and as peasants and fishermen.

There was a clear division of labour between the work of male and female banyaga. Heavy work was performed generally by male slaves. Physically able men assisted their masters in clearing virgin forest, in ploughing, in harvesting timber, in building and maintaining boats, and hauling water. Male banyaga also laboured in the fisheries in search of mother-of-pearl shell and tripang, manufactured salt, accompanied their masters on trading expeditions, and sailed as crew on Balangingi prahus. Included among the major tasks of female banyaga were: the sowing and weeding of rice fields; the pounding and threshing of rice; and the gathering and preparation of strand products. Female banyaga were also included in the entourage of their mistresses as attendants, and some enjoyed positions of trust and some comfort as concubines of leading datus.

Mother-of-pearl shell became one of Sulu’s most profitable exports by the beginning of the 19th century. Mother-of-pearl had previously been sought for the China market only on a limited scale. The trade increased from 2,000 piculs in 1760 to an estimated 12,000 piculs per annum by 1830. Once Asian and European traders realized the shell’s value to manufacturers of jewelry, cutlery and furniture in Ceylon and Europe, they became the chief customers of this commodity, which, with tripang, was among the most important items of export from Jolo. It can be roughly estimated from trade statistics that some 68,000 fishermen, slave and free, must have been engaged in diving for mother-of-pearl and fishing for tripang by hundreds of Taosug datus and Samal headmen during the 1830s.

If the labour-intensive economy of the Sulu Sultanate relied on the sea as an abundant source of produce for external trade, the wilderness of Borneo was its second mainstay. It was principally from this environment that the Sultanate was supplied with specialties for the China trade. Birds’ nests, procured primarily from limestone caves, and wax were obtained in abundance by thousands of slaves who initiated expansion of settlement and mined the riches of the forests of east Borneo for their Sulu overlords.

Banyaga of initiative and energy were entrusted with their master’s property and sent on trading voyages. Hunt noted that the Taosug employed slaves in their prahus not only as crewmen but as traders. Slaves regularly traded from Jolo to Balangin and Paalawan on behalf of their masters in the 1830s. The more capable banyaga were employed in trading excursions to the northeast coast:

The most intelligent of them are picked out as traders and perform long journeys sometimes of months duration, trading to different ports without ever
thinking of running away. Many of these slaves amass considerable sums of money and have houses and belongings even finer than their masters.\(^{63}\)

Aristocratic women were given banyaga to assist them in their business activities, primarily local marketing.\(^{64}\) By the mid-19th century some of the leading local traders in Sulu were women:

In Sulu the wives of the chiefs are entrusted with the principal management of accounts and carry on much of the trade; it is said that they have acquired considerable knowledge from the Manila captives, who are often of a superior class.\(^{56}\)

Ordinarily, the vending of cloth, vegetables and other trade goods in villages, at the open market, or to foreign vessels was done by banyaga. Noble women by virtue of their station lacked the liberty to barter produce, which entailed wandering amongst the houses, visiting the Chinese quarter, or rowing into the bay to a trading ship. It was common for Taueug women to send one or two Spanish-speaking slaves into the roadstead in small canoes on the arrival of a European vessel. The boats carried fruits, vegetables, coils of tali lanun (cheap rope of excellent quality), weapons and curiosities. Slave vendors were instructed to barter a specified minimum amount of produce by evening. They commonly accepted from European sailors only such trade items as cups and saucers, scissors, buttons, empty bottles, tobacco and opium.\(^{68}\) Slave hawkers were an important source of wealth to their mistresses. It was at the same time an attractive and profitable way of life for many:

\[...\] one day I was talking to a Malay, of whom I had just bought some coconuts, when he informed me that he also was a captive..., upon which I enquired why he did not profit by the opportunity to escape, and revisit his country. "Why should I do so?" he replied, "there is something to regret everywhere; here I am well enough, my master treats me as if I were one of his kindred, I am well paid, and could save money if I wished; in my own country I know I could not do better, and perhaps should not fare as well; therefore, I prefer remaining here."\(^{67}\)

The prosperity of the Sulu Sultanate depended to a large extent on the labour of the banyaga who manned the slave-raiding prahu. They augmented the strength of client communities that specialized in slaving, and as hirelings enriched their masters through active participation in raids. Wilkes observed that datu "receive a high price... for the services of their slaves.\(^{68}\) The banyaga cooked, fetched water and firewood, and assisted the crew from time to time with their shipboard duties.\(^{59}\) The banyaga were not armed but considered an integral part of the crew and it was their task to row, bail, clean and repair the prahu.\(^{60}\) It was common for masters to send unaccompanied banyaga on these prahu, but fleet leaders
(nakodahs) were reluctant to take those who objected to their master's wish. Undoubtedly datu were constrained to reward such slaves, otherwise they would have been far more reluctant to participate in such a hazardous undertaking.

Under the Taosug some of these banjaya enjoyed considerable social mobility. The successful execution of a slave-raiding expedition was difficult and dangerous work and depended largely on the skill of its personnel. Proven ability and experience in raid was one of the most important criteria for leadership. Some banjaya held important positions as nakodahs and occasionally as squadron commanders in slaving expeditions, and in return they acquired wealth and slaves who complemented their personal followings. Visayan indios in particular demonstrated their talent and courage as nakodahs and developed a fearful reputation in the Philippines, but banjaya from other parts of the Malay world, who had knowledge of dialects and of their former localities, proved equally skilful boat commanders.73

Raiding seems to have provided other such slaves with opportunities for modest social advancement, even if they showed a talent for fighting. Jades, a Batak retaliated "Sulu pirates" for trade goods on the east Sumatran coast, was "made at first to row, and bale water out of their prahu [but] he gave such proofs of courage and address, that in a short time they advanced him to the rank of fighting man".74

Despite the emphasis placed upon external trade in the formation of the Sulu State, agriculture remained the main activity for the majority of Taosug who still resided inland on the volcanic high islands of the Tapul group and on Pata and Siassi.75 The Sultanate needed a reliable source of food for its expanding population. The increased development of a slave mode of production conditioned the integration of the subsistence sector as a major component of the redistributive system. Banjaya employed in agriculture contributed towards providing the food supply which maintained the community and freed a datu and his retinue from subsistence pursuits, to devote their labour to trading and raiding.76 Small, dispersed farming communities comprised of banjaya dotted the interior of the larger fertile islands, especially on Jolo, Tapul and Pata. Masters allotted their banjaya a bamboo hut large enough to accommodate a single family and a farm plot. The huts were scattered about over large tracts of land. The slave statements suggest that in at least some cases these subordinate agricultural settlements were homogeneous in language and religion. The size of such settlements is not known and would have depended on the number of farm slaves a datu owned, but they must have contained up to several hundred persons. These banjaya were encouraged by their masters to marry other banjaya and establish homesteads. Farm slaves were expected to provide for their own wants from the fields and gardens that had been given to them. They were obligated to remit a fixed minimum portion of this produce to their master through the agency of the village headman, who could be of slave or non-slave origin. Farming was their major economic obligation, but datus demanded also that villages near the coast collect tripang and pearl shell for them, although for this they received barter goods in exchange. All were liable to be called upon for military services.78

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In prominent trading centres like Jolo, Paring and Bual, where agriculture was of secondary importance, talented banjaya engaged in a wide range of activities and included among their numbers bureaucrats, tribute collectors, artisans, musicians, scribes and commercial agents. The opportunities for social mobility among these slaves stand in marked contrast to those of slaves engaged in farming or fishing.

Banjaya recruited by the Sultan as office holders enjoyed considerable prestige. The Sultan appointed them to administer trade and subject peoples in different parts of the zone in order to centralise his authority and thwart the ambitions of rival elements among Taosug aristocrats. Because of their inferior social status, banjaya did not have the political aspirations of the datu class, and the Sultan's power was strengthened by the use of such persons as administrators. The interests of these slaves by virtue of their elevation to political office lay unquestionably with the Sultan and they made loyal followers.

Banjaya played leading roles as bureaucrats on the Samal islands, acted as tribute collectors throughout the zone, and manned tariff stations on Bornean rivers. Christiaan Soerma commanded a large prahu that collected tribute from Paring, Tapul, Tawi-Tawi and Sandakan Bay in the 1830s. A Chinese seized near Banjarmasin by the Iban named Banjar was a Sultan's man and had once been put on a trading station to control inland commerce along the Kinabatangan river. The Sultan also made use of banjaya to exercise control over subject groups on the northeast coast of Borneo. In 1878 Pryer wrote, "It is not considered particularly degrading to be a slave, most of the leading men here have been so..." One of the most influential of these slave headmen was Tuan Iman Gelane who dominated the Samal Bejau Laut on the northeast coast after mid-century:

Tuan Enum is a Bugis, he was captured when young by Sooloo pirates and taken over by the Sultan himself who finding him to be a man of ability sent him over here, Sandakan then apparently being pretty much in the hands of the Badjus, Enum married the queen of the Badjus, [and] became the headman amongst them.74

As Taosug trade became more complex and the political problems posed by the West grew, so did the amount of work which required literacy. The uses of written documents were no longer confined principally to the records of the genealogy of the Sultan, the appointment of officials, and the collection of tribute and legal fees. After 1770, writing was required for diplomatic and trade correspondence with the Spanish, Dutch and English, for recording grants of land and the terms of treaties of various sorts with the West, and to keep track of the accounts of datu's commercial enterprises.

Paradoxically, few Taosug aristocrats could read and write, and banjaya with education who could serve as scribes, interpreters and language tutors were much sought after. The majority of these scribes were male slaves drawn from dif-
different parts of the Malay world, but female *indio* slaves served as the Sultan’s secretary at different times.76 While most other slave specialists — artisans and craftsmen — were more or less expendable, the skills of the educated *banyaga* could not easily be mastered by others and were considered indispensable to the business enterprise of *datus* who employed them. *Banyaga* who could speak or write one or more foreign languages were employed as trading agents by *datus*, enabling them to amass considerable personal wealth: “These [educated slaves] are not denied the right of holding property which they enjoy during their lives, but at their death it reverts to their master. Some of them are quite rich...”77 Wilkes described such a *banyaga* who appears to have been of some assistance to his expedition:

All accounts of the Datu of Soung are kept in Dutch, by a young Malay from Ternate, who writes a good hand, and speaks English, and whom we found exceedingly useful to us. He is a slave of the Datu who employs him for this purpose only. He told me he was captured in a brig by the pirates of Baslian and sold here as a slave, where he is likely to remain for life, although he says the Datu has promised to give him his freedom after ten years.78

The number of slave artisans — goldsmiths, silversmiths, blacksmiths and weavers — was never large, and comprised only a small fraction of the total slave population. Gifted *banyaga*, whose raw materials — brought by trade or tribute — were transformed into jewels, tools, weapons and armour, were full-time artisans, while others who were less talented pursued their occupations on a part-time basis. Not surprisingly, the arbitrary distribution of *banyaga* left some talents wasted. José Ruedas, a silversmith, spent three years as a fisherman and gatherer of pearl shell before being taken by his master to be exchanged for a bundle of cotton cloth at Jolo, where he resumed his craft.79 While some slaves found their skills superfluous in a particular island’s economy, others appear to have had the opportunity to acquire training in critical occupations, especially as blacksmiths and armours.80

It is clear from the accounts of Forrest, Hunt, D’Urville and Wilkes that slaves were called upon to perform instrumental music and sing, sometimes in Spanish, or recite Visayan poetry for religious festivals and when Europeans visited Jolo.81 Under such circumstances, there was ample opportunity for *banyaga* with musical talents to improve their condition. Furthermore, some *datus* played the flute, violin or guitar and all were fond of Spanish songs and dances.82 *Indio* slaves could and did act as their music instructors and entertained them at night while they smoked opium and discussed trade and politics.

I have emphasized that slave holding was the primary form of investment for the Taosug but have not yet mentioned the slave’s significance as an object of exchange in a society and trade where general-purpose money was lacking. As a form of wealth, *banyaga* were a tangible asset in readily transferable form. In this context, *banyaga* were considered not only to be chattel but currency as well. For instance, the value of a *banyaga* in the 1850s, as an object of exchange in transactions between Taosug *datus* and Samal raiders, was equivalent roughly to ten kayas (pieces of coarse cotton cloth 20 fathoms in length), or two bundles of coarse *kain* (sarong), or 200-300 *gantang* of rice. *Prahu* could be purchased for six to eight slaves while boat rentals amounted to only two to three slaves. Portable cannon were loaned at the rate of one slave, and rifles (often defective) could be rented for five pieces of linen of 20 fathoms.83 Slaves were exchanged over and over again. *Datus* rarely traded their own followers, especially the younger ones, who were considered more malleable and educable, but they trafficked extensively in slaves who were given to them by Iranon and Balangangi as tribute, in payment of debts and fines or as captives. It was not at all uncommon for a slave to have had two, three, and even possibly four masters in his lifetime, to have lived among several ethnic groups in very different parts of the zone, to have fulfilled a variety of economic functions and experienced varying degrees of hardship and servitude.84 The ease with which slaves could be moved about reflects their centrality to the economic system.

Slavery then was of decisive importance in the economic and military organization of the Sulu Sultanate in the 19th century. *Banyaga* were encouraged to participate actively in the economic life of the state, and hence obtain a degree of social and cultural autonomy within the society:

At Soung, business seems active, and all, slaves as well as masters, seem to engage in it... these circumstances promote the industry of the community, and even that of the slave, for he too as before observed, has a life interest in what he earns.85

Many *banyaga* ultimately achieved a status and living standard that, though modest enough, was still in their view an improvement over their previous social condition under colonial overlords who did not scruple to thrust their own subjects into bondage. A minority were able to become wealthy; they maintained their own households in the principal towns, living out their lives in a style similar to that of their masters. Some of these *banyaga* who were wealthier than most Taosug commoners and even than some aristocratic owned mats, chests, fine clothes, brass utensils, weapons and gongs. A *banyaga* of standing had a *prahu* and owned a few other slaves to do his trading.86 Of the condition of slaves in Jolo, Manuel de los Santos observed: “...those slaves who wish to marry can do so because there are many women. I have seen some of them bear arms. Others who were slaves formerly, now are wealthy and free.”87 José Ruedas stated: “There are many Christian captives in Jolo some of whom are happily married and wealthy ...”88

The slave statements demonstrate that status discrepancy was common in 19th century Sulu. Among the hierarchy of *banyaga*, those who functioned as bureaucrats, artisans, scribes and concubines often had a greater degree of power and privilege than Taosug commoners. Wilkes remarked of such slaves: “Some of them are quite rich, and are invariably better off than the untitled freemen.”89
There is some evidence illustrating that in rare instances banayga of remarkable talent rose to the rank of orung kaya and datu as protégés of their masters.90

My discussion of slavery in Sulu thus far testifies to the view that the aristocracy were bent on attracting the flow of external trade to Jolo because it was the principal means of "realizing" the surplus they extracted from the labour of their slaves.91 Slaves were what the datu needed in order to obtain the new luxury products brought by the trade. By the beginning of the 19th century the Jolo market offered British-manufactured brassware and glassware; Chinese earthenware and ceramics; fine muslins, silk and satin garments; Spanish tobacco and wines; and opium from India.92 There was a constant increase not only in the variety but also in the quality of these objects of trade. These luxury goods for personal adornment and pleasure and for the household were translated into power and prestige factors by the aristocracy to form the material basis of their social superiority.

More important, the political and commercial growth of the Sulu state was reflected in the enormous increase in war stores in the Jolo market at the end of the 18th century — lead, iron, shot, gunpowder and cannon.93 The Taosug aimed at monopolizing control over the exchange and distribution of these goods which, with slaves, enabled the reproduction of the social formation; the European firearms and gunpowder supplied by the international trade enabled coastal-dwelling Taosug to advance their commercial interests in the inter-societal exchange network, to promote raiding on a large scale and keep the zone free of undesirable intruders and competitors. As Terray emphasizes, it is only in this sense that external trade is a vital element in the overall functioning of the social formation: "Like every distributive mechanism, it created no wealth that was born in the process of production; but it gave a concrete form appropriate to the requirements of reproduction."94

It is worth emphasizing again the powerful economic forces that were pushing the Taosug aristocracy in the direction of acquiring more and more slaves; in the first place, their demands for all kinds of products coming in from external trade had to be satisfied — demands that were constantly increasing. These demands were both a consequence and cause of slavery. In order to trade, it was necessary for the Taosug to have something to give in exchange. Hence the collection and redistribution of produce was dominated by those datu with the largest number of slaves; that is by the Sultan and certain datu on the coast who were most directly involved in Sulu's external trade. Secondly, the more dependent Sulu's economy was on slaves, the larger loomed the question of its supply of slaves. The only way for the Taosug to obtain the raw materials which formed the basis of their commerce was to secure more slaves, by means of long-distance raiding.

In this period the rate of growth of the Sultanate's population had not kept pace with its expanding commercial economy. Since it was the labour of slaves that made possible external trade, slavery rose markedly from this time and became the dominant mode of production. This explains why Jolo quickly became the principal centre in the zone for the importation of slaves and the outfitting of marauders.95 Slave raiding in the Sulu Sultanate was highly organized. There were several types of expeditions: those which were equipped by the Sultan and his kindred; those which were independently recruited with the encouragement of the Sultan; and those conducted without the sanction of the Sultan. While the right to organize raiding expeditions resided at all levels of the political system, the Sultan and certain datu on the coast were in the best position to do so by virtue of their control over external trade and their more expansive network of alliances.

The military and economic activities of Samal raiding populations were regulated closely by their Taosug patrons. They encouraged the Balangangi, an "emergent" community who themselves or their forebears had been captives, to become fishers of men.96 To meet the West's insatiable demand for produce acceptable in Chinese gourmet markets and, hence, the increased demands for slave labour in the zone, datu not only equipped Samal vessels but also provided credit to the Iranun with advances in bontā, powder and ball, cannon, rice, opium and additional crew.97 Everything was to be repaid in captured slaves.98 Banayga familiar with distant costs and local conditions often accompanied the Balangangi on long slave raids southwards to Celebes and north to Luzon, raids which gave cause for considerable anxiety to colonial governments as late as the 1870s. Thus, the capture of slaves whose surplus labour could be converted into a source of wealth was the principal aim of Taosug-sponsored Iranun/Balangangi attacks on southeast Asian villages and prahu shipping.99

There are no statistics on the overall number of slaves imported into Jolo in the period under consideration, except for the divergent estimates of European observers. These range from 750 to as high as 4,000 captives per year from 1775 to 1848 for the Philippines alone. It is possible to reconstruct a clearer picture of the pattern of slave imports to the Sulu Sultanate on the basis of captives' statements and other sources. Slave imports to the Sulu Sultanate during the first 65 years (1780-1835) probably averaged between 2,000 to 3,000 per year. The steepest rise in the number of slaves brought annually to Sulu, between 3,000 and 4,000, occurred in the period from 1836 to 1848 when external trade was most intense at Jolo. The trade reached its apex in 1848 and slacked considerably in the next two decades with imports ranging between 1,200 to 2,000 slaves per yeer until it collapsed in the 1870s.100 The figures appear to show that between 200,000 and 300,000 slaves were moved in Iranun and Samal vessels to the Sulu Sultanate in the period from 1770 to 1870.101

Conclusion
The second half of the 19th century proved to be a critical turning point in the history of the Sulu Sultanate, as it was in the rest of the non-Western world. Everywhere challenges arose to confront the Sulu state's ability to create and reproduce the material and social conditions for survival. With increased cooperation among Western navies and more effective use of steam vessels, the Sulu world began to shrink. The first signs came with the destruction of Balangangi and Jolo by the Spanish between 1846 and 1852.102 The datu's main source of wealth was his following. The destruction of Balangangi and Jolo placed serious con-
strains on the ability of the Taosug to retain control over the Balangingi Samal, their principal source of slaves. The grooved cannon and gunpowder of the West which had first attracted Iranum and Samal to Jolo as clients and suppliers of captives were now operating to drive them apart. There was a progressive fragmentation of Samal groups because of Spanish incursions and disruption of the Taosug economy. No longer could their harrying fleets expect to find coasts unprotected and towns defenceless. The era of long-range slave raiding was over.

The total collapse of the system only came with the concerted effort of Spain to end Sulu's autonomy. In the last three decades of the century the trade was destroyed by the Spanish naval campaign to annihilate systematically all prahu shipping in the Sulu Archipelago; by the development of a policy to compel the Taosug to settle down in villages as agriculturists; and by the immigration of large numbers of Straits Chinese to Sulu in spite of, or perhaps because of, the naval campaign. Taosug control over the regulation of external trade collapsed, with drastic consequences. They were forced to curtail their commercial activities and become dependent on the merchant immigrants with contacts in Singapore.

The traditional Taosug redistributive role was taken away, the zone disintegrated, and the pattern of life altered by the extinction of slavery. By the beginning of the 20th century, the demise of the trading and raiding system had left the former Sulu state bereft of its importance as a major commercial entrepôt in the wider island economy and confronted with severe internal social and economic problems. Two major conclusions can be drawn from this discussion of the place of the slave in Sulu society in the 19th century. The first is the decisive importance of the exploitation of slaves in the functioning of the social formation in Sulu: "A social formation cannot be understood except by beginning with an analysis of the relations of production which are at its base." External trade spawned slavery in the Sulu Sultanate. The increase in external trade which affected state formation and economic integration made it necessary to import captives from the outside world to bolster the population. As goods from China, Europe and North America flowed to Jolo, the Taosug aristocrats thrived, and the Balangingi, a strong, skilled people who were the scourge of Southeast Asia, raiding in 60-foot-long prahu, emerged.

The sea was the life force of the Sultanate, where tens of thousands of banayas laboured annually to provide the specialties for external trade. The arrival of captive slaves on a hitherto unprecedented scale for intensive or skilled work and their gradual absorption into the lower levels of Taosug and Samal society was central to the development and expansion of the Sultanate system.

Secondly, the rise of Sulu as the dominant state in the trading zone at the end of the 18th century conforms to the more general process of state formation and economic integration that begins with the introduction of external trade. The Sulu Sultanate's history thus parallels the evolution of independent states and stateless societies beyond Southeast Asia where slaves played economic and social roles similar to those in the Austronesian Kingdom of Gysmen.

NOTES

1. The zone comprising the Sulu Archipelago, the northeast coast of Borneo, the foreland of southern Mindanao and the western coast of Celebes set the geographical framework of the study.

2. My study, "Trade, Raid, Slave: The Socio-Economic Patterns of the Sulu Zone, 1770-1899" (doctoral dissertation, Australian National University, 1979), on which this paper is primarily based, stresses the impact of a rapidly expanding foreign trade on the economy and society of the Sulu zone, and provides a background to a discussion of slavery as an established feature of the Sulu Sultanate in this period.


6. For a detailed discussion of the traditional patterns of trade of the Sulu Sultanate, see, Warren, "The Sulu Zone," 16-35; see also my article, "Sino-Sulu Trade in the Late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," Philippine Studies 28 (1977), 50-79.


9. Ibid., 348-408.

10. I rely heavily on the ethnographical studies of Thomas Kiefer and also acknowledge the pioneering work of John Gullick and Melvin Mednick con-


13 See, Blake to Maitland, 13 August 1838, Public Records Office, London (hereafter, PRO), Admiralty 125/133; Declaraciones de todos los cautivos fugados de Jolo y acogidos a los Buques de la expresada division, con objeto de averiguar los puntos de donde salen los pance piratas, la clase de gente que los tripulan, la forma en que se hacen los armamentos y otros particulares que arrogan las mismas declaraciones, Jolo, 4 October 1836, Philippine National Archives, Manila (hereafter, PNA) Mindanao/Sulu 1803-1890, 1-72; Relacion de los cuarenta y cinco cautivos venidos de Jolo sobre el bergantin Espanol *Cometa*, 19 March 1847, PNA, Piratas 3; Verklaringen van ontvloogten personen uit de handen der Zeerovers van 1845-1849, Asip Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta, (hereafter, ANRI), Menado 37. Numerous statements and interrogations of freed slaves and captive marauders, recorded over several centuries and expressing their own attitudes towards the place of slaves and raiding in the Sulu world, were also published occasionally in Dutch scholarly journals. See, A.J.F. Jansen “Aantekeningen omtrent Sollok en de Sollossche Zeerovers,” *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, uitgegeven door het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (hereafter, TBG) 7 (1856), TBG 20 (1973), 302-06; W.R. van Hoevell, “De Zeeroverijen der Soloezers,” *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië* (hereafter, TNI) 2 (1850), 99-105.


23 Saleebey, *Studies in Moro History*, 65, 81, 89.

24 Ibid., 71, 83, 93.

25 Ibid., 93.

26 Diary of William Pryer, 14 March 1878. CO, 874/68.


36. See the statement in, Relacion jurada de los individuos cautivos venidos en la Fragata de guerra Inlessa Samarang, 15 March 1845, PNA, Piratas 3; Hunt, "Some particulars relating to Sulo," 50.


40. Numero 133, Carlos Cuarteron, prefecto apostolico, a Señor Gobernador Politico y Militar de Jolo, 3 December 1878, PNA, Isla de Borneo.


43. See statements of Mariano de la Cruz and Francisco Gregorio in, Expediente 12, 4 October 1836, PNA, Mindanao/Sulu 1803-1890; El Gobierno Político Militar del Zambongao a Gobernador Capitan General, 9 June 1847, PNA, Mindanao/Sulu 1838-1885.


45. The Chinese manufactured mother-of-pearl articles in the form of beads, fans, and combs. William Milburn, *Oriental Commerce; containing a geographical description of the principal places in the East Indies, China, and Japan, with their produce, manufactures and trade, including the coasting or country trade from port to port; also the rise and progress of the trade of the various European nations with the Eastern world, particular; that of the English East India Company from the Discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope to the present period; with an account of the company's Establishments, Revenues, Debts, Assets, at home and abroad* (London: Black, Parry and Company, 1813), 2:513.


47. In 1859 the Singapore price of a picul of mother-of-pearl shell varied according to the quality between 300 and 600 dollars. It was not unusual to pay up to 850 dollars to re-export it to Ceylon. Numero 63, El Consul de España en Singapore a el primer Secretario de estado, 3 July 1860, Archivo de Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Madrid (hereafter AMAE), Correspondencia Consulados Singapore 2067.

48. This estimate has been arrived at by using the few examples in the literature of archival documents and private manuscripts to provide ratios between the number of people involved in marine procurement and their annual output at small collecting centres in the zone. I have used these figures in conjunction with the statistic for the estimated volume of *tripang* (10,000 piculas) and mother-of-pearl (12,000 piculas) exported from Jolo in the 1830s to establish the relative size of the labour force. For example, Hunt wrote that at Towan...
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59 Statement of Alex Quijano in, Expediente 12, 4 October 1836, PNA, Mindanao/Sulu 1803-1890.


61 Statements of Alex Quijano, Domingo Candelario and Mariano Sevilla in, Expediente 12, 4 October 1836, PNA, Mindanao/Sulu 1803-1890; statement of Mahfuz, 2 June 1838, in, Bonham to Maitland, 28 June 1838, PRO, Admiralty 125/133.

62 Statements of Juan Florentino, Manuel Felix, Domingo Francisco and Mariano Sevilla in, Expediente 12, 4 October 1836, PNA, Mindanao/Sulu 1803-1890; extracts from Singapore Free Press, 6 April 1847, PRO, Admiralty 125/133; Numero 137, Carlos Cuarteron, prefecto apostolico au Gobernador Capitan General, 12 August 1878, PNA, Isla de Borneo (2); Tomas de Comyn, State of the Philippines in 1810 being an historical, statistical and descriptive account of the interesting portion on the Indian Archipelago (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1969), 124.

63 Statements of Abdul and Sendiin, Verklaringen van ontvangen personen uit de handen der Zeeroovers van 1845-1849, ANRI, Menado 37; Jansen, Aantekeningen omtrent Sollok en de Sollokische Zeeroovers, 225.

64 Sherard Osborn, My Journal in Malayan Waters (London: Routledge, Warne and Routledge, 1861), 41; in some instances slaves redeemed themselves by acts of bravery which indefinitely their masters to them. Slaves involved in raiding were most apt to receive their freedom under such circumstances. Witti to Treacher, November 1881, CO, 879/229; Cesar Majul, "Political and Historical Notes on the Old Sulu Sultanate," Journal of the Malay Society Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 38 (1965), 35-36; Kiefer, The Tausug, 41. The following example illustrates the circumstances under which a master might have exercised the right of redemption by a sacred promise to God:

Dato Meldrum of Johor states that he saw Pengener Mahomet of Brunei wearing a baju ranti [chain mail] at Pandansan, in the early fifties. The Pengener had married an Illanun wife who was settled there and who claimed rule over the river. Pengener Mahomet said he had been pirating on the coast of China, more than once along with the Illanuns, on one occasion he fell into the sea with his baju ranti but was saved by a slave who dived and fished him up...

British North Borneo Herald and Official Gazette (hereafter, NBH) 16 September 1896, 236.

65 Kiefer, The Tausug, 10.
Farren to Palmerston, 17 January 1851, CO, 144/8; Corbett to the Secretary of the Admiralty, 6 October 1862, Foreign Office, London (hereafter, FO), 71/1.

Statements of Pedro Antonio, Vincente Remigio, and Francisco Augustino in, Expediente 12, 4 October 1836, PNA, Mindanao/Sulu 1803-1890; Witti to Treacher, November 1881, CO, 874/229.

Statements of Vincente Remigio and Francisco Augustino in, Expediente 12, 4 October 1836, PNA, Mindanao/Sulu 1803-1890; Witti to Treacher, November 1881, CO, 874/229.

Statements of Juan Sabala and Vincente Remigio in, Expediente 12, 4 October 1836, PNA, Mindanao/Sulu 1803-1890.

Statements of Matias de la Cruz and Francisco Sacarias in, Expediente 12, 4 October 1836, PNA, Mindanao/Sulu 1803-1890; Verklaring van Christiaan Soerma, 10 August 1845, ANRI, Menado 50; William Pryer, "Diary of a trip up the Kenabatangan," Sabah Society Journal 6 (1970), 119.

Verklaring van Christiaan Soerma, 10 October 1846, ANRI, Menado 50.

Pryer, "Diary of a trip up the Kenabatangan," 119.


Ibid.


Escourea, Memoria sobre Filipinas y Jolo redactada en 1863 y 1864, 371; Diary of William Pryer, 8 March 1879, CO, 874/68.


Statement of José Ruedas in, Expediente 12, 4 October 1836, PNA, Mindanao/Sulu 1803-1890, 32.

Statement of Gabriel Francisco in, Expediente 12, 4 October 1836, PNA, Mindanao/Sulu 1803-1890, 72.


All the evidence points to the fact that the Sulu Sultan and chief datus never encouraged or approved of piracy by Samal or Iranun datus, for they were themselves traders having an interest that all shipping lanes be kept safe especially for traders going or coming from Jolo.

98 Statement of Juan de la Cruz in, Expediente 12, 4 October 1836, PNA, Mindanao/Sulu 1803-1890; El Gobierno Politico y Militar de Zamboanga a Gobernador Capitan General, 30 May 1842, PNA, Mindanao/Sulu 1833-1885.


101 Farren to Palmerston, 16 March 1851, CO, 144/8; Warren, “Slave Markets and Exchange in the Malay World: The Sulu Sultanate, 1770-1878,” 174-75; “The Sulu Zone,” 342-44. For a precise calculation on slave imports to Sulu 1770-1870, I have used the figure 20.5 slaves per boat based on the statements of slaves seized 1826-1847 minus 4,800 to 8,000 (1,200 to 2,000 per year) for the period 1848-1852. From the calculations it therefore follows that the number of slaves imported over the period 1770-1870 varied from a low estimate of 201,350 to a high estimate of 302,575. See table 4 in “Slave Markets and Exchange in the Malay World: The Sulu Sultanate, 1770-1878,” 174.
