

gerated reliance on God's supernatural assistance. After explaining the unity, omnipotence, and timelessness of God, the writer deals with the creation of man and the proper relationship which should exist between man and God:

"Allah has created us in the highest form, and granted us a great many gifts, and helped us without limit. For this reason Moslems love God and fear Him. The love of God is the beginning of all worship.

"The man who has love of God in his heart will also be a man of good morals and kind to everybody. Those who fear God will never trespass on the rights of others, will keep themselves from sin, and never live dishonestly and apart from justice.

"This is the way which leads humanity to perfectibility. To believe in the unity of God is an important principle of Islam, and it differentiates Islam from other religions. Jews believe that every country and each nation has its own God. Christians believe that God has a son, and say God is one, but composed of three. But Islam has raised itself above these conceptions and has reached the principles of unity."

In a book for use in the primary schools, Professor Abdalbaki stresses the need for the proper understanding of "Trust in God," pointing out the obligation on man's part to use his intelligence. He cites the famous incident of the strayed camel, when the Prophet told the foolish man who had not tied his camel but had trusted in God, "you should have tied the camel and then trusted." Constant stress is laid by all writers on the evils of laziness resulting from too much reliance on "*kismet*," and many of Turkey's woes are blamed on the failure of men to exert themselves, their backwardness in mastering new techniques, and their misuse of the great gifts and natural resources which God gave for their use.

Islam is depicted throughout as a practical religion and its emphases appear as distinctly this-worldly. Much space is devoted to morality and ethical behavior, and it is made plain that God approves of progress and good craftsmanship. Other-worldly matters are touched upon sparingly by the school-book writers, the allusions being mostly of a routine character. In the sermons for the mosques, however, the messages are directed to listeners who have been

brought up with many exaggerated ideas regarding the supernatural, ideas which the preacher must eradicate or else redirect to a practical end. Thus one finds it asserted that heaven is a place to which men go who unhesitatingly perform their military service. Elsewhere Moslems are enjoined against using magical texts from the Koran to cure disease, and are told that they must enlist the aid of the God-sent bacteria in immunizing serums to combat disease microbes, which are more dangerous than fierce dogs. The fact is never lost sight of that obedience to the laws of Turkey's Grand National Assembly is eminently pleasing to God.

Justification for the reinterpretation of Islamic teachings is found in a passage written by Professor Abdalbaki in one of his primary school textbooks:

"After the death of the Prophet, a new set of needs arose, times advanced, and ideas changed. For that reason, wise men searched in the Holy Koran, in the words of the Prophet, and in the actions of the Apostles (that is, those who were Moslems at the time of the Prophet); they accepted the main ideas of Islam without tampering with those conceptions concerning the existence of God and His Unity, or the righteousness of the Prophet, and they derived their ideas about purification, *namaz*, and other orders of God from the Koran, the words of Mohammed, and the behavior of the Apostles; and having accepted these in a fashion acceptable to their intelligence and knowledge, they adopted a course of action of their own. From this you may understand that Islam is a religion suited to any century. According to the changing of ideas and according to the needs of the century it can be accepted in a manner suitable to the mind. Of course the freedom of thought which is in Islam does not exist in any other religion, and it is because of this that it has spread so widely."³

The religious outcome for Turkey is still too uncertain a quantity to venture definite predictions. The result of social transition is always difficult to forecast, even when careful plans are being followed. But where an institution is subjected to severe stress, where its control is largely of a negative character, and where its leadership is hesitant in the face of discouraging conditions, one would be bold

³ For the translation of Prof. Abdalbaki's work I am indebted to the American Bible House, Istanbul. The other translations have been provided by various Turkish friends.

indeed to predict a brilliantly successful future. If twenty years from now the religious life of Turkey is definitely Moslem, and the nation boasts of a virile religious organization which is recognizably Islamic, the world will have proof that the message of Mohammed is not defunct, that it has the essentials of permanence enabling it to live under vastly changed conditions. It is a time of severe testing for Islam, more severe than an age of active persecution, for opposition might at least furnish a "cause" and fan the embers of the quiescent religion into flame. If Turkey is genuinely loyal to the religion of the Prophet, she must take care that she does not allow it to die of neglect and inept management.

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SLAVERY IN ARABIA

Slavery still exists. The shame of the traffic in human lives still disgraces the world. We Americans have been so accustomed to think of slavery as a thing of the dark and unenlightened past, as a curse against which a determined battle was fought and won entirely, completely, once and for all, in the middle of the last century, that we were a bit surprised to notice in the *New York Times* last November that the British Government had sent a stern "warning" to Emperor Haile Selassie because slave raiders from Abyssinia had massacred one hundred and fifty Kenya tribesmen, carried off their women and children and burned their villages. It was estimated that one thousand peaceable members of those tribes had been killed by Abyssinian marauders since the beginning of the year.¹

"Slavery, slave raids, slave markets and the slave trade still continue in Abyssinia, the Hedjaz, Morocco, Tripoli, the Libyan desert, Rio de Oro, Arabia, Egypt, the Soudan, Eritrea, French, British and Italian Somaliland, Tibet, Afghanistan, Liberia, and in most independent Mohammedan states and several other territories."²

In Abyssinia the slave population is estimated as one-fifth of the whole, according to an authoritative report of a European government. That would mean that there are two million slaves in that country. Arabia, a country of about a million square miles and seven million inhabitants, would have seven hundred thousand slaves if but one-tenth of the people were slaves. The number is probably far higher.³ Commander Hugh Woodward (Royal Navy, Retired) admits that the slave-trading which goes on in and around Arabia is perfectly well known to the naval

¹ *New York Times*,--November 16, 1932.

² *Survey*, August 1, 1926, p. 485: "Slavery in 1926," by A. L. Warnshuis.

³ *The Contemporary Review*, Sept. 1932: "Slavery: World Abolition," John Harris.

officers who have served in those regions, and he believes that as many as five thousand men, women and children have been carried into Arabia for sale, annually, during the last five years.⁴

But of necessity, in a country where there is no official census and where the major part of the population is shifting, wandering, nomad tribes, figures cannot be accurate. However, the fact will not be gainsaid that today slavery exists on a large scale in Arabia; slaves are an intimate part of every household with any financial standing; slaves are bought and sold. Slavery is accepted as an institution, and it is vitally interwoven with the political, religious and social life of the country.

It is slavery in the Persian Gulf in which we are most interested in our present study. However, it is impossible to consider the situation in the Gulf without studying also the situation in the rest of Arabia, where it is much the same, and in contiguous countries, especially Abyssinia, from which the bulk of the slaves come. The law of supply and demand works here as in other phases and departments of life. As long as the demand for slaves from Arabia is so insistent, so long will the slave traders be emboldened to risk much to supply them for high prices. As long as there is a supply, so long will the Arabs find them indispensable.

"The simple wish to use the bodily powers of another person as a means of ministering to one's own ease or pleasure is doubtless the foundation of slavery, and is as old as human nature."⁵

Aristotle maintained that slavery is based on nature, and that certain races are meant to be subject.

"The greatest of all divisions, that between freeman and slave, appears as soon as a barbaric warrior spares the life of his enemy when he has him down, and brings him home to drudge for him and till the soil."⁶

Such seems to be the origin of slavery in Arabia.

"This practice originated as a result of warfare and conquest. Under Islamic law, unbelievers who commit an act of aggression against the Muslims are offered upon the outbreak of the resulting

⁴ "Slavery," by Lady Kathleen Simon, p. 59.

⁵ "Ancient Law," Maine, p. 104.

⁶ "Anthropology," Tyler, p. 434, ff; Hastings, "D.B." Vol. 4, p. 461.

hostilities the alternatives of embracing Islam, of paying tribute and retaining their own religion and property, or of fighting to the death. Under the second of these conditions, the destitute enemies of the Islamic State were often enslaved in default of paying their tribute. The legality of this is doubtful. Under the third condition they were often captured and enslaved instead of being massacred."⁷

From the possession of slaves as the lawful spoils of war it is an easy step to the purchase of slaves, and then on to slave raiding and slave trading, though these are not legal in Islam. But be that as it may, Mohammed found himself in a world where slavery was already established. He found it an existing institution, both amongst the Jews and the idolaters of Arabia. He recognized it and legislated for it.

Just what attitude the Prophet took to the existing slavery is a matter of dispute. There are those who claim that Mohammed looked upon the institution as one of only temporary character, especially Moslem apologists such as Syed Ameer Ali. He writes:

"The Islamic teachings dealt a blow at the institution of slavery which, had it not been for the deep root it had taken among the surrounding nations, and the natural obliquity of the human mind, would have been completely extinguished as soon as the generation which then practiced it had passed away."⁸

On the other hand, here is another view:

"Just as Greece and Rome deemed slavery sufficiently sanctioned by Law of Nature, so the Musulmans, taking their cue from the Prophet, have rarely discerned in it an immoral or irreligious element. . . . History tells of no general movement against this institution in any Mohammedan country."⁹

"Slavery is in complete harmony with the Spirit of Islam whilst it is abhorrent to that of Christianity. That Mohammed ameliorated the condition of the slave as it existed under the heathen laws of Arabia we cannot doubt, but it is equally certain that the Arabian legislator intended it to be a perpetual institution."¹⁰

Note a few of the traditions relating to the action of the Prophet in regard to slavery. Imam ibn Husain tells of a man who at his death freed six slaves, his only property. The Prophet called the slaves together, cast lots, freed two

⁷ "The Holy Cities of Arabia," Vol. II, Eldon Rutter, pp. 90-94.

⁸ "The Spirit of Islam," Ameer Ali, p. 262.

⁹ "The Influence of Islam," by Rev. E. J. Bolus, p. 121.

¹⁰ "Notes on Mohammedanism," Hughes, p. 135.

of them and returned the other four to slavery, speaking severely of the act of freeing them all. And Jabir mentions the fact that in the days of the Prophet they used to sell a mother with children, but when Omar became Khalifa he forbade the practice.¹¹

"But, and this is an all-important point—the Prophet wrought his manly utmost to mitigate the ill-effects of slavery; it flourished exceedingly, as every schoolboy knows, long before his time, and in other countries besides his own; but, thanks to Mohammed's laws, the lot of the slaves of Islam was, and is still, immensely happier than was ever that of the slaves of pagan Rome or of Christian North America."¹²

"Whether the Prophet of Islam could have abolished slavery altogether among his followers is very doubtful; and his prescriptions regarding the just and humane treatment of this unfortunate class, taken all in all, are praiseworthy. On the other hand there is nothing whatever in Islam that tends to the abolition of this curse."¹³

As Sir William Muir has well said: "Rather, while lightening, he riveted the fetter There is no obligation on a Moslem to release his slaves."¹⁴

Whence do the slaves come? Where are they recruited? In the eleventh century, slaves, concubines and eunuchs destined for the harems in Arabia were imported into the Maghrib and Egypt by way of Spain from Scandinavia, and from the Slavonic peoples "whose name still bears witness to the rôle they played in the civilized world and especially the Islamic countries." In the thirteenth century Arabia received slaves from Europe by way of Constantinople¹⁵ whence also in more modern times we find slaves coming from the Caucasus. However, these cost four or five times as much as the black slaves, so naturally their number is small. The boys became house servants and the women concubines.¹⁶ Very clearly the lighter strain comes out even in the good Arab families today, in the children with fair hair and blue eyes.

C. Snouck Hurgronje, who himself lived in Mecca as a Moslem, wrote:

¹¹ "Mishkat," Bk. xiii, Chap. xx, Pt. 1.

¹² "With the Pilgrims to Mecca," Sparroy. Appendix by Wilfrid. p. 303.

¹³ "The Social Laws of the Koran," Roberts, p. 53.

¹⁴ "The Koran: Its Composition and Teaching," Sir Wm. Muir, p. 58.

¹⁵ "The Legacy of Islam," Arnold and Guillaume, p. 101.

¹⁶ "Mecca," C. S. Hurgronje, p. 10.

"It may seem incredible to many, and yet it is true, that the Mekka slave market gets occasionally small consignments of slaves from the British and Dutch East Indies. The slaves who are Dutch subjects would doubtless be mostly from the heathen districts of Celebes or Borneo or from the island of Nias Of young slaveboys from Hindustan I saw many, and also I saw four freshly imported British Indian slave-women."¹⁷

"I noticed that Chinese female slaves were not seldom imported into the Holy City from Singapore."¹⁸

That this practice is continued today is evident from the investigations of the Slavery Commission.

"The Temporary Slavery Commission is informed on authority which it regards as entirely trustworthy that many of the slaves of foreign origin in the Hedjaz are either young girls from the Far East who come as pilgrims, or are smuggled for sale, or are persons coming from various countries accompanying their parents or masters in the pilgrimage to Mecca."¹⁹

An attempt is being made to check this evil by an insistence on more stringent passport regulations and the suggestion that young people and children be prohibited from coming on the pilgrimage. But the pilgrimage is a religious duty of Islam. Does it seem likely that either of these recommendations will take effect?

From several sources there comes the suggestion that parents sell their own children into slavery, parents in the Yemen, in Mecca and parents coming on the pilgrimage.²⁰ It is generally known that that practice is common in China. We are surprised to learn that it is true, even though on a very small scale, in Arabia.

Also, it is little known that in Arabia, in Mecca and in Yemen, as well as in Abyssinia, corps of slave women and slave men are maintained, and are bred like cattle in order that their children may swell the slave market.²¹ Each woman when she produces a child receives a special reward. Her pregnancy cannot be considered an excuse for stopping work "until the actual day of her delivery and she resumes it almost immediately afterwards." These facts were cor-

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 15.

¹⁸ Hurgronje: "Ein Arabischer Beleg zum heutigen Sklavenhandel in Singapore in de Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesel. xlv, pp. 395-402.

¹⁹ Report of Temporary Slavery Commission, July 13 to 25, 1925, Chap. iii, Art. 44.

²⁰ "The Holy Cities of Arabia," Vol. II, Rutter, p. 113; Negro Year Book, 1931-1932, p. 424.

²¹ "The Holy Cities of Arabia," Vol. II, Rutter, p. 93; Negro Year Book, 1931-1932, p. 424.

roborated by the investigations and careful inquiry of *Le Matin* in 1929, and also by the report of M. Mareil Griaule to the International Labour Organization of Geneva.²² It was this practice of the stock rearing of slaves that helped convince the Maharajah of Nepal that his country could make no progress so long as the system was countenanced. He explained to the slave owners that if the amount of money invested in a woman slave for the breeding of children were invested in industry, the return would be larger.

But by far the largest number of slaves in Arabia and along the Persian Gulf today are of African origin—black men from Nubia and the Sudan, who being strongest are used for the heaviest work, and Abyssinians in all hues from yellow to dark brown, who become concubines and household servants. However, according to the League of Nations report, slavery in the northern provinces of the Sudan is moribund, and in the extreme south no slave-owning communities exist. Although in some of the central provinces, “notably Kordufan and Kassala, the progress of manumission has not been so rapid as might have been desired,”²³ yet Arabia can no longer look to the Sudan as her source of slaves. This is also due to the fact that in the Sudan today there is taking place an economic development in the form of a cotton-growing industry, which is bound to affect the slave-owners and the slaves.

In Abyssinia, on the other hand, we still find slavery flourishing. The Slavery Commission Report bears witness to that fact, as do also British government documents, travelers and Naval officers in the Red Sea.²⁴

And again we turn to the Slavery Commission report:

“There is reliable evidence of recent date that many thousands of slaves (an estimate that appears to be trustworthy says ten thousand) are brought by Abyssinian traders to the northwestern district, where slaves are purchasable at any time in the markets.”²⁵

Lady Kathleen Simon, in her book on Slavery, describes

²² “The Holy Cities of Arabia,” Vol. II, Rutter, p. 113; *The Contemporary Review*, Sept., 1932: “Slavery: World Abolition.”

²³ Report of Temporary Slavery Commission. Sudan No. I (1927).

²⁴ Despatch from the Gov. Gen'l. of the Sudan to the Secy. to the League, Apr. 12, 1927.

²⁵ *Westminster Gazette*, Jan. 18, 19, 20, 1922. Reproduced in *Living Age*, Mar. 4, 1932.

²⁶ Report of Temporary Slavery Commission, July 13 to 25, 1925, p. 104.

very vividly the horrors of slave-raiding. She quotes Commander Woodward (Royal Navy, Retired), at one time commanding H.M. Sloop *Clematis*, speaking of the slave trader "who has his spies and agents all over the Hinterland of the Sudan, of Arabia, and the desolate regions at the back of Italian Eritrea and French Somaliland."

"His armed column swoops one night on a village, and the entire saleable population, men, women and children, is carried off in chains. For days they are marched towards the coast, through Abyssinia and French Somaliland, right into the streets of Tajoura and Obok, and there shipped in dhows and carried across the straits of Perim to Southern Arabia."²⁶

Other methods there are of recruiting slaves. Sporadic kidnapping is very prevalent. With difficulty the government officials are able to detect caravans of slaves; it is a very simple matter for slavers to carry on their nefarious business of kidnapping one or two young girls as they go out for fuel or water.²⁷ Captain Colcomb says the black men "were at the mercy of the Arab or negro sportsman, and sold themselves, were shot down, netted, decoyed, speared, bought or kidnapped, without the intervention of any game laws or regulations for the preservation of the breed."²⁸

Side by side with this we see the picture painted by Dr. Dyce Sharp and Major Darley, two former British officials.

"Gangs of slaves, marching in misery, the men chained together in rows, and the women and children dragging themselves along beside the main body, can be seen by any traveler in Southern Abyssinia today. Some of these slaves are captured in Abyssinia territory, others in British East Africa, others in the Anglo-Egyptian Soudan."²⁹

But we are happy in the fact that these caravans are now much reduced in size, because of the efforts of England, and because of the pressure brought to bear upon the Emperor of Abyssinia by the League of Nations. That country was admitted into the League in 1923 on condition that slavery be abolished.

But even in recent years Europeans have seen caravans of as many as fifty frightfully emaciated boys. And there

²⁶ "Slavery," by Lady Kathleen Simon, p. 59.

²⁷ *The Contemporary Review*, Sept. 1932; "Slavery: World Abolition."

²⁸ "The Persian Gulf," Wilson. Quoted from Capt. R. N. Colcomb.

²⁹ *Westminster Gazette*, Jan. 1922.

are instances of their hearing caravans pass in the night, hearing shots, and the next morning finding what the hyenas had left of the bodies of women who had been shot, presumably because they tried to attract the attention of passers-by.³⁰

Ida Treat has made a special study of slavery in Abyssinia and Arabia, and from her article in a recent number of *Travel* we find that she considers that in Abyssinia slavery has received its death blow, because of the increasing efforts and influence of the Negus.³¹

It used to be that the time of the traffic was the period of the southwest monsoon, from May to September, and there was as a rule only one "journey each way annually,"³² but now slaves are carried at every opportunity, usually in small dhows, mere boats, the largest not over three hundred and fifty tons.

As for the treatment of slaves en route, Captain Colcomb gives us the following picture:

"Except that they are more crowded, I have not perceived that the condition of the slave in transit across the Arabian Sea is very different from that of his master. . . . But on the other hand the crowding in so small a space is a crying evil. . . . We must not suppose crowding, by itself, affects the negro as it does a European But, if disease, want and crowding come together, then, God help the wretched items in that crowd."³³

In the old days, Zanzibar, Juba and Brava were some of the chief ports of export of slaves from Africa,³⁴ while Muscat and Sur in Arabia were the principal ports to which they came and then were passed up to cities on the Western littoral of Arabia, up to Mesopotamia, Turkey, Persia and India. But that was when vigilance was not maintained so well as it is today. Now the traders take the shortest crossing across the Red Sea, making the trip in only a few hours, landing at Hodeida, though that cannot be considered a central depot for the disposition of slaves. Hodeida is the chief coast town of the Yemen,

³⁰ *The Contemporary Review*, June, 1932: "Slavery in Abyssinia," Lord Noel Buxton.

³¹ *Travel*, June, 1931, p. 32: "With the Slave Traders of Abyssinia," Ida Treat.

³² "The Persian Gulf," Wilson, p. 215.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 226.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 215; "Arabia, the Cradle of Islam," Zwemer, p. 85.

whence a great many slaves come to be escorted northward to Mecca.³⁵

Mecca, the holy city of Islam, the city towards which millions of Moslems face five times a day in prayer, the city to which thousands make pilgrimage, has become the center of the slave-trade of the world. "Why," said Doughty, "have they [Christian governments] no Residents for the police of nations in Mecca? Why have they not occupied the direful city in the name of the health of nations, in the name of the common religion of humanity, and because the head of the slave trade is there?"³⁶

Of that slave market we have several vivid descriptions. It is but a stone's throw from the "house of God." It is a very narrow street with benches of stone along the sides of the tall buildings which keep out the light.³⁷

"A Modern Pilgrim to Mecca" found that the price of female slaves varied from £20 to £100. He writes:

"The behaviour of the girls when undergoing the ordeal of inspection is what might be expected. The younger ones blush and giggle, and pretend to hide their faces. When the customers being shown around are also young and inclined to be facetious, they are quite capable of joining in the fun. The old and ugly, who have long despaired of finding a purchaser, sit forlorn and miserable, gazing dully in front of them. . . . The one idea of every slave in the market is to find a buyer as soon as possible."³⁸

Says C. Snouck Hurgronje:

"He who enters this hall with European conceptions and perhaps with recollections of Uncle Tom's Cabin in his head will at once get an unpleasant impression and will leave inwardly disgusted. The first impression is, however, false. . . . What impresses us most unpleasantly is the examining and feeling of the human merchandise as if in a cattle market, especially when it is a young woman. From closer inquiry, however, it results that no female slave (not to speak of males) feels more dislike of such overhauling than a European lady of a medical examination."³⁹

And yet, Eldon Rutter adds, "I was looking with the uneasy feeling of one who commits an outrage against

³⁵ *Travel*, June, 1931, p. 32.

³⁶ "Travels in Arabian Deserts," II, Doughty, p. 53.

³⁷ "The Holy Cities of Arabia," Vol. I, p. 33, Rutter.

³⁸ "A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca," Wavell, p. 143.

³⁹ "Mekka," Hurgronje, p. 14.

some natural law, at this strange company of silent sitters." ⁴⁰

Here in the Holy City of Islam they are sold, these hundreds of human beings—sold as slaves to become the property of the purchaser. From here they are carried to all parts of Arabia and to other parts of the Moslem world. What is more natural for a pilgrim than to take home with him one or two slaves from Mecca as a memento of the pilgrimage? ⁴¹ They may be given away as gifts or be resold any number of times, usually not in slave markets such as are found in Mecca, but from house to house by means of go-betweens. That slaves are bought and sold in the coast towns of Arabia is an open secret.

The new master of the slave finds it a convenient thing to change the name of his recently acquired property. Women are often given the names of flowers, while men are called by the names of precious stones. It seems incongruous that the name of the big burly black man who serves you your coffee in an Arab *mejlis* should be Ruby or Sapphire or Turquoise.

But it is not only in the *mejlises* of Arabia that we find the slaves. They are used for all kinds of work. Rutter found them used in Mecca, as they are all over Arabia, as "domestic servants, doorkeepers, water-carriers, grooms, personal attendants. In the oases . . . they work at agriculture, and the slaves of the Bedouins act as shepherds and camel masters." ⁴² The more mentally gifted become shop-servants and confidential employees and even judges. ⁴³ Their owners take pride in having them learn to chant the Koran and to read. Personal attendants are well dressed, and often carry handsome jewelled weapons when escorting their masters. In the Hadramaut they are found employed working on the land, and whole families busy in the date groves. ⁴⁴ In the Persian Gulf they form a large percentage of the pearl divers. ⁴⁵

⁴⁰ "The Holy Cities of Arabia," Vol. I, Rutter, p. 133.

⁴¹ "With the Pilgrims to Mecca," Sparroy, Appendix by Wilfrid.

⁴² "The Holy Cities of Arabia," Vol. II, p. 91.

⁴³ "Arabia Felix," Bertram Thomas, p. 31, ff.

⁴⁴ "Hadramaut," Van der Meulen and Von Wissman, p. 69.

⁴⁵ "The Arab at Home," Harrison, p. 88.

But we must not forget to mention again the slaves who have been castrated before they are torn from their native land, in order to satisfy the desire of the Arabs for eunuchs to "keep order in the mosques in the holy town," Mecca, and to "attend the women of people of very high position."⁴⁶

The female slaves are used especially as handmaidens, household servants and nurses for small children. Many real complications arise, however, out of the fact that they belong to their masters. They are his property and "There is no limit to the number of slave girls with whom he may cohabit, and it is the consecration of this illimitable indulgence which so popularizes slavery amongst Mohammedan nations."⁴⁷ Only if the woman is an unbeliever or married to another man is the master prohibited this indulgence. The condition of most of these negro concubines is happy. Many a real Arab wife, proud, haughty, aristocratic, laden with jewels, is jealous of the merry, bright-eyed black woman who has captured her husband's fancy. "If the Meccan expresses himself openly, he will confess that his heart can belong to hardly any Mekkan woman, but can well belong to a slave woman."⁴⁸ The children of the concubine are free like the father, and at his death share equally in the inheritance with the pure-blooded children, while their mother herself becomes free.

Should a freeman, however, purchase the right to cohabit with another's slave, the children become the property of the mother's owner, as is the case when the male slave of one owner is married to the female slave of another.

The Koran is very definite in its attitude toward the treatment of slaves, which is one of the reasons that slaves are as a rule happy and well-treated in Moslem countries.

"Honor God and show kindness unto those whom your right hands possess,"⁴⁹ Mohammed the Prophet said:

"Feed your slaves with food of that which ye eat, and clothe

⁴⁶ "Mekka," Hurgonje, p. 20.

⁴⁷ "Notes on Mohammedanism," Hughes, p. 194.

⁴⁸ "Mekka," Hurgonje, pp. 106-7.

⁴⁹ Koran, IV: 40.

them with such clothing as ye wear; and command them not to do that which they are unable." ⁵⁰

"And your slaves—see that ye feed them with such food as ye eat yourselves; and if they commit a fault which ye are inclined not to forgive, sell them; for they are the servants of the Lord, and are not to be tormented." ⁵¹

The Prophet ruled that the punishment for certain sins should be the manumission of slaves, "than which there is not an act more acceptable to God." ⁵²

"He who sets a Musulman free shall be freed from the fires of Hell." ⁵³ Slaves are allowed to purchase their freedom, themselves. And Othman, the third Khalifa, "purchased with his private money and then released no fewer than 2400 slaves during his lifetime." ⁵⁴ And Omar manumitted a thousand slaves before his death. ⁵⁵

In every district and town of Arabia there is a community of freed slaves. Some have been freed because they could no longer do any work, and have to gain their meagre livelihood by begging. Others have been freed at the death of their masters, or as a meritorious act ⁵⁶ while others have bought their freedom. ⁵⁷ "They are assimilated into the general population on a basis of perfect equality," ⁵⁸ and often gained positions of trust and respect. If a slave has lived many years in Arabia it is natural that he should stay there when freed, but in case slaves are captured on their way to Arabia or are runaways or are freed by the government, it has been found wiser to return them to the countries from which they came, or to Zanzibar, where they are employed on the plantations of the Sultan. ⁵⁹

"Islam recognizes no distinction of race or coloring, black or white, citizens or soldiers, rulers or subjects. They are perfectly equal not in theory only but in practice. . . . They mix without reserve and without contempt." ⁶⁰

There is no odium attached to being a slave. ⁶¹ Slaves

⁵⁰ Encyclopedia of Islam, Art. 'Abd.

⁵¹ "Life of Mohamet," Vol. I, London, by Muir, p. 486.

⁵² "Life of Mohamet."

⁵³ Koran, 24:33.

⁵⁴ "The Holy Cities of Arabia," Vol. II, Rutter, p. 90.

⁵⁵ "The Early Development of Mohammedanism," Margoliouth, p. 137.

⁵⁶ Koran, 24:33.

⁵⁷ "The Social Laws of the Koran," Roberts, p. 39; Ency. of Islam; "The Holy Cities of Arabia," Vol. II, Rutter, p. 93.

⁵⁸ "The Persian Gulf," Wilson, p. 214.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 240.

⁶⁰ "The Spirit of Islam," Ameer Ali, p. 267.

⁶¹ "A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca," Wavell, p. 68.

and masters alike meet in the *mejlis* of the rich or poor, sit together, eat together, drink from the same bowl, and all offer their opinions in the conversation.

On the other hand, however, the slave has no legal rights. He cannot hold property, for he himself is a property. He can be killed, almost with impunity, and no punishment will be forthcoming.⁶²

In spite of this, however, the lot of the slave in Arabia is on the whole a happy one. It is the ideal of many a slave woman to serve her master well, for then she will be cared for in her old age, or to bear her master a child, for then she will be free.

In most of the cities of Arabia the negro community is almost self-contained. They have their own sheikh and their own judge. And they have their own taboos. For instance, in Arabia Felix they are not allowed to touch dead animals other than those properly slaughtered for food. It is the master of the house and not the slave who will remove from the courtyard the dead rat or cat. The slaves are allowed to have their own festivals, with their orchestras of *tumburah* and drums. In Arabia as elsewhere the negro's superiority of voice shows itself. They even indulge in chantings for the exorcism of evil spirits. Though most of them have nominally accepted Islam, they cannot break away from their old superstitions. Indeed, so intimately do the slaves live with the Arabs that these superstitions have colored the lives and minds of the sons of Ishmael.⁶³

"Neither in the market nor in the house are tears shed by slaves over their unfree state," says Hurgronje. In fact, slaves enjoy some real advantages over the Arabs themselves. The slave men are not required to carry on blood feuds, as are members of the Arab tribes. They have no anxieties as to the financial welfare of their families. The women are not secluded and compelled to live behind the *purdah* as are the pure Arab women. The higher the class to which the Arab woman belongs, the more strict are the laws which keep her from the gaze of common folk. In the

⁶² "Travels in Arabia Deserta," II, Doughty, p. 130; "Arabia Felix," Bertram Thomas, p. 31.

⁶³ "Arabia Felix," Bertram Thomas, p. 31; "Mekka," Hurgronje, p. 11.

case of a moral lapse, of adultery and sometimes even suspected adultery, an Arab woman pays for her mistake with her life, while the slave woman bears a far lighter punishment.

An interesting example of the freedom of the Bedouin slave-women came to light within the last few years. A slave woman in the town of Kuwait killed her husband, threw his body down a well, escaped to the desert and joined herself to a certain Faisal-ed-Daweesh, who, with his men, rebelled against King Ibn Saoud of the Nejd. In the fighting that ensued she jumped on her master's camel with him and took part in the battles. When the British captured him and took him to Busrah, she refused to leave him, accompanying him in the airplane.

In all fairness, the lot of the slave in Arabia must be compared with the lot of the average freeman in that country, and not with the lot of the average American or European. The slave fares almost as well as his master, and generally the conditions under which they live in bondage are better than those prevalent in their native country.⁶⁴ They may speak of that country and extol its beauty and fruitfulness and verdure⁶⁵ but as a rule they bear no resentment that they have been made slaves. In fact, sometimes, as Doughty puts it, they feel that "God has visited them in their mishap; they can say 'It was his grace' since they be thereby entered into the saving religion for such they do give God thanks that their bodies were sometime sold into slavery."⁶⁶

And yet one wonders what can be the effect of such an institution as slavery on the character of the slaves themselves. While it is true that many slaves will serve their masters as they would their fathers, and that many will be surprisingly faithful in their work, it is also true that by far a greater number seek by whatever means they can to avoid doing any unnecessary or even necessary labor. They receive no wages, and will be fed and clothed whether or not they exert themselves. So it is no wonder that they are

⁶⁴ "The Persian Gulf," Wilson, p. 214; "The Holy Cities of Arabia," Rutter, I: 91.

⁶⁵ "Travels in Arabia Deserta," Doughty, p. 553.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 555.

indifferent and lazy, and often impudent. They are deprived of their freedom and their right to determine their own actions, consequently their self-respect vanishes⁶⁷ and their personalities become negative. It is but natural then that they should lose their moral sense and their self-control and become irresponsible.

"There is no manner of doubt that a man, born and bred in slavery, knowing next to nothing of the refining influence of education, is more apt to represent rather the worse than the better side of human character."⁶⁸

The record of the diplomatic efforts of the British to suppress the slave trade is one indicating definite and persistent purpose. From the Treaty of Ras el Khaima with Jawasmi chiefs in 1820, indicating that "friendly Arabs" would not carry off slaves, through the series of treaties with Sultan Sa'id of Muscat from 1822 to 1856, prohibiting the sale of slaves to Christian nations by the Sultan's subject, authorizing the detention and search and confiscation of vessels carrying slaves to prohibited places, and prohibiting the exportation of slaves from the Sultan's African dominions and their importation into his Asiatic possessions, it is the story of steady, though slow, gain. At the death of Sultan Sa'id, Muscat and Zanzibar became separate Sultanates. Fresh treaties were made to the effect that all persons thereafter entering the dominions of the Sultan of Muscat would be free. The Sultan of Zanzibar "signed a treaty agreeing to the complete abolition of the slave trade within his dominions." The treaty with the Sheikh of Bahrein in 1861, and those with Trucial Oman in 1856 and 1873, were of a similar nature.

There came into force on April 2, 1892, the General Act of the Brussels Conference signed by Great Britain, France and Turkey, the three powers chiefly concerned in Persian Gulf waters, which provided that "a slave taking refuge on board a man-of-war of the signatory powers must be immediately and definitely liberated" (Art. 27), and that "warships of the signatory powers were authorized to stop and if necessary to arrest on the high seas, vessels

⁶⁷ "With the Pilgrims to Mecca," Sparroy. Appendix by Wilfrid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

of less than 500 tons suspected of being engaged in the slave trade." In 1905 the Hague Tribunal compelled the French representative in Oman to more closely supervise the use of the French flag by native ships. This meant a real check to the traffic.

But to a delegate from New Zealand, Sir Arthur Steel Maitland, chiefly belongs the honor of beginning in 1922 what has been called a "landmark in the history of slavery," for it was he who proposed to the League of Nations the resolution which met with unanimous acceptance, an attack on "slavery in all its forms." The next year the Temporary Slavery Commission was set up to investigate, to gather information and to make recommendations.⁶⁹ The reports which have been published contain a fund of information as to the existence of slavery, the sources of slaves and like material, and also of recommendations of means and ways to abolish the evil. They have led to treaties with various countries. The two in which we are especially interested are those with King Ibn Saoud and with Abyssinia.

"His Majesty, the King of Hejaz and of Nejd and its dependencies undertakes to cooperate by all the means at his disposal with His British Majesty in the suppression of the slave Trade."

Signed at Jiddah, May 10, 1927.⁷⁰

In the "suppression of the slave trade." Is that all? What about slave-holding, the institution of domestic slavery as it exists in all Arabia today?

Indeed, the success of England's enterprise against the slave traffic has fallen far short of what she hoped. But the blame is not hers. It is a difficult thing to rouse the conscience of peoples against an evil which has existed so long that it is no longer considered an evil. But that definite progress has been made cannot be doubted. The trade still goes on, but of necessity under cover, and far fewer slaves are imported into Arabia than formerly.

And there is another hopeful sign. The Moslem World Congress held at Mecca in the summer of 1926 adopted a resolution denouncing slavery. That is new opposition to the trade from the Moslems. And when the inhabitants of

⁶⁹ *The Contemporary Review*, Dec. 1925, p. 743: "Freeing the Slaves," by Harris.

⁷⁰ "Report of Slavery Commission," Treaty Series 16, Art. 7.