On the Negro Slaves in Turkey

Author(s): Frederick Millingen

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- From the AUTHOR.—Has the Law of Natural Selection by Survival of the fittest failed in the case of Man? By Lawson Tait, Esq., F.A.S.L.
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- From the UNIVERSITY OF CHRISTIANIA.—Generalberetning fra Gaustad Sindssygeasyl for aaret 1868. Norges Officielle Statistik udgiven 1 aaret 1868, c. No. 4 ; ditto, c. No. 5 ; 1869, c. No. 5. En Anatomisk Beskrivelse af de paa Over-og Underextremiteterne forekommende Bursae Mucosae. By A. I. D. Synnestvedt and Dr. J. Voss.
- Major FREDERICK MILLINGEN, F.R.G.S., then read a paper "On the Negro Slaves in Turkey."

Few are the places on the face of the earth which can exhibit a greater variety of specimens of the human race than Stambul, the capital of the Sultan. From the white Caucasian to the black Negro, all the intervening tints and complexions are to be seen within the precincts of this metropolis, which, now-a-days, is what Babel must have been at the time of its famous tower. Amongst these various races, the African stands conspicuous on account both of the tint and of the number of its members. That this people forms an important portion of the population of Stambul, is evident enough when one considers that it is scarcely possible to pass through one of the streets of that town without meeting a negro, whether male or female.

Judging from this circumstance, it might even be inferred that the negro population of Constantinople is much greater than it really is. To ascertain exactly the total of these African inhabitants is rather a difficult task, as in the last Turkish census (1864) the different members of a harem figured in the computation on a rather queer principle. The local authorities adopted, as a statistical system, the plan

of not drawing any distinction whatsoever between a wife and a servant, or between a white and a black face. For the Turks, evidently, the generic substantive "women" is enough to express the species; what is the use of drawing fictitious distinctions between them? I shall not be, however, very far from the truth in calculating this negro population at 30,000 souls, a computation which has, as starting point, the fact that the sixty thousand Mussulman houses of Stambul and the suburbs possess, on an average, one slave for each two houses.

Unlike their kinsmen who have colonised the southern portion of the great American republic, the negroes of Turkey are not natives of the country, they have all been imported from Africa at a more or less advanced period of life, between the average ages of ten and twenty-five. Central Africa, the mother country of both, is the source out of which have flown for centuries two streams of forced immigration, one pouring its contingent westward by the Niger, and the other northward by the Nile.

To two causes is to be attributed the phenomenon that human beings are inflamed by the rage of profit, so far as to attack, kidnap, and sell each other, without pity or mercy. One of these causes is internal, particular to the country from where the slaves are brought, and originates from the rivalry, feuds, internecine wars, and the cupidity of the savage inhabitants of central Africa. From these arises the supply. The other cause of slavery is external, namely, the high premium offered as a reward to any one who succeeds in getting hold of his neighbour's daughter, wife, or sister, to exchange for the highest price. This cause acts more directly on the slave question—it constitutes the demand. The causes of supply and demand are so twisted and blended together that they secure to each other mutual support; it is evident that the existence of the one implies the co-existence of the other. The wild and ferocious negro quarrels with his neighbour, pitches into him, and thinks proper to indemnify himself for his pains by seizing any one of his enemies he can get hold of. Whether at that moment he speculates on the market prices or not, is immaterial, while the result sanctions such a supposition. A point, however, which ought to be taken into account as a sort of attenuating circumstance on behalf of the negro warrior is this, that though it may be easy to preach to him the immorality of his conduct, it would not be quite as easy to persuade him that it is such. Suppose the negro brings forward a logical objection to defeat the liberal aim of the philanthropist; and says, "that's very well, my good sir, but what do you advise me to take as an equivalent to human flesh? goods: we have none, our only property is a piece of linen which takes the place of the rather too primitive fig-leaves; what are we then to take, when victorious, from our enemies? must we return from the battle-field without booty, and with our hands empty? surely not—we make our enemies slaves and sell them to those who have riches to give us instead."

This way of reasoning is of a nature to justify slavery under existing circumstances, as slavery is evidently here the inevitable conse-

quence of war; in the impossibility of putting a stop to the latter, it would be lost labour to attempt to prevent the former. The evils of war bear a just proportion to the degree of civilisation attained by the fighting parties. The history of all nations puts this theory beyond doubt; we see there that the Briton or Celt was formerly as inveterate a slave-dealer as the African is to-day. This proves, therefore, that the negro finds it profitable to catch and sell slaves, and that necessity as well as custom sanction and legitimise such a practice.

The markets from which the Negro derived his profits were two—Turkey and America; of these, one has finally withdrawn from competition, whilst in the other the demand still exists.

The influence of the market over the slave question constitutes the second cause, the external one. Demand is a paramount point in any transaction, but especially in the present case the relation between demand and supply is such, that it may be asserted, without fear of exaggeration, that it is to this demand for slaves that are to be attributed the desultory and bloody wars which are waged in central Africa. If, in some instances, a tribe may attack another for reasons unconnected with the cupidity for slaves, most frequently it is owing to this cupidity that *razzias* take place, and that the conflicts which ensue are more sanguinary and more protracted. Thus it is but just to hold the late slave-holders of America, as well as the present Mussulman slave-holders, answerable for the wars of extermination of which their thirst for human victims is the cause. It is evident that if now the customers of Cairo, Mecca, or Constantinople, were not bidding twenty or thirty pounds for a slave, the victorious Negro chief would let the vanquished go free, or, at least, would allow him to exist under a sky congenial to his nature. Having exposed the motives which stimulate the Negro races to supply the markets with their enslaved brethren, I shall now explain the motives for the demand for slaves, and the reason why African slaves are so much sought after in Turkey.

The slave-holding countries in the East are Turkey, the regency of Tunis, Morocco, and Persia; in these markets the demand for Negro slaves arises exclusively from Mussulmans, the Christians being seldom slave-holders. Amongst the Mussulmans, however, the use of having slaves is universal; with them it is just as natural to have negro slaves as it is to have cats or dogs in the house. But at the same time it must be taken into account that this great demand for Negro slaves is based upon reasons far above fashion or fancy, as slavery is inherent in the religious and social system of Mohammedanism, and is congenial to the ideas and customs of Mussulman nations. This assertion that slavery is inherent in the very system of Islamism will startle many who believe in the compatibility of that antiquated system with modern civilisation. The arguments, however, which I am going to bring forward cannot fail from establishing such a fact as an axiom, putting it thus beyond the pale of controversy. I will therefore prove that slavery is inherent in the religious system; inherent in the social system; and, also, congenial to the ideas and customs of Mohammedan nations.

One of the earthly rewards which the Koran holds out to the victorious Moslem is that of reducing to bondage his foe, and of disposing of him as he chooses; his soul excepted, everything belongs to the conqueror, even his dead body. The religious and political system of Mussulmanism being based on the principle of perpetual war, *Djehad*, enticements for the present and for the future life constitute an essential part of the system, and the right of possessing slaves is one amongst them.

This right is of course transferable, as any other title to property is; therefore the dealer who has made the acquisition of a slave from the original proprietor, the Negro conqueror, or the Arab kidnapper, commits, legally, his right to any customer (a Mussulman of course) who may bid the highest price. According to the Koranic law, such is the hold of the master over the slave that no earthly power is allowed to interfere between them; the master is answerable only to the Almighty for the manner in which he treats his slave. This unlimited power exerted over the slave is often the cause that masters take with impunity the lives of their slaves. The authorities, in such cases, either ignore or feign to ignore the event, because, legally, they have no right to interfere. According to the Koran, the only persons who may legally claim blood for blood in criminal cases are, either the nearest relations of the deceased, or (in case of a slave) his master. Now, in an instance of this sort, it is not likely that a master should present himself, asking from the tribunal justice for the blood of the slave he has himself slain. The Mussulmans, as a mass, are very tenacious of this right of holding slaves, and they will not allow that an infidel can indulge in such a luxury. As for European philanthropists, who try to put a stop to such a practice, they heartily wish them at the world's end.

Having briefly explained the theory of slavery as it is established by the Koran and understood by its followers, I will now come to the second point, and show how slavery is a social necessity amongst Mussulmans; to be convinced of this, one must bear in mind that in Mohammed's system, religious tenets and social laws are twisted and impasted together, forming, of the whole concern, a thorough gordian knot. It is on account of these difficulties, of a technical as well as of a practical nature, that the action of modern ideas always meets in the Mussulman element with an inert mass which never yields to persuasion, but only recoils before pressure. And what other explanation can be given of the great obstacles Sir Samuel Baker avows to have met with in the execution of his scheme for the suppression of slavery?

According to Lord Houghton's statement, made before the Royal Geographical Society, "the Egyptians did not seem to be disposed to support any such undertaking of Sir Samuel Baker's as the suppression of slavery, for the very simple reason that it is through the slave trade that they obtain a constant supply of domestics for their households." The discovery is a good one; but if this is so far true for the Egyptians, it is the same for the Turks, the Persians, and all other nations who live under the same system. Yes, this avowal of

Sir Samuel Baker's discloses the secret of the demand for Negro slaves: a supply of domestics is required to keep up the harems of the high and middle classes of Mussulman society, and Negritia must pour forth a constant supply of slaves. And this, because slaves are as much an essential part of the harem system, as the harem itself is of the religious and social system of Islam. The seclusion of women is for the Mussulman what one of the ten commandments is for the Christian; but how can that seclusion be enforced, if all the members of the harem are not submitted to the pressure of the same bondage? One or two women cannot, evidently, be kept tightly under lock, while their maids and attendants are free. Slavery is the natural consequence of seclusion.

The Mussulman religion once adopted, its system must be carried through; there is no alternative. If the Mussulman is to remain a Mussulman (I mean even of a medium standard, and not merely a bigoted one) he must protect the sacredness of the conjugal tie by shutting up his wife or wives in the best manner he can. Wives are, therefore, cut off from the outside world by all sorts of contrivances, amongst which is that of having slaves instead of free-born servants, who could serve as mediums to dangerous ideas and still more dangerous customs. It is evident that if the attendants of the harem were such, not only the hold of the master over them would be of little efficacy, but the outer world might become acquainted with scandals of all sorts.

To employ slaves is by far more convenient. For this end, the prudent Turk takes good care that the slave he buys should have *his eyes tied up*, a phrase which means that the first quality which a slave must possess is to be blind to the tricks and disorders of his master. Once in the harem, the white or Negro slave is submitted to the same system of seclusion as her mistress or mistresses are. A circumstance which renders the use of slaves indispensable, and forms an obstacle to the employment of free-born female attendants, is the formal injunction of the Koran to the effect that, not only the face, but the hands also, of a free-born Mussulman woman are to be concealed from strangers.* Is it possible that a servant maid could serve about the harem, day and night, thus muffled up, fearing lest the master of the house should let his eyes fall upon her face or hands? Even if the maid happened to be not very particular on this point, custom, the fear of comments, and the disapprobation of her relatives, would prevent her from violating ostensibly the laws of Mussulman religion. It is easy to understand, then, how people should object to employ girls wrapped up like so many bogies in white veils and sheets. The employment of Christian women has been thought of, as their religion would remove the inconvenience above stated, but the Mussulmans strongly object to it on grounds of self-preservation against the encroachments of the Christian element. The few Pashas who have employed Christian servant girls, adopted this course from motives of

* The Sherihat orders that the upper part of the hand is to remain concealed. As for the inside, a woman can show it; otherwise she could not even beg alms for her relief.

policy—with the object, I mean, of gaining in the eyes of Europeans.

Having so far shown that slavery is inherent in the religion and social system of Islam, it remains to be seen how slavery is congenial to the ideas and customs of Mussulman nations.

It is one of the characteristics of Orientals to lean towards despotism, whether it be actively or passively. The same annals which record the names of the despots who have crushed the East under their feet, testify to the servility of their subjects. Slavery has never had very repugnant features in the eyes of Orientals. The Turk is far from being an exception to the general rule: by instinct, in his own limited sphere, he must be either a despot, or the servant of a despot stronger than himself. Nothing can better satisfy the vanity of a Turk than to look upon himself as the master of some human being; as he contemplates two or three slaves standing silent and with folded arms before him, the Turk rises infinitely greater in his own estimation. This feature of the Turkish mind is tangible, and can be traced not only in the customs of the people but in their very idiom, common sayings, and proverbs. For instance, if, during the course of familiar conversation, a Turk wishes to say something in the shape of good omen, he will say, "*Kull kiolleh shaibih olah*," which means that the person in question may be lucky enough to become the master of numerous slaves. From the cradle, vaticinations of this sort are constantly made by mothers and nurses to their babies, while singing them to sleep; one of those verses ends in this way, "*Kull alaik hep bundah*," the meaning of which is, "Male slaves, female slaves, all will belong to him." Another remarkable thing of this sort is, that the phrase, "your servant," *votre serviteur*, is never employed by the Turks, but "your slave," "the most abject of your slaves," etc. In all such phrases, the word slave is employed instead of servant. On the strength of such evidences, I do not hesitate to assert that the slave holding passion has its roots in the very heart of the Turks, and that it is congenial to them as well as to the other Mussulman nations.

I must not omit to add here that the demand for slaves is founded also on pecuniary advantages; that the negro female slave is a lucrative article is proved by the following figures. Fifteen purses, say £75, is the maximum price of a strong and healthy negro, provided she is a good cook. Now, as it is difficult to find a cook amongst free-women under £15 per annum, an easy calculation will show that in the fifth year the negro slave will have redeemed her purchase money. That is surely a good investment in which the capital is doubled within ten years.

After having exposed the causes to which the supply and demand for slaves is to be attributed, I will now undertake to describe the manner in which slavery is carried on in Turkey, and show what lot attends the slaves. Reduced to the condition of slaves, the negro captives leave their country either following the course of the Nile, crammed twenty or thirty together in a boat, or they traverse, half on foot, half on camel's back, the wastes separating Central Africa from the countries bordering the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

That the slaves imported into the dominions of the Sultan come from the regions neighbouring the sources of the Nile, is ascertained from the fact, that on questioning the negroes of Stamboul with reference to their native countries, they will invariably mention Kordofan, Darfur, Dangola or Abyssinia. The valley of the Nile is not, however, the only outlet of slavery, as many slaves are exported eastward to the market places of Arabia, while numbers cross the great Sarah and reach Tripoli of Barbary, and the frontiers of Tunis and Morocco. Living stock requires a greater number of entrepôts than goods in general do ; so, for the negro slave-trade entrepôts have been established at Gondokoro and Khartum on the Nile route, Massovah and Soakin to the east, and Fezan on the Sarah route. From these entrepôts the human merchandise is packed off to the chief emporiums at Cairo, Alexandria, Constantinople, Smyrna, Beyruth, Jeddah, Mecca and Medineh.

From the very outset on leaving their native land begins the career of toil and privations which is allotted to the poor slaves ; a thin garment covers their nakedness, and a white woollen blanket renders to them the services of cloak, quilt and mattress. Without any regard for either Mussulman decency or Christian philanthropy, men, women, and children are thrown promiscuously by their dealers into a boat or within the precinct of a filthy eastern *khan* (inn), where dry bread and soup every twenty-four hours is given them, so as to preserve them alive for the market place. It must be known that ill-treatment is a part of the craft of slave-dealers ; by this method the slave is sure to look up to the first customer as a deliverer and a benefactor, and will therefore show no great dislike at being sold.

The greatest part of the negro slaves imported into Turkey are females, and this for the reasons above stated, that the demand is exclusively for domestics serving in the harem. In Arabia, however, the case differs, as the inhabitants there do not seem to object to have African women as wives and odalisks. This practice has been carried to such an extent that, according to some travellers, its effects have been highly injurious to the purity of the Arabian blood.

The demand for negro men or lads is very slack in the large towns, but in the country they are sometimes required to watch and superintend workmen in the field. Eunuchs form, however, an exception, they being highly thought of ; the Sultan of Turkey, the Sultan of Morocco, the Khedive of Egypt, all of them possess a staff composed of several hundreds of eunuchs, who are expected to fulfil the duties of guardian angels of the harem. The grandees of those different courts also employ these wretched beings with just as much ostentation as a European aristocrat prides himself on his *chasseur's* feather cap. In the east, besides, the eunuchs are considered indispensable mediums between the harem and the outer world.

The barbarous operation to which are submitted these unhappy creatures does not take place at Cairo or Constantinople : the negro lads of fifteen or sixteen are mutilated while stopping at the entrepôts, at Gondokoro, Khartum, etc. It seems that only one out of three survives the operation. The pitiless slave-dealer, proof against all

feeling, calculates only that he must sell the stock he has in hand, with mutilation or not, at the best price it can fetch.

The eunuchs are, however, the most favoured among the negro slaves, their career being relatively a happier one. Owing probably to their neutral standing, they are on a footing of intimacy with both sexes. In the imperial household they enjoy influence and power, the Kizlar agasi, the chief eunuch, holding in the state an equal rank with the Grand Vezir, the Premier.

Let us now see what befalls the generality of negro slaves when they once make their *début* on the market-place. Some twenty years ago on their arrival at Constantinople, the slaves used to be stored up within the precincts of an imperial slave market, as at that period the slave-dealers were patentee-merchants. Such a scandal could not, however, be patronised any longer, and the Turks have continued the trade in an underhand way. Non-official markets were then opened at Sultan-Mehemet, at Tophaneh, and in some of the cafés and shops of Stambul. One of these places is opposite the mosque of Suleimanich in the bazar named Teriaki-tcharshisi, the third shop to the left, looking westward, if my memory does not fail me. In these markets slaves are sold daily, the hours of brisk business being from eight to twelve a.m., Turkish time. Up to A.D. 1869, this state of things was in existence. The thirty or forty girls that come on the market at the same period, all find customers quickly enough: the Abyssinians on account of their good looks are the first to be disposed of; they are taken as upper servants in the harems of those whose limited means forbid them to indulge in a thorough-bred Circassian. The Abyssinians are also taken as economical odalisks by the lower class of amateurs. The genuine negro girls with flat noses and thick lips are doomed to the kitchen and the rough work of the house.

On being raised from the market the new master sends the slave to the bath, and gives her a clean set of linen and a calicot suit of clothes. If the master happens to be a good-hearted man, the slave has a chance of being properly fed and clad; besides this she may obtain two or three shillings a month pocket money. On these terms she may go on for years till her frame gives way. There are cases in which negro slaves become old servants, loved and considered by their masters, and pass thus happily their old age. It happens sometimes also that slaves are freed by the master, and are established in life by marrying some old servant of the house; such cases are not, however, frequently met with.

As a rule, the lot attending these creatures is sad. They pass through the hands of ten or twenty masters, who make them lead the life of cab-horses, beat them at intervals, and at last sell them. Such treatment irritates the temper and inflames the passions of the African destitute, who, driven to despair, becomes a fury, wages war against her oppressors, and ends by becoming a hater of the white species. It is not to be wondered, then, if negroes have often been known to set fire to the wooden houses of Stambul, as being the best means of retaliation they could devise.

After having been sold and re-sold over and over again, the negro

slave gets at last in a condition to be not even worth feeding ; then she obtains her freedom, and she is let loose in the streets of Stamboul, without the means of subsistence or the power to provide for herself. Her lot then is to roam about town a cripple and a beggar. Many of them, however, knowing what is in store for them, do not wait for the arrival of the bad season, and try to provide for themselves beforehand. Either through the assistance of their kinsmen, or with the money which they have been able to save or somehow to steal, they manage to buy themselves free from the market. Alarmed at the consequences which might result from the existence in the capital of numbers of freed negroes, destitute of everything, the Turkish Government formed of these fellows a regiment some six or eight hundred strong. The special duty of these men is that of storing into the arsenal the timber which comes to Constantinople in rafts from the Black Sea. Two queer sorts of trade practised by freed negro-males are those of sorcerers and of chemical confectioners. The sorcerers manage to get a good living by working on the credulity of a superstitious population. They employ sacred fumigations and beverages, and distribute talismans (*nuskhas*) good for all evils. The chemical confectioners go about the streets selling a miraculous jam, which is highly patronised by the impotent proprietors of harems.

One of the peculiar features of the emigration of Negro slaves into Turkey is the fact that, though many of them marry among their kinsmen, and also with the whites, their progeny becomes extinct in the first or second generation. A descent in the third degree from pure Negro race, or from mixed lineage, is scarcely ever to be met with. The following statistics, the result of my personal observations, will serve to illustrate this statement.

CROSSED DESCENT.

Arab-Aïsheh.....	First descent.....	Second, none.
Colonel Arab Seïd Bey	First descent.....	Second, none.
Major Ali Bey	First descent.....	Second, none.
General Mehemet Pasha	First descent.....	Second.
Mustapha	First descent.....	Second.
Atijeh	First descent.....	Second, none.

NEGRO DESCENT.

Hadji Abdullah	Six wives.....	First, none.
Fathmah-gadun.....	Three husbands.....	First, none.
Kanedji Mustapha.....	One wife	First, none.
Djever	One wife	First.

It must be remarked that, in many cases, the offspring, whether of first, second, or third descent, die while in infancy, the race becoming thus extinct. The negro Hadji Abdullah offers a most curious illustration of this phenomenon. This old fellow was an athlete in strength and size ; but of the twenty and so many children which he had from his various wives, not one outlived the period of infancy.

The sterility of the Negro race in Turkey is due to the following causes : 1. The climate. 2. The condition to which they are reduced, and mode of life ; these are enervating, demoralising, and proper

to destroy the germs of reproduction. 3rd. That when negroes are in a position to marry, they are generally old and exhausted. If we put aside the testimony of statistic computations, evidence of the complete destruction of the negro stock which has been imported into Turkey during the last four hundred years, is not wanting. Admitting that during that period every generation of believers has had for its own use 100,000 negro slaves, nearly a million and a half of Africans has been pouring like an ever flowing stream into the midst of the Mussulman population. Where are now-a-days to be found the traces of this alien race? Do the negroes form any separate settlement or population, as those in the southern states of America? Or have they been amalgamated and absorbed? No, they have been consumed and devoured, and such would inevitably be the fate of many other millions besides these. Voluptuousness and egotism are monsters ever eager after victims.

On comparing the lot which awaits the negro slaves in the east with the relatively happier condition of their kinsmen in America, one is astonished in seeing that slavery has produced so totally different results. Two different passions have been the cause of the adoption of slavery; the idleness and profligacy of the Mussulman in the one case, and the money-making mania of the Anglo-American in the other. But this difference which exists in the causes of the adoption of slavery, has also brought about different results; and while the Turkish negro turned into a tool proper to support the luxurious life of his master is doomed to perish, the American negro being made an agent of cultivation and industry, prospers, and his progeny multiplies.

Under the pressure of a common bondage the negroes of Stamboul have been naturally led to find protection by some sort of aggregation; they have thus organised a brotherhood, which ought rather to be styled *sisterhood*. This brotherhood is not established on the system of centralisation, on the contrary, it consists of a number of lodges placed under the authority of so many chiefs. The chief of a lodge is called *Col-bashi* (chief of the band): the *Col-bashi* is elected by the members constituting the lodge.

The object of the lodges is to afford protection, aid and refuge to the slaves when in want, to rescue and redeem them from the hands of their proprietors when possible, to claim and defend the rights of free negroes either from their employers or before the tribunals, and lastly, in order to provide a place for general meetings. Every member of the lodge pays a monthly contribution, besides which no one omits bringing to the central depôt what can be stolen from the white man's house. The different lodges are united by a common alliance.

The *Col-bashi* is a female invested with high authority, her abode is the lodge, and she is constantly waited upon by several of her devoted followers. She disposes of the funds as she pleases; her followers consider it an object of pride to see her dressed most gaudily, having a profusion of pearls and pieces of gold on her head and round her neck. The respect of which the *Col-bashi* is the object is remark-

able ; no negro, whether male or female, will ever talk irreverently of her, and on being summoned before her presence every one of her followers will implicitly obey. A hundred situations would be given up, and many a master would be left without dinner rather than disobey the chief.

What renders the *Col-bashi* sacred in the eyes of the negro is the spiritual character which she is believed to possess. The *Col-bashi* is said to represent a powerful spirit known under the name of *Yavrube* ; she is also said to be intimately connected with all sorts of other spirits ; moreover, the breath of the *Col-bashi* and her power in reading something from the Koran are deemed to be as good panaceas as the prescriptions of the best of physicians. Once or twice a month the whole of the lodge assembles around the *Col-bashi*, there every one appears in his smartest costume, bearer of some offering or other. Seated on the ground the congregation sing African tunes kept up with the accompaniment of the Tarabooka and of the Teff, while clouds of incense and myrrh arise within the precinct of the room. All on a sudden the *Col-bashi* attains a stage of high excitement and frenzy, becomes an incarnation of the spirit *Yavrube*, and is thus transformed into the male element. A supper puts an end to the wild ceremony ; the meal consists of an African dish called *acideh*, and of abundantly distributed sherbets and sweets.

It must be known also that the negroes in Stamboul have got their minstrels, who of course, are not so stylish as those in St. James's Hall. The Stamboul minstrels are poor old men broken to pieces by infirmities, and their evening and morning suits are rags. The way in which these poor fellows gain their livelihood is by singing and playing on the guitar their national airs. It is interesting, and at the same time touching, to see how the negro maids on catching the first notes of their African tunes are electrified, and gather around the musician like so many flies on a sugar-lump.

Having described in a summary manner the condition of the negro slaves in Turkey and through the East, something must be said in conclusion with reference to Sir Samuel Baker's expedition, which is meant to put a stop to the trade in negro slaves. It strikes me, at first sight, that a gigantic undertaking of this nature could not have been commenced with a more ill-conceived plan and with means so totally inadequate as this one has been. After what has already been said in the course of this lecture with regard to the causes of supply and the causes of demand, everyone must admit that on so extended and difficult theatre of operations, it is lost labour to attempt to put a stop to the slave trade with the five or even ten thousand men which may be expected from the Khedive.

Notwithstanding Sir Samuel Baker's earnest efforts, the negro chief will not cease from packing off his slaves to Cairo or Stamboul, nor will the Turk and the Egyptian fear to rush on the prey. What must inevitably happen is this ; the commander of the expedition, placed between two fires, supply and demand, will have the mortification of seeing his plans defeated by both. And what if the very soldiers and officers who are to execute his orders, betray him by play-

ing into the hands of those in the rear and those in the front? The surprise would be rather agreeable, but everything ought to be foreseen when dealing with Orientals. Supposing, however, that Sir Samuel's zeal is fully shared by his subordinates, even then the chances of success are few; as not five thousand, nor yet two hundred thousand men, would be sufficient to keep up a vigilant cordon in face of enemies who are everywhere and nowhere. A faint check is the result to be expected; as for the sanguine hope of extirpating the evil, it is delusion to cherish it, as neither the Egyptians nor the Turks, neither the Khedive nor the Sultan, ever thought of doing away with the state of things which suits them so well. It is only by policy in order to gain the sympathy of European nations, and particularly that of Englishmen, that Sir Samuel Baker's humanitarian scheme is ostensibly encouraged; in reality however they undermine it.

If the Sultan and the Khedive really mean what they say and intend doing away with slavery, the thing is very easy: they will have no law or firman to write, no troops to dispatch, no Samuel Baker to employ. Let them merely open wide and large the gates of their harems, let them turn out the hundreds of women and eunuchs they shut up, the whole scaffolding of slavery will then crumble down. This is the only feasible plan through which the calculations of sellers and buyers of human flesh can be effectually thwarted. Mussulman society as well as its rulers shrink, however, from sweeping measures of the sort, but they must be aware that through craft it is not possible to avoid the penalty which Providence inflicts on slave-holding nations. There is no escape between the two alternatives; Turks and Egyptians must either make an atonement by emancipating their slaves, and follow thus the example given by Russia, or they must await to be crushed as the Confederates of America and the Circassians have been, and then only the rights of humanity will be avenged.

In the discussion which ensued, the following took part:—Mr. de Meschin, Mr. A. L. Lewis, Mr. C. Staniland Wake, Dr. Seemann, Sir Richard Hanson, Dr. R. King, Mr. J. F. V. Fitzgerald, Mr. Edward Wade, Mr. Charlesworth, Dr. Ioannides, and the Chairman.

The Meeting then adjourned.