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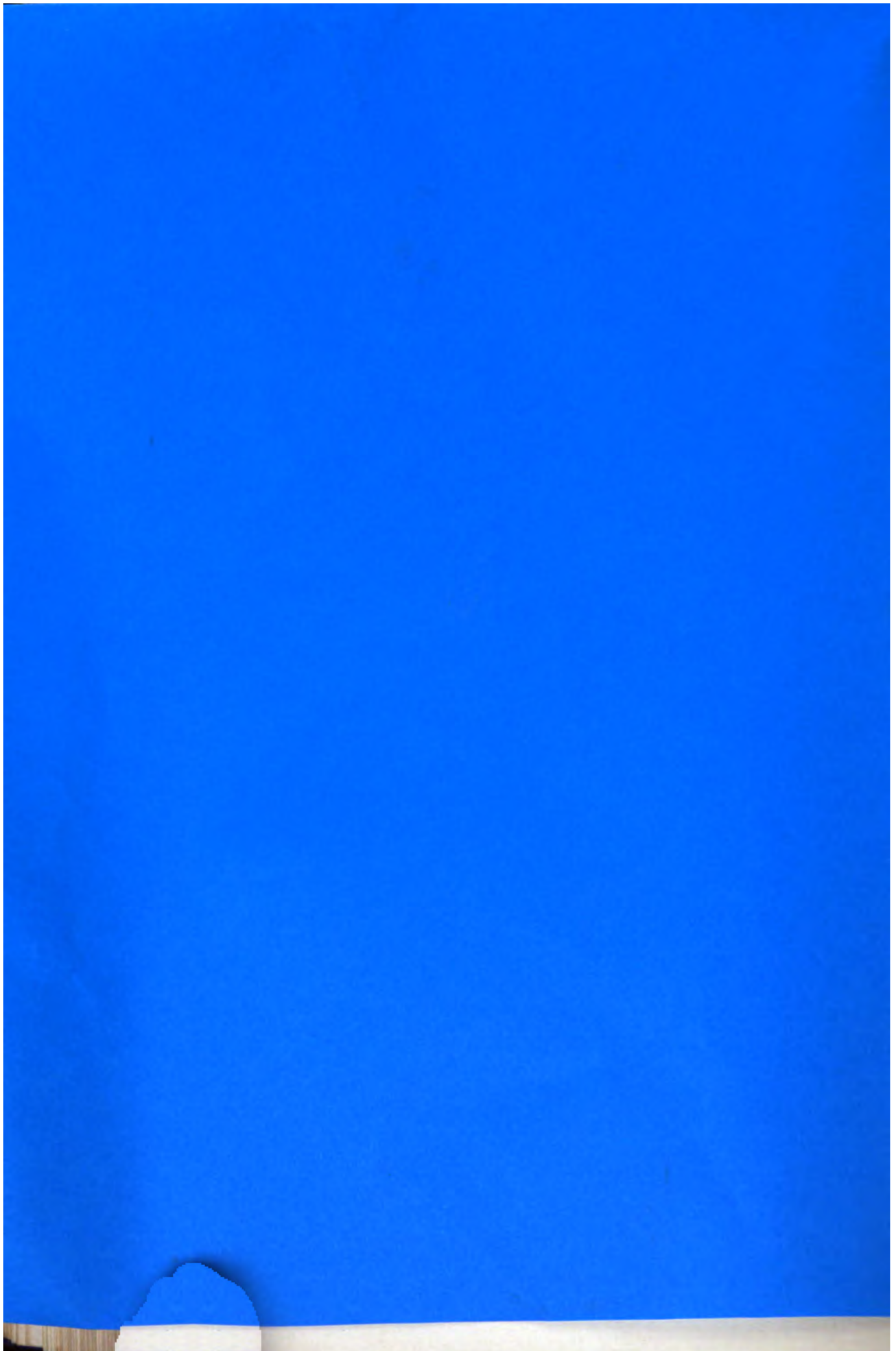
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TURKEY AND EGYPT,

PAST AND PRESENT.

IN RELATION TO

A F R I C A.

BY

JOSEPH COOPER.

—••••—
WITH AN APPENDIX ON CONSULAR REPORTS CONCERNING
SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE THROUGHOUT
THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE,

BY AARON BUZACOTT, B.A.

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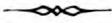
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P R E F A C E.



Now that the Porte is arraigned before the bar of public opinion in Europe, it is important that the various counts of the indictment should each receive the attention which it demands. If so there is at least one count on which Turkey will not stand alone. So far as Africa is concerned in relation to Slavery and the Slave-trade in Turkey and Egypt, it must be confessed, with humiliation and regret, that the defence of England would be a task of no ordinary difficulty.

Had England shown half the *zeal* and earnestness in efforts to promote the extinction of Slavery and the Slave-trade in Turkey and Egypt which she has shown in endeavours to suppress those evils in other countries, who can doubt but that they would have disappeared long ago, to the infinite relief of Africa, and to the real and lasting benefit of the Turkish and Egyptian peoples?

Should this subject now at length happily obtain the attention which its immense importance demands, it will

certainly be seen that no settlement of the Eastern Question can be deemed satisfactory which does not provide for the entire abolition of slavery.

Under a deep conviction of the extreme importance of this subject at the present moment, the few following pages are earnestly commended to the reader.

ESSEX HALL, WALTHAMSTOW.

Tenth Month, 1876.

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TURKEY AND EGYPT.

WHILST the attention of England has been so irresistibly turned to the atrocities committed in the East of Europe, it is perhaps no wonder that little notice is taken of the grinding oppression which is chronic under Turkish rule in Asia ; and it seems to have been altogether forgotten that Turkey, including of course Egypt, is the principal cause of the ruin of Central Africa, and the loss of a very large part of that vast Continent to the world. But this is a subject, second to none in importance, though one which in all the public meetings in the country has, with only two striking exceptions, been altogether overlooked. If this great subject obtain its due share of public attention at the present time, the Great Powers will not fail to unite in measures for the entire abolition of both negro and Circassian slavery. Either from some sense of shame or some motive of policy, the public sale of slaves is prohibited in each of the two countries ; but in private markets in Turkey and Egypt a

constant and abundant supply of men, women and children is kept up at all times. The statistics from which an accurate estimate can be formed of the numbers of victims annually imported from the centre of Africa into Turkey and Egypt, do not exist.

The trade being nominally contraband, any approach to a correct estimate could only be obtained by much labour and from many different sources. On comparing, however, the information from these various sources, it would appear that the number annually taken from Africa, principally for the supply of Turkey and Egypt, is probably over 70,000, which, multiplied by five—a low estimate of the killed and destroyed *en route*—gives a total of 350,000.

Is it not strange that Great Britain, the professed and recognised friend of Africa, should at the same time be the protector and principal supporter of Turkey, which is at this moment practically the greatest enemy of Africa ?

England has been for generations a sort of foster-mother to Turkey, bound to her by what may almost be termed an infatuated political affection. Not a few eminent men in England and France have, at one time or other, protested against the institution of slavery in Turkey and Egypt as the irremediable cause of the ruin and desolation of Central Africa.

The British Government has never contested this, but she has, nevertheless, been content with a verbal condemnation

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of this branch of the slave-trade, whilst cherishing and supporting the Power which has carried it on. It is true that on some occasions she has made representations to the Porte, but always in terms that have conveyed the idea to the Sultan and the Khedive that nothing more than a decent and politic regard to the public opinion of Europe on the subject is either desired or expected.

On this subject the words uttered by the Right Hon. Robert Lowe, M.P., on a recent occasion, are striking:—

“England has made sacrifices without end, risked war, squandered treasure and innumerable valuable lives on the coasts of Africa and other places in order to put down the slave-trade, because she was so humane that she could not tolerate that any other nation should carry on that nefarious traffic. We are all proud of our countrymen who originated that movement, and who carried it to a successful issue. What, then, shall we say of ourselves when, for the petty miserable object of setting up the decrepit Turk as a means of fighting Russia, we are content to keep alive, mainly by our influence in Europe, the slave-trade in its most odious form? For I venture to say that of all trades in Turkey—and they are by no means numerous or extensive—the slave-trade is the most flourishing. And it is not merely a slave-trade. The subject can only be glanced at, but the women and children are bought—for what purposes and to what

destinies? While we cannot tolerate a Brazilian running a cargo on the coast of Brazil, we are doing all that is in our power to keep up the slave-trade in the heart of Europe, and in the seat of ancient civilisation.”

It should not be overlooked that in Turkey and Egypt negro slaves are not employed in agriculture, or what may be termed productive industry. Hence it is no matter of surprise that those best acquainted with life in these countries maintain that the abolition of slavery may be accomplished at any time, and need not be attended with any material difficulty.

The principal demand for slaves is for the Harems. To supply these, twenty, forty, and sometimes sixty pounds are paid for a slave—a price that would insure a supply in spite of the most stringent laws honestly enforced. Clearly, therefore, it is idle to talk of putting down the slave-trade and of redeeming Africa, so long as slavery is allowed to exist and property in slaves is recognised in those countries by law.

But if slavery can be abolished without interfering with any productive industry, and therefore on this ground a less difficult task in Turkey and Egypt than it has been in many other countries, there is another reason why it ought to be accomplished in those countries with comparative ease. The highest authorities in Turkey and Egypt not only condemn

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negro slavery, but occasionally declare that the institution is already illegal.

The slave-trade, whether African, Georgian, or Circassian, was declared by the Sultan to be illegal, in 1846, which declaration was followed by an Imperial Firman of similar character in 1854. Whatever may have been the intention of the Turkish Government in promulgating these edicts, it appears certain that their issue was not followed by any appreciable diminution of the slave-trade, for General Williams (of Kars), writing to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe in 1855, makes the following significant remarks :—

“ When I saw Mustapha Pasha quit the camp at Kars, and fawn upon the soldiers drawn out in line to salute him who had robbed and starved them, he was closely followed, and that at noonday, by two Georgian slaves under an escort of regular cavalry. They had been bought the day previous to his departure, and this traffic was notorious throughout the camp. Your Lordship may therefore infer that, had the Turks penetrated into Georgia last campaign, very few youths of either sex would have escaped pollution; and I feel bound to tell your Lordship my opinion on this most interesting subject, which is, that if England does not effectually repress this trade by a stringent treaty, Russia will accomplish it by her arms.”

As to the influence of slavery on all classes of society

in Turkey, Lord Stratford, in a despatch to the Earl of Clarendon in 1855, writes:—"There are persons who distinguish between slavery in the East and slavery in the West. The distinction is not wholly unfounded. Unlike the negro in America, the slave in Turkey is rather a domestic servant than a field drudge or beast of burden. He is not ostensibly ill-treated. If a male, he rises occasionally to posts of profit and honour; if a female, ease, and even luxury, may be her portion in the harem of some court favourite or opulent functionary. The degradation nevertheless remains; and the privation of liberty, not forfeited by crime, is itself an intolerable evil. But the injury does not stop there, The slave can hold no property: he is a property himself; and, worse than all, he is but too often an instrument of vice, and sometimes even of crime. His life is at his owner's mercy. If a Christian, his children are born to slavery, as if to reconcile those who never can be parents to the mutilation which deprived them of that hope. In one respect there is no difference between negro and Circassian slavery. Black or white, wherever slavery exists, the whole society suffers. A curse is on the trade. Dealer and owner are alike affected by the taint. They treat their fellow-creatures like brutes, and are brutalised in return."

On this subject the following correspondence took place in

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1867, between the International Anti-Slavery Bureau, in Paris, and the Ottoman Government :—

“ To His Imperial Highness the Sultan, ABDUL AZIZ.

“ SIRE,—An International Conference was held in Paris, last August, convened by the French, British, American, Spanish and Dutch Anti-Slavery Societies. By a unanimous vote the annexed resolution was adopted, and the standing Committee was instructed to issue, in its name, addresses to those potentates in whose dominions slavery is not yet abolished.

“ In transmitting this resolution to Your Imperial Highness, we deem it our duty to observe that it is but the expression of that sentiment which, throughout the world, denounces and condemns the odious crime of slavery.

“ In the countries subjected to Your Highness's rule, the terrible abuses inseparable from this scourge are aggravated by the nameless cruelties inflicted upon male infants; and the public sale of white women from Georgia and Circassia stamps a traffic, already in itself odious, with a special character of impudicity, which arouses the indignation and offends the moral sentiment of the civilised world.

“ We cannot admit that any religious belief can possibly justify immorality, cruelty, or oppression. They are likewise condemned by civilisation; and the efforts of Your Highness to diffuse it throughout your empire inspire us with the hope

that our present appeal will meet at Your Highness's hands a kind and considerate reception.

“ We have the honour to be, HIGHNESS,

“ Your humble and obedient Servants,

(Signed) “ *On behalf of the French Committee,*

E. LABOULAYE, Member of the Institute,
President.

A. COCHIN, Member of the Institute, Sec-
retary.

EUGENE YUNG, of the *Journal des Debats*,
Secretary.

“ *On behalf of the English Committee,*

JOSEPH COOPER, Vice-President.

L. A. CHAMEROVZOW, Secretary.

“ *Paris, 5th December, 1867.*

“ FIRST RESOLUTION.

“ The International Conference of the French, Spanish, English, and American Anti-Slavery Societies makes a new and earnest appeal to the justice of sovereigns and the opinion of peoples in favour of the radical and immediate abolition of the slave-trade and slavery, already declared by Great Britain, France, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, the United States of America, Mexico, the Republics of Central and Southern America, and the Regency of Tunis ; but still practised by Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Turkey, Egypt, and

the Transvaal Republic, South Africa, not to speak of uncivilised countries.

“ Without reiterating the fundamental reasons which render slavery and the slave-trade condemnable as crimes in the eyes of God and man, the Conference would insist upon the following decisive results of experience :—

“ *‘It is proved that half measures do no good; that systems of apprenticeship, of liberating children, of gradual emancipation, have imperilled property, the domestic circle, and public order; have loosened every tie, without breaking or replacing them; have excited impatience, uneasiness, and suspicion; and that immediate, definitive, and radical emancipation, has everywhere proved the only means of readjusting and securing all interests, at the same time satisfying justice and reconciling the races.’* ”

“ 5th February, 1868.

“ SUBLIME PORTE.

“ FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

No. 21037.7.

“ Reply to Memo. from Paris Anti-Slavery Conference.

“ Monsieur EDOUARD LABOULAYE,

Member of the French Institute.

“ SIR,—His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, my august master, has taken cognizance of the Memorial which you

addressed to him on the 5th December in the name of the Paris Anti-Slavery Conference.

“I do not hesitate to say, Sir, that you defend a principle to which the Government of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan adheres with its whole heart. Slavery is an institution which has disappeared, little by little, from the greater portion of the civilised world. It was also abolished in Turkey from the day that the first beams of civilisation penetrated into that country, and it tends more and more to disappear from our customs. The precepts of the Moham-
medan religion, full of solicitude for the fate of slaves, and which constitutes their liberation an act of justice, cannot but facilitate in this, as in all things, the effects of the ideas of civilisation.

“I am therefore happy, Sir, to transmit to you these assurances, and I take this opportunity of reiterating to you the assurance also of my perfect considerations.

“ (Signed) FUAD.”

In reply to a similar address presented by deputation to the Viceroy of Egypt in the previous year, His Highness declared slavery to be a horrible institution, which he desired to see extinguished; adding that the civilisation and progress of Egypt depended upon its abolition.

With these unqualified condemnations of slavery, and this

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full recognition of the evils it inflicts on both countries, we might have supposed that some progress had then been made towards its extinction. But the slave-trade was as great when Fuad Pasha wrote as it ever had been, since which it has enormously increased. The ports of the Red Sea, both on the Eastern and Western shores, are now described on all hands as bristling with the slave-trade.

The climate of Turkey, like that of Egypt, does not suit the negro race, which wastes rapidly away in both those countries. Hence the demand for fresh victims creates an ever-flowing stream from Africa. To the effect of climate, however, must be added the consequences of the barbarous operation to which youths are subjected previous to being introduced to the slave markets, under which it is calculated that at least two out of every three succumb.

It is to supply these countries that multitudes of Africans are still driven, under a burning sun and the torture of thirst, hunger, and fatigue, over a large portion of Northern or Central Africa, where the paths of the desert are to be traced by the bleached bones of human skeletons.

But, it may be asked, How is it that Great Britain, who so zealously and at such enormous cost endeavoured to put down the slave-trade on the West Coast of Africa, should allow it in the North-East to go on unchecked? How is it that England, which has made treaties for its suppression

with Governments all over the world, has no treaty with Turkey on the subject?

It is easier to ask this question than to suggest a satisfactory answer.

Jealousy of Russia—a power which has in one generation abolished the most extensive system of serfdom in the world, and has put an end to slavery in a large district in Asia—is, doubtless, the real cause why Great Britain, in this case, is tempted to depart from her honourable course.

Though England has no treaties with Turkey for the suppression of the slave-trade, she has what are sometimes termed “understandings”; but these are not to be understood as binding to any course beyond that of maintaining decent appearances before the world.

Notwithstanding these sinister leanings and inconsistencies the British Government still possesses great moral power, the difficulty lies in her reluctance to put it forth. She did, however, exercise her influence to good purpose when, on a recent occasion, Lord Derby stopped the attempted aggressions of the Khedive on the possessions of the Sultan of Zanzibar. The Egyptian fleet, after hauling down the Zanzibar flag, and taking possession of several places on the coast, was recalled by the Khedive on the receipt of a remonstrance from the Foreign Office.

It is somewhat curious that, after the abandonment of

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this enterprise, a paragraph appeared in some of the papers, informing the public that the expedition never was intended as one of aggression, but that it had for its object the suppression of the slave-trade. In proof of which it was stated that the colonel in command had been supplied with seeds to be used in promoting agriculture among the people; but of these seeds, and of this philanthropic intention, nobody had previously heard.

To Lord Derby the credit is also due for inducing the Khedive to abandon the attempt to conquer and annex Abyssinia. But something more is needed.

The Port of Massowah, from time immemorial the principal port of Abyssinia, was some years ago seized by Turkey, subsequently by Egypt, and turned by the latter into a great slave-market. The King of Abyssinia—if the newspaper statements are correct—has now regained possession of the port, and has assured the British Government of his determination to put down the slave-trade: but in his task the King requires the moral support of England. The British Government, however, appears to be infatuated on this subject, and would seem to prefer that the port of Massowah should be held by slave-trading Egypt, rather than by Abyssinia a professedly Christian Power opposed both to slavery and the slave-trade.

However debased may be the Christianity of the Abyssinian, there must be something good among the people, for whereas the Mohammedans, a minority of the population, are great contraband slave-traders, the Christian portion of the people, as a rule, are neither slave-holders nor slave-traders.

On these grounds, as well as for commercial considerations, it is greatly to be desired that Abyssinia should not be shut up inland, and robbed of her ancient rights of access to the sea.

If anything more were needed to establish this view of the case, we have only to look at the fact that the extension of Turkish territory in Arabia, and that of the Khedive to the south of Annesley Bay, have both been followed by an enormous increase of the slave-trade. While slavery continues to exist the extension of the territory of either of these Powers is the extension of the slave-trade.

No matter which of the two great parties in England have been in power, the policy has been the same. Nothing must be done for civilisation and humanity, so far as slavery is concerned, that will be in any danger of producing friction between Great Britain and Turkey, even though half Africa be lost to itself and to the world.

This is so well understood to be the policy of English Cabinets, that not very long since the two principal representatives of England in Turkey and in Egypt, in their

despatches to the Home Government, apologised for slavery on the ground that the slaves were probably better off than they would have been in Africa; altogether overlooking the fact that for every slave in these countries, according to Dr. Livingstone's lowest calculation, four lives have been sacrificed.

“Nothing would contribute more to the regeneration and well-being of the inhabitants of Turkey and Egypt than the abolition of the harem system. Probably there are few who have paid attention to the effect of slavery in Eastern countries, who do not see that its existence has much to do in producing the lethargy and sensuality so destructive to all the best interests of the people. It forms a sort of enclosure within which the Mussulman lives a peculiar life—an out-work behind which he finds a refuge from the influence of civilisation and Christianity.

“Destroy it and his existence will undergo a change, and he will become a different person altogether.”*

But some may perhaps question the right to interfere with the domestic institutions of any country. Of such it may be fairly asked if an institution in any country which desolates half a neighbouring Continent can properly be described as

* “The Slave-Trade in Africa in 1872.” By Etienne Felix Berlioux. From the French. With Preface by Joseph Cooper. 27, New Broad Street, London.

domestic? The words of the celebrated French Jurist and Senator, M. Laboulaye, on this subject are worthy of special notice:—

“ L'Europe a-t-elle le droit d'intervenir dans une pareille question? Oui, sans doute. Il en est de la Souveraineté des princes comme de la liberté des individus. Faites ce que vous voudrez, mais ne nuisez pas aux autres. Le droit d'autrui est la limite de votre droit. Que l'Égypte et la Turquie n'affranchissent pas leurs esclaves, c'est une affaire intérieure dans laquelle nous n'avons pas droit d'intervenir; mais l'Afrique est un marché qui appartient à tout le monde; on n'a pas le droit d'y porter la guerre, d'y ruiner les populations pour la plus grande gloire des harems d'Orient. Les guerres qui désolent l'Afrique viennent du dehors; c'est le brigandage des chasseurs d'esclaves qui les allume et les nourrit. Voilà ce que les peuples chrétiens ont le droit d'empêcher. Ils peuvent défendre la liberté de l'Afrique comme autrefois ils ont défendu la liberté des mers. Personne n'a le droit de dévaster une terre qui fait la quatrième partie du monde, et qui offre à l'Europe et à l'Amérique un marché dont elles ont besoin. Si la pitié ne suffit pas pour animer les peuples chrétiens, qu'ils songent à leurs intérêts.

“Ce n'est pas que les puissances chrétiennes n'aient essayé d'empêcher la traite, qu'elles flétrissaient au Congrès de

Vérone, en 1822, comme '*un fléau qui a trop longtemps désolé l'Afrique, dégradé l'Europe et affligé l'humanité*;' mais comme le dit et le prouve M. J. Cooper, ces efforts, mal calculés, ne sont qu'une œuvre ruineuse et vaine. C'est la source du mal qu'il faut atteindre. Tant qu'il y aura des acheteurs d'esclaves, il y aura des vendeurs. La demande est trop forte et le prix trop avantageux pour ne pas perpétuer la chasse à l'homme. Supprimez l'esclavage, vous supprimez la traite; mais tant que l'esclavage subsistera, vos croisières seront impuissantes et les remontrances de vos consuls n'aboutiront à rien. On fermera les marchés publics d'esclaves, mais la contrebande se fera avec la connivence des autorités locales et rien ne sera changé."*

In the Congress at Vienna in 1815, and at Verona in 1822, the eight European Powers pledged themselves not to relax their efforts to put down the slave-trade till it should cease to exist. This solemn compact was entered into with the authority of the eight Powers, and signed on their behalf by Castlereagh, Steward, Wellington, Nesselrode, Palmella, Saldanha, Lobo, Humboldt, C. Lowenhielm Gomez, Labrador, Metternich, Talleyrand. Will these Powers now fulfil their pledges and complete the work? Will the pre-

* Un Continent perdu ou L'Esclavage et La Traite en Afrique, 1875, par Joseph Cooper, et Contenant une préface de M. Ed. Laboulaye. Paris : Libraire, Hachette et Cie. Boulevard St. Germain.

sent British Cabinet display the same earnestness and firmness of purpose which distinguished the language and action of the Duke of Wellington when representing the British Government at the Conference at Verona in 1822? If the British Cabinet is resolved that the work shall be done, it will have the earnest and cordial support of the British people, and there is no doubt it will be cheerfully seconded by all the other Powers. Will this great object be accomplished now by the united Powers of Europe, or will attempts be made to defer it? In the latter case, the great work will, in all human probability, be done by the Russian Government at no distant day.

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APPENDIX

ON CONSULAR REPORTS CONCERNING SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE THROUGHOUT THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

BY

AARON BUZACOTT, B.A.

THE CONFERENCE AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society do not fail to realise the critical character of events in reference to the cause which they have so deeply at heart. While the attention of statesmen has been directed to the so-called "Eastern Question;" while the heart of Christian Europe has been roused into bitter indignation and to generous sympathy towards the helpless victims of Turkish brutality, the Committee have felt it to be their special duty to press upon the Great Powers the need of recognising in slavery and the slave-trade of the Ottoman Empire one of the chief causes of the demoralisation of that Empire.

The idea of the "family" as the essential factor of national life is one foreign to the Turk. Women are merely instruments of lust and luxury, and are bought and got rid of at pleasure in diverse ways. It is true the "wife" or "concubine" may be very kindly treated, and the slave may occasionally have found a good owner; but the position and future of wife, concubine, and slave are absolutely uncertain. While throughout the empire justice is sold to the highest bidder, civil offices are awarded to please a favourite servant or to humour the new "wife" in the harem, and are even then held only during pleasure. The taxation is excessive, and so grinding on the poor as to extinguish all elements of self-respect and of regard for virtue. In one word, might and license rule in Turkey. This terrible result is mainly due to the

violation of the divine institution of the family, and of the denial of the birthrights of men.

As to the influence of slavery on all classes of society in Turkey, we may quote the witness of a distinguished diplomatist, who is allowed on all hands to be better acquainted, by personal observation and long residence, with the state of society in Turkey than any other man living. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, in a dispatch to the Foreign Office, wrote:—

"There are persons who distinguish between slavery in the East and slavery in the West. The distinction is not wholly unfounded. Unlike the negro in America, the slave in Turkey is rather a domestic servant than a field drudge or beast of burden. He is not ostensibly ill-treated. If a male, he rises occasionally to posts of profit and honour; if a female, ease, and even luxury, may be her portion in the harem of some court favourite or opulent functionary. *The degradation nevertheless remains; and the privation of liberty, not forfeited by crime, is itself an intolerable evil. But the injury does not stop there.* The slave can hold no property; he is a property himself; and, worse than all, he is but too often an instrument of vice, and sometimes even of crime. His life is at his owner's mercy. If a Christian, his children are born to slavery, as if to reconcile those who never can be parents to the mutilation which deprived them of that hope. *In one respect there is no difference between negro and Circassian slavery. Black or white, wherever slavery exists, the whole society suffers.* A curse is

on the trade. *Dealer and owner are alike affected by the taint. They treat their fellow-creatures like brutes, and are brutalised in return.*"

Besides all this, the Ottoman Empire furnishes the greatest demand for African slaves, and Africa is being pillaged and desolated by fire and sword and expatriation to supply this infamous demand. To talk about slavery in Turkey, or in Egypt, or Morocco, or Zanzibar, as if it were a mere domestic question with which other nations had no right to interfere, is a gross delusion, and a cruel mockery of unspeakable suffering and woe.

Events in the East are gathering into a great crisis. A Conference of the six Great Powers who signed the Treaty of Paris in 1856 is now being held at Constantinople. The Committee of this Society resolved to present a suitable address to the Sovereigns represented, and these have been forwarded to their desired destinations. The following is a copy of the address to the Emperor of Russia:—

TO HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY ALEXANDER
THE SECOND, EMPEROR OF ALL THE
RUSSIAS.

May it please your Imperial Majesty,

In view of the approaching Conference of the Great Powers of Europe, constituted for the purpose of securing the removal of such elements in the internal administration of the Ottoman Empire as are repugnant to the claims of humanity, and inimical to the welfare—political and commercial—of other nations, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society venture to submit to your Imperial Majesty the following considerations:—

That this Congress affords an appropriate occasion, such as has not been presented since the Congress of Vienna in 1815, for carrying into full and complete effect the consensus then arrived at on the subject of the slave-trade and slavery.

That, since the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and the Conference at Verona in 1822, the position of the Great Powers of Europe, in their relations to the slave-trade and slavery, have become immensely changed. At that period almost every Power, England herself included, were slave-holding or

slave-trading nations. Since then, with the single exception of Spain, in Cuba (still the scandal of civilization and of Christendom), not only the slave-trade but slavery has been abolished. England, France, Holland, Portugal, Denmark, and the United States, and, moreover, Russia, by the liberation of twenty-three millions of her vast population from the bondage of serfdom, now stand in a moral attitude which entitles all these Powers to urge and to enforce the claims of humanity and the common rights of mankind where these have yet to be recognised.

That the devastation of Africa and the murder of its people, variously estimated at from 400,000 to 500,000 every year, are perpetrated by the subjects, real or nominal, of the Ottoman Porte.

That, while thus outraging the "law of nature and of nations," they are excluding Europe and America from that immense commerce, which would otherwise be open to them, with regions of the earth unsurpassed in productiveness. In a word, the interests of civilised nations demand and justify a collective interposition for the extinction of slavery.

That slavery has largely conduced to the corruption and degradation of Turkey, and until it is abolished, political or social reforms are likely to be attempted in vain.

That the maintenance of slavery is the cause of the slave-trade in the Turkish Empire, and its extinction impossible as long as slavery is permitted to exist.

That the Resolutions of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and of the Conference at Verona in 1822 (copies of which we venture to enclose), afford unmistakable evidence, that the Governments represented by the eminent statesmen whose signatures are appended to them, were then strongly impressed with the duty of using every effort for the suppression of what they justly styled "a scourge which has too long desolated Africa, degraded Europe, and afflicted Humanity."

That if such were the views of policy and of duty which animated the Great Powers of Europe when such views were in strong antagonism to vast and powerful commercial interests then existing among their subjects, it is not too much to believe that the present Conference will be inspired by the same

spirit; for it will signally fail to discharge its high responsibilities, or to fulfil the just expectations of Europe, if now, at a time when these adverse interests no longer exist they neglect to ensure the entire extinction of slavery.

On behalf of the Anti-Slavery Society,

We are,

With much respect,

JOSEPH COOPER, } *Hon.*

EDMUND STURGE, } *Secs.*

AARON BUZACOTT, *Secretary.*

A similar address has been sent to the Emperor of Germany, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Italy, the President of the French Republic, and has been received by the British Government, although the Earl of Derby declined to receive a Deputation on the subject in the following courteous terms:—

“December 4th, 1876.

“SIR,—I am desired by Lord Derby to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo, requesting his Lordship to receive a Deputation to present a memorial on the subject of Slavery in Turkey. Lord Derby desires me to say, in reply, that the memorial shall receive full consideration at his hands, and that he will give his attention to any representations which the Anti-Slavery Society may address to him in writing in support of their views. His time, however, is at present very much occupied, and he fears that it will be impossible for him to arrange to receive a Deputation on the subject.

“I am, Sir,

“Your obedient Servant,

“T. H. SANDERSON.

“A. Buzacott, Esq.”

We ask the serious attention of our readers to the following indictment against slavery and the slave-trade in the Ottoman Empire.

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE

IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

I.—TURKEY.

It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the influence of slavery on the social and political life of the subjects of the Ottoman Empire, and the Conference now being held at Constantinople will “signally fail to discharge its high responsibilities if they neglect to secure the entire extinction of slavery.”

The Great Powers at the Congress of Vienna pronounced very decidedly against

slavery and the slave-trade “when such views were in strong antagonism to vast and powerful commercial interests then existing among their subjects. Surely it is not too much to believe that the present Conference will be inspired by the same spirit, especially when these two causes have so much to do with the present condition of the Ottoman Empire.”

We propose constructing our indictment against that Empire by extracting the evidence contained in the Special Consular Reports sent in, in answer to the inquiries of the English Foreign Office. The reports are to be found in the Appendix to the Report of the Royal Commission on Fugitive Slaves.

TURKEY.

Sir Henry Elliot reports (under date March 24th, 1876) on

The Status of Slaves.

“Their status, although depending at least as much upon custom as upon absolute law, is perhaps as favourable as it is susceptible of being made, the slavery being purely domestic, and no prejudice being felt against them on account of their condition or their colour.

“The white Circassian slaves are regarded as being in a different social position from the negroes, though I am not aware of any distinction in their legal rights.

“They usually, while young, receive sufficient education to qualify them to become inmates of the larger harems, either as wives, concubines, or superior domestic servants, and many are adopted into families where there may be no children.

“The Sultan's wives, as they are called, though not strictly entitled to that name, are invariably selected from this class, which also furnishes wives to many of the highest dignitaries of the Empire.

“The position of the concubines is not one of degradation, as with us, and is indeed incorrectly designated by that term, for their children are legitimate and born free, inheriting on equal terms with the children of acknowledged wives.

“It is the almost invariable custom to give them their freedom before a child is born; but till this is done they are liable to be sold by their master.

"No measures are in progress for their emancipation, but the feeling is gradually becoming general that the employment of free persons is more desirable, and the number of slaves is daily diminishing, although by no means so rapidly as it ought if the law for the suppression of the traffic were fairly enforced.

"This it will never be as long as any demand for slaves remains, for there is nothing in the institution itself which is repugnant to the public feeling of the country.

"As long as the slave-trader is regarded as a man acting illegally, but not as guilty of an act reprehensible in its own nature, he will find the means of carrying on the traffic.

"With the custom of emancipating slaves after a certain duration of service, and the recognition as free of all children born of parents of whom either is free, slavery would be nearly extinct in a comparatively short period of years, if the prohibition of the traffic were to be rigidly enforced; but of this I confess I see little prospect, and I do not even believe it to be within the power of the Government effectually to put a stop to it.

"The passage of slaves intended for sale through Malta, where certainly no disposition exists to connive at the trade, shows the difficulty of defeating the contrivances of the dealers."

Our readers will observe the skill and tact with which Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople describes the social condition and life of the Ottoman Empire. It is not easy to gather from this statement that the Sultan has no legal wife, that all his wives and concubines are literally slaves, and are at the mercy of the whim and caprice of the Sultan. The same may be said of the harems of all the official class in Turkey, and this vast system of iniquity necessarily involves the degradation of women, the torture of youths and the massacres and desolation of Central Africa. It is a mistake to suppose that the slaves of Turkey are only Circassians; they come from many nations. It is significant that Sir Henry Elliot gives no report on the slave-trade in Constantinople, and the cities

of Turkey, and on the Red Sea, where it is as Mr. Vice-Consul Wylde will presently inform us, exceedingly active. It is idle to talk of slavery as a domestic question, when villages and great districts of other lands are desolated to meet the demand.

THE SLAVE-TRADE IN THE RED SEA,
TURKEY.

Mr. Vice-Consul WYLDE, under date March 26th, 1876, says:—

"Jeddah.

"I find that at the former place" (Yembo) "there are a good many imported in buglas from the usual depôt, the African coast. These slaves find their way up to Medina, where there is a good market for them. A small portion of the number, however, is consumed by the Bedouins, who use them to work in their date-gardens.

"There is no secret made of the traffic; and the Governor of Yembo, however willing he might be to put a stop to the public mode of carrying it on, would be powerless to do so, as he has no force whatever at his disposal.

"At Souakim, . . . from conversations I had with native merchants, and the doctor and postmaster (Mr. Formighis, an Italian gentleman, in the Egyptian service), I was led to believe that the officials are perfectly aware of the enormous exportation that takes place, and derive a pecuniary benefit from the same. I think Mr. Formighis' letter—an extract from which I enclose—bears out my testimony as to the extent of the traffic.

"On the morning of my departure from Souakim a bugla, crowded with slaves, left the place of embarkation that I mentioned before, and two others were half loaded, waiting till the arrival of another batch, which was shortly expected.

"It was estimated that these three vessels would take away, at the least, 500 slaves. The bugla that left a few hours before the departure of the *Medina*—the steamer in which I was travelling—arrived near Jeddah before we did, having made a very quick passage—namely, 170 miles under the twenty-four hours.

"At Jeddah, although the slave-market is still closed, the sale of human beings goes on in some private houses adjoining the old

market. The town is absolutely full of fresh-run slaves; these could not have entered within the walls without the knowledge of the officials.

"I have also the honour to report to your Lordship that the Turkish steamers *Cherif Rasan* and *Malakoff*, bound for Constantinople, left there with numbers of slaves, and that no steps were taken to conceal them on board the vessels."

SLAVE-TRADE AT SALONICA (TURKEY).

Vice-Consul BLUNT (under date April 15th, 1876), Salonica, reports to Sir Henry Elliot as follows:—

"From all I hear, there is no doubt that slaves are occasionally imported here and at other ports in my consular district; but I cannot yet state whether the Ottoman authorities connive at their introduction.

"These slaves are brought in small numbers at a time, in an underhand way, in order to avoid suspicion. Sometimes the dealer represents them as his wives, or relatives, or adopted children; but generally he passes them off as his servants. Once landed, they are hurried into the interior to be secretly sold. In the same way slaves are also introduced into Thessaly and Macedonia by the steamers of other foreign companies. I cannot say, nor do I think, that their commanders intentionally connive at the subterfuges which are employed by the slave-dealers in their nefarious traffic; but I think that the evil would diminish if the commanders and agents of the Austro-Hungarian 'Lloyd's,' French 'Messageries Maritimes' and 'Fraissinet père et fils,' and Italian 'Trinacreas' steamers, were authorised to exercise more supervision in respect of young slaves which are carried in their vessels under the system I have pointed out."

SIR P. FRANCIS ON THE LEGALITY OF SLAVERY IN TURKEY.

Sir P. Francis, in a letter to Sir Henry Elliott, dated August 12th, 1870, reported on the state of the law in the Ottoman Empire in respect of the slave-trade and of slavery in that country.

" . . . The following is the opinion which he arrived at on the subject of his report, namely:—

'1. That slavery was still a legal institu-

tion in Turkey, in spite of vague professions of a desire to abolish it.

'2. That the negro slave-trade was illegal, though tolerated.

'3. That slaves might be sold by private contract, but not by auction or publicity.

'4. That the white slave-trade had never been prohibited.'" (*Royal Commission Report*, 1876, p. 84.)

Since that time the negro slave-trade has greatly revived, as may be seen from other portions of our statement. It need not surprise anyone that this increase should be unknown to Sir Henry Elliot, who never heard of the "Bulgarian Atrocities" until months after the facts were published throughout Christendom.

Regulations beyond number have been issued by the Ottoman Government in restraint of the slave-trade, but like all other Ottoman promises and projects of reform, they are merely so much waste paper.

II.—EGYPT.

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Consul-General STANTON reports (under date March 10, 1876):—

"In Egypt, as in other portions of the Ottoman Empire, domestic slavery is an institution recognised alike by the laws and religion of the country; at the same time the traffic in slaves is prohibited, though the penalties attaching to a breach of the law on this head are neither very clearly defined nor rigorously carried into effect, the consequence being that a contraband trade is still carried on, and slaves can be procured without any serious difficulty in the principal towns of this country.

"Within the last few years the attention of the Egyptian Government has been frequently called to this traffic, and orders have been from time to time issued with a view to its suppression; and it is only just to say that, according to all accounts, a marked diminution has occurred in the number of slaves now sold annually in Egypt to what was formerly the case.

"His Highness the Khedive has, moreover, notified his readiness to enter into engagements with Her Majesty's Government for the total suppression of the slave-trade, and for the abolition of slavery in Egypt within a certain number of years."

We may refer our readers to the last number of the *Reporter* for proof of the existence of the *slave-trade in Cairo*. There is no difficulty in buying slaves in Egypt, provided the buyer is neither an Englishman nor an American. We are delighted to hear that the Khedive is ready to enter into engagements to abolish the slave-trade within a certain term of years, but why not stop the trade at once? And why should not the Khedive abolish the status of slavery in his own court and throughout his dominions? How can he claim to be an enlightened Prince while he is served by slaves?

What was said concerning Constantinople and the cities of Turkey in Asia is equally applicable to Cairo and the cities of Egypt. Freedom is a word and not a right; and all the promises made by the Egyptian Government for its suppression are practically so much waste paper; when the liberty and lives of men are concerned, we must judge of Governments by our Saviour's rule—"By their fruits ye shall know them." And even Mr. Stanton admits that there is a "contraband trade" in slaves, and that "slaves can be procured without any serious difficulty in the principal towns of this country."

One of the slav routes lies through Egyptian territory to the Red Sea. Egyptian officers make a profit of the trade, which is very rife on the Red Sea. Slaves are also brought down the Nile. Amid this darkness we have a gleam of moon-light in the professed readiness of his Highness the Khedive to enter into "engagement with Her Majesty's Government for the total suppression of the slave-trade." But why

should not this trade be immediately suppressed without this engagement? The Khedive has the power, and its suppression must begin with the harem of his Highness, of his princes, and of the highest officials. Till then not much credit will be given by the people to the professions of his Highness.

Forced Labour in Egypt.

Our readers will be familiar with the reports we have published concerning the forced labour of the Egyptian Government. Slavery itself can scarcely furnish a system so severe in its requirements, so wasteful of life, so destructive to the resources of the country, and marked by such bitter cruelties. It is slavery in its worst forms under a new name, and without the responsibility of slave-owners.

We have thus, by official information given to the British Government, proved that the Ottoman Empire furnishes the greatest demand for slaves; and that the trade is now carried on almost under the eyes of English Consuls, who, though it is diplomatic not to see or notice cruelties and violation of natural right which do not touch British interests, have been constrained to tell so much of the truth as is known to them. But they do not know a tithe of the enormous traffic. Nothing has been said of the slave-trade amongst the Arabs and in the interior of Asia. But enough has been told to demonstrate our position—that were it not for the Ottoman Empire, and for Mohammedanism, there would be but little slavery throughout the Eastern world.

