“His Original Name Is . . .” – REMAPping the Slave Experience in Saudi Arabia[1]

ALAINE S. HUTSON

For years, European and American scholars have stressed the differences between slavery in the Middle East and the Atlantic World, and they have been very cautious about comparing slavery in the two regions or using scholarship on the Atlantic to interpret data from the Middle East.[2] Since at least the 19th century European travelers and scholars and Middle Eastern elites have portrayed slavery in the Middle East as more benign than its oppressive Atlantic brother. Scholars attributed the ‘benign’ quality of the slave experience partially to the ‘non-productive’ work in which Middle Eastern slaves were engaged and partly to the Islamic norms and laws governing the holding of slaves. Some authors have started breeching this academic divide, revealing the inadequacies of the scholarship on slavery in the Middle East, bypassing the cautions against comparison and unearthing the malignant side of the institution (cf. Zilfi 1997; Erdem 2010; Frank 2012; Zdanowski 2013). Bernard Lewis (1990: 99-102) has written that the capture, transport, and sale of slaves in the Atlantic World and Middle East were probably equally horrific. Matthew Hopper (2006) has written

1 The author would like to thank Amde Mitiku of www.Ethiotrans.com for help with the identification and social context of Ethiopian names. A Missouri State University Summer Faculty Fellowship funded the original archival research for this article. A Sam Taylor Fellowship grant from the United Methodist Church purchased the JMP software used for the statistical analysis and a Faculty Residency Fellowship from UNCF/Mellon enabled the building and online publishing of the REMAP Database.

2 Gordon (1989: 48-49), Lewis (1990), and Philips (1993: 161) emphasize the difference in the use of slave labor and treatment in the Middle East.

on slaves put to "productive use" in the palm date and pearl industries of the Arabian Peninsula. Ehud Toledano (2009: 14) has called for scholars to "reexamine the argument that Islamic slavery was so much milder than its counterparts that it perhaps cannot be discussed in the same analytic framework."

However, Lewis believed that differences in the two systems would most likely show up in research on the labor conditions for slaves in the Middle East. In other words, the use of slaves, laws governing them and their owners, and owners' treatment of slaves would reveal the differences in the two systems. Lewis further surmised that thoase differences would stem from the economic systems into which slaves were forced to labor: large-scale plantation slavery in the Americas versus the usually small-scale domestic slavery of the Middle East. Certainly differences abound between slavery in the two regions, due to many factors. Laws in the two regions varied dramatically over the subject of inheriting slave status. The systems in the regions did not share age preferences for slaves, and, as David Barry Gaspar (1985: 93) has pointed out, slave's lives were largely shaped "by the work they were made to do, which implied exposure to diverse patterns of subordination" even within a region, system, or time period.

The aim of this chapter is to offer up sharper pictures of the lives of Africans enslaved in 20th-century Saudi Arabia.[3] These pictures suggest that the reverse of Gaspar's statement is also true. When made to do similar work (rural agricultural or urban domestic) slaves in Saudi Arabia experienced patterns of subordination similar to the enslaved in the Americas. This research also amends Gaspar's thesis by suggesting that slaves' work, along with their owners' expectations about Africans' cultures and their owners' notions of power, governed these patterns. The article's findings indicate the need for more comparative research and analysis so that scholars can move beyond the paradigm of "benign Islamic slavery" created by Ottoman "amplification" and the need for scholars to engage in reconstructing the lived experiences of the enslaved.[4]

3 This is part of larger research on runaways' narratives from around the Arabia Peninsula in the early 20th century. Here I do not use the "voice" in a conscious effort not to engage in what Gayatri Spivak (2010: 27) terms "the ventriloquism of the speaking subaltern."

4 Toledano (1993: 477-506) discusses what he calls the "amplification" of certain slaves' roles by the Ottoman Empire in its defense of slavery to the British and other European powers. In their dealings with European abolitionist sentiments Ottoman officials emphasized slaves put to work in the military, administration, and the harem.

Eve Troutt Powell (2006: 254) states that "a detailed understanding of the lives of African slaves does not emerge in the archives of the Public Record Office". I argue that when read and analyzed using qualitative and quantitative methods, these records "obviously both linguistically and culturally filtered […] as limited as they are, can form the basis of a viable and credible social reconstruction" (Toledano 2009: 10). The basis of this article's reconstruction of the lives of enslaved Africans is the records of the British Legation in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia from 1926 to 1938. During this time, the British were freeing and repatriating runaways slaves as stipulated in Article 7 of the 1927 Treaty of Jeddah.[5] All together the Foreign Office files give information on 263 people.[6] For 60 fugitives there are brief but detailed handwritten narratives or typed questionnaires. I have compiled and coded the data from these documents, as well as high-resolution images of the archival documents and full citation of the archival sources, into a free, online searchable database for researchers – Runaways Enslaved and Manumitted on the Arabian Peninsula (REMAP; www.REMAPdatabase.org). When citing information from individual runaways I will be using their REMAP database ID number.

Readers may question whether the data and findings of this research are peculiar to Saudi Arabia or indicative of general trends in 20th-century Middle Eastern slavery. Further questions about the data's reliability are raised because

5 Britain relinquished this right in 1936, the same year King Ibn Saud decreed the Saudi Arabian slave regulations. See Miers (1989: 102-28) for more on the provisions of the slave regulations and their relationship to the renunciation. Two years later, fugitive slaves continued to seek manumission from the British. These slaves were turned away, but the British did record the incidents and they were included in the data set and statistical tests.

6 There are both summarized reports and individual documents for the former slaves. F.O. 905/11, Embassy and Legation, Saudi Arabia: General Correspondence. Slaves: General Question. 1934 contains one of the reports (206 are listed in the report, 7 of whom have individual documents: 6 in F.O. 967/1 Legation, Hejaz: Various Papers. Slave traffic. 1926 and 1 in F.O. 905/62 Embassy and Legation, Saudi Arabia: General Correspondence. Slaves, Slavery and slave trade: Gabor Ahmed. 1938.); F.O. 905/28, Embassy and Legation, Saudi Arabia: General Correspondence. Slaves: Manumission: Individual cases. 1935 contains updated reports of manumissions from 1930-1935 (53 listed in the updates, 51 of whom have individual documents); F.O. 905/61, Embassy and Legation, Saudi Arabia: General Correspondence. Slaves, Slavery and Slave Trade: General. 1938 contains the narratives from the two 1938 runaways.

the British or their consulate employees recorded the narratives and held an official anti-slavery position. This question can only be answered by further comparative research, but there are indications that runaway slaves from Saudi Arabia were like runaways in other parts of the Peninsula.[7] As for British influence in the narratives, the British ambivalence about their role in manumission and the diversity of information found in the documents, indicate that the British did not attempt to skew the narratives to shine a strictly negative or positive light on Saudi slavery.[8] The British relinquished their rights to manumission after ten years, noting that the number of slaves who sought refuge was miniscule compared to their numbers in the kingdom which indicated, to the British, that slaves were content in their enslaved status and therefore their manumission efforts were not needed. British relinquishing of this right so quickly and their rationalization for it provides an example of ambivalence toward manumission.

Data from the British Saudi records provide information that Saudi slaveholders had patterns of subordination and control of slaves that were also used by American slaveholders in several areas including: 1) owners' naming practices, 2) owners' assignments of labor based on a slave's country of origin, and 3) Saudi Arabia's drafting of fugitive slave laws and treaties in response to slaves' seeking British manumission and help in repatriation. These narratives speak not only to slaves' lived experiences but also to owners' cultural, labor, and political practices. These parallels not only tell historians about the conditions of Middle Eastern and Atlantic slavery, they reveal insights about the nature of power in owner-slave social and labor relationships and in slave states experiencing resistance to slavery outside from international powers and inside from slaves themselves (cf. Simawe 1999).

Owners, across from both coasts of Africa, attempted to project their hopes for slaves' temperaments and natures through renaming them. Arabs, Americans, and Europeans created fictions about slaves' identities by fashioning stereotypes for slaves from different parts of Africa. Finally, owners tried to stave off escapes by unleashing the judicial weight, and sometimes violence, of the state against runaways.

This work contributes to the trend of newer scholarship that is abandoning the 'benign Islamic slavery' paradigm for a more nuanced and detailed picture of Middle Eastern slavery and its lived rules from the perspective of the enslaved. It

7 Hutson (2002: 51, 53, 56-8) discusses data from British offices in Bahrain.

8 For a further description of the data see Hutson (2002: 51-53).

argues that those rules in Saudi Arabia were often aimed at compartmentalizing slaves' names, jobs, and actions in order to better control them.

NAMING PRACTICES

In the narratives several runaways report that their names were changed after being enslaved. For those slaves from Ethiopia like Abdul Kheyr, Salim, Said, and Feyruz whose original Amharic names were Dagfeyh, Nagashi Lejawannis, Araro, and Aggafari that is not surprising.[9] However this renaming also appears to have been a common practice even for people who were Muslim prior to being enslaved. One Nigerian had a perfectly good Muslim name of Arabic origin when he was captured as a teenager: his parents named him Adam. Despite that his new owner renamed him Mabruk, which means "Blessed."[10] Other narratives reveal some patterns to this renaming with certain names being used especially for male slaves. Bakr a teenage boy from Borno (another Nigerian) reported being renamed Bakhit (Lucky) upon his enslavement at the hands of Bedouins at the age of three while on hajj with his parents; Su'da, a seventeen year old originally from the Sudan was renamed Na'im (Comfort); and Bilal, a Sudanese slave in his mid-thirties had been renamed Faraj (Relief).[11]

In all, 13 of the 60 narratives (over 20%) refer to original names and aliases, nicknames, or alternate names used in slavery. Nigerians, Ethiopians, and Sudanese are equally represented among the thirteen, but Su'da is the only woman. The British designed the questionnaires used in this study to collect information pertinent to their particular slavery policy goals in Saudi Arabia, so there was no specific question or attempt to find out if slaves had been renamed.[12] One-fifth is likely a slight under representation of men slaves' renaming, perhaps women slaves renaming is underrepresented too. In

9 REMAP #241, REMAP #248, REMAP #250, and REMAP #251, respectively. Araro, may be a mistransliteration of "Areru" a typical Amharic slave name. "Araru" was also a slave name meaning dark like the color of an over roasted coffee bean. Amde Mitiku, email message to author.

10 REMAP #3.

11 REMAP #7, REMAP #256, and REMAP #245, respectively.

12 Among the British interests were determining: slaves' origins so the Legation could repatriate them, bill the appropriate government for the transportation costs and try to stop the trade at the source; the route and method used to import slaves; who brokered and bought slaves in Arabia; and how and where owners were using slave labor.

scrutinizing all 133 names of runaways in the data this under representation for men is evident. While names for women slaves were varied, men's names showed definite trends. Of the 40 names for women the only names repeated more than twice were fairly common Arabic names – Salima (Peaceful or Safe), Jamila (Beautiful), and Sa'ida (Fortunate). However, in a general population of Muslim men one might expect to find many named Muhammad, Ali, Ahmed, Hassan, or Usman: there was only one Muhammad, one Ali, and one Hassan and two each for Ahmed and Usman. But names like Faraj, Johar (Jewel), Mabruk, Jaber (Comforter), Sa'ad (Good luck) and Surur (Joy) were used for nearly a quarter of the escaped men. In fact the one man originally named Ali appears to have been given the slave name of Murjan (Coral).[13] Though women's names were varied, they also included names like Mabruka, Bakhita, and Bushra (Good omen), as well as very unusual names like Ghuzlan and Kelyba.[14]

This naming data adds to the increasing evidence that Arab and other Middle Eastern and Muslim owners had patterns of naming specifically for slaves. Bakhita was also a name commonly given to Sudanese women slaves in Egypt. Jonathan Miran points out that in Ethiopia slave names were often "names of flowers, gems, precious substances and aesthetic features" (Miran 2013: 147-148).

Special "slave names" was also a phenomenon observed in Atlantic slavery. Commonly owners in the Americas gave slaves classical Greek and Roman names, Christian names, and "generic African names" (Hine/Hine/Harrold 2000: 41).[15] Gaspar interprets this renaming of slaves to be an act of social control on the part of slave owners because it "allowed owners to define and fully claim [Africans] as their property while attempting to strip them of an identity associated with their original names" (Gaspar 1985: 131). The Saudi data seems to indicate owner's felt the need to control men more strongly than women.

To establish what Arab slave owners' patterns might have been requires more research and more knowledge of the meaning and etymology of Arabic names, however some patterns do emerge from the Saudi data. King Abd al-Aziz Ibn Saud told Munshi Ihsanullah, a British Legation officer that West Africans

13 REMAP #218 says "also called Murjan."

14 I could not find meanings for these last two names and some others. They are not Arabic.

15 Cf. Dunn (1972: 252) for more on owners' common practices when naming African slaves. Mullin (1992: 86) indicates that at times planters named new slaves in conjunction with trusted slaves or left naming up to them entirely. There is no indication of this so-called seasoning practice in Saudi Arabia.

"lived like beasts, that they were much better off as slaves, and that if he had his way he would take all (West African) pilgrims as his slaves, raising them thus out of their depraved state and turning them into happy, prosperous and civilised beings."[16] The names Blessed (Mabruk/a), Lucky (Bakhit/a), Comfort (Na'im), Relief (Faraj), and Good Luck (Sa'ad) indicate that other Saudi slave owners fully expected their slaves to be happy in their situations and probably considered African captives lucky to be enslaved on the Arabian Peninsula. Owners projected those expectations onto slaves through names.

These expectations and the positive names that went with them were consistent with 19th-century American theories of the "positive good" of plantation slavery and gives further support to Larry Tise's work on proslavery thought. Tise argues that "the notion that slavery could be a positive good for slaves and slave society appears in proslavery literature of all nations and in nearly all eras" (Tise 1987: 97).[17] Tise's analysis of proslavery literature from a variety of regions and over a century indicates "that the proslavery argument or rather arguments were virtually the same wherever one found slaveholding on the defensive" (ibid.: 10). The concept of slavery, anywhere in the world, was being questioned and attacked in Europe during the 19th and 20th centuries. Middle Eastern slavery was certainly scrutinized in orientalist literature and threatened by the British who manumitted slaves throughout the Arabian Peninsula.

Thise includes a discussion of the religious arguments for seeing slavery as a positive good. A century before Ibn Saud made his feelings known to Ihsanullah, Reverend Richard Furman made a parallel argument that Africans enslaved in South Carolina "have their situation bettered by being brought here & held as Slaves, when used as the Scriptures direct" (Furman, quoted in Tise 1987: 40). Half a world apart an American Christian minister and Saudi Muslim king expressed the same thoughts that African slaves' conversions to monotheistic world religions made slavery a happy, uplifting experience.

European orientalist literature, both pro- and antislavery, coupled with the portrait of slavery painted by Ottoman officials gave birth to the enduring image of benign slavery in the Middle East and the notion that it was incomparable

16 F.O. 403/460 Confidential Print Africa. Africa and Slave Trade. Correspondence Part I. Mr. Bond to A. Henderson (enclosure, 14), 6 March 1930. The Indian Vice Consul Ihsanullah, a Muslim who spoke to the King on the evils of slavery, reported this.

17 Cf. Finkelman (2003: 1-44) for more on the various defenses of slavery employed by southerners in the US.

with Atlantic slavery.[18] Both literatures used arguments of positive good that are also found in the pre-emancipation Americas. The Dutchman C. Snouck Hurgronje makes the following observations about Africans enslaved in Mecca.

> "The thousands of negroes and Abysinnians who have been carried off into Moslim [sic] lands and there remember their earlier life consider themselves as made into men by slavery: all are contented, and not one wishes to return to his native land." (1970 [1888-9]: 19)

Charles Doughty, a late 19th-century traveler and writer, expressed anti-slavery opinions, but also wrote that "[slaves] can say 'It was his grace' since they be thereby entered into the saving religion […] for such do they give God thanks that their bodies were sometimes sold into slavery!" (1936: 605). Doughty argued that slaves' contentment was one of the worst aspects of Middle Eastern slavery. Even an enemy of slavery held notions about Africans that coincided with the proslavery image of the happy slave who felt lucky to be enslaved by followers of the god of Abraham.

The contented slave on the Arabian Peninsula was no doubt a composite of European authors' own observations, mixed with what Ehud Toledano has termed the "amplification" of *kul*/harem slavery by 19th century Ottoman officials, and the opinions of Middle Eastern slave owners with whom Europeans interacted. The Ottoman *Tanzimat* period produced this amplification as a defense of slavery in a Turkish Muslim empire that was trying to prove itself a modern society capable of reform. As members of the elite, *Tanzimat* officials were slaveholders themselves and portrayed slavery in the empire as mostly an elite affair that involved: pampered women in the harem; clever perfumed eunuchs creating court intrigue; or strong, well-fed lazy *janissary* soldiers who did not want to fight but still reaped the spoils of war and military life.

This notion of the fortunate *kul*/harem slave is ubiquitous in various academic circles. Balkan parents begging for their children to be taken as slaves in order to have a better life is given as the proof that slavery in the Ottoman controlled world of the Middle East was a benevolent institution. However, as Toledano (1993) points out, the bulk of work performed by slaves and most slaves themselves were domestic and agricultural slaves whose patterns of subordination were quite different from *kul*/harem slaves. Toledano argues that

18 Cf. Toledano (1993) for more on Ottoman "amplification" of benign *kul* (slaves in the empire's military and administration) and harem slavery and "deletion" of domestic and agricultural slavery as a reaction to European abolitionism.

British abolitionists made a strategic mistake by lumping all slaves together in their quest to abolish Ottoman slavery. This article argues that academics make the same mistake when analyzing slavery in the Middle East. This research focuses on the lives and work of slaves engaged in lowly, domestic and manual labor in close proximity to their owners and their owners' demands, control, and punishment not the sexual services of the vast harem, the administrative plotting of eunuchs or the rewards of successful military service.

The difference in the physical spaces in which slave work occurred in the Peninsula and the Americas probably further differentiated for Europeans slavery in the two regions. In the Americas the work of slavery could be more readily seen or read about in abolitionist literature. Slaves toiled in fields under the crack of a driver's whip, whip marks could be seen on the exposed bodies of working slaves, and illustrations of bizarrely forged iron implements for punishing slaves were referred to in owners' diaries as well as anti-slavery tracts. But the work (and punishment) of slaves in the Middle East was within households, not visible to most visiting Europeans. Slaves were certainly on the streets and in fields but most of their interaction with owners and other authority figures most likely took place in the home, not out in public.

Though authors on Middle Eastern slavery differ in their nationalities, eras, and support of slavery, the one thing all these observers had in common was the power and privilege of being free, educated, elite, mostly male, and in some cases slave holders. This similarity seems to indicate that many of these opinions about the nature of African enslavement in these various contexts tell historians little about the actual conditions, circumstances, and workings of slavery and much more about the nature of power and propaganda in slave societies.

There are also indications that slave owners' expectations and stereotypes about Africans from different regions may have affected naming practices. Bushra was the name for two slave women, one from French Equatorial Africa (the Ouaddaï region of eastern Chad).[19] Good omen may denote that owners, like others on the early 20th century Arabian Peninsula, believed that women of African descent had healing powers associated with spirit possession cults such as *zar* and *bori, zar* coming from East Africa and *bori* from West Africa. While both regions provided ritual experts in these cults, West African *bori* adepts still travel to Mecca and Medina during hajj season and report being sought after as healers for Saudi women suffering from mysterious illnesses that biomedical

19 REMAP #139, REMAP #191. The second Bushra could not be associated with a specific woman's narrative; she may have been from Ouaddaï, Ethiopia, or the Sudan.

doctors have failed to cure.[20] More research is warranted but the two West African Bushras may indicate a preference for West African *bori* practices among the women of Saudi Arabia.

Johar was the name given to three slave men, all were most likely from Ethiopia and all were definitely commercial workers including a "shop boy" and a sailor.[21] Only three out of ten Ethiopians reported being commercial workers, so it seems significant that all Johars had similar slave work experiences and may have shared a country of origin. All three being named Jewel may suggest that they had the classic Ethiopian light skin color and slim features which many Arabs considered beautiful.[22] The name could also indicate that many slaves were to be used in the jewelry trade – either in jewelry shops or on pearl diving boats. Pearl diving was a trade rife with slaves.

The fact that slave women had more common Arabic names may indicate that slave women were performing similar roles as free women in families; beauty is expected of concubines and hoped for in wives; wives, sisters, mothers, and slaves are given the tasks of keeping a peaceful home, raising happy children, and pleasing husbands. Unlike the Americas there were no laws restricting Arab men from marrying their slaves and status was inherited from the father so lives of slave women had the potential to more closely parallel those of free Arab women. However, it appears that like the Americas most slave women did work and inhabited spaces not attempted by free Arab women. Slave women went out in public to carry water and washing to urban households and performed agricultural work in rural areas. The narratives are not explicit on exactly what jobs women had in agriculture or how they were expected to dress and act when out in the city. During this time Arab women became veiled and more secluded as Ibn Sa'ud and his Wahhabi supporters gained more control of

20 Cf. Toledano (2007: 204-254) for more on the creolization of the two spirit possession traditions; Doumato (2000: 170-184) for the practice of spirit possession healing in Arabia, Bahrain and Kuwait associated with Sudanese and Ethiopian women; O'Brien (1999: 29) for more on the role of Nigerian women in 20th-century Saudi Arabia.

21 One Johar was among four men who reported to the Legation together, whose information was clumped together, and who were repatriated together. Their individual information cannot be matched with certainty to their names, but all reported being commercial workers of some type and one was Ethiopian.

22 Fair (2001: 94-95) gives an example of 'Arab' standards of beauty by quoting an elite man from the Arab-dominated Swahili coast who described long thin noses and straight hair as marks of beauty and Miran (2013: 138) comments on concubines from Ethiopia as being sought after in Arabia.

what became the 1932 Saudi state. It is clear from narratives of runaway women that they saw being a slave and being a wife as markedly different, but from naming practices and documentary evidence it appears that males - Arab owners and British officials, may have perceived a smaller difference.[23]

Regardless of the meanings of the names it is clear that the act of renaming itself, both on the Arabian Peninsula and in the Americas, was an attempt by slave owners to strip Africans of their former identity, especially African men who had formerly known freedom. The men named Murjan help build the case that owners had used certain slave names for at least two generations. One man was renamed Murjan but two men who had been born to enslaved parents had the moniker ibn Murjan (son of Murjan).

In the Americas some slaves remembered their original African names as a form of protest and resistance: the most famous but fictionalized example being Kunta Kinte's resistance of his slave name Toby (Haley 1976: 180-181, 183, 216).[24] Saudi slaves' use of their original names in their manumission narratives (their official record of running away and becoming free) mirrors the Atlantic form of slave protest.

LABOR ASSIGNMENTS

The experiences of the fugitive slaves in Saudi Arabia confirms Gaspar's notion that slaves' work heavily influenced the terms of their subordination. Statistical tests found that slaves' jobs affected and interacted with many aspects of their lives: their work helped determine how many years they were enslaved, patterned the number of owners they had, and were factors in their reasons for running away.[25] Gender and country of origin also influenced what occupation slaves plied.[26] Fugitive slaves reported 19 different occupations.[27] In order to

23 Swidler (2003: 343-356) makes similar observations about the perception gap in late 19th-century Balochistan.

24 Cf. Gaspar (1985: 132) for analysis of this form of slave protest.

25 The chi-square test results were as follows: labor assignment and number of years enslaved ($n = 117$, $X2 = 11.89$, $df = 2$, $p < .01$); labor assignment and number of owners ($n = 122$, $X2 = 9.44$, $df = 4$, $p < .06$); and labor assignment and reasons for running away ($n = 65$, $X2 = 22.78$, $df = 6$, $p < .001$).

26 Gender and labor assignment ($n = 221$, $X2 = 41.82$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$) and country of origin and labor assignment ($n = 217$, $X2 = 14.88$, $df = 8$, $p < .07$).

conduct statistical tests these 19 trades were categorized as domestic, agricultural, or commercial labor.[28] Occupations are recorded for 221 fugitives, 101 were domestic laborers (46%), 71 were commercial labor (32%), and 49 were agricultural workers (22%).

Table 1: Labor Assignment and Country of Origin[29]

Type of labor	Agricultural		Commercial		Domestic		Total	
	n =	%	n =	%	n =	%	n =	%
Ethiopia	9	19	25	35	39	39.5	73	34
French Equatorial Africa	4	9	6	9	6	6	16	7
Nigeria	3	6	10	14	5	5	18	8
Sudan	29	62	29	41	43	43.5	101	47
Yemen	2	4	1	1	6	6	9	4
Total	47	100	71	100	99	100	217	100

Table 1 shows that Ethiopians were utilized as domestic slaves, Nigerian slaves worked in commerce, and Sudanese people made up the bulk of agricultural slaves. Perhaps stereotypes or prior experience operated to channel slaves from certain countries into certain jobs, which was the case for slaves laboring in the New World.[30]

27 The categories were domestic, agricultural labourer or labourer, camel driver, chauffeur, concubine, milkboy, miller, pearl diver, porter, sailor, shepherd, shop boy, soldier, stone cutter, water carrier, bodyguard, washer woman, and motor driver.

28 Domestic, chauffeur, and concubine were categorized as domestic labor. Agricultural labourer or labourer, milkboy, and shepherd were deemed agricultural labor. Camel driver, miller, pearl diver, porter, sailor, shop boy, soldier, stonecutter, water carrier, washerwoman, bodyguard, and motor driver were considered commercial labor.

29 This table originally appeared in Hutson (2002: 64), but has been modified here by putting washerwoman in commercial instead of agricultural labor. All subsequent references to tables from this article reflect this modification.

30 Even though Ethiopians were 34% of the table, they were only 19% of agricultural workers. Ethiopians were, in fact, twice as likely to work as domestic laborers as agricultural workers. Nigerians were only a small percentage of the sample (8%) but they were over-represented (15%) in the commercial labor sector. Conversely, Sudanese people were 62% of agricultural workers but only 47% of the sample.

There is evidence of planters in the New World employing slaves in different jobs based on ethnicity. David Geggus observed that sugar and coffee plantation owners had preferences for slaves from different "nations" in Africa depending on stereotypes about their average height, agricultural traditions, experience with livestock, perceived common health problems, etc. (Geggus 1993: 79-84 and 86-88). Planters in the Americas also looked at slaves' diets in their homelands (including whether they were supposed cannibals), purported temperament, and the attractiveness of a nation's women.[31] In Brazil, the Yoruba who built large cities in West Africa were put to work in urban areas like Salvador (Schwartz 1985: 475). The Fulbe were often employed to take care of livestock (Geggus 1993: 88). Africans who grew rice in their African homeland were sought by owners in South Carolina in order to make New World rice cultivation successful (Littlefield 1981: 135).

Again more research must be done to conclusively establish the reason for the job patterns of slaves in Arabia, however there are some clues. As West Africans, Nigerians are part of a long history of commercial interactions with Arabs in North Africa and across the Red Sea. Trans-Saharan trade routes from Northern Nigeria, Ghana and Mali to Mediterranean ports and cities have been documented since the tenth century (Bovill 1995: 61). And West Africans have used those routes and one through the Sudan to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. West Africans are still known today for amassing wealth and prestige by conducting commerce while on hajj (cf. Rosander 1997; O'Brien (1999: 12, 31). In the 19th and early 20th centuries West Africans had reputations for even selling their children. However, looking at a few Nigerian fugitive slaves reinforces their penchant for commerce and negates the idea they sold their own children.

After the death of his father in Nigeria, Adam bin Mohammed went on *hajj* with his Quranic teacher at the age of fourteen. In Jeddah his teacher sold him into slavery. Adam became part of the commercial system in Saudi Arabia when he was sold to a Bedouin camel man and began working in the Bedouin's business.[32] As a commercial worker Adam lived in Bahra, a town on the road from Jeddah to the commercial center of Saudi Arabia, Mecca.

As with others enslaved as preteens and teenagers, Adam could remember something of his home and family. Though renamed Mabruk, Adam gave the British Legation officers his real name and the names of his cousins, mother, and

31 For more on how ethnic stereotypes effected planters buying and employing preferences see Littlefield (1981: 13-17) and Debien (1974: 41-52).

32 REMAP #3.

his town. One can imagine that these were pieces of information that Adam and other captives would try to engrave in their memories, hoping to hang onto something of their homeland and to use them in order to have any chance to find their way home.

Adam had two sets of owners, though one set appears to have been slave dealers who owned him only in transit.[33] Like the transatlantic slave trade in West Africa it appears that slaves in Saudi Arabia could be traded several times before reaching the place where they would live and work. Once firmly entrenched in the house of an owner, slaves were not necessarily there for life. The data shows that an average slave had three owners during twenty-two years of captivity. Seven to ten years is often given as the common length of enslavement in the Ottoman Empire and throughout the Arab Muslim world. It is not attached to *Sharia* or Sunna, but rather "Ottoman social practice" (Toledano 2009: 14).

Khadija bint Gummiog had the average number of owners but under different circumstances. She was not sold but inherited and was a slave before she came to Saudi Arabia. She was presumably on her way from Nigeria to Mecca with her Nigerian owner, when he died in the Kordofan in Sudan.[34] She was subsequently inherited by another member of his family and brought to Jeddah, where her second owner died. Another family member then inherited her. Like Adam, she too was a commercial worker. Khadija was like a few other West African women engaged in commercial labor who were "sent out to work, […] as water-sellers who parade the street balancing a petrol-tinfull [sic] of water on their heads."[35] Saudi slave owners also hired out slave women's labor in other trades that required mobility such as washerwomen.[36]

West Africans reportedly sold their children while on hajj, but data from Saudi runaways indicate that parents and relatives did not sell their children on hajj. Instead the children who got sold were vulnerable children, like Adam who no longer had the protection of fathers or poor children like Khadija who were already servants or slaves in wealthier households. Only one man from French West Africa, Jaber ibn Muhammad, reported being sold as a child by a relative,

33 For Adam, and all slaves the first slave dealer they were sold to, was not counted as an owner unless the dealer kept and worked the slave for more than a few months.

34 REMAP #262, Khadija's story is also discussed in Hutson, "Enslavement and Manumission," 58-59. Khadija is actually described as a "Takruni Fellata" which was the way the British in Saudi Arabia usually described someone from Nigeria.

35 F.O. 905/11, Memorandum on Slavery in Saudi Arabia 1934.

36 The two washerwomen in this study were both from Ethiopia.

his uncle. Certainly children might not have been aware of all the circumstances which preceded their journeys to Saudi Arabia, or their parents' dealings while on hajj and the fugitives who reported being captured while on hajj with their parents may have been the victims of their parents' financial circumstances. However, the narratives cannot be used to support the prevalence of this practice. Instead, there are at least three poignant stories of parents who hoped to find their children and looked for years, over a decade, supporting fugitive narratives of being stolen. These mothers and fathers employed the British colonial governments where they lived, friends and relatives traveling and living in Saudi, Saudi *shariah* courts and returned to Saudi Arabia several times themselves to track down and finally reunite with their then adult children.[37] The narratives from Adam, Khadija, and Jaber also make it clear that West Africans resident in Saudi Arabia were very much involved in the enslaving and trading of Africans in Saudi Arabia, just not their own children.

Sudan is part of the agricultural tradition of the Nile Valley. It was during the early 20th century that many Sudanese agricultural workers were employed on the Gezira cotton scheme between the Blue and White branches of the Nile. Raising crops near the desert, the Sudanese would have been accustomed to a similarly hot arid desert climate. These characteristics may have made the Sudanese valued agricultural workers. One such agricultural slave was Rizgullah, a Sudanese man in his early thirties. Kidnapped as a child from the Nuba Mountains by a West African he served for two years under his first owner in Jeddah. Rizgullah was then sold to a Bedouin in a rural area where he spent the majority of his captivity as an agricultural worker, probably for over 20 years.[38] His owner treated him badly, so he ran away one day. It took him two days to make his way to Jeddah. His owner was called to the Legation and he

37 REMAP #244 tells the story of Rogaya and her father and REMAP #246 Bakur and his mother. F.O. 902/28 3 February 1934 and F.O. 905/61 7 July 1938 appear to chronicle the attempts of one father Abdul Qader to trace his son Muhammad. The first file lists the surname of the father as Housani and places his son's kidnapping sometime between 1914 and 1917. The second file, which tells of the father's final success in locating his son, gives the father's name as Abdul Qader Mohamed Hausawi and the date as 1344 AH (1925). This first attempt was reported to the Legation by Abdul Qader's sister and may account for the difference in dates. This case was only counted once in the data as REMAP #261.

38 REMAP #226 Rizgullah did not report an approximate age for his enslavement, but most were enslaved at a median age of 7 and therefore at 32 with only one owner beforehand, Rizgullah spent approximately twenty-three years with his second owner.

said he liked Rizgullah and apparently valued him enough to offer Rizgullah freedom certified in *shariah* court and work as a free man.[39] Rizgullah refused to return under any circumstances, presumably because of the past ill treatment and probably because living as a manumitted slave in Saudi Arabia was very close to living in slavery. He was repatriated to the Sudan.

WOMEN, COUNTRY AND LABOR

Most enslaved women were engaged in domestic labor in Saudi Arabia,[40] however, table 2 shows that country of origin was even more keenly significant among women. European slave owners in the Americas considered women from Cape Verde, Sierra Leone, and Guinea to be "comely of body", Sudanese women were "pleasing concubines" (Freyre 1966: 302-303) and all were employed in domestic occupations; the data indicates that Saudi Arabians may have had the same perceptions of Ethiopian women, considering them beautiful in part because of their straight features. These stereotypes may have been a major cause for Ethiopian women predominately having domestic jobs – including concubinage.[41]

Only two women, both Ethiopian, were described in the data set specifically as concubines. However, several other women's narratives make it clear they were concubines or domestics to whom their owners had sexual access. The narratives are unclear on how concubinage worked; if it was primarily for the sexual pleasure of owners, the production of children for his lineage or both; and whether it was interconnected with other domestic duties.[42] British officials also note that some domestic slaves were "often of a special character and used for

39 In his study of South Carolina, Littlefield (1981: 126) found that Gambians were "more highly represented among runaways than among imports, […] which strongly suggests that their agricultural skills were sufficiently desirable to counterbalance their tendency to run." It seems Rizugullah's owner was willing to make the same trade off to keep a valuable agricultural worker.

40 F.O. 905/11, Memorandum on Slavery in Saudi Arabia 1934.

41 This was also true for the two Yemeni women in the test. Yemeni women from the other side of the Bab el Mandeb from Ethiopia would be even lighter-skinned. They were both domestics.

42 F.O. 403/460, 12 British officials believed it was the latter, stating that women slaves were wives and servants to poor Arabs without the means to marry a "regular wife."

immoral purposes," which made settling their cases "by no means simple."[43] The amplification of benign slavery often indicates that being a slave wife or child of a slave mother held no shame or disadvantage in a family. However domestic slave women's narratives include stories of forced abortion, refusal to acknowledge children and beatings from women in the owner's household. Apparently some Arab men or their kinswomen did not wish to have children born of slave women.[44]

Table 2: Women's Labor Assignments and Country of Origin[45]

Type of labor	Agricultural		Commercial		Domestic		Total	
	n =	%	n =	%	n =	%	n =	%
Ethiopia	0	0	2	40	14	35	16	33
French Equatorial Africa	1	25	1	20	2	5	4	8
Nigeria	0	0	2	40	2	5	4	8
Sudan	3	75	0	0	20	50	23	47
Yemen	0	0	0	0	2	5	2	4
Total	4	100	5	100	40	100	49	100

LABOR AND PATTERNS OF SUBORDINATION

The narratives in combination with statistical tests also give us insight into how the jobs African slaves worked in Saudi Arabia led to diverse patterns of subordination: agricultural slaves were enslaved longer than other slaves and ill treated, but they were more likely to have one owner; commercial workers appeared to have more skills than other slaves and therefore to be more viable as free people. As Toledano noted of slaves in 19th century Ottoman territories, not all slaves were similarly situated, some like these runaway commercial workers in Saudi Arabia had the language and labor skills to navigate the social terrain and earn enough to provide shelter, food and clothing for themselves (Toledano 2009: 17). In 1920s and 30s Saudi Arabia commercial slaves were most

43 F.O. 967/1, 13 February 1926.

44 Cf. Altorki (1986: 144) on how women of elite Saudi Arabian families do not see children of slave mothers as desirable or equal in families' marriage strategies.

45 (n=49, X2 =15.37, df=8, p<.05)

threatened by sale to another owner. Women were more likely to be domestics and had less viability as free autonomous persons. They opted for local manumission instead of repatriation. These findings are reflected in the reasons commercial and agricultural slaves gave for running away. Table 3 shows that Rizgullah's story of ill treatment was typical for agricultural workers. In fact, 93 percent of runaway slaves in agricultural work cited ill treatment as the reason they had fled. Despite the fact that they appeared to be property whom owners valued highly and kept for longer periods than others, agricultural slaves' value did not improve the treatment they received.[46]

Table 3: Labor Assignment and Reason for Running Away[47]

Type of labor	Agricultural		Commercial		Domestic		Total	
	n =	%	n =	%	n =	%	n =	%
Family reasons	0	0	4	16	2	8	6	9
Free status threatened	1	7	4	16	4	16	9	14
Ill-treatment	14	93	7	28	13	52	34	52
Sale	0	0	10	40	6	24	16	25
Total	15	100	25	100	25	100	65	100

Statistical tests also showed that slaves of Sudanese origin like Abdul Kheyr Said were more likely to be born to slave parents in Saudi Arabia than slaves of other countries. Of course being born slaves they were enslaved on average longer than others – a median of 30 years. Abdul Kheyr Said was a 35-year-old man whose slave parents, both from Sudan, had both died. Abdul Kheyr Said had recently married and lost his father. He ran away because his owner was poorly feeding him and his wife. Abdul Kheyr Said only reported having the one owner, probably that of his parents.[48] His story illustrates the finding that those born a slave in Saudi Arabia were more likely to have one owner than those captured for the Saudi market.

46 See Hutson (2002: 65) for more on the value of agricultural slaves in Saudi Arabia.

47 (n = 65, X2 = 21.40, df = 6, p < .002). This table originally appeared in Hutson (2002: 66).

48 REMAP #232.

Table 4: Status and Country of Origin[49]

Status	Born a slave in Saudi Arabia		Enslaved elsewhere		Captured for Saudi market		Total	
	n =	%	n =	%	n =	%	n =	%
Ethiopia	2	8.5	1	11	78	37.5	81	33.5
French Equatorial Africa	0	0	2	22.25	15	7	17	7
Nigeria	1	4	2	22.25	15	7	18	7.5
Sudan	20	83.5	2	22.25	95	45.5	117	48
Yemen	1	4	2	22.25	6	3	9	4
Total	24	100	9	100	209	100	242	100

On a comparative basis, agricultural laborers were 3.7x more likely than commercially utilized slaves to give ill treatment as a reason for running away. Commercial workers were more likely than domestic or agricultural workers to leave their owners because of an impending sale. Abdul Kheyr, a 25-year-old camel driver, ran away from his owner, Meccan slave dealer Abdulla Gari, in 1935.[50] Abdul Kheyr had tried to run away three years before, but he had been apprehended by the Jeddah police and sent back to Mecca.[51] His reason for running the first time is not recorded. However, on his second attempt, Abdul Kheyr cited his imminent sale to Amir Abdullah, the brother of King Ibn Saud and a man with a reputation for cruelty to his slaves. Abdul Kheyr's story shows that sale was a gamble for commercial slaves; their circumstances and treatment would change with their new owners, perhaps for the worst like Abdul Kheyr's

49 (n=242, X2 =27.83, df=8, p <.001). Note for the category "Enslaved elsewhere": These people served as slaves in other countries before traveling to Saudi Arabia in the caravans of pilgrims and travelers. European travelers described these people as slaves sold as "traveller's checks" to help pay for their owner's stay in Saudi Arabia or return home.

50 REMAP #241. Abdul Kheyr's story is also discussed in Hutson (2002: 66).

51 Petrushevsky (1985 [1966]: 157) notes that *shariah* provides a sort of fugitive slave law. Fugitive slaves had to be arrested and returned to their owner. Saudi Arabia had a specific fugitive slave law based on this *shariah* concept. Al-Nawawi (1975: 296) includes a *hadith* chronicled by Muslim and related by Jabir that prohibits a slave from running away from his owner.

case. His commercial skills may have emboldened him, and his actions may denote that commercial slaves knew they had skills that made their freedom viable.

Women's viability in freedom in Saudi Arabia or Africa was more in doubt. Living in a patriarchal, family-oriented society as a single woman with no patron or family and only domestic experience was not ideal for Saudi Arabia and not realistic for repatriation to Africa. Furthermore/Besides, most of these women only had a knowledge of Arabic and their owner's families. These doubts and societal conditions may have limited the number of women who sought refuge at the legation and led many runaway women without husbands (or without their husbands) or adult children to request local manumission.[52]

Children, the natural results of slave marriage or concubinage, also limited and shaped women's choices. Table 5 shows that although women were only 37 percent of the table,[53] they represented 75 percent of those locally manumitted. Hasina bint Hamad, an Ethiopian woman enslaved in Jeddah, ran away with her son, Bashir, and requested local manumission "for the sake of her son."[54] For concubines or slave women who had children with free Arab men in their owner's households, children were significant obstacles to repatriation. Unlike the Americas, Islamic codes of law based children's status on their paternity, so one could have a slave mother and free Muslim father and still be born free. However, slave women were only allowed to keep their freeborn children with them until the age of seven, at the latest (Petrushevsky 1985 [1966]: 156-157). The Saudi government acted several times throughout this period to stop the British from removing children of free Saudi fathers from the country/Saudi Arabia. So slave women with freeborn children also chose local manumission for the sake of their children.

52 Most scholarship on slavery indicates that more African women than men were sold into the trans-Saharan and other slave trades bound for the Arab Muslim world (Cf. Austen 1979: 44; Robertson/Klein 1983: 4). Yet, in the Saudi Arabian statistics, men outnumbered women 2.64 to 1. Women accounted for 27.5 percent of those who sought refuge at the British Legation (n = 72), whereas men were 72.5 percent (n = 190). While women appear to be underrepresented, the number of women who ran away is a significant one and gives a female perspective on slavery.

53 The table has statistics for the 103 runaways for whom there is documentation of the outcome of their bid for freedom.

54 REMAP #213.

Table 5: Gender and result of bid for freedom[55]

	Women			Men			Total	
	n =	% of women	% of result	n =	% of men	% of result	n =	%
Free person with safety issues	1	3	33	2	3	67	3	3
Left without manumission	2	5	25	6	9.25	75	8	8
Local manumission	18	47	75	6	9.25	25	24	23
Manumitted and repatriated	17	45	25	51	78.5	75	68	66
Total	38	100	37	65	100	63	103	100

In fact, table 5 shows that gender significantly affected how slaves acted once they reached the legation. Women were 5.13x more likely to be locally manumitted than men, and men were 1.75x more likely to leave the legation without manumission or to be manumitted and repatriated than women.

REPATRIATION AND FUGITIVE SLAVE LAWS

These statistics seem to indicate that both women and men slaves in Saudi Arabia engaged in what Gabriel Debien (1966: 3-44) described as *petit marronage* that is, they used running away as a strategy to negotiate better treatment. Debien also details permanent forms of running away such as *grand marronage* or the construction of independent African maroon communities. In another article I have argued that local manumission was a form of *petit marronage*, a negotiation tactic for slaves in Saudi Arabia. Although there were no maroon communities described in the Saudi data, here I analyze repatriation, the permanent way out of slavery open to those slaves. Edward Alpers (2003: 59) has described this kind of running away as "an important intermediary point

55 (n=103, X2 =19.34, df=3, p<.001). Free person with safety issues indicates ex-slaves whose lives or freedom were threatened by their owners or others. This table will also appear in Hutson (forthcoming).

along the continuum from *petit marronage* to *grand marronage*." John Thornton (1998: 273) has described African background (if slaves had lived in Africa) or culture (in part determined by their ethnicity and country of origin) as important in determining if slaves in the Americas would attempt to permanently run away. On the whole, the pattern for the Saudi data is for the locally manumitted who were threatened with resale, Sudanese runaways (primarily men working in agriculture outside the cities), and unaccompanied young children to engage in repatriation. Again table 5 and table 6 below are instructive for establishing these patterns.

Rizgullah's story illustrates the plight of Sudanese agricultural runaways and Saudi Arabia's establishment of fugitive slave laws and measures. Once Rizgullah ran away and arrived in the city, he experienced the measures the Saudi Government took to apprehend runaway slaves. Four policemen chased him into the Italian Legation by accident, where one policeman hit him with a stone before the legation staff expelled the police. Other runaways who were caught by the Saudi police were given short prison sentences and then returned to their owners. Under a Saudi fugitive slave law any one could apprehend a runaway slave in order to return him or her to enslavement.[56] The Italian Legation helped Rizgullah find his way to the British and eventually freedom, because the British were the only Europeans who drafted rights of manumission into their treaties with the Saudi government.

Rizgullah and Abdul Kheyr's stories make clear that Ibn Saud and the Saudi Arabian Government had implemented a fugitive slave law. British Legation officials also noted that along a major road from Mecca to Jeddah there were Saudi police patrols which frequently stopped public transportation to search for escaping slaves. British officials and travelers found that the Saudi public and local officials were also part of efforts to counter the threat of grand marronage posed by British manumission and repatriation of slaves: along the Mecca-Jeddah road village officials had been ordered to "watch all cars […] and to keep a strict eye on all pedestrians" for escaped slaves and Saudis were to notify local officials upon discovering a runaway.[57] Local Saudi officials were charged with arresting and returning slaves to their owners (Thomas 1931).

56 Petrushevsky (1985 [1966]: 157) notes that this Saudi law was in step with the *shari'a* which provides for fugitive slaves to be arrested and returned to their owner.

57 F.O. 905/28, 2 July 1935.

Table 6: Country of origin and result of bid for freedom[58]

	Free persons with safety issues		Left without manumission		Local manumission		Manumitted and repatriated		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Ethiopia	0	0	4	50	13	62	20	29.5	37	37.5
French Equatorial Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.5	1	1
Nigeria	1	50	2	25	0	0	8	12	11	11
Sudan	0	0	2	25	5	24	39	57	46	46.5
Yemen	1	50	0	0	3	14	0	0	4	4
Total	2	100	8	100	21	100	68	100	99	100

Not only were newly runaway slaves in Saudi Arabia threatened with the fugitive slave law and re-enslavement, several freed Africans who were repatriated made the mistake of setting foot back on the Arabian Peninsula and had to run to freedom again. Three men reported their misfortune in encountering ex-owners unexpectedly. An Ethiopian seaman had the rotten luck to come face-to-face with his former owner in 1926 in the port of Rabegh. As a result, his owner reclaimed him and immediately sold him.[59] Aman Ibn Hassan was equally cursed in a port outside of Saudi Arabia.[60] As a slave, the fifty-year-old Ethiopian man was an agriculturalist. After running to freedom and repatriation in 1929 Aman took up work as a seaman on a dhow. In early 1935 his ex-owner just happened to be buying grain at the same Yemeni port where Aman's ship had docked. His owner recognized him and had Yemeni soldiers seize him. Jaber Ahmed, a Sudanese domestic, had been enslaved while on hajj in 1908 at the age of twenty-six.[61] He escaped, was freed and repatriated to Sudan in 1927. Jaber attempted once more to perform the hajj as a freeman in 1937. Though he was an employee of the British government in Sudan and on a

58 (n=99, X2 =33.65, df=12, p <.001). This table will also appear in Hutson (forthcoming).

59 REMAP #12.

60 REMAP #246.

61 REMAP #69, also referred to as Gaber Ahmed.

legitimate Sudanese passport he was identified by his old owner and seized by the Saudi police. Their refusal to accept the terms of the Treaty and British manumission rights probably stemmed from financial self-interest but was Islamically upheld as well by a *hadith* (saying of the Prophet) that prohibits a slave from running away from his owner.[62]

Just as officials in American slave owning societies had to negotiate treaties in order to stop other European and Native American communities from taking in runaways, a stronger Saudi Government negotiated a new treaty with the United Kingdom in 1936. Because Ibn Saud had solidified his control of the peninsula he insisted on rescinding Section 7 of the old treaty.[63] Britain acquiesced on the condition that the king would promulgate and enforce a thorough set of regulations that was to slowly choke off the institution of slavery by stopping the importation of slaves and assuring the welfare of those already enslaved while they waited to be manumitted on their owners' initiatives or die.[64]

After the end of manumission in 1936, it is clear that Africans know the Saudis and British have closed the path to manumission and repatriation. Only two African cases were documented at the Jeddah Legation after 1936. It is clear from their stories and subsequent British inquires that the Saudi slave regulations are not widely known or followed. Jaber Ahmed's aforementioned case of re-enslavement provides an example that even the Saudi police did not follow the 1936 regulations. Jaber experienced the full gamut of British-Saudi relations regarding slavery. Immediately before the Treaty of Jeddah was signed he escaped to the Legation where the British had been manumitting slaves for years. He was manumitted and repatriated. He returned to perform his interrupted hajj on a passport issued by the British to shield its subjects from harm, but the Saudi police confiscated his passport and when Jaber refused to return to his supposed owner they imprisoned him for four months. Despite the facts of the case and the laws of the land, when Jaber's wife asked for him to be released through the British Legation the Saudi Government's first response was that slaves and slavery were no longer a British concern. The British did press the case by pointing out the Saudi Government's new regulations and the understanding that

62 Muslim: Kitab al-Iman, Bab Tasmiyyat al abd al-abiq kafiran. Cited from Nawawi no. 347.

63 Oil was not actually found in Saudi Arabia until 1938, but oil had been found in the region and oil concessions had been negotiated by 1936.

64 F.O. 905/27 Embassy and Legation, Saudi Arabia: General Correspondence. Slaves: manumission: general question: Draft Saudi Regulation on Slavery, 19 July 1935.

had given birth to them, and nearly two years after his capture Jaber was set free by order of King Ibn Saud himself. Unfortunately his wife had passed away in the interim.[65]

Interestingly, children under the age of fifteen who ran away and did not accompany an adult family member were also repatriated.[66] All the children but one reported being enslaved in Jeddah.[67] No doubt an unaccompanied trip from a village a walk of a day or two away would be a hard task for a preteen or teenage to attempt and would be noticed by authorities and passersby. Most were domestic slaves, two of the Sudanese boys were water carriers.[68]

Again, it is unclear if and how the British made manumission decisions for children. One would think that as unaccompanied children repatriation would put them in a vulnerable position unless the British felt sure their parents could be found. The British did attempt to record the names of children's hometowns and as many relatives as possible on questionnaires before sending them on the boat across the Red Sea. Ex-slaves' typed questionnaires were their boat ticket and therefore arrived with them in Sudan or Ethiopia. British officials on the African side apparently took over ex-slaves cases. This shepherding of cases was most likely how Jaber Ahmed found gainful employment with the Condominium government in Kassala. British officials note the formation of Ethiopian ex-slave communities in Sudan and Ethiopian coffee-producing areas.[69] The British contributed to these communities by sending them escaped Ethiopian slaves. Slaves registered at Gedaraf, Sudan went to the Sudanese communities where work was found "without difficulty for the men and husbands for the unmarried women."[70] The documents directly state that repatriated slaves from Saudi

65 F.O. 905/62, 1 November 1938.

66 There were ten children under the age of 15 who came to the Legation without an adult and applied for manumission: four Ethiopians, four Sudanese, one Nigerian, and Faraj from Yemen. All were boys except one Ethiopian girl. Yemen was not considered a place for repatriation so Faraj was the only one locally manumitted.

67 One 12-year-old Sudanese boy who had worked as an agricultural laborer was from outside Jeddah - Wadi Fatma.

68 REMAP #34, #43, #46, #54, #67, #68, #178 and #227. REMAP #56 and #57 were the water carriers.

69 D.O. 35/169/4 Dominions Office and Commonwealth Relations Office: Original Correspondence, Slavery. 21 January 1928. There is no indication of how or by whom these communities were formed.

70 D.O. 35/169/4.

Arabia went to the coffee production areas in Ethiopia where work was plentiful. Perhaps the communities' efforts stretched to finding parents for minor children. There is no mention in the documents of ex-slave communities being started for Sudanese and West African refugees, but British officials whose jurisdiction included the villages and towns from which these children reported being stolen may have made further efforts for these children.

CONCLUSION

This research has shown that some Saudi owners seemed not to recognize repatriation as a permanent form of freedom or legitimate no matter the year it occurred. Their slaveholding practices such as naming, using stereotypes for work assignments, and one could argue having children with slave women were attempts to create and keep contented slaves and their labor. These slaveholding practices produced patterns of subordination similar to the enslaved in the Americas. This research also amends Gaspar's thesis by suggesting that owners' expectations and practices also help govern these patterns, not just the type of slave work. It shows that gender, nationality, and age profoundly affected how individual slaves experienced slavery and mapped out their choices about freedom.

REFERENCES

Al-Nawawi, Muhyiddin (1975): Gardens of the Righteous, translated by Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, London: Curzon Press.

Alpers, Edward A. (2003): "Flight to Freedom: Escape from Slavery among Bonded Africans in the Indian Ocean world, c.1750–1962." In: Slavery & Abolition 24/2, pp. 51-68.

Altorki, Soraya (1986): Women in Saudi Arabia, New York: Columbia University Press.

Austen, Ralph (1979): "The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade: A Tentative Census." In: Henry A. Gemery/Jan S. Hogendorn (ed.), The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, New York: Academic Press.

Bovill, Edward (1995): The Golden Trade of the Moors, Princeton: Marcus Weiner Publishers.

Debien, Gabriel (1974): Les esclaves aux Antilles francaises, Basse Terre: Société d'Histoire de la Guadeloupe.

—— (1966): "Le marronage aux Antilles française au XVIII[e] siècle." In: Caribbean Studies 6, pp. 3-44.

Doughty, Charles (1936): Travels in Arabia Deserta. 2 Volumes, New York: Random House.

Doumato, Eleanor (2000): Getting God's Ear, New York: Columbia University Press.

Dunn, Richard S. (1972): Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Erdem, Y. Hakan (2010): "Magic, Theft and Arson: The Life and Death of an Enslaved African Woman in Ottoman Izmit." In: Kenneth M. Cuno/Terence Walz (eds.), Race and Slavery in the Middle East: Histories of Trans-Saharan Africans in 19th Century: Egypt, Sudan, and the Ottoman Mediterranean, Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, pp. 125-46.

Fair, Laura (2001): Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community, and Identity in Post-abolition Urban Zanzibar, 1890-1945, Athens: Ohio University Press.

Finkelman, Paul (2003): Defending Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Old South, Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's.

Freyre, Gilberto (1966): The Masters and Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization, New York: Alfred Knopf.

Frank, Alison (2012): "Children of the Desert and the Laws of the Sea: Austria, Great Britain, the Ottoman Empire, and the Mediterranean Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century." In: The American Historical Review 117, pp. 410-444.

Gaspar, David Barry (1985): Bondmen and Rebels: A Study of Master-Slave Relations in Antigua, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Geggus, David (1993): "Sugar and Coffee Cultivation in Saint Domingue and the Shaping of the Slave Labor Force." In: Ira Berlin/Philip D. Morgan (eds.), Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas, Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.

Gordon, Murray (1989): Slavery in the Arab World, New York: New Amsterdam Books.

Haley, Alex (1976): Roots, Garden City: Doubleday.

Hine, Darlene Clark/Hine, William C./Harrold, Stanley (2000): The African American Odyssey, Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall.

Hopper, Matthew (2006): The African Presence in Arabia: Slavery, the World Economy, and the African Diaspora in Eastern Arabia, 1840-1940, PhD diss., University of California (UCLA).

Hurgronje, C. Snouck (1970 [1888-9]): Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century, Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Hutson, Alaine S. (forthcoming): "REMAPping the African Diaspora: Place, Gender, and Negotiation in Arabian Slavery." In: Olajumoke Yacob-Haliso/Toyin Falola (eds.), Gendering Knowledge in Africa and the African Diaspora, Amherst: Cambria Press.

—— (2002): "Enslavement and Manumission in Saudi Arabia." In: Critique 11, pp. 49-70.

Lewis, Bernard (1990): Race and Slavery in the Middle East, New York: Oxford University Press.

Littlefield, Daniel (1981): Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Miers, Suzanne (1989): "Diplomacy versus Humanitarianism: Britain and Consular Manumission in Hijaz, 1921–1936." In: Slavery & Abolition 10, pp. 102-28.

Miran, Jonathan (2013): "From Bondage to Freedom on the Red Sea Coast: Manumitted Slaves in Egyptian Massawa, 1873–1885." In: Slavery & Abolition 34/1, pp. 135-157.

Mullin, Michael (1992): Africa in America: Slave Acculturation and Resistance in the American South and British Caribbean, 1736-1831, Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

O'Brien, Susan (1999): "Pilgrimage, Power and Identity: The Role of the *Hajj* in the Lives of Nigerian Hausa *Bori* Adepts." In: Africa Today 46/1-2, pp.11-40.

Petrushevsky, I.P. (1985 [1966]): Islam in Iran, transl. by Hubert Evans, London: Athlone Press.

Philips, John Edward (1993): "Some recent thinking on slavery in Islamic Africa and the Middle East." In: Middle East Studies Association Bulletin 27, pp. 157-162.

Powell, Eve Troutt (2006): "Will the Subaltern Ever Speak? Finding African Slaves in the Historiography of the Middle East." In: Israel Gershoni/Amy Singer/Y. Hakan Erdem (eds.), Middle East Historiographies: Narrating the Twentieth Century, Seattle: University of Washington Press, pp. 242-261.

Robertson, Claire/Klein, Martin (1983): Women and Slavery in Africa, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Rosander, Eva Evers (ed.) (1997): Transforming Female Identities: Women's Organizational Forms in West Africa, Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Schwartz, Stuart (1985): Sugar Plantations and the Formation of Brazilian Society, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Simawe, Saadi (1999): "Color and Race in the Poetry of Black Poets in Arabic: A Comparative Study of Images of Blackness and Africanness in Arabic and African American Literature." Paper presented at "Slavery and the African Diaspora in the Lands of Islam." Northwestern University April 30-May 2, 1999.

Spivak, Gayatri (2010): "Can the subaltern speak?" In: Rosalind C. Morris (ed.), Can the subaltern speak?: Reflections of the History of an Idea, New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 21-80.

Swidler, Nina (2003): "On the Difficulty of Telling a Slave from a Wife." In: Carina Jahani/Agnes Korn (eds.), The Baloch and Their Neighbours: Ethnic and Linguistic Contact in Balochistan in Historical and Modern Times, Wiesbaden: Reichert, pp. 343-356.

Thomas, Bertram (1931): Alarms and Excursions in Arabia, Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.

Thornton, John (1998): Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800, Cambrigde: Cambridge University Press.

Tise, Larry (1987): Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701-1840, Athens: The University of Georgia Press.

Toledano, Ehud (2009): "Bringing the Slaves Back." In: Benhaz Mirzai/Ibrahim Musah Montana/Paul Lovejoy (eds.), Slavery, Islam and Diaspora, Trenton: Africa World Press, pp. 7-20.

—— (2007): As If Silent and Absent: Bonds of Enslavement in the Islamic Middle East, New Haven: Yale University Press.

—— (1993): "Late Ottoman Concepts of Slavery (1830s-1880s)." In: Poetics Today 14, pp. 477-506.

Zdanowski, Jerzy (2013): Slavery and Manumission: British Policy in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf in the First Half of the 20th Century, Ithaca: Ithaca Press.

Zilfi, Madeline C. (1997): Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern women in the early Modern Era, Leiden: Brill.