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Foreign

Slave Traffic in Abyssinia

1919  
19 Dec

See copies reports by Major Dalry, Major Atwell  
Mr Walker on subject and docs from  
British Legation, Addis Ababa saying that importation  
of all arms & ammunition be prohibited until  
Slave traffic has ceased

in this Paper

subsequent Paper

These reports portray a terrible state of  
affairs, but it is only what one could have expected  
from a country like Abyssinia, and I do not see how  
we are in a position to take any effective action to  
stop what is going on. In any case the matter  
one for the F.O. primarily.

Until the three Powers - Great Britain,  
France and Italy - who are directly concerned in  
Abyssinia, are in a position and will agree upon a  
common course of action (which is at present far  
from being the case), effective interference in the  
internal affairs of Abyssinia is impossible, and  
attempts in that direction are likely to be worse than  
useless as they can only result in an ignominious  
withdrawal of the demands made. It is not clear  
how Mr. Campbell's suggestion to prevent all importa-  
tion of arms and ammunition into Abyssinia could have  
the effect of stopping the slave trade. The new  
arms

subsequent Paper

ready provides for the control  
tion into Abyssinia, but it is  
whole thing depends on the co-operation  
In present circumstances we  
It would be merely playing into  
threaten Abyssinia with a cessation  
of arms and ammunition as the French  
ed to such a course openly, would be  
the clandestine importation of arms  
Not only, therefore, would our  
of no value, but the French prestige  
in Govt. would increase.

Put by.

*the League of Nations, they  
will take a hand.*

*W.S. 30.12.19*

*W.S. 30.12.19*

*W.S. 30.12.19*

already provides for the control  
of arms and ammunition into Abyssinia, but it is  
evident that the whole thing depends on the co-operation  
of the French, which in present circumstances we  
cannot rely on. It would be merely playing into  
French hands to threaten Abyssinia with a cessation  
of the importation of arms and ammunition as the French,  
even if they agreed to such a course openly, would be  
sure to facilitate the clandestine importation of arms  
and ammunition. Not only, therefore, would our  
remonstrances be of no value, but the French prestige  
with the Abyssinian Govt. would increase.

? Put by.

Jan 29/20

Perhaps the League of Nations, if  
it exists, will take a hand.

W.S. 30.12.19

4.22

30/XII

Alonzo W. 20

Further communication  
should please be sent  
to the Secretary of State,  
Foreign Office,  
London.

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THE Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs presents his compliments to the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and, by direction of the Secretary of State, transmits herewith copy of the under-mentioned paper.

Foreign Office,

Dec 19

1818

Reference to previous correspondence :

Letter to Foreign Office :

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
NATIVE U. Akaba OF Sept-22	Slave Traffic

(Signed)

C O British Legation.  
72313  
Addis Ababa.  
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Copy.

September 22, 1919

My Lords-

I have the honour to transmit herewith to Your Lordship copies of reports made by Major Darley and Major Athill on slavery in the South Western provinces through which they passed on their way to Kaji.

Each composed his report separately without comparing notes while doing so.

I further enclose ( Inclosure No. 3 ) a memorandum written by Mr. Walker, His Majesty's Consul at Gore, on slave traffic in general in Abyssinia.

These records of wholesale devastation of rich provinces, formerly thickly populated, cannot fail to make an impression and to create feelings of pity for the wretched inhabitants of the territories conquered by the Amharas. These districts are just as much Amhara colonies as German East Africa was a German colony, and the wanton outrages perpetrated therein surpass anything the Germans have done or that has happened since Tippu Tip and his kind pursued their nefarious trade in Central Africa.

A proclamation was made in or about November 1918 abolishing the slave traffic in Abyssinia, but

such

My Lord  
The Earl of Curzon of Kedleston K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.B.,  
etc. etc. etc.

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such proclamations are merely intended to blind the eyes of the Europeans in the Capital. In the provinces it is as bad as ever, and every chief leaving his district collects as many men, women and children as he can to line his purse in case he is not given another post. In April last Dejaz Khabada, Governor of Gore who was threatened with dismissal, telephoned from Addis Ababa to a friend, Fitaurari Gabri, Governor of Gimirra, to collect all the "honey" he could and send it to the capital before the rains, "honey" being a code word for slaves. Fitaurari Gabri collected between five hundred and a thousand people and despatched them by various routes, but I do not know whether they ever reached Addis Ababa, as they are usually snatched up eagerly on the way.

Thus the traffic continues and there is little chance <sup>for</sup> of the victims unless or until one of two things happen. The first is the exhaustion of the districts where the raids principally take place - Sidama, Kaffa, Pamegase, Gimirra, Kegu, Anusk, Mber and Beni Shangus, by which means the traffic will automatically cease on account of depopulation; the second is the intervention of the Powers. I am told that since the armistice the price of slaves in Addis Ababa has fallen by some sixty per cent.

Yervently

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Formerly a slave was a good investment; now buyers are shy for they know full well that the practice is a shame and a disgrace in a world which boasts a League of Nations, and they realize that an end will be put thereto if an enlightened administration is ever established in Abyssinia.

Is it too much to hope that the Abyssinians will not be given the opportunity to lull themselves again into security and that the price of slaves will never rise again to its former level? In the name of humanity some action would seem essential to rid one of the fairest countries in Africa of this scourge and I venture to submit that, if no more drastic course is possible for the moment, at least all importation of arms and ammunition and of raw materials for the manufacture thereof should be strictly prohibited until slavery has ceased to exist and the negroes have been accorded full opportunities of ascertaining that such is really the case.

Copies of this despatch are being forwarded to Cairo, Khartoum, and Nairobi.

I have the honour to be,  
with the highest respect,  
my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

humble servant,

(signed) Gerald Campbell.

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To write simply on the Slavery question in Abyssinia and in particular of the district from Jinna to Maji and even in British territory is difficult for any white man and particularly so for any one who has known the country before the death of Menelik.

This district comprises the countries of Kaffa, Gimoera, Tishanna, Maji, Kanta, and Cirna. The people inhabiting these countries were very numerous and cultivated in a large way, besides owning large herds of cattle and a certain number of sheep and goats.

The system under which this large district was administered by the Abyssinians was as follows :-

The natives were called Gubbar or serfs and were not allowed to be sold off the land.

On an Abyssinian chief taking over his allotted district these serfs were divided up among his adherents on the well known system that great big fleas have smaller fleas which prey upon and bite 'em and smaller fleas have lesser fleas and so on infinitum.

With the possible exception that here the smaller and lesser fleas keep the big ones.

They were all the food for their masters, did all his house work and besides were compelled to pay

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by a changeable number of dollars yearly to  
their masters. To such an extent was this system  
carried on that the women of these Gubbar were  
always used as concubines by their masters. I myself  
arriving in this territory from the desert with  
men, who had not seen a woman for months, was  
accustomed to seeing droves of these women  
brought to my men for their delectation. On  
these occasions a dollar was paid to the  
Abyssinian and a cartridge to the woman. Sometimes  
less but never more.

This was used to occur before the death of Menelik  
when the Gubbar were comparatively well used.  
I will realise therefore that this system is  
every personified.

Since the death of Menelik Ras Walda Giorgis, who  
governed the country, has been removed, and several  
chiefs have taken his place and are  
constantly being ~~changed~~ changed.

Each Chief on being removed from his district  
makes as clean a sweep as possible of all its  
inhabitants and carries them off mostly for sale.

The chief market is in Jimma at Mindara. I myself  
saw a drove of children brought into the market  
place at Jimma where they were handed over to other  
merchants by their escort.

I also saw a drove of seventy of these unfortunates  
going along the road before arriving in Jimma.  
The men were chained together. The women walking  
carrying children. Several of them were

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were children so small that one would not think they had any value.

This I saw in 1918 but where they were captured from I have no idea.

In 1912 I saw droves of these unfortunates driven through Jimma. One drove took three days to pass my house. Little children unable to walk, three or four abreast tied on a mule. Ten dollars a head and take your choice.

The result you can imagine.

The whole country of which I am writing has been completely depopulated.

Stone roads can be seen leading from nowhere to nowhere.

Mountains terraced from the bottom to the top for cultivation have still the terraces to show but no people.

The price of slaves has fallen to such an extent that five to ten dollars is the average.

Trade has ceased to exist except the slave trade in which every man is interested.

The custom houses charge a dollar a head for the passage of each slave.

The country is desolate except for bands of robbers and murderers perched on hill tops.

Food is unprocurable. The age of each successive raid can be easily gathered by the height of the bush on former homesteads.

The Abyssinians have no food and to get it they

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they must go farther and further afield.

This means British Territory.

We have just marched from the border, 18 days 537  
march, without seeing a soul. All have been  
exterminated or have fled.

What the end is I cannot see but if slavery,  
murder, and robbery is not the present day law  
of nations let there be an International  
Commission to see this unhappy district.

The natives were friendly to any white man and  
numbers were my personal friends so I may be  
excused if I write feelingly.

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

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Adis Ababa

September 11th, 1919.

## Memorandum on slavery in South Western Abyssinia.

The following Memorandum is confined to evidence personally seen and heard on a journey by the main road from Adis Ababa to the South Western Frontier.

The first evidence of actual traffic in slaves was seen at Jimma. Here we saw a party of about 20 small boys brought to the market place in broad daylight and sold within half an hour. The Galla merchants quarter exists practically for the slave traffic alone. Visiting it one night, I asked a Galla, who perhaps took me for a trader, what slaves he had. He said that he had none for sale at the moment, but that if I would come to his neighbour's house, I could buy plenty. Unfortunately my servant gave me away before I could find out any more.

The trade, though usually carried on in private houses, is a perfectly open one.

Immediately on crossing the Gogeb River the results of the slave trade are obvious. The traces of a close cultivation by a large and industrious population are unmistakable, today the country is without sign of life except for a few settlements of Abyssian soldiers whose fields are cultivated by slave labour. Comparative peace reigns, except for a wandering bands of robbers, as the clearing-out process is complete.

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On the road through this country we met a convey, guarded by Abyssinians, and consisting of about 70 women and children, newly captured. A few, too small or weak to walk, were loaded on mules. Children of four years of age were being driven along on foot.

At Shiwa Gaimirra we found a hotbed of slavery. The Abyssinian chief was daily expecting to be replaced and was therefore selling the native population as quickly as possible. A well-grown boy cost £ 10, a small one 5s. Apart from the chief's operations, there were about 100 free booters living in the village, catching slaves on their own behalf. So lawless was the situation here, that a chief, visiting our camp, one mile from the village, said that he dared not send his small slave boy back to the village alone, as he would certainly be stolen on the way.

In the district of Bashuma, next passed through, the chief was also waiting to be removed. When called upon to send Government mails back to Jimma for us, he at first refused, unless we could get from the senior Abyssinian Commissioner with us, a letter which could enable him to pass a convey of slaves through with the mails. In this country the natives had risen against the Abyssinians as a result of slave-raiding. Only strong armed parties could move about, outlying settlements had been burnt, and charred corpses were lying in the still smouldering ruins. All cultivation was abandoned. A few starving old women still lay in the native houses, kept alive by their men who had taken to the bush, and got up back at night with roots etc. One of these women told me that her entire

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...  
... of six children had been carried off.

The attitude of the Abyssinian towards slaves was well illustrated here. The three Abyssinian Commissioners, one of whom was noted for his humane tendencies, accompanied by over 400 men, filed past a small boy sitting by the roadside in the last stages of starvation. Not one of them offered him a drop of water or a morsel of bread. When we picked him up, we were told that we were wasting our time as he was a cripple and would never be any good.

7. The province of Maji again showed the devastating effects of the slave traffic. Huge expanses of hill-side land in the past been terraced—a work which could only have been done by a large and hard-working population. Standing on the edge of the escarpment, one saw these terraced lands stretching down into the valleys, which, in turn, were dotted with the circles of stones on which the local native builds his house. Of houses themselves, of crops on the terraces, or of population, in many directions no trace was left. In others, an occasional patch of cultivation would break the surrounding waste of deserted fields.

8. Carefully shepherded as we were by the Abyssinians, it was natural that the grosser violence of the slave trade did not come under our personal observation. No shepherding, however, could hide the fact that South-western Abyssinia, the richest and most beautiful country in Africa, had, by the Abyssinian rapacity, had been converted, where a struggling population still survives, into a hell, and where the work of the raider is completed, into a splendid wilderness. With the depopulation of successive regions, slaving expeditions are pushed farther and farther afield, and already a strip of the southern Sudan fifty

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lies wide at its narrowest, has become a happy hunting ground for Abyssinian slave raiders.

What the final result will be is impossible to imagine, at the existing conditions, of which only clearly established instances have here been quoted, are revolting and most indescribable.

(Signed) L I Athill.

Major.

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"Servitus est constitutio iuris gentium qua quis  
dominio alieno contra naturam subicitur.

Till the end of the 19th century enslavement through war was a recognised institution both among Abyssinians and Gallas, but about 1897 in the reign of Menelik a more lenient attitude was adopted. In the time of Theodore all captives taken in war would have been slaughtered indiscriminately as wild beasts and such an act as that of Philip of Macedon who enslaved the citizens of Olynthus and Potidaea and was therefore accused of being retrograde in policy would have been held up to ridicule. Menelik saw the tendencies of modern thought and did his best to alleviate the conditions of slavery and tried to impede its spread by a proclamation that property in slaves was not to pass by purchase. Since the XIIIth century it has been recognised that Christians and Muslims may not be enslaved, so that the Lanakil have been immune from slavery and only the pagan tribes on the frontiers of Abyssinia are threatened by it.

It is probable then that the Abyssinians would now base their justification of slavery on semi-religious grounds, following some Natural Law - such as the *Ius Naturae* of Ulpian as opposed to the *Ius Naturale* - which divides mankind into those capable of mastery and those with servile souls unalighted by religion, specially created for the institution of slavery as animate instruments needed for the households of Abyssinian masters. The modern Abyssinians may base their

their rights (without at the same time losing sight of the economic advantages) on their own superior moral virtue by which the slave is a gainer by being linked to a controlling force. The Gallas themselves, when independent of the Abyssinians under their own chiefs, had their slaves and the reason why the Abyssinians did not enslave the pagan Gallas must have rested on the grounds of expediency, since the Gallas as the labouring class provided for Abyssinians the necessary commodities of life.

"Adversus hostem aeterna auctoritas". There are certain tribes e.g. in Gimirra, Kaffa and the Mossongo country, whom the Abyssinians consider specially created for enslavement as the most brutalised of all their subjects. The classification is relative and is hardly based on colour though a black face gives rise to the suspicion that its owner ought to be a slave, unless he can shew good cause for exemption. The inhabitants of these districts, however, have never been instructed by their suzerains. If the Mossongo creep about the forests and live on the fruits of the trees and chase, is not the pursuit of agriculture rendered impossible for them and is it not relentless persecution that has forced them to take to the depths of the forests? The Anuaks round Gambela are classified somewhat differently. They are not raided without due cause such as the refusal to pay tribute after repeated warnings. They would then, if still recalcitrant, be attacked and any captives would be enslaved. They are therefore reckoned as slightly superior creatures and, if any Anuak captured in one of the unofficial rans so common in Abyssinia, were an articulate person with some character and presence (not being a female), he could appeal to the Law and be sent back to his own country or establish his right to freedom. But it is notorious that the Law in the

provinces is a fugitive entity and cannot always be found at will. At Adis Ababa his chance would be more favourable of a hearing.

No one is enslaved willingly. In many cases poverty or hunger in the desolated and ravaged slave-districts may lead a parent to sell his offspring in despair. Or the local headman may be compelled by violence to supply tribute in slaves or again the petty Abyssinia governor will force the headman to hand over slaves in order to accumulate a valuable form of capital against the time that he vacates office. Where the Anuak headman would send in tusks of ivory, the headman in Gimirra requisitions his fellow-tribesmen who are driven into the Abyssinian post. So long as the Central Government expects the tribute of these districts to be paid in slaves, these inhuman practices will continue. There is no question of purchase as in the passage "Both thy bondmen and thy bondmaids which thou shalt have shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids."

The vast majority of slaves are created by seizure and rapine and find a more or less permanent home after a period of brutal treatment and suffering. What has the Christian Abyssinian Church done to mitigate their position? How would the Abuna defend the institution of slavery against Justinian who treats of "servitutes quae sunt iuri naturali contrariae: iure enim naturali ab initio omnes homines liberi nascebantur." Would the Abuna plead the lack of education among the Abyssinians which the Church being itself uneducated cannot deal with? Or would he plead economic necessity brought about by Abyssinian superciliousness and contempt of honest toil?

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It is natural that, as in the Roman Law, the effect of *boni mores* has been felt and that on the grounds of public expediency the rights of ownership have been limited. The master may originally have had absolute rights over the slave in Abyssinia. "Apud omnes peraeque gentes animadvertere possumus dominis in servos vitae necisque potestatem esse." Anyhow the principle of limitation is now established. "Male enim nostro iure uti non debemus: qua ratione et prodigiis interdicatur bonorum suorum administratio." Just as various enactments under the Roman Law restrained the passions of brutal masters and established the idea that a slave could be "murdered", though not a persona, so in modern Abyssinia a master would be hanged for the murder of a slave, if the government were pleased to take up the cause of the victim. So the Anglo-Saxon Theow was protected by the Church from ill-treatment. But there is no trace of involuntary manumission as in the case of sick slaves under Claudius, who on abandonment by their master became free or practically free. In Abyssinia the slave would revert to the State and become a public slave or in remote districts he would be seized by the first comer. Neither has the Abyssinian Law imitated the generosity of Constantine in conferring freedom on the disclosure of certain crimes. The fact is that in Abyssinia there is little Law to develop or to be expounded and in any case there are no schools or stations "*ius publice respondentium*". It is a country with no kindly Canon Law and no progressive Jurists with modernised *Responsa* or *Digesta*.

The Fatha Nagast or Imperial Decisions, which are stated to be of Arab origin and date from the 13th century, are by some alleged to be rigorously followed by the judges in forming their verdicts. This is most emphatically untrue and can only be the case with a chosen few of those holding office at Adis Ababa. In the provinces the Fatha Nagast are obsolete in the civil administration and it is doubted whether any copies of the compilation could be found with any of those who execute the law. The traces of the influence of Roman Law are obvious in the Fatha Nagast and on the subject of Slavery they are fairly detailed, but the statement that these Imperial Decisions are the modern law of Abyssinia is a gross exaggeration. Some of the clauses of this Civil and Ecclesiastical Code are adhered to, since they are in harmony with the stress of modern life, but the majority have sunk into oblivion. These obsolete portions are given in an Appendix and only the living ordinances are alluded to.

The Fatha Nagast approve of the law of liberating slaves and agree with Justinian that all men are born free. But they point out that war and raids compel some men to serve others and quote with approval the Mosaic Law that bondmen and bondmaids shall be of the heathen that are round about. As to slaves in general they lay down many rules, but in the present vague and indeterminate state of Abyssinian Law it is difficult to lay down which and how many of these are observed at the present day. The following are some of the rules which would probably be adhered to:-

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1. A slave is not to be liberated if he has no means of support.
  2. If one attempt to steal the slave of another, the thief must return a slave in addition to the one stolen or his price.
  3. Schiava gravida senza il figlio non può esser soggetto do contratto.
  4. A slave cannot inherit without explicit written instructions from the testator.
  5. A slave cannot bear witness on behalf of his master.
  6. A slave beaten by his master and losing an eye is liberated.
  7. A slave compelled to kill is not responsible but the master who constrained him.
  8. A master who beats a slave to death is himself punishable with death, if the slave die at once. And similarly if the master poison him.
  9. If a master abuse his authority and put his slave to death usurping the power of a magistrate, he is to be killed too.
  10. If a slave by carelessness cause the death of a man, he is handed over to the relations of the deceased.

The slave then is not entirely a chattel. It is true that slaves - - cannot appear themselves as plaintiffs in court, if the object of an iniuria, but they may be allowed by the generosity of their master to acquire a peculium and purchase their freedom for such a small sum as 50 s. A master with a large number of slaves would not object to his slave learning a trade or accumulating by labour such a sum with which to purchase his liberty or even to his finding some friend willing to pay the price. Legally all that he has is his master's, but here again is seen the force of custom and boni mores. The purchase price would be paid in front of the dagna or judge and the transaction recorded on paper.

Manumission under seal in the lifetime of the master may take place in the presence of a judge or before witnesses of prudent age or again in the Church before a recording priest and witnesses.

In the first two cases the master would swear by Menelik (though the latter is long dead) that he had "sent" or "released" his slave to freedom. Before the priest he would make the same oath by the Tablet or Holy of Holies. These procedures bear a resemblance to the manumissiones minus solennes inter amicos or in ecclesia and to the proclamatio in libertatem of the Praetor's court. But in Abyssinia all these procedures are formal and the slave becomes wholly free, since there is no survival of the theory that he is still legally a slave nor is he said "in libertate esse". There is no intermediate stage through which he must pass before attaining perfect freedom. The Fatha Magast allude to manumission before a prelate and 3 witnesses and a slave is recommended for liberation on various grounds such as for long service rendered, desire to become a priest or monk, military service, preservation of the life of the master and death of the patronus without heir.

On the death of their master it is natural that slaves should attain to freedom, whether he has set forth his wishes formally by will or by oral confession to a priest or witnesses before death. In many cases too the heirs will follow the recommendation of the Fatha Magast and liberate the slave who has earned his freedom by long service, even if the master himself is silent on the subject. It is fortunate for slaves in Abyssinia that there is no legal impediment to limit rash and indiscriminate manumission such as that dealt with by the Lex Aelia Sentia or the Lex Fufia Caninia. On the other hand no Emperor has yet risen to grant universal freedom.

freedom. In a country where no Concilium Plebis and  
no Comitia exist, manumission could have no political  
effect, but will only confer on the deceased the 549  
blessing of the Church and a claim to the praise of  
posterity. So it is that libertini orcini abound in  
Abyssinia, though indistinguishable from the rest of the  
population and many have reached high places in the  
State. On the death of Ras Tesemma, the late Regent, a  
typical case occurred. On the 40th day after his  
death proclamation was made in his private Gebi or  
Palace (and not in the market, since it was a private  
act), freeing all his slaves without distinction. It  
would be regarded as sufficient legal proof to which  
they can appeal in support of their freedom if  
questioned subsequently. Such is the ordinary procedure  
in the case of a high chief or master of standing and  
his heirs would be censured by public opinion if they  
failed to carry out an act redounding to the memory  
of the deceased.

There is no reason why a slave should not  
inherit from his master. Cases are frequent in which  
the slave is freed at his death and continues  
household by marrying his widow. But the children of a  
slave woman or ancilla are slaves too by law whether the  
father is free or not. Morals are lax in Abyssinia and  
in spite of the Fatha Nagast there is no punishment  
for a free Abyssinian woman if she cohabits with  
a slave - the servus alienus - and she need have no  
fear that her offspring will be considered as slaves.  
Ideas are more liberal and there is no survival of the

Roman Law which after three denunciations had proved in vain condemned her too to slavery. Slavery is looked upon as one of the accidents of life and there is no privilege in citizenship.

The case is common in which a slave runs away or ceases to possess a legal master. If a slave in one province runs away and is captured by a third party in another province far from his former owner, he is certainly not treated like a son, as the Fatha Nagast Majidin, but merely changes masters. But if the slave could find an unbiased court - as at Adis Ababa - the Crown would intervene as adsertor libertatis, since the third party would be unable to produce proof that the slave was his. Since Menelik's time a slave is only supposed to pass by gift as attested by a sealed paper, though this regulation is almost invariably evaded. In the above case the slave would pass to the Crown and be kept in the Imperial Gebi or palace where he might in the course of time become ipso facto free. From time to time the Gebi is cleared of slaves who find homes of their own and may settle near leading their own lives, until usu longi temporis they are styled free without the need of an Imperial grant of ingenuitas. It resembles the statu liber stage of a slave "qui statutum est in continentiam in tempus vel condicionem libertatem habet". The former owner would have difficulty in reclaiming him. In cases where the slave who ran away could not obtain the protection of the Law he would be looked upon as treasure trove and merely pass into the ownership of another. Equity is also a requisite thing in above info.

Merchants from distant parts of Abyssinia which have no natural supply of slave-producing tribes - such as the North - flock to Gore and buy slaves for their clients on order or take them back with them to sell later at a profit. Certain receivers of slaves near Gore, among whom the Muslim Gallas are prominent stock slaves or board them out for a chief until a buyer is found. The arrival of a chief from his slave district is eagerly awaited, as it is rare that he does not profit by his authority to accumulate slaves during his brief tenure of office in a province where money and commerce hardly exist and no inconvenient questions are asked by the Government. When Dejaz Gahani was dismissed from Gore, his officers called up from the South passed through with hundreds of slaves which had all been disposed of by the time they reached the comparative civilisation of Adis Ababa. The same sad scenes are to be seen now that his successor, Dejaz Kabada, has been dismissed also. They are not so harrowing as those witnessed in the time of the late Regent, Ras Tesemma, who after his triumphant conquest of the districts south of Gore returned with slaves in thousands. His route could be traced by a trail of dead and dying of those unable to keep up with the column. Ras Tesemma would have prided himself on the completeness of his victories against an unarmed population, but in these days the pax Abyssinica is supposed to reign in the South which enjoys the enlightened rule of a race superior in moral virtue. And yet these same chiefs who make their fortunes by the slave-traffic are

pleasant enough to talk and deal with and regard themselves as a class apart and as possessing all human knowledge. In spite of this "ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant".

A small minority of Abyssinian opinion is disgusted at the circumstances in which slaves have their being till they find a home. One at the sight of such processions expressed his sorrow by saying that there was now no need for him to await the funeral feast for deceased parents or relatives before giving vent to sorrow. He had a subject for lamentation ready before him. But even these sympathetic souls would not condemn the institution of Slavery and in fact the person referred to was the owner of several slaves. There is no general sentiment of right and the Abyssinian represents Man in his earliest stages in which he is a material creature and, as we are told that Law concerns his material interests, this may account for its impotence. As in Europe little knowledge of the slave-traffic exists, the discovery of differences is needed to stimulate Abyssinian thought and only the contact of races can confer progress. Till Abyssinia is opened to the world, the institution will continue. It is not a subject about which much information can easily be gleaned and it is to be regretted that more details cannot be secured for the purpose of this memorandum.

Appendix.

The following are some of the ordinances laid down by the Patha Nagast which however are obsolete.

1. \*Marriage between Christian and pagan is forbidden. Also concubinage both for the married man with a slave and for the unmarried with a pagan. If there is transgression, the slave shall be sold out of the province by the governor, while if children have been begotten from the pagan she must be baptised and married.\* Nothing could be more casual that the martial relations of Abyssinians and the order is quite disregarded save that it is usual to christen slaves and give them an adopted father. The Patha Nagast defend the action of David and Solomon on the ground that in those days men were scattered upon the earth and imposed the above commands since the earth was now sufficiently populated.
2. \*The sons of a slave woman are always slaves of the master of the father and if the father is free they too are free\*. But in modern Abyssinia the children are often separated from their slave parents and the freeing of the father would not affect the status of the children who served another master.
3. \*The judge ought to refuse to liberate a slave, though freed by the patronus, if he has information that the conduct of the slave towards his master or master's sons, has been insolent or brutal or that the slave has wasted his master's substance.\*

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This is now entirely the affair of the master and no judge would exert himself to interfere.

"If a free woman marry a slave, she shall become the slave of his master". It is common for a woman to marry a slave but she invariably retains her freedom. No master could enforce this law.

"A slave woman must not be separated from her grown-up son nor a male slave from his brother, his wife or his son". If this were observed, the slave trade would receive a fatal blow. But in actual life Abyssinians pay not the slightest regard to the feelings of slaves especially at the time of their original capture or seizure. They sell apart man and wife, children and parents according to the demand of the market.

"A slave let with a farm as a slave of the glebe or soil, if he be freed by the owner of the farm, must be handed back to him by the leasee". But there are now no slaves of the soil and their place has been taken by the colonis or gebar who occupies a more independent position and cannot be termed a slave.

"If a slave be lost and found, the finder in the absence of his owner shall rear him as his son."

This represents a standard of thought and philanthropy too high for modern Abyssinians. In these days the slave would merely change masters. In the provinces he would not be allowed to approach a judge to claim his protection and would be cowed into submission.

"The slave being himself the property of the master cannot inherit from him". This is not the law now as slaves commonly inherit, if their master happens to

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have no natural hair.

"The slave cannot be a witness in a court of law." In modern days their testimony may be most important especially in cases of murder and they would certainly be called to give evidence.

"If a bull kill a slave with his horns, the bull shall be stoned to death and the price of the slave paid to his master". The life of the bull would be spared at the present time and in most cases no compensation would be given since to be killed by a bull would be held presumptive of great carelessness.

"The thief who steals a man from the midst of his family to enslave or sell him shall be put to death by the judge." In modern Abyssinia if the man escaped being shot by the household it is not likely that he would be executed, if he could pay a money fine.

"The slaves who slay their master or do not give him succour when he is in danger of being slain by others shall be cast into the fire". But there is now no punishment such as the furnace and no particular blame would be attached to the cowardice of slaves. A slave would be hanged for homicide.

"A slave who plots against the life of his master shall be slain, unless the plot be to the gain of the king". It is unlikely that the extreme penalty would be exacted to-day. Scourging or may-be branding would be the punishment.

"The wife of the master, if she commit fornication with a slave, shall be beaten, her locks shall be shaven and her nose struck off, and she shall be proclaimed and declared infame, while the slave shall

be put to death. She would now be simply divorced. The slave would probably run away. If caught flagrante delicto he would be shot. The Law would be unlikely to condemn him to death, as such scandals are hushed up.

The case is also dealt with similarly where the mistress is a widow and childless. Both shall be beaten and have their locks shaved while the slave shall be sold by the magistrate. If she have children, all her goods and the price of the slave pass to them under the administration of the local authority and she shall live alone and earn her bread. In this case the mistress would go unpunished and the Law would take no action. Public opinion would be indifferent and regard it as her own business.

"A married master if he commit fornication with a slave shall be beaten, and she shall be sold for the profit of the public treasury. If she belong to another, the offender shall pay a fine of gold, if he be rich, and a lesser sum if he be poor and he shall be beaten." Here again the offense committed is trifling in modern times and the accusation would not be seriously pressed. A petty fine at the most. Or a committee of all men would arrange the affair privately.

15. "He who steals a man and sells him and he is privy to the rapine shall be condemned to death. Cases must be very rare of the rapine of a free man where there are so many slaves to steal. This resembles No. 11. The Pata Nagast condemns to exile those who indulge in raids unauthorised

by the King. But, if this regulation were observed seriously, Abyssinia would be deprived of a large portion of its regular forces and other countries would have their presence inflicted on them.

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[October 27]

AFRICA.

SECTION 5.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 1.

45986

Mr. Campbell to Earl Curzon. -- (Received October 27.)

Adis Ababa, September 22, 1919.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copies of reports made by Major Darley and Major Athill on slavery in the south-western provinces through which they passed on their way to Maj.

Each composed his report separately without comparing notes while doing so. I further enclose (Enclosure No. 2) a memorandum written by Mr. Walker, His Majesty's consul at Gore, on slave traffic in general in Abyssinia.

These records of wholesale devastation in rich provinces, formerly thickly populated, do not fail to make an impression and to create feelings of pity for the wretched inhabitants of the territories conquered by the Amharas. These districts are just as Amhara colonies as German East Africa was a German colony, and the wanton cruelties perpetrated therein surpass anything the Germans have done or that has been done since Tippu Tib and his kind pursued their nefarious trade in Central Africa.

A proclamation was made in or about November 1918 abolishing the slave traffic in Abyssinia, but such proclamations are merely intended to blind the eyes of the public in the capital. In the provinces it is as bad as ever, and every chief leaving his district collects as many men, women, and children as he can to line his purse in case he is ever given another post. In April last Dejaz Khabada, Governor of Gore, who was dismissed with dishonour, telephoned from Adis Ababa to a friend, Fitaurari Gabri, Governor of Gannira, to collect all the "honey" he could and send it to the capital. Fitaurari Gabri, in answer, collected a good word for slaves. Fitaurari Gabri collected over 500 and 1,000 people and despatched them by various routes, but I do not know whether they ever reached Adis Ababa, as they are usually snapped up eagerly on the way.

Thus the traffic continues, and there is little chance for the victims unless or until two things happen. The first is the exhaustion of the districts where the raids are usually made - Sidamo, Kaffa, Mossongu, Gannira, Mau, Nucri, and Shungul, by which means the traffic will automatically cease on account of the exhaustion of the population; the second is the intervention of the Powers. I am told that since the intervention the price of slaves in Adis Ababa has fallen by some 60 per cent. Formerly a slave was a good investment; now buyers are shy, for they know full well that the slave trade is a shame and a disgrace in a world which boasts a League of Nations, and they hope that an end will be put thereto if an enlightened administration is ever established in Abyssinia.

It is too much to hope that the Abyssinians will not be given the opportunity to defend themselves again into security, and that the price of slaves will never rise again to its former level. In the name of humanity some action would seem essential to rid the fairest countries in Africa of this scourge, and I venture to submit that, if such a drastic course is possible for the moment, at least the importation of arms and ammunition and of raw materials for the manufacture thereof should be strictly prohibited until slavery has ceased to exist and the Powers have been accorded full opportunity of ascertaining that such is really the case.

Copies of this despatch are being forwarded to Cairo, Khartoum, and Nairobi. I have, &c.  
GERALD CAMPBELL

Enclosure 1 in No. 1

Memorandum by Major Darley on the Slavery Question in Abyssinia

I write calmly on the slavery question in Abyssinia, and in particular of the region Jimma to Maji and even in British territory, is difficult for any white man, particularly so for anyone who has known the country before the death of

This district comprises the countries of Kaffa, Gimoera, Tishanna, Maq, Kalla and Tirma. The people inhabiting these countries were very numerous, and cultivate in a large way, besides owning large herds of cattle and a certain number of sheep and goats.

The system under which this large district was administered by the Abyssinians was as follows:—

The natives were called "gubbar," or serfs, and were not allowed to be sold from the land.

On an Abyssinian chief taking over his allotted district these serfs were divided among his adherents on the well-known system that—

"Great big fleas have smaller fleas  
Which prey upon and bite 'em,  
And smaller fleas have lesser fleas,  
And so ad infinitum."

with the notable exception that here the smaller and lesser fleas keep the big ones. They grow all the food for their masters, did all their house work, and, besides, were expected to pay a changeable number of dollars yearly to their masters. To a certain extent this system carried on that the women and children were allowed to be sold as commodities by their masters. I myself once saw a man in this territory from the north, who had taken a woman for himself, and quite accustomed to the groves of these women being brought to my tent for their delectation. On these occasions a dollar was paid to the Abyssinian and a cartridge to the woman; sometimes less, but never more. This used to occur before the death of Menelik, when the gubbar were comparatively well-used. You will realise, therefore, that this system of slavery is simplified.

Since the death of Menelik, Ras Wadda Giorgis, who governed the country, has been removed, and several small chiefs have taken his place and are constantly changing. Each chief on being removed from his district makes as clean a sweep as possible of all its inhabitants, and carries them off mostly for sale. The chief next is in Jimma, at Minjara. I myself saw a drove of children brought into the market place at Jimma, where they were handed over to other merchants by their owners. I also saw a drove of serfs of these unfortunates marching along the road on their way to Jimma. The men were chained together. The women walking and carrying children. Several of them were children so small that one would not think they had any value. Thus I saw in 1918, but where they were captured from I have not seen. In 1912 I saw droves of these unfortunates driven through Jimma. One drove took three days to pass my house. Little children unable to walk, three or four carried tied on a mule. Ten dollars a head and take your choice. The result you can imagine.

The whole country of which I am writing has been completely depopulated. Stone roads can be seen leading from nowhere to nowhere. Mountains terraced from the bottom to the top for cultivation have still the terraces to show, but no people.

The price of slaves has fallen to such an extent that a mere 10 dollars is the average. Trade has ceased to exist, except the slave trade, in which every man is interested. The custom houses charge 1 dollar a head for the passage of each slave.

The country is desolate except for bands of robbers and murderers perched on hill-tops. Food is unobtainable. The age of each successive raid can be easily gathered by the height of the bush on former homesteads.

The Abyssinians have no food, and to get it they must go further and further afield. This means British territory.

We have just marched from the border eighteen days' march—without seeing a soul. All have been exterminated or have fled.

What the end is I cannot see, but if slavery, murder, and robbery is not the present day law of nations, let there be an international commission to see this unclean district. The natives were friendly to any white man, and numbers were my personal friends, so I may be excused if I write freely.

HENRY DARLEY, Major

Memorandum by Major Athill on Slavery in South-Western Abyssinia.

THE following memorandum is confined to evidence personally seen and heard on a journey by the main road from Addis Ababa to the south-western frontier.

The first evidence of actual traffic in slaves was seen at Jimma. Here we saw a party of about twenty small boys brought to the market-place in broad daylight and sold within half-an-hour. The Galla merchants' quarter exists practically for the slave traffic alone. Visiting it one night, I asked a Galla, who perhaps took me for a trader, what slaves he had. He said that he had none for sale at the moment, but that if I would come to his neighbour's house I could buy plenty. Unfortunately my servant gave me away before I could find out any more. The trade, though usually carried on in private houses, is a perfectly open one.

Immediately on crossing the Gojeb River the results of the slave trade are obvious. The traces of a close cultivation by a large and industrious population are unmistakable. To-day the country is without sign of life except for a few settlements of Abyssinian soldiers, whose fields are cultivated by slave labour. Comparative peace reigns, except for wandering bands of robbers, as the clearing-out process is complete.

On the road through this country we met a convoy guarded by Abyssinians and consisting of about seventy women and children, newly captured. A few, too small or too weak to walk, were loaded on mules. Children of 4 years of age were being driven away on foot.

At Nibira Ghimirra we found a hotbed of slavery. The Abyssinian chief was unable to be replaced, and was therefore selling for his own population as quickly as possible. (A well-grown boy cost 10 dollars, a small one five dollars. Apart from his own operations, there were about 100 freebooters living in the village, catching slaves on their own account. So gross was the situation here that a chief, visiting our camp one mile from the village, said that he dared not send his small slave boy back to the village alone, as he would certainly be stolen on the way.)

In the district of Bashuma, next passed through, the chief was also wanting to be removed. When called upon to send Government mails back to Jimma for us, he refused, unless we could get from the senior Abyssinian Commissioner with us a permit which would enable him to pass a convoy of slaves through with the mails. In this country the natives had risen against the Abyssinians as a result of slave-raiding. Strong armed parties could move about, outlying settlements had been burnt and their corpses were lying in the still smouldering ruins. All cultivation was abandoned. A few starving old women still lay in the native houses, kept alive by their men who had taken to the bush, and crept back at night with roots, &c. One of these women told me that her entire family of six children had been carried off.

The attitude of the Abyssinian towards slaves was well illustrated here. The senior Abyssinian Commissioner, one of whom was noted for his humane tendencies, accompanied by over 400 men, filed past a small boy sitting by the roadside in the last stages of starvation. Not one of them offered him a drop of water or a morsel of food. When we picked him up we were told that we were wasting our time as he was a cripple and would never be any good.

The province of Maji ag in showed the devastating effects of the slave traffic. Huge expanses of hillside had in the past been terraced—a work which could only have been done by a large and hard-working population. Standing on the edge of the desert, one saw these terraced lands stretching down into the valleys, which in places were dotted with the circles of stones on which the local native builds his house. In houses themselves, of crops on the terraces, or of population, in many directions no trace was left. In others an occasional patch of cultivation would break the surrounding waste of deserted fields.

Carelessly shagging as we were by the Abyssinians, it was natural that the grosser violence of the slave trade did not come under our personal observation. No shepherd, however, could hide the fact that south-western Abyssinia, the richest and most beautiful country in Africa, through Abyssinian rapacity has been converted, and a struggling population still survives, into a hell and, where the work of the trade is completed, into a splendid wilderness. With the depopulation of successive years, slaving operations are pushed further afield, and already a strip of the Southern Sudan, 50 miles wide at its narrowest, has become a happy hunting ground for Abyssinian slave raiders.

What the final result will be is impossible to imagine, but the existing conditions, of which only clearly-established instances have here been quoted, are revolting and almost indescribable.

Adds Addis, September 11, 1919.

L. J. ATHILL, Major, R.F.C.

Enclosure 3 in No. 1.

Memorandum by Mr. Walker on Slave Traffic in general in Abyssinia.

Scriptura est constitutio iuris gentium qua quis dominus aliena contra naturam subditur

"ἐλευθέριος ἀφήκε πάντα θεός· οὐδένα δούλον ἢ φύσει πεποιήκει."

TILL the end of the nineteenth century enslavement through war was a recognized institution both among Abyssinians and Gallas, but about 1897, in the reign of Menelik a more lenient attitude was adopted. In the time of Theodore all captives taken in war would have been slaughtered indiscriminately as wild beasts, and such an act as that of Philip of Macedon, who enslaved the citizens of Olynthus and Potidea and was therefore accused of being retrograde in policy, would have been held up to ridicule. Menelik saw the tendencies of modern thought and did his best to alleviate the conditions of slavery and tried to impede its spread by a proclamation that property in slaves was not to pass by purchase. Thus, in the thirteenth century it has been remarked that Christians and Muslims may not be enslaved, so that the Danakil were immune from slavery and only the pagan tribes on the frontiers of Abyssinia were treated by it.

It is probable then that the Abyssinians would now base their justification of slavery on semi-religious grounds following some natural law, such as the *Ius Naturale* of Ulpian as opposed to the *Ius Naturale* which divides mankind into those capable of mastery and those with servile souls enlightened by religion, specially created for the institution of slavery as an instrument needed for the households of Abyssinian masters. The modern Abyssinians may base their rights without at the same time losing sight of the economic advantages on their own superior moral virtue by which the slave is a gain by being linked to a controlling force. The Gallas themselves, who independent of the Abyssinians under their own chiefs, had their slaves, and the reason why the Abyssinians did not enslave the pagan Gallas must have rested on the grounds of expediency, since the Gallas as the labouring class, provided for Abyssinians the necessary commodities of life.

*Abyssinia habet in ista auctoritas.* There are certain tribes, e.g. in Gimma, Kalla and the Mousong country, whom the Abyssinians consider specially created for enslavement as the most brutalised of all their subjects. The classification is religious and is hardly based on colour, though a black face gives rise to the suspicion that an owner ought to be a savage, unless he can show good cause for exemption. The inhabitants of these districts however, have never been instructed by their superiors. If the Mousong creep about the forests and live on the fruits of the trees and chase about the pursuit of agriculture rendered impossible for them, and is it not ridiculous to suppose that we forced them to take to the depths of the forests? The Amara round Gambella are classed somewhat differently. They are not raided without warning, such as the refusal to pay tribute after repeated warnings. They would then, if still resistant, be attacked and any captives would be enslaved. They are therefore reckoned as slightly superior creatures, and if any Amarak captured in one of the modified raids common in Abyssinia were an articulate person with some character and presence (not being a female), he could appeal to the law and be sent back to his own country retaining his right to freedom. But it is notorious that the law of the Amara as a fugitive enemy and cannot always be found at will. At Addis Ababa there was a case in 1899 favourable of a hearing.

Slavery is not a crime. In many cases poverty or hunger in the desolated and war-ravaged districts may lead a wretched man to sell his offspring in despair or he may be compelled by violence to supply tribute in slaves, or against the petty Abyssinian government may force the headman to hand over slaves in order

to retaliate a valuable form of capital against the time that he vacates office. Where the Amarak headman would send in tusks of ivory, the headman in Gimma requisitions his fellow-tribesmen who are driven into the Abyssinian post. So long as the Central Government expects the tribute of these districts to be paid in slaves these inhuman practices will continue. There is no question of purchase as in the passage "Both thy prisoner and thy bondmaids which thou shalt have shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids."

The vast majority of slaves are created by seizure and ransom and find a more or less permanent home after a period of brutal treatment and suffering. What has the Christian Abyssinian Church done to mitigate their position? How would the Atina regard the institution of slavery against Justinian, who treats of "servitutes quae contra naturam sunt contraria: iure enim naturali ab initio omnes homines liberi nascentur"? Would the Abuna plead the lack of education among the Abyssinians, the Church, being itself uneducated, cannot deal with? Or would he plead economic necessity brought about by Abyssinian superciliousness and contempt of honest toil?

It is natural that, as in the Roman law, the effect of *boni mores* has been felt and even on the grounds of public expediency the rights of ownership have been limited. A master may originally have had absolute rights over the slave in Abyssinia. *Quid minus perque gentes animaliter creatae possunt dominus in servis vitis necisque in eadem esse.* Anyhow the principle of limitation is now established. "Male enim est non ut non debemus qua ratione et prolegis interdictum honorum suorum servat." Just as various enactments under the Roman law restrained the rights of brutal masters and established the idea that a slave could be "murdered," so in modern Abyssinia a master would be hanged for the murder of a slave, if the Government were pleased to take up the cause of the victim. So in Anglo-Saxon times was protected by the Church from ill-treatment. But there is a trace of involuntary manumission as in the case of sick slaves under Claudius, who on abandonment by their master became free, or practically free. In Abyssinia the slave could revert to the State and become a public slave or in remote districts he could be seized by the first comer. Neither has the Abyssinian law imitated the liberality of Constantine in conferring freedom on the disclosure of certain crimes. The law that in Abyssinia there is little law to develop or to be expended, and in any case there are no schools or "stations of public responsibility." It is a country where the kindly Canon law and no progressive jurists with modernised reasonings.

The "Fatha Nagast" or Imperial decisions, which are stated to be of Arab origin date from the 13th century, are by some alleged to be rigorously followed by the judges in forming their verdicts. This is most emphatically untrue and can only be shown by a chosen few of those holding office at Addis Ababa. "In the provinces the "Fatha Nagast" are obsolete in the civil administration, and it is doubted whether any copies of the compilation could be found with any of those who execute the law. Traces of the influence of Roman law are obvious in the "Fatha Nagast" and on the subject of slavery they are fairly detailed, but the statement that these Imperial laws are the modern law of Abyssinia is a gross exaggeration. Some of the clauses of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Code are adhered to, since they are in harmony with the lines of modern life, but the majority have sunk into obivion. These obsolete portions are given in an Appendix and only the living ordinances are alluded to.

The "Fatha Nagast" approve of the plan of liberating slaves, and agree with Justinian that all men are born free. But they point out that war and raids compel some men to serve others and quote with approval the Mosaic law that bondmen and maidens shall be of the heathen that are round about. As to slaves in general they lay down many rules, but in the present vague and indeterminate state of Abyssinia it is difficult to lay down which and how many of these are observed at the present day. The following are some of the rules which would probably be adhered to:-

1. A slave is not to be liberated if he has no means of support.
2. If one attempts to sell the slave of another, the thief must return a slave in addition to the sum stolen or his price.
3. *Servus in gratia servus si Aglio non pvo esse cogentur contratio.*
4. A slave cannot inherit without explicit written instructions from the testator.
5. A slave cannot bear witness on behalf of his master.
6. A slave blinded by his master and losing an eye is liberated.



submit a Christian church, and only the contact of races can confer progress. In Abyssinia is opened to the world the institution will continue. It is not a subject about which much information can easily be obtained, and it is to be regretted that more details cannot be secured for the purpose of this memorandum.

APPENDIX

The following are some of the ordinances laid down by the "Fatha Nagast" which, however, are obsolete.

1. "Marriage between Christian and pagan is forbidden; also concubinage both for the married man with a slave and for the unmarried with a pagan. If there is transgression on the slave shall be sold out of the province by the governor, while if children have been begotten from the pagan, she must be baptised and married. Nothing could be more casual than the marital relations of Abyssinians and the orders quite disregarded, save that it is usual to christen slaves and give them an adopted father. The "Fatha Nagast" decreed the action of David and Solomon on the ground that in those days men were scattered upon the earth and imposed the above commands since the earth was now sufficiently populated.

2. "The sons of a slave woman are always slaves of the master of the father, and if the father be free they, too, are free." But in modern Abyssinia the children are often separated from their slave parents, and the freedom of the father would not affect the status of the children, who served another master.

3. "The judge ought to refuse to liberate a slave bought by the *patronus*, if he has information that the conduct of the slave towards his master or master's sons has been unkind or brutal or that the slave has wasted his master's substance." This is now entirely the affair of the master, and no judge would exert himself to interfere.

4. "If a free woman marry a slave, she shall become the slave of his master." It is common for a woman to marry a slave, but she invariably retains her freedom. No master could enforce this law.

5. "A slave woman who is separated from her grown-up son or son-in-law slave from his brother, his wife, or his children, if this were observed, the slave shall receive a fatal blow. But in actual life Abyssinians pay not the slightest regard to the feelings of slaves, especially at the time of their original capture or seizure. They sell apart man and wife, children and parents, according to the demand of the market.

6. "A slave let with a farm as a slave of the glebe or soil, who be freed by the owner of the farm, must be handed back to him by the lord." But there are now no slaves of the soil, and their place has been taken by the colonist, who occupies a more independent position and cannot be termed a slave.

7. "The slave be lost and found, the finder, in the absence of the owner, shall not claim as his own. This represents a standard of thought and procedure too high for modern Abyssinia. In these days the slave would usually change masters. In the provinces he would not be allowed to approach a judge for legal protection, and would be rowed into submission.

8. "The slave being himself the property of the master, cannot inherit from him. This is not the law now, as slaves commonly inherit if their master happens to have no natural heir.

9. "The slave cannot bear witness as a source of law." In modern days their testimony may be most important, especially in cases of murder, and they would certainly be called to give evidence.

10. "If a bull kill a slave with his horns, the bull shall be stoned to death and the price of the slave paid to his master." The life of the bull would be spared at the present time, and in most cases no compensation would be given, since to be killed by a bull would be held presumptive of great carelessness.

11. "The thief who steals a man from the midst of his family to enslave or sell him shall be put to death by the law." In modern Abyssinia, if the man escaped before shot by the household, it is not likely that he would be executed if he could pay a money fine.

12. "The slaves who slay their master or do not give him succour when he is in danger of being slain by others shall be cast into the fire." But there is now no punishment such as the furnace, and no particular blame would be attached to the cowardice of slaves. A slave would be hanged for homicide.

13. "A slave who plots against the life of his master shall be slain unless she be able to give the gain of the King." It is unlikely that the extreme penalty would be used today. Scourging or maybe branding, would be the punishment.

14. "The wife of the master, if she commit fornication with a slave, shall be stoned, her locks shall be shaven, and her nose struck off, and she shall be proclaimed declared infame, while the slave shall be put to death." She would now be simply divorced. The slave would probably run away. If caught *in flagrante delicto* he would be shot. The law would be unlikely to condemn him to death, as such scandals are shared up.

The case is also dealt with similarly where the mistress is a widow and childless. She shall be beaten and have their locks shaved, while the slave shall be sold by the magistrate. If she have children, all her goods and the price of the slave pass to her under the administration of the local Authority, and she shall live alone and earn for her bread." In this case the mistress would go unpunished, and the law would take no cognation. Public opinion would be indifferent, and regard it as her own business.

"A married master, if he commit fornication with a slave, shall be beaten, and shall be sold for the profit of the public treasury. If she belong to another, the master shall pay 36 dinars of gold if he be rich, and a lesser sum if he be poor, and the slave be beaten." Here again the offence committed is trifling in modern times, and the accusation would not be seriously pressed. A petty fine at the most, or a sentence of old men would arrange the affair privately.

"He who steals a man and sells him; and he who is privy to the rapine, shall be condemned to death." Cases must be very rare of the rapine of a free man where there are so many slaves to steal. This resembles No. 11. The "Fatha Nagast" condemns those who indulge in raids unauthorised by the King, but, if this regulation were observed seriously, Abyssinia would be deprived of a large portion of its regular slaves, and other countries would have their presence inflicted on them.