

THE TWILIGHT OF SLAVERY IN THE PERSIAN GULF

By Professor A. Sheriff

In a thoughtful paper Hubert Gerbeau had challenged historians not to reduce the history of the slave trade and slavery to a paragraph in commercial history, merely counting bodies and piastres, but to try to introduce a human dimension to it, to give a voice to those transported, to inquire into the life of the people who were leaving and those who had arrived; in short, to study it as part of the 'total history' of civilisations.¹ It is in this framework that I examine the condition of slavery in the Persian Gulf during its twilight years in the 1930s before the discovery of oil when the Great Depression and the Japanese cultured pearl industry threatened the livelihood of many of the poor citizens in the Gulf.

What makes this possible is the fortunate survival of hundreds of brief biographies of slaves seeking manumission from British authorities in the Gulf in the 1920s and 1930s in the India Office Records now at the British Library. Most of them are only half a page long, giving names of the slaves and their owners, how they were enslaved, the kind of work they performed, their marital status and offspring, and major reasons for asking for manumissions. While they are an extremely important source of social history, they represent only a small proportion of the slave population, those who found slavery unbearable enough to seek manumission through the British, often at great risk to themselves and their family life. Moreover, they do not cover slaves who had been routinely emancipated under Islamic law which had already created a free(d) African population in Arabia and the Persian Gulf, constituting a third of people of African origin there by the beginning of the twentieth century.

When I embarked on this research I was primarily interested in the slave trade from the Swahili coast. However, I soon began to come across slaves who had originated from free(d) African communities in Arabia and the Persian Gulf, and others who were from the Yemen, Iran, and Baluchistan. I recorded only a representative sample of the non-African slaves, and yet, the latter came to constitute more than half of my overall sample of about 200 biographies. This is a very strong indication that by then slavery in the Persian Gulf had become much more complex in its social composition.

Slavery in the Persian Gulf

By the beginning of the twentieth century when large-scale slave trade from the African coast had come to an end, according to Lorimer's *Gazeteer*, out of an estimated 36,000 people of African origin along the littoral of the Persian Gulf, at least one-



third were already free, i.e. free(d) under the Islamic principles of manumissions.

While often fuming about the slave trade, British officials in the Gulf tended to present a rather rosy picture of treatment of domestic slaves once they had been assimilated into the Gulf society, and were frequently placed in situations of high trust.

Omani dancers of African origin

A 28-year old slave, kidnapped at an early age from Lindi in southern Tanzania, was entrusted with command of a dhow and most valuable cargoes to Calcutta and Bombay.² There was greater hardship when it came to cultivation on irrigated date farms, although very few of them sought manumission.

What was most oppressive was pearl diving which was the pre-eminent industry in the Gulf before oil. Lorimer had estimated that if the pearl industry were to fail, the trade of Kuwait would be crippled, that of Bahrain would be reduced to a fifth, and the ports of 'Trucial Oman' (today's UAE) would cease to exist. It was a very harsh occupation for free or slave, and only lack of alternatives drove divers to endure it. With no equipment than a nose clip, they had to dive more than ten metres to the bottom of the sea for an average of a minute and a half at least 40 times a day. By the end of the season they were emaciated from inadequate nourishment because of nausea and lack of appetite. Diving was also very hard on their eyes, lungs and stomachs, and many suffered from trachoma. It was said it was difficult to find a pearl diver over 50 years of age.³

Pearl diving was not based on a system of wages but on a division of the returns according to a widely accepted formula between all the participants in the venture - the dhow owners, the *nakhuda* (captains), the divers, and the rope haulers who had to haul up the divers from the bottom of the sea. It was also based on a complex system of debts which was perhaps the only way of sustaining the industry. These debts applied to all divers, free or slave, but slave divers had to share their meagre earnings with their owners as well, and if the free divers suffered from debt slavery, slave divers suffered from a double slavery.

According to the British Agent at Sharjah, a slave who lived in the house of his master got an advance like a free pearl fisher and also part of his earning. His master was responsible for maintaining him and his family between the seasons. Slave pearl divers

who lived outside the house of their masters (especially those who were married) got the usual advances and were allowed part of the earnings. Such slaves, as a general rule, were not supported by their masters but were given freedom to work and earn for their living between the pearl seasons. According to the Political Agent at Bahrain, 'Only in this class of slaves is there any desire for liberty.' With the Great Depression and the Japanese cultured pearl industry, there were three bad years and a serious riot broke out in Bahrain in which two divers were *killed*.

Manumissions - 'Swahili' Slaves

The divers were mostly poor Arabs, Persians and Baluchis, but people of African origin, free and slave, constituted a sizeable proportion. There were 4,000 'Africans' out of a total of 35,000 people in Kuwait. A third of them were said to be *ma'tuq* or manumitted, while two-thirds were *mamluk* or enslaved at the beginning of the twentieth century. Out of Qatar's 27,000, there were said to be 2,000 free Africans and 4,000 slaves not living in their masters' houses, apart from domestic slaves living in their owners' homes who were reckoned as belonging to the tribes of their masters. There were nearly 5,000 free Africans and 6,000 slaves in Bahrain out of a total of 45,000, and in the major towns the proportion had already shifted in favour of the free.⁵

By the end of the nineteenth century the prohibition of the slave trade had already reduced slave labour, and owners had begun to use domestic slaves in pearl diving. Between 1932 and 1938, a total of 510 slaves were manumitted by the British out of whom only 24 were said to have been newly imported or captured, while the rest were described as 'domestic.' From the sample of 84 slaves connected with the Swahili coast, only five were sixty or above. The oldest was Mubarak b. Uthman who was said to be 80 years old, and said he had been a slave for 60 years. The second oldest was Abdullah b. Salmin who was 65, and said his father was born in Zanzibar and had been kidnapped to Oman where Abdullah was born in slavery. The next three were 60 years old, and they all said they were born in Zanzibar and had been kidnapped when they were children.⁶

Perhaps the most illustrious of the senior slaves was Sultan b. Aman who was an Abyssinian whose father had belonged to Sultan Seyyid Barghash (1870-88) of Zanzibar. He had left Zanzibar at the age of 19 when he agreed to work as a servant to a *nakhuda* from Sur for Rs. 30 a month, but he was double-crossed and sold at Dubai. He was bought by Thani b. Khalaf who entrusted him with his business and house until 1917 when he manumitted him. Because of his business acumen, he was able to borrow more than Rs. 7,000 from Indian and Arab merchants to purchase dates, firewood and oil from the Batinah coast of Oman by 1925 when he went bankrupt. He escaped leaving behind his wife, and sought manumission from the British.⁷

Of the remaining slaves, only 10 were women. It is likely that women, who were predominantly in domestic service, may have been less tempted to seek manumission unless driven by extreme cruelty. In several cases they were forced to seek their freedom only when their masters tried to sell them or their children to other owners, or to re-enslave

them after they had been manumitted. Of the rest it seems the population was ageing with the largest number in their 40s. Whereas the older slaves in their 50s and 40s had been predominantly kidnapped into slavery, younger slaves were born in slavery, although in many of those cases, their parents had been kidnapped from the Swahili coast. This suggests a decline in the number of kidnappings from East Africa by the 1910s and 1920s.

A majority of the slaves who were kidnapped were abducted by sailors from the Omani port of Sur. One specifically described himself as a Makua of northern Mozambique who said he 'was kidnapped by my own tribe and sold to the people of Sur who embarked me on a boat which was anchoring at Bukin' (Madagascar). Another described himself as a Yao, another tribe that had figured prominently in the slave trade both as slave traders and as their victims. A third was a Kamba who had gone to Mombasa to work and was abducted there. Nearly half the slaves claimed to have been kidnapped from the Mrima coast and from Zanzibar in general, which may refer to the whole Swahili coast. Welaïd b. Chalban stated that he was 'born in a village in Zanzibar of free parents' and was kidnapped by 'a gang of negroes who raided our village and took me to Zanzibar.' Among the youngest was Balul whose father was described as a 'pure Swahili' and the mother was a Baluchi from the Makran coast of Baluchistan.⁸

Islam had made it a moral duty on the master to find a spouse for a slave and deprecated separation of slave families. However, whereas seven out of 10 female slaves were married, only 22 out of the 74 male slaves were. In several cases the slaves were married to other slaves owned by the master or another master, to Swahili, Ethiopian, Yemeni and Baluchi slaves. However, the 60-year old Sumhan Sarbook married a free woman, which may have been unthinkable across the Atlantic. In the case of Yasminah who had been kidnapped in Zanzibar and taken to Sur, she first became a 'concubine' of her master for a year but apparently did not bear him a child. After a year her master left for Zanzibar never to return, and wrote to his mother to get her married to one of his slaves. She said that 'As his mother was an old woman and was treating us in a good manner, my husband, sons and myself did not leave her and looked after her, and in return the woman granted us manumission certificate.' However, after the death of their master in Zanzibar and later of his mother, two men and a woman in Ras al-Khaimah put in a claim against them on the pretext that their master owed them some money. However, the Ruler of Ras al-Khaimah said that they should have presented their claim when the master's mother was still alive.⁹

Khamis b. Abdul-Rahman, whose grandmother had come from Africa, claimed that his master had kept his mother as a concubine and had fathered him. The British Agent however said Khamis's mother was already pregnant when her husband died, and that her master had married her just before Khamis was born. After his master's death Khamis used to go diving and paid his earnings to his 'sisters,' but they treated him as a slave. He was manumitted, but he was indebted to his *nakhuda*, and therefore absconded to Muscat to claim a manumission certificate from the British.¹⁰

The 29 slaves who were married between them had a total of 42 children. This



means that even these slaves and their partners were not reproducing themselves, and when we include those who were not married, it is clear that the class as a whole could not be sustained without continuous augmentation through further kidnappings. By run-

A drummer of African origin preparing
a msondo drum.

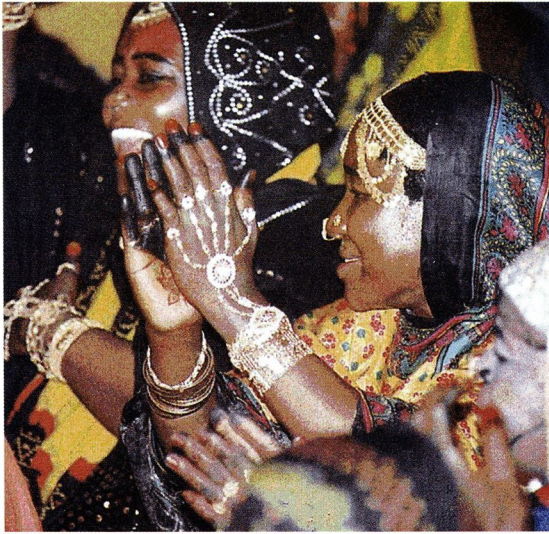
(Source: Folk Songs & Dances: The
United Arab Emirates, Dubai: Dubai
Municipality, 1996, p. 36)

ning away and seeking manumission from British agencies, many of these slaves were often sacrificing their family life, being forced to leave their wives or husbands and children with their former masters. In the case of Zafu bt. Sanqur who was married at 15 to one of her master's slaves and had three children, the whole family was sold to another master, and when the husband heard that their master wanted to sell them again, he absconded, leaving her and the children. In the case of Faraj b Yaqut, his wife ran away because of ill-treatment leaving her family, and then Faraj himself sought manumission leaving their two daughters with their master.¹¹ A slave family where it existed was often small and very fragile.

Nearly two-thirds of the slaves worked as divers during the summer and whatever else they were required to do by their masters during the winter, including fishing, cultivation and house work. Others worked full-time as traders, or to graze camels, cut firewood to make charcoal for sale, or do cultivation work in Oman. The divers complained that the master took all their earnings and did not provide sufficient food and clothing, especially between the pearl seasons. Several objected to going to dive near Socotra, while others pleaded to be excused because of age or sickness, but the masters refuse to listen.

Manumissions - The Others

However, it is obvious by the 1920s and 1930s that slaves originally from the Swahili coast were no longer adequate, and slave traffickers had begun to comb other sources. One came all the way from Syria. He was described as 'negro' of free parents and talked Arabic, and he had been kidnapped by bedouins.¹² Others came from communities of formerly freed slaves within Arabia who were kidnapped and enslaved. Such recycling of free(d) Africans back into slavery may have been going on all the time so that as long



as the institution of slavery existed, freed Africans lived under a constant threat of re-enslavement. However, in doing so Islamic principles regarding slavery were openly flouted since these freed African communities in Arabia and the Gulf were already Muslim and were therefore not enslavable; but traffickers went even further and encroached on long-established Muslim communities in the Yemen, Iran and Baluchistan.

Women of African origin involved in dancing and singing in Oman.

There were several who were born within the Gulf. Many of them were described as 'negro' or 'slave by appearance', and in some cases as 'half-caste' or of 'brown complexion', but speaking Arabic. Some of them, both males and females, were married to free (or manumitted) men or women, as in the case of Nubi b. Kayyay, who may have been a Sudanese. Saleha bt. Saad was married to a free man chosen by her master in consideration of which the latter apparently received some money from the husband. In some cases the mix between the free and the unfree within these families must have been very confusing and heart-rending. Said b. Jum'ah ran away from his master leaving his mother who was a slave, a wife who was free, and three daughters who were slaves.¹³

Many of the complaints of the slaves, especially females, in seeking manumission concerned their family life and separation. Salamah bt. Musa complained that her master 'did not get me married though I attained the matrimonial age', and she escaped to join her manumitted father who had escaped 25 years earlier. Maqbulah bt. Barood was aggrieved by the fact that her master had set her parents free but kept her and her brother in slavery, and later she refused to return to her master because he had separated her from her daughter. In contrast there were only three male slaves who sought manumission on these grounds. Mubarak b. Fairouz decided to escape with his family when the master decided to sell his wife and son..¹⁴

Most of their complaints and reasons for seeking manumission were connected with problems of diving. Apart from insufficient food and clothing, others fell sick with chest pains or vomited blood, but they were still forced to dive. Some complained that after the gruelling summer diving they were still forced to go diving on the shallow banks to earn pocket expenses between the seasons. Some asked to be sold to another owner. A unique case in this sample was that of Abeid b. Sangoor who was bought by Nasir b. Ali al-Naimi. They used to dive together for a *nakhuda* to whom they were jointly indebted.

Later the two separated and worked separately, and Abeid was later manumitted. He is the only one in the sample who had two wives, although he did not have any children.¹⁵

There were also two cases of voluntary manumission by Muslim owners without recourse to the British, but they both indicate the fragility of this system as it operated in the Gulf in the twentieth century. Hubaish b. Rashid, who may have been Ethiopian, said his mother was given her liberty only when she was unfit for hard work, and therefore the burden of her maintenance fell on him. Belal b. Khamis was freed by his mistress when she went for Hajj, but when she returned safely, since 'she was treating me well,' he said, 'I used to give her some of my earnings.' However, after her death some of her relatives tried to re-enslave him.¹⁶

Many of the slaves originating from the Yemen were born slaves while others were apparently kidnapped from the manumitted communities, and were taken to the Gulf either via Jeddah and Mecca across the desert or by sea. Zainab bt. Mubarak was taken to Mecca where she was bought by a pilgrim who took her by steamer to Sharjah. He cohabited with her before marrying her to one of his slaves. Another was kidnapped to Dubai where he worked as a coolie, while the third was kidnapped by a Suri and taken to the Gulf where he worked as a diver and as a special slave in the house of his 80-year old owner. One of the Yemeni slaves changed hands in lieu of a debt of Rs. 600 which the owner owed his wife 'being her deferred dowry.'¹⁷

Some Yemeni protested that their parents were 'free and white people', who were nevertheless kidnapped and enslaved. Ahmad b. Jami was hawking perfumeries in Braimi oasis when he was kidnapped by the Beni Katab bedouins and impressed into diving in the Gulf. Saleh b. Almas may fit the caricature of the adventurous Hadhrami who went to Aden and saw motor cars and ships. 'I said to myself "This is the world."' He took service in a dhow, but the *nakhuda* sold him into slavery. But the unkindest cut of all was probably the kidnapping of two Hadhramis Seyyids (descendants of the Prophet) from Saiyum who were travelling from Mukalla to Singapore when they were shipwrecked, and were seized by bedouins. Thesiger who intervened on their behalf said 'I think Aden will raise a stink about selling a Hadhrami Seyyid as a slave.' Only two male slaves and one female slave out of this batch of 10 slaves were married with a total of 11 children, which means that they were not reproducing themselves as a class.¹⁸

There were several communities of slaves and freed people at Mecca and in Nejd from where they were sold or kidnapped and taken to the Gulf. Mubarak b Salim protested that his parents were *ma'atig* (manumitted). Abdullah b. Hasan whose father was a slave but his mother was a free woman, had joined the Sharif of Mecca against Ibn Saud, but they were defeated and he was sold to Dammam where he worked as a diver. Bashir b. Idris claimed that his father was a Sharif in Medina who had slept with his slave mother, and then sold her to bedouins among whom he was born.¹⁹

Only a few of the slaves said that they were treated well by their masters, which is not surprising in manumission cases when ill-treatment was the primary justification, but several admitted that they were treated kindly by their original owners, and that their woes began with the heirs. The 55-year old Haman b. Mubarak was one of the few divers

who said categorically that his master treated him very kindly. Nasib b. Muhammad was born in Hejaz of free parents, but was kidnapped at the age of four. He said 'my master got me educated in a native school in Jubail', and he worked as a boat operator and later as a clerk.²⁰

Out of this batch of 12 slaves only two were married. Saad Hejazi who had worked as a diver for 23 out of 33 years of his life, complained that his master was taking all his earnings. He had already married twice, the first time with a slave girl and the second time with a manumitted woman, and had three children. Another complained that his master committed adultery with his slave wife when he was away. The 60-year old Faraj b. Saeed and 20-year old Salim b Wilaid complained bitterly that their masters did not get them married although they had earned them a sufficient amount.²¹

Slaves were still trickling to the Gulf but in small numbers from Ethiopia and Somalia across the Red Sea and Hejaz and then across the desert or by sea directly to the Gulf. In 1925 four Ethiopian women between the ages of 15 and 30, who said they had been abducted from their country, were intercepted at Dubai. They said they did not want to go back to their country for fear of being kidnapped again, and they were eventually all married to manumitted slaves.²² In the case of the Sudan and Somalia it seems many were probably Muslims, and the slave dealers tried to hide the fact by changing their names. Abdallah was born near Khartoum where he was stolen and his name was changed to Bakhit. He worked as a sailor on a dhow that went twice to India from Basra. Khamis b Johar said his master slept with his mother, and when she became pregnant, he married her to his slave Johar, who thus became Khamis's father. Ali b. Muhammad left his native place of Allayah in Somalia and went into the lion's den at Braimi looking for work. He was kidnapped by bedouins who sold him to Abu Dhabi, but he escaped within a few months and sought manumission. Atwi bt. Muhammad was kidnapped at the age of five and taken to Sur, and was later sold to a series of women owners. She was married to a free man who beat her, so she got a divorce and married Bilal, a diver, but the mistress kept her in her house. However, when the owner tried to sell her into the interior she applied for manumission.²³

Even more scandalous was the kidnapping of Persians and Baluchis who had been Muslims for centuries. A Saudi informant of the British Legation at Jeddah expressed shock that they were not black, but 'children of men,' betraying the limits of his own humanity. In 1929 the British Resident at Bushire wrote to the ruler of Dubai that 'The practice of selling human beings like cattle especially Baluchis who are "hurr" [free] is abhorrent to God.' Lorimer reported at the beginning of the twentieth century that 'of late years enslavement of low class Baluchis, mostly orphans, has become common.' In 1904/5, of the 95 slaves manumitted at Muscat, no less than 60 were Persians or Baluchis. Of Persian slaves, it was reported in 1923 that in a list of 13 slaves freed there, there were nine females. In 1942 a shipload of 170 Persians had arrived at Qatar for export to Nejd. A young son of a *nakhuda* said that 'in Qatar you can buy Persian women, white, for Rs 25.'²⁴

More voluminous, however, was the traffic in slaves from the Makran coast of

Baluchistan. Between July 1922 and August 1923, of the 24 slaves released and repatriated at Muscat, 19 were Baluchi, one Persian and four Swahili. The British Political Resident in the Persian Gulf tried to underplay the problem by saying that it was not on a large scale; that they were much better off than free persons; that in some cases Baluchis were selling their children and subsequently applying to the British for their recovery and manumission, thereby making a lucrative business for their poor but large families in bad years; that Mekranis themselves appear to be taking part in the trade.¹ A lot of this was true, but that can hardly justify the wholesale kidnapping that was underway in Makran.²⁵

The issue was re-ignited in the late 1930s by a report from the British Legation at Jedda that slaves were coming from British Baluchistan, or Gwadar on the Makran coast which was under the control of the Sultan of Oman. This provoked British officials at Muscat into hot denials, alleging that they were enslaved from the Iranian portion of Baluchistan where there was 'grinding poverty, brutal maladministration and practical anarchy.' He said that as many as 50 Baluchis were brought over every month. However, only three out of the 23 Baluchis came from Iranian Baluchistan. This traffic was organised by a number of Baluchi slave traffickers who operated under the protection of the large and wealthy Yal Sa'ad tribe who had the best and most extensive date gardens on the Batinah coast.

At least 23 of the slaves in our very partial sample are Baluchis, and the total proportion must have been much larger. Only three of them were described as 'negro' and spoke Arabic, probably from African communities on the Makran coast. A young Makrani who was himself kidnapped at the age of six or so said 'people pick up the boys on the coast.'²⁶ They are white boys, Makranis.' As in the case of other slaves in the Gulf, a majority of the male slaves worked as divers, and apart from the usual complaints about ill-treatment, what the slaves seemed to fear most was for them to be sold and having to adjust to an unknown master, and in some cases, splitting their families. One escaped because the owner's son wanted to re-enslave his family. One of them expressed his desire in a more grand style 'in order to obtain liberty for myself and for my wife and children.'²⁷

Nearly a third of the Baluchi slaves were women. Of these four were kidnapped mostly by Baluchi slave traffickers at a young age. In at least five out of the eight cases the masters cohabited with either their mothers or themselves, and when they got pregnant, and sometimes even after giving birth, they were married off to slave or free Baluchi husbands. The 30-year old Fattum bt. Khalfan was one who knew Islamic law, and when the daughter of her old master tried to re-enslave her, she very indignantly proclaimed: 'My father was a free born man and I am the same. Moreover the position of my mother as a free woman strengthens my freedom because she was a concubine of Saif [the master] and gave birth to a child by him and thus she was freed from slavery.' Five of the male slaves were married to slave and sometimes to free or freed wives. The 40-year old Masud b. Gundan incurred a huge debt for his marriage when he bought 3 bags of rice, ghee, sugar, dates, 2 sheep, quilt and bedsheet, and 1 *bisht* (gown).²⁸

Conclusion

While dealing with the slaves manumitted by the British in the early twentieth century, we should not lose sight of the on-going manumission by Muslims of their slaves according to the Islamic *shari'a* which has come to light from the fact there were large freed African communities throughout the Gulf, often constituting at least a third of the total population of African origin, who became one of the targets of the new wave of kidnappings and re-enslavement. Whether manumission by the British of a few hundred made any great difference to the slave population as a whole is difficult to say although, especially considering the fact that apart from offering Manumission Certificates to guard them against future enslavement, which was not always effective, the British offered little else. A few were taken to Christian missions in India or Bahrain, but there was little talk of repatriating them to the Swahili coast. In any case a majority of them did not want to go back to Zanzibar and preferred to go to Muscat or Bombay where they felt there were greater opportunities for employment.

With the suppression of the slave trade since the middle of the nineteenth century, the social composition of the slave population in the Gulf was becoming very complex indeed. As the supply of slaves diminished and the demand in the pearl industry kept up until the Great Depression, slave traffickers began to resort to re-cycling freed and Islamised African communities within Arabia, kidnapping their young boys and girls, and when that did not prove adequate, they raided avowedly Muslim communities in Iran, Baluchistan and even Yemen. Slavery was a human tragedy, and while at certain times one racial category predominated among the slaves, we should not lose sight of the fact that slavery cut across racial and even religious boundaries.

NOTES:

¹H. Gerbeau, 'The slave trade in the Indian Ocean: problem facing the historian and research to be undertaken', in Unesco, *The African Slave Trade*, Paris: Unesco, 1979, 1985: p.?

²P. Tuson, ed., *Records of the Emirates*, Archive Editions, 1990- vol. II p. 244.

³A. Villiers, *Sons of Sinbad*, New York: Scribner's, 1940:105. Many of the details about pearl fishing in the following paragraphs come from Heard-Bey, 1982 ****-182-5 and R. Le B. Bowen, 'The Pearl Fisheries of the PC', *Middle East Journal* 5(1951) 161-80.

⁴Telegram Pol. (Bahrain - hereafter Bah.) to Resident (hereafter Res.) (Bushire), 27.5.1932. Pol. Agent. (Bah.) to Political Resident Persian Gulf (hereafter PRPG), 30.5.1932, India Office Records, British Library (hereafter IOR):R/15/2/848.

⁵Lorimer, *Gazetteer*, pp. 490, 1051, 1530-2, 1926, 2228; P. Tuson, ed. *Records of Qatar*, Archive Editions, 1990- vol. IV p. 216, 242.

⁶Statements of Muhammad b. Abeid of 11.8.1931, Jum'a b. Mabrook of 11.1.1934, and Sumhan b. Sarbook of 2.8.1937, IOR: R/15/2/1367; R/15/1/218-9; R/15/1/200, pp. 17-18.

⁷Sultan b. Aman, 22.7.1924; Resident Agent (hereafter Res. Agt.) (Sharjah - hereafter Sh.) to PRPG, 21.09.1924, IOR: R/15/1/216.

⁸Welaid b. Chalban, 6.10.1934, IOR: R/15/1/206. Balul, 2.4.1931, R/15/2/1367.

⁹Zahrah bt. Mubarak, 2.12.1929, IOR: R/15/1/208; Mubarak b. Isa, 14.12.1937, R/15/1/206; Bukhit b. Almas, 24.3.1939, R/15/1/220; of Juma b. Rihan, 29.11.1926, R/15/1/216; Sumhan b. Sarbook, 2.8.1937, R/15/1/219. Yasminah Swahili, 27.12.1927, R/15/1/208.

¹⁰Khamis b. A'Rahman, 27.7.1933, IOR: R/15/1/218.

- ¹¹Zafu bt Sanqur, 1.6.1937, IOR: R/15/2/1826; Faraj b. Yaqut (50) 25.1.1937, R/15/1/219.
- ¹²Mabrook b. Muhammad, 5.11.1934, IOR: R/15/1/206.
- ¹³Saleha bt Saad, 12.8.1937, R/15/1/219. Said b. Jum'ah (35) 4.8.1938, R/15/1/220.
- ¹⁴Salamah bt. Musa, 6.2.1935; Maqbulah bt. Barood, 06.03.1937, IOR: R/15/1/206. Mubarak b. Fairouz, 9.2.1936. Faiz s/o Suwaid, 1949, R/15/6/416.
- ¹⁵Abeid b. Sangoor (or Mubarak), 27.6.1936, IOR: R/15/1/219.
- ¹⁶Hubaish b. Rashid, 15.10.1937, IOR: R/15/1/219. Belal b. Khamis, 11.1925, R/15/1/208.
- ¹⁷Zainab bt Mubarak, 27.6.1927, IOR: R/15/1/208. Faraj b.Suroor, 24.08.1936, R/15/1/219. Sa'ad b. Khalfan, 3.1.1938, R/15/1/206.
- ¹⁸Statement of Ahmad b. Muhammad and Umar b. Abud of Sayun, 24.11.1948; W. Thesiger to Bird, 8.11.1948, IOR: R/15/6/604. Masud b. Ahmad, 18.11.1934, R/15/1/206. Juma'ah b. Bakhit, 21.1.1938, R/15/1/219.
- ¹⁹Mubarak b. Salim (35), 10.9.1933, R/15/1/205. Saad Hejazi (33), 28.5.1930, R/15/2/1367. Abudalla b. Hasan (30), 13.3.1936, R/15/1/206. Bashir b. Idris (41), 6.6.1936, R/15/1/206.
- ²⁰Haman b. Mubarak (55), 1.12.1941, R/15/2/207. Nasib b. Muhammad (22), R/15/1/207. 14.5.1938, Saad from Hejaz (33), 28.5.1930, R/15/2/1367; Saiyid b. Said (40), 3.10.1938, R/15/1/220.
- ²¹Mubarak b. Salim,, 10.9.1933, R/15/1/205; Salim b. Wilaid, 6.8.1933, R/15/1/205; Faraj b. Saeed, 4.12.1933, R/15/1/205.
- ²²Res Agt (Sh) to PRPG, 19.11.1925; Pol. Agt. (B) to American Mission Mason Memorial Hospital, 15.1.1926; Pol. Agt. (B) to PRPG, 27.05.1926, IOR: R/15/1/208 & R/15/2/1366.
- ²³Omar b. Ali Somali, 2.8.1931, IOR: R/15/1/205; Atwi bt Muhammad Sumali, 19.06.1936, R/15/2/1826; Attoo bt Muhammad, 22.9.1938, R/15/1/220; Ali b. Muhammad, Somali, 18.9.1938, R/15/2/602.
- ²⁴British Resident. & Consul-General, Bushire to Sheikh. of Dubai, 6.2.1929, IOR: R/15/1/222. British Legation (Jeddah) to Eden, 22.2.1938, R/15/6/414. Lorimer, *Gazeteer*, pp. 1136-7. A. T. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf* (London: George Allen & Unwin 1928) p. 224. Asst. Res. (Bandar Abbas) to PRPG, 19.10.1923; Pol. Agt. (Muscat) to PRPG, 26.9.1923; Res. Agt., (Sh) to PRPG, 13.10.1923, R/15/1/222. Pol. Agt. (B) to PRPG, 28.12.1929, R/15/1/222; Pol Agt. (B) to PRPG, 23.7.1942; M. b. Hamad, son of Nakhuda, 16.3.1943, R/15/2/603.
- ²⁵Pol. Agt. (Mus) to PRPG, 26.9.1923; Res. Agt., (Sh) to PRPG, 13.10.1923; PRPG to Foreign Secretary, Government of India, 16.12.1923; Senior Naval Officer Persian Gulf to Commander-in-Chief, E. Indies, 19.12.1928, IOR: R/15/1/222.
- ²⁶Pol. Res. (Bushire) to Pol. Agt. (B), 27.4.1939; Pol Agt. (Mus) to PRPG, 9.5.1939; Pol. Agt. (B) to PRPG 11.6.1939, IOR: R/15/2/603, R/15/6/422.
- ²⁷Mubarak b. Saleh, 11.4.1931; Khamis b. Ambar, 18.1.1932, IOR: R/15/1/205. Salmin b. A'Razzaq, 18.11.1934, R/15/1/206. Muhammad b. Ali (15-16), 16.3.1943, R/15/2/603.
- ²⁸Fattum bt Khalfan, 22.3.1926, IOR: R/15/1/222. Saluhah bt Marzooq, Baluchi, 2.12.1929, R/15/1/208. Masud b. Gundan, 15.10.1937. R/15/1/219.