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NORTH AFRICA

North Africa, from the Atlantic to the Egyptian border, is a strip of country of varying width separating the Sahara desert from the Mediterranean Sea. It includes six political provinces, all ruled by European powers: the Tangier, Spanish, and French zones of Morocco; Algeria, Tunisia, and Tripoli. One is run by an international committee. One is a Spanish protectorate; two, French Morocco and Tunisia, are French protectorates; one, Algeria, comprises three departments of France itself, while the sixth, Tripoli, Italian before World War II, is now without formal assignment. In none of these countries is native self-government more than a fiction.

From the western anchor of the Atlas mountains—the sea cliffs between Safi and Agadir in Southern Morocco—a series of three chains, of unequal height and broken in places by low passes, curves from south-by-west to north-by-east to their eastern end in Tunisia along a stretch of over a thousand miles.

To the south lies the Sahara, a world of drought and scanty vegetation, supporting a small sedentary population in oases and mountains, and a few camel nomads in between; to the north lie the fertile farm lands of Morocco and the Algerian coast. In Morocco still another mountain range, the Riffian extension of the Spanish Sierra Nevada, is raised between the plain and the sea, into which it disappears in the Galiya peninsula, at Cabo Tres Forcas. The intermontane valleys and coastal plains furnish an easy route from east to west; but refuge areas branch off to north and south.

At both ends of Northwest Africa, where the fingers of the Atlas Mountains dip into the sea, fertile valleys lie between them. At the west is the Sous, comparable to parts of Southern California, and to the East the two main valleys of Tunisia, that of the Oued Medjera, from Ghardimou past Suk el Arba’a and Medjez el Bab to Tunis itself, and that of the Oued Zeroud, past Kairwan to Sousse.
Morocco and Tunisia, with their north-south coastal plains and intermontane valleys, are richer far than Algeria in soil and agricultural possibilities. Aside from the valley of the Chelif and the coast around Algiers itself and Bône, Algeria contains little bottom land. In the high plateaus, in the Setif region, is a semiarid region suitable for cereal cultivation on the Dakota style.

Agriculture is the chief natural resource of Northwest Africa. The products and techniques employed are dependent on the climate of this region, which is Mediterranean. There are three distinct seasons: winter, with cool, rainy weather, from October through February in the wetter areas; the spring, beautiful, green and clear, from March through May; and summer, hot and dry, for the rest of the year. The vegetation of the treeless plains varies from a lush, flowery meadow cover in early spring to that of a bare desert in August and September. In the mountains and certain other areas forests still remain, with pines and cedars at the higher levels and evergreen oak and cork trees on the lower slopes.

Farther east, beyond the lands made fertile by the uplift of the Atlas Mountains, the Sahara approaches, and in some places reaches, the sea. From the Gulf of Gabes to the Nile Delta there is no arable land save a narrow strip near Tripoli itself, the hills and coast of Cyrenaica, and a number of oases, including Jalo, Jaghabub, Siwa, and Kufra. This eastern half of the North African coast is almost without rainfall except in favored spots, and can hold but a twentieth of the population of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia.

In all of North Africa, natural power resources are slight. No coal deposits have been discovered. Oil is obtained in small quantities from a half-dozen wells near Suk el Arba’a in French Morocco. A small well near Kifane, in the Riffian tribe of Gzennaya, just north of Taza, has proved commercially useless. Water power has not been exploited. Although the mountains give speed to the streams, the flow is seasonal in most cases. Most of the power utilized in modern North Africa is generated by coal and by petroleum products introduced from outside.

In metallic deposits, North Africa is richer. The Spaniards mine iron at Azgangen in the eastern Rif, near Melillia, shipping the ore out in British vessels which bring in coal from Wales. The French mine phosphates in the foothills of the Middle Atlas and ship them
from Casablanca, where they have built one of the world's most modern docks. Somewhere south of the Atlas they also mine cobalt. During the last war the Germans shipped this to Europe, for the manufacture of high test aviation gasoline, as well as steel. In Djebel Hallouf, Tunisia, the French mine lead. There is known to be copper in southern Morocco, and other ores as well. The French Protectorate does not encourage foreign exploration in these parts. In any case, the mineral wealth of North Africa has scarcely been scratched.

Compared to the countries across the Mediterranean, North Africa has little coastline, without a single natural harbor west of Bizerte. Cut off to the south and east by desert, and ill-suited for the development of navigation, segmented by mountains into many separate regions, North Africa cannot compare with Greece, Italy, and Southern France, or even Spain, or with the islands of the Mediterranean, as a breeding place for advanced civilization. In historic times it has always been a province, an extension of some other culture area.

Even in Pleistocene times it may also have been marginal, for Neanderthal man clung on here later than in Europe or Western Asia. Its first farmers, who were Mediterraneans, came from the East about 3000 B.C., with pigs, sheep, goats, and cattle, wheat, barley, and legumes. Their remains are abundant in North African cave sites, the excavation of which has hardly begun. Their pottery shows a direct connection with some of the types still made by the modern Berbers, who probably are for the most part the direct genetic and cultural heirs of these first food-producing settlers.

At the beginning of the Iron Age, around 1000 B.C., Phoenicians established a colony at Carthage, near the modern Tunis, to exploit the agriculture of the intermontane valleys and to use the Tunisian harbors as bases for trading expeditions to western Mediterranean and Atlantic regions. Aside from eastern Tunisia they colonized only a few trading posts along the shore.

After the Romans had removed the Carthaginian threat to their expansion in the Mediterranean they were able to exploit the agricultural lands of North Africa. Since the soils of Italy were becoming exhausted, it was necessary to go farther and farther afield for breadstuffs to feed the growing urban population of Rome. The
Berbers in Tunisia and most of Algeria submitted to Roman rule, and many became Christian. The Romans had less success in Morocco, where they conquered but a small area, from Tangier down to Rabat, and inland to Meknes.

During the Roman period, colonists from Italy and Greece settled in Tunisia, and there were Greek colonies of earlier date in Cyrenaica. Jews entered North Africa in Roman, and probably also Phoenician, times, and established quarters in the towns and villages in the mountains. The Vandals held Tunisia for a few decades, but succumbed to the climate and to the Romans. Around the fourth century A.D., someone introduced the camel into North Africa. Veiled riders began to harass the Romans, who with only horses and asses could not compete in mobility with these enemies equipped with superior transportation.

From this blow the Romans never recovered. When, in the second half of the seventh century A.D., the first wave of Moslem Arabs burst into North Africa, they rode straight through the valleys and along the coasts to the Atlantic, finding little resistance. The natives of North Africa have always looked to each new conqueror as a deliverer from the oppression of their immediate predecessors, only to learn time and again that there is little to choose between masters.

The early Arabs in North Africa were city men from Hedjaz and Yemen, learned and pious. They founded cities, built mosques and universities, and left the country districts in the hands of the Berbers. The considerable European population of eastern Tunisia was probably converted to Islam and absorbed into the general amalgam. Only the Jews resisted Islam, and kept their ethnic identity as well as their religion. Their speech, however, they lost, shifting to Berber and to Arabic where and as most convenient.

The second Arab wave struck in the 12th century. It consisted of a vast tribal migration. Two confederacies, the Beni Hillal and the Beni Soleim, were ejected from the Syrian desert for repeatedly plundering pilgrim caravans. These rough and ready illiterate Bedouins (Bedouins) linguistically different from their predecessors who spoke the Arabic of the Koran, pitched their tents on both sides of the mountains, and drove out some Berbers while they intermarried with others. They and the products of their mixings became the
forebears of the present-day rural Arab population of North Africa. With many other elements they also contributed to that of the cities.

In 1492, when Ferdinand and Isabella threw the Moors and Jews out of Spain, most of the former and many of the latter sought refuge in North Africa. Some of the Moors were absorbed, but others formed tight little colonies, like that of Sheshawen in Spanish Morocco, which still remain intact. Their Arabic contains a number of Spanish roots. The Jews went to the cities where they also formed special colonies. Their speech was and is old Andalusian Spanish. It serves to distinguish them from the longer-seated Arabic and Berber-speaking North African Israelites.

During the 16th century the Ottoman Turks conquered North Africa up to the Moroccan borders, and remained more or less in power for three centuries. First, however, they had to drive the Spaniards out of the seaports. After this expulsion and a parallel ejection of the Portuguese along the Atlantic coast of Morocco—the Spaniards never gave up their footholds from Ceuta to Melilla—the great age of piracy began.

At this very time the slave trade was bringing new genetic elements into North Africa. Some of the slaves were Negroes, marched or ridden overland from the Sudan, while others were white; English, French, Spanish, and other captives taken by sea raiders. The Spaniards sold American Indians to the Moors, and carried some Berbers in turn to the Americas. At least one shipload of Wampanoags (New England Indians defeated in King Phillip's War) were sold on the block at Salé. From the newly established Turkish lands to the east, no doubt Slavs and Circassians and Greeks also reached the North African slave marts.

In 1786, the Sultan of Morocco, first of all old-world monarchs, recognized the independence of the United States and presented our government with a palace at Tangier, which still serves as our legation. Neither he nor his successors had any control over the sea raiders a thousand miles to the east, whom our navy defeated under Stephen Decatur in 1815.

In 1830, the French government, seizing on an insult to the French consul by the Dey (the Turkish sultan's regent), landed troops at Sidi Ferrouch outside Algiers, the same spot where the American and British soldiers came ashore on November 8, 1942. In 1881 they
conquered Tunisia. In 1912 they began their conquest of Morocco, while the Spaniards began to spread out from their crown possessions of Ceuta, Peñón de Velez de Gomera, Isla de Alhucemas, Melilla, and Islas Zafarinas. By 1934, after many checks and reverses, the French and Spaniards had subdued all the natives of North Africa to the Tripolitan border. In Tripoli itself, the Italians, who drove the Turks out of their last foothold on the southern Mediterranean in 1912, had beaten the natives well into submission by the beginning of World War II.

In 1939 North Africa was a continuous belt of European possessions, whatever the official form of government in each section, with a million and a half Christians in residence, the successors to the Romans. The tide had turned again—Phoenician-Roman; Arab-European. The next move from the East, Arab nationalism, is still in the stage of ominous preparation. The French fear it as the Romans did those first veiled riders on camels.

Through all these swings back and forth, these invasions and infiltrations from the East and then the North and then the East again, the Berbers, whose ancestors had lived there for two millenia before the Phoenicians arrived, have changed very slowly and very little. Today they inhabit most of the mountain slopes and upland valleys of North Africa, the inaccessible hideouts off the main invasion routes, the lands in which the annual rainfall is most constant, the means of livelihood most secure. But they are not all farmers.

Peoples of Berber language and tradition practice all of the means of livelihood known in North Africa. The majority of them keep very busy with the annual cycle of ploughing and sowing, reaping and threshing, irrigating gardens and pressing olives, tending their miniature terrace plots with a combination of skill and care that has excited the admiration of many observers. These are the Berbers who occupy the mountain lands. Divided into many tribes and confederacies widely separated from each other, they include the western Riffians, the Shluh, the Kabyles, and the Shawia. A few still remain in lowlands suitable for dry farming, despite the competition of Arabs and Europeans. Among them may be reckoned the eastern Riffians and the Zenatan peoples who live between the Moulouia River in Eastern Morocco and the Algerian border.

Up in the Middle Atlas mountains, which in reality do not seem
like mountains at all, but a high region of forests and meadows like some of our national parks in the Southwest, live Berbers who are part-time farmers, part-time pastoralists. The French call these people *transhumants.* During the winter they used to live in castles of pounded earth, down in the lower reaches of the valleys, at the foot of the mountains, and there they would plant their crops and pasture their sheep. In the spring, after the harvest, when the snows had melted on the high meadows, they would migrate to summer pasture, living in black tents like Bedawin, and leaving only a few old people and servants to guard their winter residences. In the Algerian *Hauts Plateaux,* others follow the same means of livelihood.

Out in the Sahara the famous Tuareg, who entered the desert from the Middle Atlas after the introduction of the camel, are full pastoral nomads, or were until the French subdued them, and brought the bones of their ancestress Tin Hinan to the Algiers Museum.¹ They lived off the flocks of dependent tribes, off the grain grown by serfs in oases and mountain fields, and off the tribute and plunder exacted from trans-Saharan caravans. Their stock in trade was a combination of speed, endurance, bravery, and skill in political organization.

Even the whole catalogue of livelihoods from mountain tillage to desert pillage does not cover the occupations of Berbers. With the rise of the caravan trade in post-camel times, colonies of them settled the principal oases of the Sahara, such as Ghardaia and Tidikelt, and became able merchants. In Tunisia the Berbers of the Isle of Jerba have devised a clever means of supporting the excess population. Many of the young men migrate to the towns and cities, where they set up small shops, work long hours, earn considerable fortunes, and then go home to marry and live lives of relative ease. In Algeria, the Berber Mzabites from Ghardaia oasis do this same thing, as do the Soussis in Morocco. The Sous contains whole cities of Berbers, not only Tardouant but also Tiznit and Agadir; here the visitor will see streets of goldsmiths and jewelers, spice merchants and weavers, with none of the usual oriental crafts and trades omitted. Although some of the workers are Jews, Soussis work at each trade. Up in the tribe of Taghzuth, in Spanish Morocco, where the valleys are steep and cold and forests of cedar and pine stand

¹ Via the United States. They were retrieved by Professor Reygasse of the University of Algiers.
near, whole villages of Berbers live by tanning and leatherworking, and in the old days many made gun barrels. By trading these products they obtained foodstuffs from the peoples on the flatter lands below.

If by chance you drop in to the house of a friend in Casablanca, French, British, or American, for a drink before dinner, it will probably be served you by a clean, tidy little man with excellent manners. He will be a Soussi, and his wife will be cooking dinner in the kitchen. In Algiers, the waiter in the Aletti who wears a shiny black tailcoat is not a Frenchman, not a Spaniard or Italian, as you may think. He is a Kabyle from the mountains. He speaks French, Arabic, and Berber, all almost equally well. He may have a brother working in France.

I have been waited on by a Kabyle in a Boston hotel, seen Berber acrobats in a Boston theater, and watched a Berber holy man lick a hot iron in the side show of Ringling Brothers at the Boston Garden. One need not go to North Africa to see Berbers. They get around, they go amazing distances, often without revealing that they are Berbers at all, and very often they come home. When they do, one would think that the life of the Berber villages would be profoundly changed. It is not. The Berber leaves his foreign ways with his shoes at the doorstep. He has been doing this ever since the days of the Phoenicians and the Romans.

In North Africa there are probably ten million Berbers, compared to six million Arabs, and one and a half million Europeans. Berbers constitute over half of the entire population, they work at every kind of trade and profession which they are allowed to learn, and could be completely self-sufficient, even if every Arab, Jew, and European in North Africa were to disappear tomorrow. This could be said of no other element of the population. We hear much about the Arabs and the European Colonists, but of the most numerous people in North Africa, our popular press is singularly silent.

Although the Berbers could conceivably live alone, their ability to do so is the result of the many skills learned from the different invaders who brought with them metal-working and irrigation, and such things as olive trees and the machinery used in oil making. Conservative as they are, the Berbers will take over new techniques of which the usefulness is evident; some of them run their own bus
lines in Morocco. The point is that they learned centuries ago how to grow the most food possible on tiny mountain terraces, and the size of their fields and the slope of land prevent the introduction of modern machinery. However, almost every Berber house in some districts contains a Singer sewing machine, which requires no special source of power and no materials which the Berbers cannot obtain.

The lack of change in the work activities that give them their food tends to make the Berbers conservative. Despite twelve centuries of Islam, most of them have kept their old traditional law, because it fits their way of living better than Koranic law. In addition to the lunar calendric feasts of Islam they continue to celebrate their old solar festivals, because the critical points of time in the agricultural cycle go by the sun and seasons. Only when they adopt some new means of livelihood can the Berbers be expected to show change in other departments of living.

It is hard to speak of Arabs in contrast to Berbers, because the two peoples have lived in juxtaposition so long that no fine line can be drawn between them. Some tribes of pastoralists are Berbers whose ancestors adopted Arabic speech only a few generations ago, others speak Berber, but claim descent from holy men from Arabia. Many of these claims are probably true. In the mountains entire villages and tribes of farmers and craftsmen have lost their Berber speech for various reasons. On the whole, however, the majority of Arabs may be divided into two classes, country people and city people. The country Arabs are either pastoralists, transhumants, or sedentary farmers, depending on the amount and seasonal distribution of rainfall in the special regions which they inhabit. To shift from one to another or to a third of these ways of living is easier than might be expected.

Both country Arabs and country Berbers participated, before the establishment of European rule, in a single economic system. They lived in villages or camps, and raised the food, wool, and most of the other raw materials that they needed. They traded much of their hardware from blacksmiths resident in their settlements. The blacksmiths also butchered large animals for division among families. These blacksmiths were Negroes, or men of Negroid appearance. They were supposed to have come from the Sahara or southern
oases. The blacksmiths had kin of their own, to whom they eventually returned, and did not intermarry with local people.

Sometimes itinerant well-diggers would appear, looking for business, and musicians, too. Peddlers brought manufactured goods, some of it made in Europe. But most of the buying and selling took place in markets. All over North Africa, markets were held six days a week, Friday excepted. The biggest were usually the Thursday markets, where people prepared for their Sabbath needs. These markets were so spaced geographically that any person, no matter where he lived, except in the most remote mountains and desert stretches, could walk or ride to one, do his business, and get home again, on any of the six profane days of the week. In these markets he could dispose of his surplus crops and livestock and sell the produce of his spare-time handiwork, such as wooden spoons. His wife could sell eggs, and pots if she knew how to make them. She might also sell the woolen cloth that she wove. In the transhumant and pastoral tribes, wool was an important cash crop, both raw and in the form of blankets and rugs. The women wove these in upright looms, which did double service as tent poles.

At these markets the farmer and his wife would buy pieces of meat, and vegetable foods, such as melons and oranges, pottery vessels, and metal objects made by local smiths. All of these objects, being locally produced, were merely passed around within the geographical range of the market, and permitted a certain amount of local specialization. Professional merchants would take away surplus staples, as grain and raisins, to sell in larger markets in the city. Or the farmer might make the trip himself if he lived near enough and were not afraid of being robbed or arrested.

Besides circulating local products, the markets served to distribute imports from special spots within the country, or from foreign parts. All salt came from a very few places, such as Azni in the Grand Atlas, where there are salt springs and professional salt makers; all millstones likewise, came from the Caves of Hercules near Tangier, where hereditary stoneworkers still peck them out of special coarse, hard stone. The quarries have been worked continuously since Neolithic times.

From the world outside North Africa came hard cones of white
sugar, specially made in France; cheap white cotton cloth, from
England and America; fancy brocades to be used for men's turbans
and women's clothing, mostly from France; gunflints from Bran-
don; candles, spools of thread, matches, needles, files, gun locks,
old bottles, blocks of graph paper, which for some reason were
preferred for writing, and many other products from many quar-
ters. In country markets one even sees agate and moonstone finger
rings made by the Jews in distant Yemen and peddled as amulets
to ensure the birth of male children. Spices of every variety are
there, brought from India, and frankincense from the Hadhramaut.
If a visitor made a complete list of every product in a North Afri-
can market with its country of origin, most of the known world
of commerce would be represented. Some of the commodities were
produced only outside North Africa. These were essentially raw
metals, candles, matches, gunflints, the essential mechanism for fire-
arms (stocks and barrels could be made locally), and spices. Some
came from the Eastern world, some from the North. Both sources,
so important in North African history, were represented.

The vendors in these markets included local people selling their
own wares, along with special traders handling the imported ma-
terials. They went from market to market, and had no other busi-
ness. From time to time they would go to a city to unload their pur-
chases and replenish their stock. Over in the meat section the butch-
ers were congregated. These were either the local blacksmiths or
their relatives. They would kill animals brought to them and sell
the meat on commission. One would also see weighers, special of-
ficials who carried legal weights and balance scales, and were ready
to prevent or settle disputes. Professional criers stalked about, shout-
ing announcements, which emanated from a small house or tent
alongside the market area. In this house or tent sat the important
men of the neighboring villages, and it was they who governed the
market. Very often they held meetings there, decided political
questions, tried cases, and collected fines. Now and then one would
see an eccentric holy man wandering between the stalls, either a
private psychopath or a member of an itinerant order. The market-
goers paid him little attention.

The political organization of country people was the product
of extensions of kinship and geographical propinquity. Although
the question of who marries whom was answered in different ways in different places, the family which resulted was always an economic unit. The mountain Berbers in particular lived in large extended families consisting of sets of brothers and their male descendants, wives, descendants’ wives, and unmarried daughters, all along the line. Such a family rarely extended beyond three generations, and when the brothers of the senior generation died it broke into its component elements. Beyond the family was the kin, often coterminous with the village. The larger villages usually consisted of several such kins, and in Algeria, in the larger Kabyle villages, these were divided into əfs (Fr. cof) or moieties, paired for all political and ritual activities.

The village itself was based on a number of related kins living together on the same unit of land. To these were usually added refugees from other regions who had married and settled down there, the local əqib or head of the mosque, who was also schoolteacher, and a blacksmith-butcher and his family. Only those who belonged to old, long-settled kins had any political power. According to the old Berber system the boys meeting in the schoolhouse—a part of the village mosque—had the right to hear petty cases and impose fines.

The heads of kins and specially chosen delegates represented the village in deliberations which concerned several villages, which were held at a larger, intervillage mosque. The only permanent political unit, however, was the village, for villages could fight each other, while within the village there was no warfare. As occasions warranted, units of larger and larger size would come together, meet in council, and elect leaders. Through the repetition of such meetings, lines of habitual organization were formed into inter-village groups, named tribes, and confederations.

This was the Berber system. The Arab system was parallel in its progression of groupings from village to “fifth,” or cluster of villages, to “fourth,” a grouping of these, to “tribe,” and to confederation. The difference lay in the system of government. Instead of a council the Arabs had a moqaddem for the village, a sheikh for the fifth, a khaliya for the fourth, and a qaid for the tribe. These men exercised arbitrary power. Sheikhs usually had deputies, a secretary and a number of mokhazniya, or policemen. The qaid of a
large tribe usually had a small court of his own, often with slaves and even a jester.

The distinction between the Berber and Arab systems was far from absolute. Before the European intervention many of the Berber tribes had lost their free councils, through the rise of dominant families of chieftains like that of the Glawi. Among both Berbers and Arabs there was a distinction between first-class citizens and the members of degraded occupational castes, the blacksmiths, butchers, market weighers and criers, well-diggers, and professional musicians. Both Arabs and Berbers owned slaves, although among the mountain Berber farmers these were so rare as to be inconsequential in the social structure. To the pastoral Berbers, particularly the Tuareg, and to the oasis people, owning slaves was economically very important, for most of the heavy manual labor was done by them. The hotter the climate the easier it is for white people to delegate muscular effort to black people, if they are available.

To the most casual visitor, it is apparent that the city dwellers are a breed apart from the country folk, and particularly different from the mountaineers. The country men spend their lives in the sun and open air, and habitually walk several miles each day. They are bronzed and erect, with strong fingers and bulging leg muscles. Their faces are lined, and their eyelids narrowed from the glare of the sun. When away from home they glance about them keenly, always on the alert for trouble.

The city men are, as even the casual observer can see, a different breed. Living always in the shade, they are startlingly pale; whereas the country men are brown as Kanakas, the townfolk are white as Londoners. Some are lean, others are fat; all seem to have delicate hands. In Fez, Tunis, and other cities, many are blond, and albinos are common. The reasons for these striking differences in appearance are not hard to find. City people seldom expose the skin to the rays of the sun. The men sit all day in tiny booths, selling their wares or working at their benches, and at night close the shutters and walk fifty feet or so to their houses. Except for that entailed in their work processes, they get almost no exercise. Their food is full of starch; their favorite drink, of which they may take ten cups or more a day, is a sirupy sweet mint tea. This way of living has been going on for generations. Before they came to North
Africa, the ancestors of many of them lived in a similar way in Arabia and Iraq. If we include ancient, pre-Islamic civilizations, some of these men may have genes derived from two hundred generations of shopkeepers, living and dying in narrow, sun-shaded streets. That they look and behave differently from the farmers and herdsmen is scarcely surprising.

The organization of North African cities is similar to that of European cities in the Middle Ages. The city is surrounded by a wall, with several gates. Inside, houses are built right up to the wall, so that some use it to save masonry. Other walls divide the city into wards, with huge metal-faced wooden doors that are kept closed at night. Since the city has been added on to at various times, some wards are old, others new; if it is a royal city, a number of palaces, set in gardens, will be appended by special walls to the city itself.

There is always a large open space, inside one of the principal gates, which serves as market place. Here country people come every day to expose their wares, and merchants from the inner part of the city will sit also. Snake charmers chant and bite the heads off adders, storytellers, magicians, and dancing boys hold the attention of crowds. Some of the performers are comedians, imitating the actions of different animals; others merely sit and play flutes dreamily. Outside the walls a special market is held, usually on Thursdays, although the day may differ from city to city. Here livestock and rugs, just in from the mountains, change hands. Here one comes to buy a good riding mule, keeping out of the way of other prospective customers who are trotting up and down, putting the animals through their paces.

In every quarter of the city stands at least one mosque, with its high, square minaret, golden ball, and hook for the white flag which indicates the time for prayer. One of these mosques, founded by some sainted leader of old, may be holier than the others. To it people make pilgrimages from distant places, and certain spots on its wall may be worn and rubbed smooth by the lips of the devout. In larger cities, there will even be one or more Medáris (sing., Madrasa) or Moslem universities.

Within the city people are engaged in family life, manufacturing, trade, ritual life, education, and politics. Many of the poorer families live in single rooms, in little houses set at the bottoms of
gloomy alleys. A richer family will have several rooms, often a complete house, including two or three floors. Still richer families will own or rent complete houses built around courtyards. While all these houses look alike from the outside, with their blank walls of mud-dried brick or plaster, inside the owners lavish what wealth they can command on luxurious fittings. In the richer houses, the central court is a garden, set with bitter orange trees and bushes of jasmine to sweeten the air. In the middle bubbles a fountain, whose waters cool the air and irrigate the ornamental trees and shrubbery.

The main room of such a house faces the garden and is farthest removed from the street. It is a long, narrow, high-ceilinged room, perfectly designed for maximum coolness in hot weather. It has no windows, but half of the front wall is open. A curtain may be drawn for shelter from strong breezes, and in rainy weather, the wall can be closed entirely by a huge ornamental door. This is the main room, where the master entertains his guests. It is fitted with wall benches capped with cushions and backed with mats and ornamental cloths. Inside, at one end, stands a huge brass bed. Nowadays the room is lighted with one bare electric light bulb hanging on a long cord. Next the door is often a radio.

A poor family will consist of a man, his wife, and several children, with perhaps one or more aged grandparents or other dependents. If they live in a single room, they will hang a piece of cloth across from wall to wall, to screen off the end for the seclusion of the womenfolk when outsiders enter. In a wealthier family, there are special rooms for the women, and guests are not admitted there. If the women enter the main room while guests are present, they do so quietly and unobtrusively, to wait on table. Rarely, in a rich and poorly regulated household, an observant guest placed in a strategic position can see the younger womenfolk peering around a doorway and tittering.

The rich household includes the man, his wife or wives, his sons and unmarried daughters, and sometimes his son's wives as well. It will also include one or more servant girls, who are the daughters of poor people, or countryfolk; these girls wait on table. Then there may be a cook, and a gardener-handy man, who answers the door and runs errands. In the old days, these latter were often slaves.

A city Arab does not ask another about the health of his wife.
When men visit each other, the womenfolk retire to their quarters. When a woman has to go out in the street, she wears a veil. If she is the wife of a wealthy man, a servant will go with her. Well-to-do women lead very sheltered lives in the city. They spend most of their time in the house, with occasional journeys to the walled-in part of the roof. They may direct their servants to prepare the food, and even do a little cooking themselves. Usually they do not go marketing, but send someone else. The rest of their time may be spent embroidering, sewing clothing for their children and themselves, and visiting or receiving the visits of other women. At these times they comb and wash their hair, pretty their eyes with kohl, henna their hands, and otherwise beautify themselves. In this pursuit they spend as much time as women anywhere else.

All outsiders who have had the chance to know them will agree that nearly all the city women in North Africa, and indeed in other Moslem countries as well, are eager to learn about the world outside the family walls, and crave to be told stories. Most of them are illiterate. They are not allowed to go to the movies, in towns where movies exist; when the husband comes home tired from a day of haggling or arguing in the market or shop, he is greeted with a broadside of questions, "What happened today? Whom did you see? What is going on?" and shortly after, if not at the start, "Come on, now, tell me a story."

Very often when a European tries to get a definite commitment from an Arab, the latter puts him off, saying, "I will tell you tomorrow." The European will go off muttering, "These natives can never make up their minds," or "He is a shifty fellow, plotting some deceit," when as a matter of fact the poor Arab simply wants to go home and ask his wife.

The life of a city Arab goes through a cycle of crises, each with its attendant ceremony. When a boy is born, his father gives a big feast to which he invites kinfolk on both sides of the family, and prominent friends. Often the father will ask in a poor man to serve as butt of the other people's jokes. These the poor man can endure, since he fills his belly with fine food and basks under the eyes of the rich and great. He can also hear and watch the hired musicians and dancing girls whom the boy's father has brought in.

Later on the father will have his son circumcised, and a gay pro-
cession of mules and men will march to the mosque, to the blaring of shawms. There will be another feast. When the time comes for the boy to be married, the father will choose a wife and make all of the arrangements, and when finally the shy couple is united and left alone to make each other's acquaintance, another feast is laid on. After the boy is married, if he falls ill, some friend or relative may hire a dozen men to take turns praying continuously for him for a week. When he dies his kinfolk carry him to the cemetery inside a light coffin supported by poles on the shoulders of men, like a litter of the dead. For many nights his womenfolk tear their hair and weep.

To belong to an old family is just as important in a North African city as it is in Boston or Philadelphia. Each city has its roster of great names, the Fasis and Kanounis and the like, and its nouveaux- riches. Some of the great families are entitled to the spiritual rank of sherif, or descendant of Mohammed, and others try to fabricate genealogies to place themselves in this class. Social prestige through giving bigger and better feasts is the ambition of some families. Others, who already have the coveted prestige, maintain it simply and quietly by almsgiving and pious deeds.

Most of the city people make their living by industry or commerce. Some are potters, tanners, weavers, dyers, silkworkers, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, silversmiths, goldsmiths, jewelers, swordsmiths, carpenters, turners, cabinetmakers, inlayers, and leatherworkers. The last named may further specialize in bags, slippers, and belts. Every art and craft found in medieval Europe, or in India or China, has its special men at work in little shops along the North African city streets. Each craft has its own section, with its own elected guild head, who represents this craft in the council of guilds, and to the government. The members of each guild know each other. They recognize some masters as more skilled than others. They set bottom prices, and although each man is entitled to what he can get if some stranger or simpleton is willing to pay the first price asked, anyone who allows himself to be beaten down below a certain level will get in trouble.

This is even more important in the case of the merchants, who do nothing but buy and sell. While a craftsman will sell at retail as well as wholesale, he prefers to spend his time working at his trade, par-
particularly since the act of selling in North Africa is such a lengthy process. The merchant is not happy if he and his customer reach an agreement at once. He must argue, praise his goods, crinkle the leather, roll in and out the bolt of cloth, put on a tragic expression when a lower price is bid, and even weep when the transaction is finally completed. Although much of this elaborate acting is put on nowadays for the benefit of Europeans, North Africans still get excited, haggle, and show emotion among themselves. Commerce is not the dry business of an American chain store. As with everything else these people do, it is an art.

When one leaves the street with its small booths and shops, and steps inside the doorway of a larger establishment, one finds a difference. The building is a large one of three or four stories. A central court yields sunlight. There is one main salesroom, but offices have been partitioned off. The walls are lined with shelves, and these are filled with bolt upon bolt of cloth. This is the establishment of a great commercial family. The head of the house sits in his private office, while the clerks are his sons and nephews. A brother may be away for several months, in Manchester or Lille, buying up stock. This is where the retail cloth merchants get their material, much of which they take out to country markets.

In another large establishment you may see row upon row of Singer sewing machines. The man who is fortunate enough to hold the agency is protected by the American government, for his company cannot afford to have him and their property subject to the arbitrary seizures of some pasha. The cloth merchant likewise is protected by the British. In still another establishment, a father and his sons may be weaving silk on a Jacquard loom, by some secret process kept within the family for generations. They too enjoy immunity: the old father once rescued an American consul from bandits, and was suitably rewarded.

Goods that are sold in large quantities, as bolts of imported cloth, or that are unique, as the sewing machines and the bridal belts of silk that come from the Jacquard loom, pass hands without haggling. This is also true of perishables to be consumed at once. In a market restaurant a cup of tea is worth just so much, no more or less, and the same is true of a doughnut or a piece of pastry. But if you sit sipping tea in a small restaurant or merchant's shop—for they
often give their customers tea—you will see and hear the auctioneers. A young man walks rapidly down the street, shouting “Fifteen! Fifteen!” He is carrying a freshly dyed hide, brilliantly green. Some one says, “Sixteen!” The young man darts over to the shop whence the word emerged, sees who spoke it, and then moves on, crying “Sixteen! Sixteen!” He strides through all the streets in which people might be interested in buying dyed leather, until he has received a bid that no one else will raise. Then he sells to the highest bidder. This system of auctioning is one of the reasons why all the men practicing one craft or selling one kind of goods congregate in the same streets.

Here and there, in an open space near the meat market, a dozen poorly clad men squat. Each holds a basket. They are porters, and will carry your purchases anywhere for you, for a fee. If you pass there often, you will form the habit of hiring the same porter, and hence each one builds up his special group of clients. If you are friendly, the porter will tell you all the latest gossip, because he moves about widely and knows what goes on before it happens. Another prime gossip is the barber, who shaves his customers' heads in their own houses. In the old days special eunuchs went about from harem to harem, shaving the intimate parts of women, and they were gossips too.

Some elderly women who have the entrée to rich households now and then serve as go-betweens, escorting young wives out during the daytime, when husbands are away, to secret rendezvous with lovers. Amorous young men need not, however, risk this dangerous expedient. Every Arab city has its brothels. Prostitutes also congregate in the fnádiq, or caravanserais. A fondúq is a combination boarding stable and hotel, where travelers lead their mules and camels, once they have reached the city. Cities vary in morality. Some are famous for homosexuality, and boys are trained for this, dressed and painted like girls and taught to dance in special ways. In others, the practice is frowned upon. In some of the country districts, within the last twenty-five years, perverts have been burned alive.

North Africa is an essential part of the Moslem world; it is called el Maghreb, the west, in contrast with Syria and beyond, which are called esh Sharq, or el Mashriq, the east. In it live some of the
holiest of shorfa (pl. of sherif), and two spots have long been especially holy, Kairwan in Tunisia, and Fez in Morocco. The holy ones of Kairwan, the Fatimid Caliphs, transferred their seat centuries ago to Egypt. The holy ones of Fez, dynasty after dynasty, have remained in Morocco. The present Sultan of Morocco is Mulai Mohammed. His dynasty originated in Tafilelt, an oasis on the southern side of the Atlas, where it forms the head of the western Saharan caravan route. He is the holiest man in North Africa. Most Moslems of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia consider him their spiritual leader. While he has not yet claimed the title Commander of the Faithful, which goes with the assumption of the caliphate, many believe that he will, and more feel that he should.

The orthodox practice of Islam is carried out in North Africa by the majority of the people. Orthodox Islam has no hierarchy comparable to those of Rome and Lhasa. It is essentially a lay religion. Each community builds and supports its own mosque or mosques, chooses its own leaders. Each mosque has its staff, consisting of a fqih or moqaddem, who leads the prayer and may also act as muezzin in calling to prayer, and a number of assistants, including students. In a city like Fez the leaders of the mosque are organized into a group, called 'Uleyma, or learned ones. It is they in concert who make decisions, as for example when to begin the fast of Ramadan.

In the Maghreb as elsewhere in orthodox Moslem countries, the duties of the faithful are five. These, the "Pillars of Islam," are: Profession of Faith, Prayer, Almsgiving, the Fast of Ramadhan, and the Pilgrimage. The Profession of Faith is the recitation of a compound declarative sentence, La ilah ila Illah, wa Muhammed rasul Ullah, meaning, "There is no god but The God (Allah), and Mohammed is the messenger of The God." The recital of this rhythmic and alliterative sentence admits an individual into the faith of Islam and the company of Moslems.

A faithful Moslem prays five times a day, at dawn, noon, mid-afternoon, sunset, and nightfall. He must do this in a state of ritual purity, facing Mecca, which in North Africa means the east. Since purity is destroyed by sleep and by contact with impure things such as dogs, corpses, urine, excrement, sexual fluids, and the like, it is considered safest to wash each time before praying. The devout
person washes his hands to the elbows, his feet, and his ankles. If necessary he can wash with sand in place of water, but in North Africa this occurs but rarely. In praying he prostrates himself, twice at dawn, four times at noon, four at midafternoon, three at sunset, and four times again at nightfall. The usual prayer begins with the takbir, or recital of the words Allah Kebir (God is Great); then follows the fatiba, the opening verse of the Koran; then comes the shabada or profession of faith, as above; then the words salat 'ala 'n Nebi (a prayer for the Prophet), then salam, followed by Amin (Amen). To extend the prayer, other verses of the Koran may be interpolated.

Moslems may pray separately, or in groups led by an imam. Out in the country, or along the highroad, each man watches the sun and decides when it is time to pray. In the cities the voice of the muezzin is heard high above the noise of the streets, and the devout enter mosques. Friday prayer is held at the mosque at noon, and men only are present. An ideal congregation includes forty or more men. The imam, or fqi, preaches from a pulpit. In his sermon he is obliged to mention the head of the state, usually the sultan. After the sermon he leads the congregation in prayer.

On Friday, shops are open. It is not a day of rest. After returning from the mosque and eating lunch, many worshipers go back to work. But in the morning, in preparation for the visit to the mosque, poor people who have no adequate bathing facilities at home like to go to the public hammam, or steam bath, after which they dress in clean clothing. Moslems in North Africa like to be clean; if they are dirty, it is because they have no soap, no money to go to the hammam, and no change of clothing.

Every year each Moslem is supposed to donate a part of his income to charity. It may be paid in kind, and the amount varies from ten to twenty percent, depending on the kind of goods given. Some men resolve this obligation by handing out coins to the poor at their doors every Friday morning. Others redeem slaves. Still others make donations to local mosques, where the supplies and cash are used for repairs, for the maintenance of the ritual specialists, for food to be given travelers, students, and refugees living at the mosque, and for weapons to be used in the holy war, should one arise.
Once every year the holy month of Ramadhan arrives. Since its date is set on the lunar calendar, it creeps around the seasons. It may come in the rainy winter with its short days—for most of North Africa lies in the same latitude band as the territory from Savannah to Richmond, or Tiajuana to San Francisco—or in the baking-hot summer with days three or four hours longer. The length of the day is important in Ramadhan since the whole point of the ceremony is that all good Moslems are expected to fast from sunrise to sundown, from the moment that it is possible to distinguish a black thread from a white one to the moment when it is no longer possible to do so. Persons who are ill, pregnant, engaged in holy warfare, or off on necessary journeys, may break the fast, but should make it up later. Fasting involves a complete prohibition against eating, drinking, smoking, the use of perfumes, sexual relations, and even bleeding. Rich people do little work on Ramadhan. Many of the shops are closed. In others the proprietors may be seen quietly dozing, or reading aloud from the Koran. The poor people, however, and the farmers, must keep on working just the same, even in the heat of the harvest. Needless to say tempers grow short through the day, and many quarrels occur an hour or two before sundown. They also grow short through the month, and quarrels reach their climaxes near its end. It would be interesting to know how faithfully Ramadhan is kept among the Moslems of Kazan, Russia, at 55° north latitude, in summer.

Ramadhan does not always begin on the same night. In each major city, the 'uleyma, or learned ones, representing the principal mosques and universities, sit up in a tower, looking for the silvery curve of the new moon. When they spy it they pass the word to those below, and a man touches a match to a cannon. The fast is on. Drums boom from the quarters of the city, and from the villages around. In the old days the fast might begin on different days at different places, dependent on the cloudiness of the sky, for if the 'uleyma fail to see the moon at their first vigil, they repeat each night until they succeed. Nowadays, however, it is the 'uleyma of Fez who decide for all Morocco, and telephone their discovery all around. I do not know for certain how it is worked today farther east.

In September, 1942, when everyone was tense with the expecta-
tion of invasion and bloodshed, the Spanish thought to help the Moslems of Tangier in announcing Ramadhan. They placed cannon secretly, after dusk, at various stations in the city, and when the new moon appeared, let go with a salvo which shook the ancient walls and terrified many of the European inhabitants, particularly those who did not know about Ramadhan. The local ‘uleyma, with their ears to the phone, were chagrined, and so were the ordinary Moslems next day, for the ‘uleyma in Fez had not seen the moon, clearly visible in Tangier, at all.

Every night during Ramadhan the cannon is fired to tell the faithful when to break their fasts. Many of them sit on their roofs or balconies, faced with a bowl of water, a bowl of a special thick, nourishing soup called hareira, and often a package of cigarettes. They eat, drink water, tea, and coffee, and make merry until late in the night, snatch a few hours of sleep, and are awakened by another cannon shot which gives them time to eat a filling breakfast before dawn, after which, unless they have to work early, they return to sleep. On the last night of Ramadhan they begin the celebration of a great annual feast called variously el ‘aid es sghir and bairam.

Ramadhan is a very critical time in Moslem-Christian relations. Not only does it produce physiological effects on the Moslems which make them more sensitive than usual to criticism and injustice, but it serves as a symbol to reinforce their mutual relations in a common front against outsiders. To a hungry, thirsty man driving a recalcitrant donkey into the market about four o’clock on a hot afternoon, the sight of a sleek Christian sitting in a sidewalk cafe sucking at a long, ice-cooled drink is infuriating. If ever there is to be trouble, that is the time.

The fifth duty of a Moslem is the pilgrimage to the holy places of the Hejaz: Mecca, where the Messenger of God was born, and Medina, where he died, as well as other spots where noteworthy events occurred. There are special rules, such as wearing the ihram or seamless garment, the circumambulation of the Ka‘aba, and special walks from place to place. Although the pilgrimage has its own month, Dhu ’l Hijja, the pilgrims must also keep all of the rules of abstinence which pertain to Ramadhan.

In the days of Mohammed when the Moslems were limited to
the neighborhood of Mecca and Medina, the pilgrimage was not
unduly difficult, and it was expected of every one except poor peo­
ple and slaves at least once in a lifetime. With the expansion of
Islam to such distant points as Morocco and China, it became in­
creasingly difficult, for the means of travel did not improve from
the time of Mohammed until the nineteenth century. Hence in
North Africa as in other outlying Moslem areas it was the unusual
person who went on the pilgrimage, and when he reached home,
often after several years, he was greatly honored. It would be dif­
ficult to estimate the proportion of pilgrims (hojaj; pl. of hajji)
among the adult male pre-French population of North Africa, but
it is safe to say that it was many times as great as it is at present.

It requires no divination to explain this. The pilgrimage is the
one act, more than any other or all others, which ties the Moslem
world together. Most Moslems are illiterate. Their countries are
widely separated, and only through Christian agency have they the
use of such modern facilities as steamships, postal services, tele­
graphs, and telephones. If every year men from Morocco, Algeria,
the Sudan, Java, India, the Hadhramaut, Yemen, Albania, Bokhara,
Bengal, and Western China can get together in a place saturated
with holiness, can perform together humble rites, in identical cloth­
ing (for all have discarded their varying costumes for the ihram),
and under the leadership of the same holy masters, the unification
which results is hard to overestimate. While waiting at Jidda, on
the road, and afterward at the seaport for transport home, these
men can compare notes. What are the French doing in Morocco?
Ulad el harram (Children of that which is forbidden), they are
doing thus and so. And in Djibouti? The same thing, may God curse
them. And in Syria? Even further abominations.

Whatever else they do, the European powers, particularly those
with a bad record among Moslems, must keep their subjects or
protégées away from the pilgrimage. And so they do. Not only
do the Moslems from different quarters get together, but they do
so in a free Moslem country, which has its own powerful and pious
Moslem king. The idea of self-government is contagious. Never­
theless to keep all Moslems away from the pilgrimage causes more
disturbance than letting a few go. Each year the French send a dele­
gation of Moslem leaders to Mecca, with all transportation paid
for by the government. In 1946 the delegation from Algeria, alone, filled one commercial passenger plane and one small steamship. Naturally the pilgrims were all men whose political views were acceptable to the French authorities, or those whom the authorities wished to placate.

So much for orthodox Islam. Strongest in the cities and in some of the more thickly populated rural areas, it is weak in a number of outlying parts. In the Middle Atlas the transhumant Berbers have, until recently at least, been poor Moslems, because they lacked instruction; very few foqaha had ventured into the forests and upland meadows to teach them. Among some of the tribes, some men were not circumcised until late in life and then only when they intended to make their first trip to the city. Many of them did not know how to pray. Some of the Tunisian and Algerian Berbers, the Jerbans and Mzabites, preserve the Kharejite heresy, picked up from missionaries from Syria and Egypt nearly a thousand years ago and now out of fashion nearly everywhere else.

More important than the ignorance of the Middle Atlas Berbers or the heresy of the Jerbans and Mzabites is the strength of the religious brotherhoods in North Africa. These form a constant target for nationalist agitators. A religious brotherhood is a group of men who owe allegiance to some individual holy man who lives in or near the tomb of a holy saint of old and serves as his successor. In most cases the head of the order is the lineal descendant of its founder.

For example, Sidi Mohammed ben Aissa, who was born in 1465 A.D., was a great theologian, teacher, and healer. He drew about him a band of disciples to whom he imparted some of his holiness and supernatural powers. He died in Meknes. There his followers erected a tomb over him. The order of Aissawa, or followers of ben Aissa, arose after his death. His followers spread it far and wide, and separate chapters were established in most of the important cities and many of the tribal districts of North Africa. Once a year the Aissawa used to hold celebrations in each city on the occasion of the Saint's birthday, but the big festival of course was in Meknes. On this day the regular work of the town ended, and for several days following. The whole town prepared itself for the
invasion of devotees, just as an American city makes ready for an American Legion convention.

The Aissawa are divided into a number of subgroups, including the Diyab, or jackals, who wear jackal-fur costumes and smear their faces with blood. They leap about comically, stealing food from the shops to feed the other delegates. Since they do a big business at this feast anyway, and since retaliation would follow resistance, the shopkeepers count on a certain amount of theft and accept it in good fun. The ordinary devotees, who wear long hair, dance through the streets chanting monotonously Alláh Alláh Alláh, and working themselves into a frenzy. Many become glassy-eyed and froth at the mouth. The feast also includes a fantasia or cavalry show, with mounted riflemen dashing at full gallop down an enclosed field, rising in the stirrups and firing a salvo with flintlocks, then wheeling and riding back to reload.

The Aissawa are one of the most numerous of brotherhoods, and put on probably the single most spectacular show. I saw the last big one in Meknes in 1926. After that the French forbade it. Another spectacular sect is that of the Hamadsha, who chop at their own heads with axes and bludgeon them with clubs, all to a monotonous chant and repetitive bagpipe music. Each brotherhood attracts a different stratum of people. The Aissawa are ironworkers, porters, and other low-class cityfolk, plus members of the wilder tribes in the mountains. Some are Arabs, some are Berbers, and many are Negroes. The Derkawa, however, whose shrine is in Tangier, are upper middle-class craftsmen and merchants, carpenters, turners, coppersmiths, and wealthy farmers, sheikhs, and councilmen in the country. They shave the upper lip and wear full chin beards. They are probably the most respectable and powerful order in the Maghreb. In contrast to them one may observe the humble brotherhood of Gnawa, also centered in Tangier. The Gnawa are racially full Negroes, very black and broad-nosed. They are said to come from Rio de Oro. They wear rags and comic headdresses, belts covered with cowrie shells, and leather sandals. In their hands they carry pairs of iron clappers. Wandering through the streets of the towns, singly or in pairs, the Gnawa sing to attract a crowd. Once a few people have paused to see them, the Gnawa break into a fast
jazzy dance, clicking out the time on their clappers, and singing a little song. They collect the few coins given them, bow and bless the audience, and move on.

To the east, in the oases of Kufra, is centered another brotherhood, as holy and as powerful as that of the Derkawa. It is the Senussi sect. It differs from the brotherhoods farther west in one respect. While the western sects are associations, staffed by a cross section of the population, and one man may be an Aissawi and his neighbor a Rehali, and up the street live a couple of Derkawa, there is an all-or-none character to Senussi doctrine. Like the Wahabi movement in Arabia, and the old Mahdi sect in Somaliland and the Sudan, it is puritanical and it is militant. Everyone in the street, in the town, and in the oasis, must belong. It brooks no rivals. Needless to say, this sect has been in trouble with European authority.

In North Africa as in all Moslem areas education is the concern of religious specialists. In the country the local fqiib, who serves as village prayer-leader and clerk, teaches the young boys, and sometimes girls as well. He holds school in a special room of the mosque, and in it makes his pupils learn how to read and write, and to recite the Koran. Each student recites out loud, and all at once. The master stands over them with a stick, listening to each in turn, and correcting their exercises, which they write on slabs of wood. The parents pay tuition by feeding the schoolmaster in rotation. Not all can afford this, and not all boys learn to read and write. Most of those who do, learn just enough to make out the meaning of legal papers, particularly deeds of land purchase, and to keep rudimentary accounts. Those who cannot read at all ask the fqiib to do it for them.

In every village some boys want to go on with education. They repair to the larger mosque which serves a number of villages for Friday meetings, and where the councilors meet, if it is Berber country. Here the fqiib may be a specialist in some branch of learning, such as religious history or Koranic law. The students who gather here to study under him may be fed by their families, or by the people who live near by. They also make a little money on the side by sewing and embroidering men's clothing, and writing amulets for the fearful, revengeful, and lovelorn.

When these students, known as tolba, have at length learned all
the teacher has to tell them, a group will move on to another mosque where a specialist in another subject can continue their instruction. Some of the tolba end up in a city, studying at one of the universities along with the sons of rich merchants and dignitaries. From each teacher, as he leaves, the student obtains a written certificate, if his work has been satisfactory. Some of the students go back to the villages and become foqaba (pl. of fqih). Others become big merchants, or government officials. Still others hang around the universities for a long time living on charity, for they like the life and hate to leave it, like the “perpetual graduate student,” who is the plague of our universities. Others become members of the religious sects that grow up around the larger mosques and about the personalities of individual teachers, and wander about from place to place, providing musical entertainment, writing amulets, curing the impressionable and living off the credulous, until their welcome is worn out or they make some slip and find it best to move on.

In the old days each city was ruled by a pasha, whose Turkish title was used in both Ottoman and Sherifian territory. He held court in his own house, where citizens could come to him with complaints. His duties included maintaining order through a police force, collecting taxes, and judging cases of a secular nature. Since this work was extensive, he deputized much of it to subordinate officials. These included stand-ins or khulafā (pl. of khalifa), who would take his place while he was away, indisposed, or too busy to see all applicants; a qadhi to judge cases involving breaches of the shariya or Koranic law; a moqaddem el hauma, or ward-leader, to keep order in each ward; a muhtassib to be responsible for the market place and to supervise the guilds; and an ‘āmin el-mustafadet, or local tax-collector. The police force was dressed in special uniforms and armed with sticks.

In the city, resident quyad (pl. of qaid) cared for the needs of the country people of different districts when they came to town, and kept them out of trouble. Since some of the countrymen did not even speak Arabic, these quyad were able to regulate their buying and selling and make considerable profit from commissions.

In each city and immediately outside it, a large amount of real estate belonged to the habus of each major mosque, a religious, char-
itable trust. This property was acquired through legacies of rich men who left portions of their estates to charity. It may be directly compared to our Carnegie libraries. Agricultural lands belonging to a habus were worked by poor, landless farmers, who received much larger proportions of the produce than they would if they worked for private owners. The rest of the produce went into the habus treasury, along with rents from urban buildings.

Each habus was administered by a council of trustees, known as nawazhir (sing., nazhir) or overseers. It formed a stabilizing influence in the community. As far as one knows, in most cities, we may presume that the nawazhir exercised their trust with reasonable honesty. Since the very purpose of the habus was to level out differences of wealth and maintain equilibrium through smoothing over the areas of friction between classes of the population, and since the whole concept of the habus was religious, it would be much safer to do one's grafting elsewhere.

Relations between the city government and the national government were qualified by existing means of transportation. Before the Europeans arrived the only way to go from one city to another was by horse or mule. It took days to cover distances which we now count in as many hours. Before 1912 merchants who wanted to make the trip from Rabat to Casablanca would congregate with loaded animals about a fondouq, or inn, and wait until enough had come together for safety. They would hire soldiers to protect them, and start out. Each night they would camp, setting up round white tents. On the fringes of this caravan one would see Jews, dressed in black from cap to slippers, riding on asses. They were not allowed to take part in the formation of the caravan, but clung to it for protection. Once in a while, when the procession reached a flooded river, and no one knew whether or not it was safe to cross, the others would “jew the ford.” They would drive one Jew on his donkey out into the stream, and force him forward, screaming and protesting. If he crossed safely, the others would follow.

With transportation on this level, it is no wonder that each city was virtually autonomous. The pasha was supposed to pay an assessment in taxes to the national government each year, but he was required to show no books. How much he should exact was up to him and his tax collector. It is also no wonder that in order to keep
the various pashas in hand and his country united, the ruler made an annual round of prolonged visits to his several capitals.

In discussing the national governments of the Moslem states of North Africa before the Europeans took over, I shall follow that of Morocco closely, because it is the one that survived the longest, that still is most nearly preserved, and that has been described in the most faithful detail. The others, although tributary to the Turks, were probably very much the same.

Morocco was known officially as the Sherifian Empire; its territory as maghreb el aqsa, The Far West. Its ruler was the Sultan. He was at the same time the spiritual head and temporal leader. He must be descended from the Prophet and, at the crisis of succession, must be approved by the 'uleyma of both Marrakesh and Fez. Although the extent of his temporal domain varied from time to time, his spiritual leadership was unchallenged. He had, and still has, the right to summon even the members of dissident tribes to the jihad, the holy war.

With no roads at all in the modern sense, and with overland travel limited to riding and packing animals, it was impossible for any sultan to keep all of his domain under his political control. It was divided therefore into bled el makhzen, or government country, and bled es 'iba, or difficult, rebellious country. The word for rebelliousness and that for lion are almost identical; what is difficult country for the government is lion country for the rebels. "Rebel" is hardly an appropriate word, for, as 'Abd el Krim's deputies pointed out in the Oujda conference of 1924, some of it had never been conquered by any sultan. Religious penetration had gone much farther than political power.

In the Bled el Makhzen, the local qu Yad, or tribal chiefs, visited the sultan's court from time to time, where they were received with suitable pomp and ceremony. They turned over their taxes and received gifts in return. Sometimes they left sons in the court to be brought up in a refined, urban manner, while doubling as hostages for the good behavior of their fathers. Now and then the qaid of a distant tribe would fail to appear; no tax money would come from him that year. It might be worth while to send an expedition against him or it might be better to let him stay in dissidence. The most consistently dissident were of course the larger aggregations
of Berbers. The Riffians never paid taxes, and few officials of the makhzen dared enter their tribal territory. Now and then when a palace rebellion was afoot, the plotters would take to the Rif and try to raise an army; this was done by Menebhi around 1900. Since he too was against the government, he was well received and passed safely from tribe to tribe.

The Shluh of the Middle Atlas, who live in large, consolidated villages like the Algerian Kabyles, were ruled by a few great qayad, of whom the Glawi was and still is the greatest. Besides being the qaid of the Glawa tribe, this near-potentate is also the pasha of Marrakesh. As an elector of sultans and absolute chief of a private mountain principality, he has great bargaining power both with the makhzen and with the Europeans, into whose days he has survived.

The sultan of Morocco ruled with oriental simplicity. He had no civil service, but chose his wazirs personally. His treasury was all of one piece—there was no division between public funds and palace appropriations. He appointed pashas and qayad, and was himself commander of the army. This was composed of mercenaries, including an imposing black guard in special uniforms, and tribesmen who paid their rent on imperial lands in military service. In a holy war, the fighters would be organized by tribes. During the 1890s the sultan hired a Scot, Kaid MacLean, to reorganize his army and drill his troops. At my last visit, members of the MacLean family were still in Morocco, operating a hotel in Tangier.

Besides these civil and military officials the sultan also appointed religious specialists and leaders, the qudha responsible for the observance of the Koranic law, and the nawazhir who controlled the habus. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries he also maintained a navy, which was concerned with raiding and what the Christians called piracy. Indeed, many of the Moorish pirates were renegade Christians, and this was also true of those who put out of Algiers, Tripoli, and other Mediterranean ports.

The fiscal system of the empire was a compromise between the needs of a large and moderately elaborate state, and the ideas of Mohammed himself on the subject of finance. The prophet considered fixed, secular taxation a source of evil, and held the same views on interest. He preferred voluntary contributions to be used for charitable purposes, somewhat like our Community Chests and
Red Cross. These contributions included the zika (classical, zikat), or purification, and the 'asbur, or tithe. The first was a contribution of cash or movable property, such as animals, in addition to the latter, which was a tenth of the harvest or annual income. The individual Moslem was supposed to pay these not to the pasha or his representative, but to the qadbi (pl., qdbá), who collected them for the sultan. Apart from the qdbá, some of the heads of religious brotherhoods and independent shorfa (sing., sherif) collected tithes and contributions separately, and kept them.

The revenues collected by the pasha and his deputy, the ‘amín el mustafadet or often more simply ‘amín, were of a different nature. These included gate taxes, imposed on all produce brought into the city, market taxes, fines, and property seized for civil and political offenses. They also included customs duties and poll taxes upon Jews and Christians. The sultan's government received taxes paid by conquered tribes—those which had been in the bled es s'iba and had been forced into the orbit of the makhzen. The rationalization here was that the sultan had taken their land and they must pay, often with military service, for the right to cultivate it or graze their flocks on it. Needless to say, men such as these were the best warriors the sultan could get for his army. Tribes which rebelled repeatedly, and which made nuisances of themselves by plundering caravans over and over again, were sometimes uprooted bodily and moved to new territories where they would be surrounded by strangers and located near the seats of authority.

The habus bore the expense of much of the municipal administration, and particularly did it support the universities and schools. Poor students ate food which the nawazbir provided. They also took charge of the upkeep of the schools and of the faculties, but since the property had been willed, many curious and unusual duties fell on these dignitaries. Just as in our civilization a person may leave money for a home for indigent cats, so in North Africa the feeding of birds might become the duty of the habus officials.

Such, in a nutshell, was the civilization of North Africa at the time or times when the Moslem empires and kingdoms were in full flower. Aside from the substitution of Islam for Christianity, the absence of a graded religious hierarchy, and the identification of
the church with the state, there was no difference of any consequence between these states, with their cities and guilds and religious foundations and universities, pilgrims and saints, and tough tribesmen in the hills, on the one hand, and the nations of Europe in early Renaissance times on the other. In fact, historians agree that much of the impetus which spurred the Renaissance Europeans on to a greater complexity was derived from North Africa and points east, through the Moorish kingdoms in Spain, and the “Saracen” outposts in Sicily and Southern Italy. When well-educated Europeans who should know better say, and I have heard them, “Les indigènes ne sont pas assez évolués” to rule themselves, learn the technical skills of modern Europe and America, and do all the things we do, they are talking through their képis and homburgs. The North African civilization is just as highly technical, just as complex, just as advanced in every way, as that of Tzarist Russia which hordes of immigrants brought to Western Europe and America before and after the revolution. It is just as complex as that of the Chinese, whose capacity for self-rule is a modern axiom. From the standpoint of physical anthropology, the North Africans are more highly evolved, on the whole, than Northwest Europeans. All we need do to see that these things are so, is to offer them adequate education.

The Turks lost Algeria in 1830, Tunisia in 1881, and Tripoli in 1912. During the two to three centuries of their rule in these North African countries, they made no cultural contribution of moment. One can see their influence in the baggy pants and braid-encrusted waistcoats of the Zouave uniform, in the fezzes and pointed slippers worn even in Morocco, which was outside their political sphere, in some of the dishes on the North African menu, and in the borrowing of certain words, such as pasha. Two things North Africa needed, improved transportation and mechanized industry. Neither of these things could the Turks give, and they left the countries in the same state of technological advancement in which they had found them, little better off than in the days of the Roman Empire. They did not even found Turkish colonies. So few were the Turks who came to North Africa that one has a hard time discovering any of them there today.

The conquest of Morocco by France and Spain began in 1910. The dates for the termination of Moslem rule in the other countries
are given above. Since these dates the number of Christian Europeans has grown from almost zero to about 1,400,000. The total for Christians and Jews is roughly 1,800,000. Only in Morocco can the figures for Europeans be separated from those for native Jews. Here we are told that the Jews number 180,000. Hence it is only reasonable to set their number at 400,000 for all of the North African countries.

Figures for about 1936 give the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Moslems</th>
<th>Christians and Jews</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>6,700,000</td>
<td>580,000</td>
<td>7,280,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>6,250,000</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>7,250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>2,400,000</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>2,600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripolitania</td>
<td>850,000</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>900,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>16,200,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,830,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>18,030,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are very rough figures, particularly for the former Italian colonies. More recent figures for Algeria show 9,500,000 Moslems and native-born Jews. Unofficial, reliable estimates indicate that these numbers may be much too low, that there may be as many as twelve million Arabs and Kabyles alone, with nearly two million Europeans and foreign-born Jews. Regarding the European population, thousands of refugees poured into North Africa during the last war, and it is a question how many of them have left. Census-taking in North Africa is no easy job.

In Algeria, between 1922 and 1935, the birth-rate for Europeans fell from 28 per 1,000 to 21 per 1,000; it rose for natives from 25 per thousand to 35 per 1,000; the death rate for Europeans fell from 19 per 1,000 to 14 per 1,000; for natives from 21 per 1,000 to 18 per 1,000; finally, the rate of increase for Europeans fell from 9 per 1,000 to 7 per 1,000 while it rose for natives from 4 per 1,000 to 17 per 1,000.2

If we accept the figures tabulated above, which are surely not an overestimate, we see that in one hundred and twenty years the French have raised the European (and Europeanized Jewish) population to one sixth of the size of the Moslem population. The latter has of course also grown, and is still growing. In Tunisia and Morocco, held for seventy and thirty-five years, respectively, the ratio

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is twelve to one. In Algeria, where the French have been settled the longest, where Europeans are both absolutely and relatively the most numerous, where the chance for assimilation has been the greatest, political unrest is today the strongest, and the situation the most critical, of all North African countries.

The principal object of this series of papers is to evaluate the acculturation of the various non-European peoples of the World to the civilization of their European masters and mentors. In North Africa we can do this most clearly by narrating a few events which have taken place in the last few years.

On January 19, 1944, the representative of a political party handed the Governor-General of Morocco at Rabat a paper signed by fifty-seven of the most respectable and intelligent Moslems of the country, merchants, teachers, government officials, journalists, and the like (see p. 456). Three days later, French troops fired on a crowd at Fez, killing over eighty Moslems.

After one hundred and fifteen years of living together in closest intimacy, during which time Algeria had been made into three departments of Metropolitan France, a number of Moslems paraded in Setif before British and American soldiers, carrying an historic flag. The French fired without warning, and a riot ensued. Then the French army brought up tanks and planes, and destroyed forty-one Moslem villages and camps, from Setif to the sea. The dead were hastened into mass graves, and it is hard to tell how many were killed. One eyewitness account numbers them at thirty-five thousand, but even if this is exaggerated tenfold, there were three thousand five hundred too many.

On April 7, 1947, in the middle of the civilized city of Casablanca, where American soldiers and sailors had been killed by French gunfire four and a half years earlier, a number of Senegalese infantrymen “went berserk” and murdered sixty-five persons in the streets, at random. It is said that of these sixty-five, sixty-one were “Moroccan citizens.” What the other four were the newspapers did not say. The reason for this slaughter is given as “a trivial incident.”

What is wrong?

I could quote page after page of legally worded political documents, prepared by both sides, but they would not contain the answer. Nor can this state of affairs be blamed, so conveniently, on
German or Communist agitators. Nor on the half-dozen American scholars who have tried their best to learn Arabic and to study the native civilizations of North Africa objectively. Even they are not guilty, handy as their guilt would be. Neither they nor their government want trouble in North Africa. They may, however, help to find the cause, for this lies in a combination of all fields, of which the political is but a small part. In the pages that follow, I shall concern myself with the activities of the French in all of their North African regions, colony and protectorates alike, drawing my examples where I find them. This will be principally from Morocco, which I know best and where they have had their greatest success.

Let us begin with the utilization of the landscape. From the very first the French have been concerned with the deforestation and soil erosion so visible all around. Algerian highways are lined with beautiful rows of eucalyptus and other trees, and the same is true in Morocco and Tunisia. Wherever they have gone the French authorities have sought to preserve and increase the natural forests, by establishing *gardes forestières*, enforcing new legislation against indiscriminate felling, circling, and mutilation of the trees, and against the practice of burning over the brush each year to make pasture. In Northern Tunisia, in the region of Cap Serrat, this prohibition appears to have caused a decrease in population, since the land is too sandy for tillage and now the grazing is reduced. However, in the preservation and increase of timber resources and in their effect on rainfall distribution, these measures taken by the French government are wise ones, to the advantage of all.

The lands which the Moslems themselves found most productive did not interest the French. These are the terraced mountain slopes, where the rainfall is relatively constant from year to year and the yield per acre high. What the French wanted were the flat lands which the Moslems used mostly for grazing. For example, the fertile Chelif valley was hardly tilled at all. With American agricultural machinery, the French, and particularly Alsatian, farmers who secured the land from its Arab owners ploughed deep furrows, harrowed the soil, shook out the grass roots, and planted vines. This valley is as favored for wine growing as the Napa Valley of California.

In the foothill region of the Middle Atlas, the country of the Beni
Mtir is also suited for viticulture. But the Beni Mtir were pasturing their sheep there and did not want to give up their country. All of a sudden, in 1926, they were required to pay their taxes ahead of time. It was too early for the sheep-clipping. They could not raise the money. Their land, once a fine source of mutton which Moroccans could eat, of hides for their belts, bags, and slippers, and of wool to make their clothing, now turns out quantities of wine each year. Most of this is drunk in Europe by Christians. It is possible nowadays to find a few men of the Beni Mtir working in the vineyards.

Besides the winelands, the French wanted wheatlands. On the windy plain around Setif, as on the rolling hills from Oujda to Oran, it grows high and full-eared. Here the French have acquired most of the land, and are using modern machinery. On the coastal plain of Tunisia and up the valley to Suk el Arba' and Ghardimou, one sees vast estates, with wheatfields interspersed between olive yards and orange groves, and big French houses in the midst of clumps of shade trees. On the Moroccan coastal plain, and inland as far as Fez, the land is mostly planted in grain.

We must remember that North Africa was the breadbasket of the Phoenicians, then of Rome, before the Arabs arrived. During the last century it has also been the breadbasket of France. It has produced great quantities of wheat, wine, and olive oil for export, as well as hides, wool, and mutton. The French have greatly improved agricultural techniques in the lowlands by the introduction of power machinery and by scientific methods of farming. A splendid citrus-fruit industry has grown up in Tunisia and in Morocco, to such an extent that fine oranges, tangerines, and grapefruit are sent to France. In the Sous valley of Morocco, Frenchmen grow tobacco under cloth, and also raise primeurs, such as fresh strawberries and artichokes, for the Parisian market. Furthermore many of the succulent soles eaten in Paris were caught off Fedhala.

Some of the holdings along the main highways of North Africa still belong to the Arab tribesmen, who work them mostly by hand. The greater number, however, are French. The French farmers are hard workers and their fields are models of tidiness and organization. The ways in which the French colonists acquired these estates vary greatly. Many paid fair prices for them, legitimately, to previous
Others settled on *habus* lands, at the expense of the native charities, and when they improved the property it was theirs. Still others went into "partnership" with Arab owners. Arabs are forbidden by Koranic law to participate in usury, or pay or receive interest at any rate. Unable to invest in stocks and bonds, rich Arabs have long been in the habit of buying shares in agricultural properties and collecting shares of the crops. When the Europeans first came in, they were immune from the arbitrary and often crippling taxation of the native government. Hence many an Arab landowner was more than willing to sell to a European a 50 percent share of his property. In return he was protected by the immunity of his European partner. In the early days of Moroccan colonization, many adventurers took part in this kind of speculation, and they were not all French. A number of Englishmen also had their hands in this business. The Americans apparently did not know about it.

It would be very difficult to obtain accurate figures covering individual incomes and the distribution of wealth in North Africa. The richest men are undoubtedly some of the big colons with their huge, almost feudal estates, and some of the Jewish financial families like the Smadjas. Among the Moslems a few great chieftains whom the French have retained in power, like Sidi el Hajj Thami el Glawi, are probably very rich, and so are some of the American protégés, agents of the Singer and other companies. The rest, however, are abysmally poor. In the country they have little to do with money, raising their own food and weaving their own wool, and bartering in the local markets. It is a question whether or not they are poorer than they were before the French came. Whatever the comparative figure for the average Moslem, the variation must have increased, for many of the automatic mechanisms for the maintenance of economic equilibrium have ceased to operate, through the seizure of mosque lands in the country and the changes in status of the *habus*.

During the recent war there was a tendency for native farmers to lose their lands and go to work for the colons, because of the scarcity of cloth and other vital commodities. The colons had control of the cloth and would distribute it to their workmen, while the others ran the risk of going unclad. I have seen Moslem women nearly naked in Tunisia through lack of cloth. I have given cloth to Moslems at Cap Serrat, and learned that it was taken away from
them by French soldiers. The distribution of American goods in North Africa was a farce. In Oujda in 1943 while I was a member of General Clark’s staff, I discovered that in Berkane, near by, a store selling American shoes, sent there for impartial distribution, had a sign up reading Interdit aux Juifs. There was no need to write Interdit aux Mussulmans.

Returning to the subject of the utilization of the soil—we see that the Europeans pushed the Moslems off the more desirable lands by one means or another, just as we pushed the Indians onto reservations and then found ways of seizing or renting the best strips along the rivers. All moral aspects aside—as nations we are all tarred with the same brush—the North African Moslems are very different from most North American Indians. The Moslems are literate people with an ancient civilization and strong ties to other parts of the world; they are farmers and craftsmen, with all of the techniques our ancestors knew before the days of exploration and discovery of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They are tied together by a common ritual language and a common religion. And they are so numerous that they will always form the majority of the population. If we are to compare them with American Indians, it should be with the Quechua-speakers and Aymaras of Peru and Bolivia, who after four centuries of conquest outnumber the descendants of the Spaniards.

The “natives” whom the French and others found in North Africa were highly skilled people. Some were very clever farmers, and the world contains none better at irrigation and the care of fruit trees. Others were good herdsmen, wise in the ways of animals; still others, in markets and towns, skilled craftsmen, artists at copper and leatherwork and at creating fine glazed pots with delicate designs in blue and green faience. These men, with their nimble fingers and fine coordination of hand and brain, can learn with ease any technique known to modern man. They could make radio tubes or handle television sets. In 1926 I measured a fifteen-year-old Riffian boy in Ajdir who had been in charge of Abd el Krim's telephone service. By some underground channel they had received the instruments, wires, and batteries from Tangier. This boy, with others, had set up the machinery and had strung wires to Targuist, and thence over the mountains to the south. The line was used when
Abd el Krim’s forces were advancing on Fez. The lad had all the enthusiasm for his telephone set that any American boy has for his radio, his model airplane, or his stripped-down “jaloppie.”

The French soon saw the beauty in Arabo-Berber arts and crafts. They set up a special department of the government to see that these skills should not disappear. In Morocco the Bureau des Arts Indigènes held, before World War II, annual exhibitions and awarded certificates to the best craftsmen. In many a leather shop of Fez, you will see these certificates framed on the wall, a source of honest pride to their owners. Thanks to the French, fine pocketbooks and slippers are still made in Fez, cushions in Marrakesh, and pottery in Safi. In Sheshawen the Spaniards have done the same thing, specializing in textiles.

General Lyautey, like every other human being with any eye for beauty, and with any sense of human dignity and awe, was entranced by the vision of Fez, white and delicate, couched in its well-watered valley, a city which any infidel could see was holy. And holy he left it. Far outside its walls on the western plain he build a new Fez, a European town with government buildings designed in a neo-Moorish style, a happy blend of old shapes and tones with new conveniences. In Rabat, the new town, which was made the seat of government, rose outside the walls of the old. In Marrakesh, in Meknes, in all of the cities of Morocco this rule was followed. Even today you can walk down the vine-shaded streets and hear the hammer of the coppersmith and the cries of the leather auctioneer. You can smell the tart savor of cummin from an open door where someone is cooking.

To General Lyautey, and to other Europeans, it seemed a splendid idea to preserve the status quo in North Africa. The natives were Moslems and did not want any interference with their religion. Since their religion permeated all their daily thoughts and actions, these should not be disturbed either. By preserving intact the old cities, a medieval life could be carried on in them forever. Tourists could come from England and America to be shown these marvels by gallant French officers resplendent in natty red képis. They could then carry home trunkloads of pocketbooks and bales of rugs, leaving bales of dollars behind.

There seemed no reason to encourage machine industry in North
Africa. There was plenty of that in France. It would be best to use North Africa as a source of raw materials and a market for French manufactures. The Phoenicians and the Romans had set a precedent. And that is what happened. Even in Algiers there are many warehouses but few factories. In Casablanca one sees the phosphate works, but that is only part of the business of exporting raw materials. In Tlemcen, in 1944, a small woollen mill was about to be opened. Industrialization in a colonial region is an unpleasant business of low wages and poor working conditions, but at least it teaches people modern power-machinery skills, and that is a beginning. In North Africa it has barely begun.

In the garages of the modern cities, the man who gets under your car to drain out the oil is probably a Soussi. He is as skilled a mechanic as he is allowed to become. There is no school in which he can learn the automobile repair business, and he is not encouraged to compete with European labor, of which there is a surfeit. The Soussi can drive a car as well as you or I, but very few Moslem drivers are seen. That too is a privilege reserved as far as possible for Europeans.

The farmer would like to know something about fertilizers, about mechanical pumps for irrigation, and a number of other things that would increase his yield per hour of labor; he would like also to improve his cattle and sheep by the use of a good stud. In a few places, stud and veterinary services have been opened, but they are far from adequate, and the farmers are too poor, and for the most part too ignorant, to use them. What they need is agricultural schools, and these they do not have.

One would think that it would be a pleasure to teach such bright and receptive children as the sons of the city Arabs and mountain Berbers all about the world, but they have little chance for instruction. In the cities are schools for the sons of Arab notables, where they learn impeccable French, and in the mountains some of the Berber children learn good French too. The rest of them pick up French of sorts anyhow, using the second person singular in addressing everyone, the infinitive as the only verb form, and tossing back in innocence or ignorance the filthy expressions directed at them. During the war their vocabularies were increased by English obscenity. Besides the French language, they may learn a certain
amount of French history and law. Law is the important subject. The Moslems who are sent to Paris to study seem to concentrate on law. There must be some free choice in this, and the only reason one can devise to explain it is that they are preoccupied with their inferior position under the French and want to better it by legal means.

Law is the shadow of other disciplines; it is the codification of the rules of behavior which people must follow if they wish to avoid a disturbance. It is hardly the subject for people who wish to change their social condition. They would do much better to study physics and chemistry, industrial and sanitary engineering, biology— theoretical and applied—agriculture, and medicine. But instruction in these subjects is unavailable or inadequate. They cannot even study English.

For the French, however, educational opportunities are not lacking. There is an excellent Lycée at Casablanca. At Oujda, General Clark took over a girls’ lycée for his Fifth Army Headquarters. The University of Algiers is a renowned institution, and has included on its faculty such great scholars as Gautier the geographer and Reygasse the archaeologist. In Rabat an Institut des Hautes Études Berbères prepares officers to serve as colonial administrators. They have there been taught by such illustrious experts in North African civilization as Michaux-Bellaire and Laoust, the Moroccan counterparts of Henri Basset in Algiers. These men have issued the splendid journal Hesperis, found in many American libraries. In Rabat is also located an Institut Scientifique Cherifien, staffed with competent geologists, biologists, and the like. In the government Museum, Armand Ruhlmann devotes his very competent efforts to prehistoric archaeology. One could hardly say that either science or education were neglected by the French.

But the truth of the matter is that the Moslems have had little share in this development. Whereas, in Egypt, Moslems have taken over archaeology and have published excellent studies in physical anthropology, geography, and other subjects, nothing comparable has happened in North Africa. The Moslems in North Africa are no less competent in intellectual pursuits than their Egyptian brethren. They have had neither the stimulus nor the opportunity.

While one might cite a school here and there, or an educational
program of sorts, nothing has been done to compare with the modernization of the Moslem universities in Egypt or the activities of the American University of Beirut. It is in the field of education for Moslems that the French have failed most visibly. Naturally it would have been futile to try to educate, along modern lines, mature men steeped in an ancient culture. But it would have been most easy and most intelligent, in a long-range sense, to have educated young people, born under European rule, in modern subjects, particularly in those fields in which religious conflict is at a minimum.

In the field of transportation the French have done very well indeed. Realizing the need of good roads if one is to conquer and remain in power, they collected hosts of Arabs and Berbers to sit along the roadsides cracking rocks with little hammers, at seven francs a day. When this hand-crushed stone had been spread, on came the macadam. Before World War II the road system and the filling-station equipment in French Morocco compared favorably with that of the United States. Since most of the cars were American, one had to look twice on the road between Rabat and Casablanca to make sure one was not driving down the coast of southern California. One saw almost as many Arabs riding in cars in California as on the Moroccan road.

In the two fields of family structure and religion, the French have been scrupulously careful to interfere as little as possible. They have been so sensitive to the idea that the faith of the Prophet must be carried on without change that they have made laws forbidding a Moslem to drink a glass of wine. While this may prevent trouble among soldiers and demoralized tribesmen, it is a source of embarrassment to a cultivated and sophisticated graduate of a European university. It violates the basic human right that people should be allowed to worship God in their own way. And it makes more trouble than it prevents.

In connection with family structure, the subject of intergroup marriage arises. In North Africa there has been very little intermarriage between Moslems and Christians. The religious barrier serves to reinforce the economic and political cleavage. I know an American Negro in Tangier married to a Sephardic Jewess. I have seen a Frenchman living in an extremely isolated spot in the mountains married to two Berber girls, apparently very happily. In the Grand
Atlas a number of Frenchmen live in a state of marital contentment with Berber wives. In Algeria, Kabyle men are sometimes found living with French wives in their native villages. In Spanish Morocco, there has been a considerable intermarriage in the Melilla region between Riffian men and Spanish women. These examples are all, except for the first, concerned with Christian-Berber unions. These are rare, but commoner than unions between Christians and Arabs. I personally know of only two of these which produced offspring, the marriage of the Sherif of Wezzan to an Englishwoman, and that of a Fezzi cloth-importer to a Scottish lady. In both cases the children considered themselves members of the Moslem community. By and large, marriages of this kind are very rare. The Christian, Jewish, and Moslem communities keep themselves genetically distinct.

Missionaries have tried, from time to time, to break these barriers down. Most of the missionaries have been British and American; most of them have had very little success. In Tangier they have taught a few street urchins to sing hymns and play soccer; in Kabylia they have made a few converts. Christian ethics suit these people less than Moslem ethics. Besides, the distaste for everything Christian has already been firmly implanted before the missionaries arrive.

In the political sphere the French have been overactive. The first peoples whom they conquered were everywhere Arabs. As they moved inland, they perpetuated the Arab form of government, by setting up *quyad* and *khala‘if* and *shuyukh* and *moqaddemin*, all absolute and each taking orders from the one above him in the hierarchy. At the top of it the French officials could conveniently fit. This system gave little latitude for free representation and justice. It is often argued that the Arabs never had that before and are not used to it, hence why should they receive it now? This argument falls of its own weight. Furthermore, the premise is not true. In the old days if a local leader became too oppressive someone killed him; today no one would dare to do so.

As they moved farther inland, the French began to meet Berbers. Since they had already learned Arabic on the way, they continued to speak this language rather than try to learn an entirely new one, and the Berbers, many of whom knew some Arabic anyway, quickly accommodated themselves. Thus the Christians spread the language
of the preceding wave of conquerors where the latter themselves could not. The Berbers had a rather formless, intricate kind of government by councils and representation, which made them hard to deal with. It was much easier to pick some man who had helped the French conquer his own people, and reward him with the office of qaid. He would be unpopular, but he could be depended on. And so on down the line. To the Berbers, freedom had died. When the Christians entered, the jinns left the land.

Later on the French government found out the difference between Arabs and Berbers. More than a few French scholars spent years studying Berber dialects and Berber civilization, and wrote splendid and authoritative linguistic, historical, and anthropological monographs, at the cost of physical hardship and at the risk of their lives. These men made fast friends among the Berbers. But few government officials listened to them. Only when it seemed a bright idea to encourage Berber languages, Berber traditional law, and Berber civilization in general, as a means of checking the Arabs through the policy of divide and rule, did these scholars really come into their own. Hence the Berber dahir (decree of the Sultan) of 1934, which infuriated the city Arabs and resulted in the formation of the Istiqlal or National Independence Party.

As time went on the French found out that their benevolent system of preserving the natives as a little historical gem, an anachronism for the delight of tourists, while a modern world of European North Africa grew up around them, was not working. And most of them, apparently, did not know why. Most of them still do not know. As trouble grew, the French redoubled their security methods. The Deuxième Bureau, the Sûreté, and a dozen other agencies with varying degrees of secrecy came over from France or arose on the spot. Millions of francs and more millions of units of human nervous energy were spent, and are still being spent, in spying on everyone and everything. Every native who has spoken to a foreign European must be hustled to the station and questioned, over and over. Every American who stays more than a few days, who is not obviously a tourist; his room must be searched while he is out. People must sidle up to him in the cafe and engage him in conversation. For some reason difficult to understand, the French in North Africa seem to consider the United States their Number One rival. An
expression frequently heard in Morocco is *les maîtres futurs du pays*, in reference to Americans.

From all of this it is abundantly clear, at least to me, that the French government, whatever its motives, has made a number of basic mistakes:

1. in trying to keep North Africa as a source of raw materials on which she could unload processed goods;
2. in trying to keep the Moslems on a medieval level of technology;
3. in restricting their liberties and spying on them so thoroughly;
4. in being afraid of them.

The concept of a division of labor between industrial homelands and agricultural dependent areas was shown to be untenable years ago. That was the principal economic fact behind the American Revolution. That is why England and the Netherlands have had so much trouble in Asia, and France, again, in Syria and Indo-China. It is much more profitable to process the raw materials near the source of origin, and it creates much less disturbance with the local population.

The idea that intelligent human beings, who are skilled craftsmen and on the same level of cultural complexity as the ancestors of the French themselves before the Industrial Revolution less than six generations ago, can be kept on reservations like Plains Indians and trotted out to put on a show for the tourists is unsound and bound to make trouble. (I do not recommend this for the Indians either.) The Moslems can see what is going on around them. They want to drive automobiles, too. They don’t want to be told by infidels that they must observe their own religion.

Like anyone else, if they are treated as equals and trusted they will behave accordingly. They do not like being constantly hauled into police stations and questioned. They do not like to have their meetings broken up; they do not like it when they are prevented from printing what they want to say in their newspapers. When they get four years in jail for reading a forbidden pamphlet, this does not endear the French government to them.

What the younger ones want is to be modern, to learn what the Europeans and Americans know, to take over our skills and pro-
fessional competences. This will not interfere with their religion, any more than it interferes with ours. They are not telling us to go to church.

Along with all of these restrictions and with the resentment automatically engendered by them, comes fear. The French see the handwriting on the wall of colonies in general. They have lost Syria. They are having trouble in Indo-China. The Dutch have lost their hold in Indonesia, the British in India and Egypt. What the French have done is no more foolish than the deeds of the others. It is easy to be wise in retrospect, and about someone else's protectorate.

All Frenchmen are not stupid, selfish, or timorous. In more than one isolated outpost of the Bureau des Affaires Indigènes, the visitor will meet, if he is allowed to go there, a charming, cultivated, learned, sincere young man, living in the middle of a tribe of Arabs or Berbers, speaking their language intimately, listening to their troubles every day, respecting them and receiving from them respect, and even parental and filial love. Up on the pass of Tighime in Corsica I once saw a French officer in a conspicuous red cap sit smoking a cigarette while two German pursuit planes, swooping low over the gap, shot at him. When urged to duck, he replied, "I must set an example for my men." His men were Berbers from the Middle Atlas. He spoke to them in Berber. They were willing to die for him. Many of them did. No finer man than he ever lived. His name is Colonel de la Tour. In 1947 he became Chef des Affaires Indigènes at Rabat.

Up in the Spanish Zone of Morocco one of the leading officials of the Asuntos Indígenas is an equally fine man, who has lived with the Riffians ever since the surrender of Abd el Krim in 1926. When I first saw him, during that year, he was living alone in a tribe that had just given in. Some of them told me that were he any other Spaniard, they would kill him. This young man they could not bring themselves to touch. He talked with them as a brother, in their language, and sat on the ground with them while the wandering musicians played their flutes and guitars. He was a real man. That he had been born a Christian seemed a curious mistake, but it was probably all part of God's plan. And thank God he is still alive, for there is need of such a man.
Needless to say, all Frenchmen and all Spaniards do not measure up to the two I have chosen as examples. Few men of any nation could. The Moslems easily recognize the difference between Christians who are well-bred and those who are ill-mannered, grasping, and bumptious. Among the colonists in North Africa, the latter are in the majority. The situation might have been the same if the members of any other nation had settled there. How many of the G.I.’s stationed in North Africa had any regard for the “Ay-Rabs” or any concept of their lives and problems?

What is wrong here as nearly everywhere is not people but the system. If the Europeans had had enough sense to build schools and train the Moslems in technological disciplines, in agriculture, animal husbandry, transportation, and the use of machine tools of all kinds, then the study of law and other more abstract subjects could have come later. If they had kept the younger generations of Moslems interested and busy and had let them participate in the development of their own countries, if they had protected them by preparing them to protect themselves, they would have succeeded in their mission. And France would have gained mightily in the end.

The political situation in North Africa at the present moment is in such a state of flux that anything one could write would be out of date before it reached the printer. Working from east to west, we know almost nothing about the former Italian colony, except that the French seem to be in command in the oases and the British along the coast. The Russians have publicly stated their demand for this territory, and censorship seems to be in force. In Tunisia, the French are still ruling through the puppet-show of the new Bey, set up to replace the old one deposed during the war for German sympathies. The Neo-Destour (Constitution) party is being run from exile by Habib Bourguiba. In Algeria the principal native party is the PPA, Partie du Peuple Algerien, headed by a leader named Messali, a native of Tlemcen, who spent several years in exile in Brazzaville. Five or six members of this party have lately been members of the French Chamber of Deputies. Another party is the Parti du Manifeste Algerien, headed by Farhat Abbas. Their aim is the autonomy of Algeria with its own government and its own flag, within a French union. Eleven of this party were elected to the Deputies early in 1946, but when their program was rejected
they failed to run again, and in the elections of November, 1946, no member of their party was returned. There is also an Algerian Communist party, under Omar Ouzgane, which has not particularly prospered.

In Morocco several different nationalist movements have now been merged under the Istiqlal Party. The nationalist leaders in exile—Ahmad el Fasi, Ahmad Belafrej, and others—have been released and some of them have gone to Cairo. The party had one free organ, the weekly newspaper called *Le Voix du Maroc*, published in Tangier by Moktar es Sadik Ahardan. It ran for a year and three months, in 1946–47, before it was suppressed. The Sultan has begun to take an active part in the Moroccan independence movement. On April 9, 1947, after many attempts, he succeeded in visiting Tangier, and making a public speech in which he stated the aspirations of Moslems in Morocco, their desire for an united empire, and their interest in the Arab League. This event was closely followed by the resignation of Gov. General Erick Labonne and the appointment of Gen. Juin in his place. Another event of equal if not greater moment was the escape of 'Abd el-Krim to Cairo on May 31, 1947. Since then the venerable Riffian strategist has collected about him a staff of Nationalist leaders, who hail him as chief. No one knows where this will end.

Meanwhile, the French Government has sent Yves Chataigneau, a career diplomat with ambassadorial rank, to Algeria as Governor-General. So solicitous is he of the welfare of the Moslems that many of the colons call him Mohammed Chataigneau behind his back. He may be able to help the critical situation out, but he is greatly handicapped by all that has gone before, and by the short-sighted attitude of most of his countrymen. In Morocco the French are making concession after concession, and trying hard to remedy what seems to be an impossible situation.

Despite these last minute attempts at patching the dyke, the flood will come. Relations between Europeans and Moslems are at the breaking point. Through second choice, the Tunisians, Algerians, and Moroccans are looking to the Moslem nations of the East for inspiration and support. If, a few years ago, they had had their choice between the technology of the West and its liberal intellectual outlook, on the one hand, and the more recent modernization of
the East on the other, most of them would have chosen the West. But
the choice has been denied them, they have been treated as children
or as second class adults, pas assez evolues, and reaction has set in.
Despite the appointments of Chataigneau, Juin, and de la Tour, it
may be too late to mend the situation.

For any reader who may by chance wish to know what it was
that the Arab handed the Governor-General on January 19, 1944,
I append the following. The English translation was made by the
Moslems themselves.³

Rabat, Jan. 11 1944

Ambassador Gabriel Puaux,
Resident General of the French Republic in Morocco,
Rabat

Sir,

By virtue of the mandate conferred upon us, we have the honour to
inform you that we have deposited in H. M. Sidi Mohammed, our be­
loved sovereign’s hands, the resolutions, copies of which are attached
herewith.

We beg your Excellency kindly to transmit said copy to the President
of the Committee of National Liberation and to bring to his notice the
appeal we are making to the liberal and comprehensive spirit which ani­
mates all the French of the Resistance Movement, so that the Moroccan
question be settled according to the righteous principles dominating all
international relations.

We are convinced that our wish will meet with the cordial approval of
General de Gaulle and your Excellency.

We also beg you to note that our Movement, aiming at the emancipa­
tion of our country within the framework of legality, is in nowise con­
trary to the legitimate interests of France in Morocco.

We think that the moment has come for France to reward the Moroc­
cans for the blood they have shed, are shedding and will, if necessary,
shed in the future, for the triumph of her ideal and her own liberty.

Your Excellency’s obedient servants,

For the Supreme Council of the Independence Party,

Omar Abdeljalil
M’Hamed Zeghari
Mohamed Ghazi

³ Istiglal Party Documents (Documentation and Information Office of the Is­
TEXT OF THE PROCLAMATION OF THE ISTIQLAL PARTY

The Istiqlal Party (Independence Party) which includes the members of the ex-National Party and independent personalities;

Considering that Morocco always constituted a free and sovereign State and that it preserved its independence during thirteen centuries, until the time when, under particular circumstances, a regime of Protectorate was imposed upon it;

Considering that the main object of this regime was to endow Morocco with a series of administrative, judicial, cultural, economic, financial and military reforms, without prejudice to the traditional sovereignty of the Moroccan people, under the overlordship of its King;

Considering that the Authorities of the Protectorate have substituted to this regime a regime of direct administration and arbitrary power for the benefit of the French residents, whose plethoric functionaries are to a large extent superfluous; considering that no attempt has been made to conciliate the divergent interests in presence;

Considering that owing to this system, the French Colony has been enabled to seize all public powers and take possession of the natural resources of the country, to the detriment of its inhabitants;

Considering that the regime thus established has tried to split by divers means the unity of the Moroccan people, that it has prevented the effective participation of Moroccans in their country's government and that it has deprived them of all public and individual liberties;

Considering that the present circumstances are unlike those of the Protectorate's beginnings;

Considering that Morocco efficiently participated in the World Wars on the side of the Allies; that its troops have recently accomplished exploits which aroused general admiration, in France as well as in Tunisia, Corsica, Sicily, Italy, and that even greater participation on other battlefields, to hasten France's liberation, is expected from Morocco;

Considering that the Allies, who are shedding their blood for the cause of Liberty, have recognized, in the Atlantic Charter, the right of peoples to freedom, independence and that recently, at the Teheran Conference, they have proclaimed their reprobation of the doctrine, according to which the strong shall dominate the weak;

Considering that the Allies have manifested, on several occasions, their sympathy towards the peoples whose historical patrimony is less substantial than ours and whose degree of civilisation is on a lower level than Morocco's;

Considering finally that Morocco constitutes a homogeneous unit
which, under the lofty leadership of its Sovereign, takes cognizance of its rights and obligations in internal as well as international matters and appreciates the benefits of democratic liberties which are in conformity with the principles of our religion and have served as a basis for the constitution of all Moslem countries.

**DECIDES:**

**A.—Concerning general policy:**

1. — To ask for the Independence and territorial integrity of Morocco under the leadership and guidance of H. M. Sidi Mohammed Ben Youssuf, whom the Almighty shall exalt;

2. — To solicit H. M. to enter into negotiations with the interested Nations tending to the recognition and safeguard of this independence, as well as to the fixation, within the framework of national sovereignty, of the legitimate interests of aliens residing in Morocco;

3. — To ask for the adhesion of Morocco to the Atlantic Charter and for its participation in the Peace Conference.

**B.—Concerning internal policy:**

To solicit H. M. to take under his high patronage the reforms indispensable to insure the country's prosperity.

The Istiqlal Party leaves to H. M. the task of establishing a democratic regime similar to the form of government adopted in the Moslem countries of the Orient, safeguarding the rights of all elements and all classes of Moroccan society, and defining the obligations of each.

Rabat, Moharrem 14, 1363 (January 11, 1944).

*For all sections of the Istiqlal Party and all regions of Morocco*

[Signed]

MOHAMMED LYAZIDI, Member of the Executive Committee of the former National Party

HADJ AHMED CHERKA奥迪, Member of the Supreme Council of the ex-National Party, Director of the Rabat School

HADJ AHMED BALAFREJ, Member of the Executive Committee of the ex-National Party, B.A., Graduate of the Hautes Études of the Sorbonne, Director of the Institute Mohamed Guesous

MOHAMED GHAZI, Member of the Executive Committee of the ex-National Party, Editor of the Review *Rissalat el Maghreb*

ABDELKRIM BENJELLOUN TOUIMI, B.A., B.L., Judge of the Cherifian Supreme Court

ABDELKEBIR EL-FIHRI EL-FASSI, Judge of the Cherifian Supreme Court

ABDELJILIL EL-KABBAJ, Inspector of the Habous, Honorary President of
the Association of Former Students of the Moulay Youssef College of Rabat

ABDELLAH ERRAGRAGUI, Secretary of the General Library
MESSOUD CHIGUER, Secretary of the Makhzen Central
EL-MEHDI BEN BARKA, President of the Association of Former Students of the Moulay Youssef College of Rabat, Member of the Government Council, Professor of the Imperial College and the Lycée Gouraud

[Here follow the names of forty-seven other men, from every class and calling, including some of the most distinguished educators, jurists, and government officials in Morocco.]

SUGGESTED READINGS


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