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Empire Native Policy

OFFICIAL DECLARATION

BY

THE MOST HON.

THE MARQUESS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA

My Lords, I am sure that the noble Lord who moved this Motion* has been gratified by the results that have come from it. I am sure that we are all agreed that the debate to which we have just listened has been of the very greatest value, covering the very widest ground, and that it will be extremely helpful to all of us who have to concern ourselves with the future of Colonial administration. It is particularly gratifying for me to be able to reply to the noble Lord, in so far as his natural modesty has prevented him from revealing to your Lordships the fact that exactly a hundred years ago one of his own ancestors was Chairman of a Committee which discussed almost exactly the same subject as we have been discussing this afternoon. The terms of reference to that Committee are not without interest. The Committee were asked to consider what measures ought to be adopted with regard to the native inhabitants of countries where British settlements are made, and of the neighbouring tribes, in order to secure for them the due observance of justice and the protection of their rights, to promote the spread of civilization among them, and to lead them to the passive and voluntary reception of the Christian religion.

The Report of that Committee is, I think, a very convenient starting ground for me to take in the few remarks which I desire to put before your Lordships at the conclusion of this very interesting debate. That Report of a hundred years ago considered the following territories where the natives were to be led "to the passive and voluntary reception of the Christian religion"—namely, South Africa, the Australian Colonies, the South Sea Islands, North America, British Guiana, and the West African Settlements—and I think the countries considered by that Report, and the terms of reference, are a standing warning to all of us not to suppose that

any line of policy which we lay down here and now is necessarily going to last for one hundred or even fifty years. We have to be very careful, as indeed that Committee were very careful, to realize that there are enormous differences, which cannot be got over, between the various Territories which we are considering, and that those differences may in the course of time either increase or decrease. We can only try to meet those differences as best we can in the light of day-to-day experience. Although that Committee then found it difficult to formulate a very uniform policy for both West Africa and North America at the same time I do think they got as near to a generalization as they could when they said that the object of the policy, in whatever way it might manifest itself, in the various Territories was the government of the indigenous races in their own interests, and with a view to their own elevation in the scale of civilization, rather than any idea of exploitation in the interests of the immigrant community. That was the ideal which the Committee set before themselves, and on the other hand they set behind them any idea of the exploitation of the indigenous races in the interests of any immigrant community, of whatever creed or race.

I need hardly reiterate, but I will do so for the benefit of the most reverend Primate, who has had to leave the House, that that policy is still the policy which actuates His Majesty's Government in dealing with the native races of Africa and elsewhere. Having laid down that general principle, I must remind your Lordships, as most other speakers have reminded you, of the different degrees of culture, civilization, morality and mental outlook to be met with when first we entered the African Continent. That has necessarily resulted in a difference of policy, not merely within the Continent itself but within different districts of each territory. It is clearly quite impossible to lay down a hard and fast rule, and I do hope that the noble Lord would not desire it. It would be quite impossible to lay down a hard and fast rule which would cover, for example, the highly civilized Mahomedan Emirates of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, and at the same time suit the needs of those primitive and almost uncivilized pagan tribes in the South-Eastern parts of the same territory. It really is not a possible thing to do, to devise a method of administration which would be equally satisfactory for both of them. Therefore details of administration must vary, and it is in the interests of the natives themselves that they should vary. I repeat once again that the interests and future development of the indigenous population of these territories remain and always will remain, I hope, the most important thing with which we have to reckon.

I would remind your Lordships that it is only within the last forty years that we have really opened up many of the territories which we have been discussing this afternoon, and I do not pretend for one moment that our methods of administration in those territories have, from the very first, always been ideal ; on the contrary, we always have been anxious

to learn in these matters by the only rule which really brings satisfactory results, that is, the rule of trial and error. But at least I do think that we can say that we have come to some greater understanding of the best methods by which these territories can best be governed. We have learned, at any rate, that it is not necessarily only our function to destroy every institution that we find; on the contrary, we have learnt that it is far better to take the institutions of the natives themselves, which the natives already understand, and to which they are accustomed by long tuition, and to make of those institutions a really good and efficient instrument of government. When we talk about using native institutions it is not that we desire always to keep the native down to the scale of civilization to which he has been accustomed in the past. It is not that: what we mean is that we will take whatever is good in the indigenous institutions of the country, and we will turn them in the spirit of Western civilization to what we consider to be the proper aims of government. The result is, I am happy to say, very satisfactory, because already you find that the very people whose fathers were practising the most brutal and revolting rites in the name of tribal custom are now the most enlightened rulers, and ruling through the same tribal custom as the tribe have always been accustomed to. What it comes to is that we have sublimated the native institutions whenever we have had the opportunity of so doing.

In the very remarkable maiden speech, if I may say so, of the noble Earl who sits behind me, a speech which I hope will only be the first of many that he will address to our House, he rather took exception to some of the remarks made by the mover of this Motion with regard to trusteeship, and certainly the noble Lord who moved it was not the only one to offer his interpretation of what that word means. I think almost everyone in the debate ventured his interpretation. I think it is necessary to be careful how we use a word derived from the law. In a strict legal sense the trustee administers a separate estate on behalf of others, and to those others, or to people appointed on their behalf, he is liable to account. That is not exactly the relationship which exists between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the territories administered by the Colonial Office, for this very good reason, that these trustees, if His Majesty's Government are to be called trustees, have a separate responsibility all their own, which cannot be ignored. His Majesty's Government—and there is no use denying it or trying to gloss it over—in addition to their responsibility to the indigenous people have also a responsibility to people of their own race; and where there is a trading community with large amounts of capital invested, where there are communities of Europeans engaged in developing a country, or where particular pieces of territory are necessary for the defence of the Empire as a whole, I do not think that we could possibly forget that we have a duty towards our own people as well as a duty towards the native population which we try to guard.

It is obvious that you can try to solve the dual interest that I have described in two ways. You can either try—to continue the legal metaphor—to divide the estate into two parts, which is usually described as a policy of segregation ; or you can boldly face the issue of the dual interest and try to make those two interests complementary and not conflicting ; and very frequently it has been our experience in the past—and no doubt it will be again—that it is only by a policy of parallel development of that kind that you will be able to avoid a racial clash.

I think I have said enough in this connection to make it quite clear that the broad policy which my noble Friend advocated in his speech is indeed that which is now followed by the Governments for which the Colonial Office is responsible. It is perfectly true that from place to place variations of administrative detail may occur ; but I do not want it to be thought for one moment that in any territory there is the slightest variation from the principle which I laid down at the beginning of this speech. That is that the interests of the indigenous population must come first ; and I must say that I am not at all shaken in that statement by anything that has fallen from the noble Lord, or from other noble Lords with regard to certain differences which I admit exist in various parts of Africa.

I do not think it would serve your Lordships' purpose if I were to go into a long review of the various histories of land tenure in West and East Africa respectively. I admit that to a large extent those tenures are a matter of history. Similarly I do not think it would really be of very much value if I were to explain at great length—which indeed I assure you I could do—as to why direct taxation on the East of Africa has necessarily to be higher than on the West. I would only remind the noble Lord, as he raised this specific point, that in practice the native in the West of Africa does not get off quite so lightly as he would have us believe ; that although the direct taxation in the East of Africa naturally is easy to see and to complain about, at the same time the indirect taxes, including such taxes as the tax on spirits, from which the West African Governments derive their revenue, bear no less hardly in practice on the native population than the more direct taxes on the East of Africa. And I must confess that I was again not impressed by the diatribe against the hardships of the pass laws in which numerous speakers, including the noble Marquess, indulged at various stages of the debate. As my noble friend is well aware, there is in fact no pass law in the Colonies for which His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom are responsible, as it is understood in other places. In Kenya you have got what is called a *Kipandi* system which, at the most, is merely a method of registration, a record and a passport, a thing which a man of good character with good references is only too anxious to produce, but which a man of evil character, who would very much like to disappear as conveniently as possible, and if possible with an advance of wages in his hand, would very much like to be without.

As for the case of Southern Rhodesia which the noble Marquess raised—I am sorry he is not here to argue this point with me—I would remind him that most of the legislation of which he complains is in fact merely a consolidation of various laws of the same character dating back some thirty years, long before the grant of self-government was made to Southern Rhodesia. I am informed that the point of the consolidation of these laws, and the enforcement of them, is to prevent natives of evil character coming to the towns and committing crimes of various characters. It is not really an argument for him to say: "Oh, look at the increase in the number of natives who have been sent to gaol for violating these pass laws," because the whole point of sending them to gaol in that way and tightening the regulations is to prevent them from going to gaol for very much worse offences.

Finally—and this I think is the last point raised in the debate to which I should reply—I would like to reply very carefully to my noble friend Lord Lloyd, who spoke of the High Commission territories and of the possibility of their transfer. I would remind him that the conclusion was reached that the policy of both Governments—the Union Government and this Government—should in the next few years be directed to bringing about a situation in which, if transfer were to become a matter of practical politics—I would ask your Lordships to mark those words—it could be effected with the full acquiescence of the populations of the territories concerned. It was also decided that, with this end in view, it was important that the closest possible co-operation should be established between the Union Government and the Administration of the territories. Therefore it is really impossible, until that new policy has been tried out, to give any assurance or suggest any date at which any possible transfer might be made. I would remind your Lordships once again that it can only be effected after full consultation with the populations of the territories concerned.

So I come to the last point I think I should make, and that is that the policy of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom is quite clear. It has been laid down over and over again, and I have been glad to re-affirm it once more. I would agree with the Mover of the Motion that it is not for His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to discuss or criticize any policy which may be adopted by His Majesty's Government in any of the Dominions. Each of these Dominions, as my noble Friend's ancestor recognized one hundred years ago, is faced with its own particular problems, and it does no good, and may do harm, for us to offer any solution or attempt to give any advice. Each problem is a separate one, and must be handled by the men whose task it is to conduct it. Therefore I think the final conclusion of the Motion by my noble Friend is ill-conceived. He suggests that it would be a suitable task for the Imperial Conference to formulate a policy. The Imperial Conference is not designed for a task such as this. It is designed to deal with

such questions as are of common interest and can form a basis of common policy. I do not really think, and I do not think the noble Lord seriously thinks, that measures of internal and individual administration such as we have been discussing this afternoon can really come within the scope of a Conference of that kind. He had much better be content with the assurance I have given him of the policy of His Majesty's Government in the Colonies for which they are responsible. That policy, I believe, will meet with his approval. As I have said before, it is a policy which has been followed now for many years. It is a policy which we are following as best and as fast as we can, and it is a policy from which, as far as I can see, there is very little likelihood of our being about to depart.

* That this House, in view of the divergencies in native policy now developing in different parts of His Majesty's Dominions and Dependencies, believes that the time has arrived for the Imperial Conference to formulate such policy in broad outline, with a view to protecting the rights and promoting the advancement of all races of the Empire, whatever may be their religion and colour, and that such policy should be based upon the principle of trusteeship.

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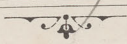
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1937

Norfolk
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May 4th 1937

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Yours faithfully,

MARY TILLET,

Hon. Sec.

New Year:

'22 ended

'32 unchanged!

Paying shd be 1 test.

Real adoption shd be refusal.

Simon Ceere adⁿ in Eng.

(Mrs Norman)

Wishes. Few moved in HK.
Malaya many, apply law in HK

Cave. spies + new offences. + graft.
bad feeling of Chinese.

Maxwell. Maj

Who is meant by Maxwell?
— & the next man?

Business man from Hong Kong
now a member of the London
Mining Socy. Committee



M U I T ' S A I

NOTES OF SPEECHES AT THE COLONIAL OFFICE, NOVEMBER 4TH, 1937, WHEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES, MR. ORMSBY GORE, RECEIVED A DEPUTATION ORGANISED BY THE ANTI-SLAVERY AND ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY AND REPRESENTING VARIOUS SOCIETIES INTERESTED IN THE QUESTION OF MUI-T'SAI IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The Save the Children Fund Delegation, consisted of Mrs. de Bunsen, Chairman of the Child Protection Committee, and Mr. Fuller. Lord Noel-Buxton was also among those present.

Mr. Charles Roberts, introducing the deputation, said that those interested in the question of Mui-T'sai had much for which to thank the Colonial Secretary, especially for the appointment of the Departmental Commission. Those whom the deputation represented objected not merely to the buying and selling of human-beings; they wanted to get effectual legislation and administration to make the unregulated transference of children impossible. Mr. Roberts recalled that the deputation arose from a Conference which the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society had called at the House of Commons last May. He noted with satisfaction from a statement made by the Colonial Secretary in the House of Commons the previous night that the principles/^{embodied} in one of the resolutions passed by that Conference had been accepted by the Government of the Straits Settlements. He hoped the same principles would prevail in Hongkong and that effectual measures would be taken to deal with the long-standing problem of Mui-T'sai.

Lady Simon urged that there was every reason for taking imme-

diate steps to abolish the practice of Mui-T'sai in the British Empire. The economic situation which was arising in China as a result of the war would accentuate the evil of selling children with the intention of getting them into British territory.

Commander Haslewood, speaking of his experience in Hong^g Kong, where he first revealed the Mui-T'sai system eighteen years ago, referred to the inadequacy of existing enactments to deal with the problem - Article 45 of the Offences Against Person Act and the specific Mui-T'sai Ordinance. He urged that there should be a re-affirmation, implemented by necessary legislation, to uphold and enforce the general principles that no child should be transferred from one person to another for "valuable consideration", that cases of genuine adoption should be dealt with by special legislation, similar to that of the English Adoption of Children Act, 1926, that notification of any transfer of a girl for a proposed marriage should be made to Government authority, and that all girls who are transferred from the care of their parents should be reported to Government authority at the time of the transfer or within a strictly limited time after arrival on British soil.

Miss Alison Nielans said the desire of the societies represented was to end all buying and selling of children. It might be that ^{no} Mui-T'sai were actually sold, but many other girls were and some forced into marriage and concubinage and prostitution, ^{and} ^{was} even subjected ^{to} physical deformity in order that they might be successful beggars.

It was of little use to attempt to define "Mui-T'sai". What they had to face was the real fact of the transfer of children and of all such transference there must be notification.

Dame Maria Ogilvie Gordon spoke of the evasion of the existing laws against Mui-T'sai, as a result of which only 50 per cent. of transfers~~s~~ in Hongkong and 75 per cent. in Malaya were registered. It was an outstanding weakness of the present regulations that there was no exact definition of Mui-T'sai. There was a constant inflow from China of "adopted daughters" and there were many sham adoptions. The so-called "security bond" was a great weakness of the present system, giving the adopter a great deal of control over a girl's future.

Mr. Ormsby Gore in reply to the deputation said he realised the wide interest which was being taken in Mui-T'sai and its ^{cognate} ~~note~~ ~~was~~ problems in those parts of the British Empire where there were a large number of Chinese residents. He was glad that speakers had stressed the point that the recent Departmental Commission had been of real value. He thought that China realised now that a great many people in this country were determined not to see some of the institutions which existed in Chinese life perpetuated on British soil. A fundamental difference/^{existed} between Chinese ideas of the structure of family life and of parental responsibility and our own. These ideas, however, were changing, especially among the Christian Chinese, ^{and} the difficulty ^{was} ~~being~~ even greater because of ^{the} ~~these~~ to carry non-Christian Chinese opinion in favour of such reforms.

The Minister remarked that the Chinese resented our calling the custom of Hui-T'sai slavery - it was a slur upon their civilisation. There was no doubt that in the past the custom of Hui-T'sai was introduced by wise emperors as a system of domestic service to destroy the widespread evil of female infanticide. The problem now was to change the attitude of a people whose background was so radically different from our own.

The Minister said he was told that in Malaya there was less difficulty because the Chinese were becoming more and more Europeanised in their outlook, but in Hong Kong it remained a most refractory problem. Moreover the problem was aggravated by the incursion of thousands of refugees from South China and by the new problems of a cholera epidemic, the worst typhoon in history, the great shrinkage of trade and revenue, and day by day difficulties arising out of the war, which were taxing the energies of British officials there to the utmost.

In remarking that the Government of Hong Kong approved the Majority Report of the Commission, whereas the Government of the Straits Settlements had approved the Minority Report in principle, subject to minor variations, he urged that those interested must be careful not to run one report against the other and that partisans for the Minority should not try to jettison what was useful in the Majority Report. He believed that the example of the Straits Settlements would be followed by the other Governments in Malaya.

The Minister then outlined the effect of the proposals of the Minority Report and said that the Straits Settlements proposed to enact a new Children's Ordinance which, while it would be quite distinct from the existing Mui-T'Sai regulations, would implement these proposals. This would extend protection not only to Mui-T'sai, but to all children who were in need of it. As to Hong Kong, before war broke out in China, the Colonial Government had intimated that they accepted completely the proposals of the Majority Report and were drafting legislation to carry out fully its recommendations. He felt that the Minority proposals would be strongly resented by the Chinese and any attempt to enforce them would not achieve their end. In view of what is happening in China, he said, he had obviously got to feel his way in Hong Kong. It was useless to make proposals unless they were sure that the Government of Hong Kong had the means to put them into effect. He regarded it, however, as a great advance that the Government of Hong Kong and the Watch Committee were prepared to implement the proposals of the Majority Report. Reverting to the question of Malaya, the Minister said that he thought that the other states of the Federation would probably follow the Straits Settlements. He would do what he could for the Protectorate States, but it must be remembered that there he had nine different legislatures, each with its own backing and organisation. He was, however, optimistic. Summing up, he referred again to the social background, the tenacity of the Chinese and

the peculiar form of polygamy which existed in China. The attitude of these people, even that of the most old-fashioned, was not that of the slave-owner to the slave. They were a kindly people, their methods might not be ours, but they were certainly not ^{cruel}; but they resented any suggestion that they were deliberately immoralist^{ly} and he thought they rightly resented it. He did not want any criticism to go forth which would make it more difficult for the Christian ideal to be ~~promoted~~ ^{promoted} in China or for anything denunciatory to be said which might hinder the conversion of the Chinese and the bringing of them within the Christian fold.

Lord Noel-Buxton expressed thanks to the Minister for his sympathetic view of the question. The deputation had great faith in him and knew that his interest in the matter was very genuine. He asked that details of the proposals which had been made in regard to Malaya and Hong Kong should be made available to the deputation together with a statement of the Minister's views.

The Minister was understood to agree to this.

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For Publication Friday 20. March.

To:-

The Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P.,
His Majesty's Principal Secretary
of State for the Colonies,
Colonial Office,
Downing Street, S.W.1.

11th February,
1936.

Sir,

I beg leave to acknowledge, on behalf of my Committee, the Report forwarded to us by His Majesty's Government and issued by the Government of Hong Kong, upon the question of the Mui Tsai system operating in that Colony. This Report makes clear to the public for the first time that the appointment of the Committee of Enquiry was due to the incisive questions directed to His Majesty's Government by Sir George Maxwell, the British Member of the Permanent Slavery Committee of the League of Nations.

In the first place, my Committee desires to recall that as far back as March 1922, Mr. Winston Churchill, then Colonial Secretary, informed Parliament that he was determined to effect the abolition of the system at the earliest practicable date, and that he had indicated to the Governor that he expected the change to be carried out within one year. This announcement by Mr. Winston Churchill evoked from all political Parties and all religious denominations in this country such a large measure of approval and appreciation, that the Society summoned a public meeting, at which a resolution was moved by Lady Gladstone, thanking the Government for its vigorous action in the matter.

My Committee believes that public opinion will be gravely perturbed to learn that nearly fourteen years later a Government Enquiry into the position in Hong Kong should still find it necessary to make as its first recommendation - "The most urgent need (is) for a full enquiry into the sale and adoption of Chinese girls, the legal, moral and social consequences"

My Committee believes that it is expressing the prevailing view of British public opinion in supporting with all the earnestness at its command this proposal for a full enquiry. They are the more concerned to press this upon His Majesty's Government in view of the disclosures in this Report of the practice of buying and selling human

beings in territory under the control of the British Crown. In doing so, my Committee would respectfully urge that the geographical area to be covered by such an enquiry should obviously be much more extensive than Hong Kong, and should include those territories in Malaya wherever the Mui Tsai system still prevails.

The Committee of this Society, in the confidence that a full enquiry will now be made, desires to suggest that the following subjects should be included in the terms of reference:-

(a) In spite of the statements frequently made that the buying and selling of these children is restricted to girls, my Committee would suggest that the terms of reference should include also the buying and selling of boys. I need hardly say that this suggestion is made with good reason.

(b) This Report and other material in our possession, shows that there are loopholes in the existing situation which permit of the purchase of boys and girls under some name other than "Mui Tsai". They hope, therefore, that His Majesty's Government will extend the whole question so as to cover enquiry into the effectiveness of registration of all children removed from the custody of their parents, whether by (1) sale, (2) gift, (3) inheritance, (4) "adoption."

(c) One of the most disturbing statements in this Report is that in the opinion of the Committee of Enquiry it will prove impossible to stop the buying and selling of children. We feel sure that His Majesty's Government will agree that no British administration could adopt this attitude, and that the only position for a British Government to take is that it must use its administrative energy to prevent any form of slave trade under the British flag. It would therefore seem important to include in the terms of reference the question as to what further steps the British administration can take either locally or (probably more effectually) internationally, to stop the sale of children inside British territory.

There are three other points of a minor character to which my Committee desires to draw attention, and which might well be considered by the proposed further Committee of Enquiry:-

(d) The obvious inadequacy of the number of Inspectors.

(e) The curious variation in the ages at which Mui Tsai become really free, as between Hong Kong on the one side, and Malaya on the other. In the latter the age is 18 years, but in Hong Kong, there appears to be no administrative limit, for we observe that in that Colony there are some 650 Mui Tsai over 18 years of age!

(f) The Committee of Enquiry, in a marginal note on page 15 of the Report, makes a statement which appears to require further examination, namely that in Hong Kong the number of registered Mui Tsai is unknown. This statement seems to be so entirely inconsistent with any information which we have received from His Majesty's Government during the last thirteen years, that we suggest it requires further consideration.

In conclusion, my Committee desires to express its appreciation of the fact that a strong revulsion of feeling is taking place among the Chinese people themselves upon this subject, and that the present generation of Chinese is finding the idea of buying and selling children abhorrent.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your humble and obedient servant,

(Sgd.) JOHN HARRIS.

Secretary.

INAUGURATING A POLICY OF TRUSTEESHIP FOR THE NATIVE POPULATIONS

Brave Attempt to Reconcile Conflicting Class Interests Without Destroying Differences of Race

By G. HEATON NICHOLLS



Pipe of peace.

THE Union of the four South African States was the consummation of a 300-year-old effort to establish in Southern Africa resident European civilisation. After all those years the Europeans number slightly over 2,000,000 and, together with the few thousands in the Rhodesias and Kenya, constitute the only permanent white community in all Africa outside of the Mediterranean littoral—excluding the new position in Abyssinia, about which it is yet too early to speak.

BEYOND THE POLITICAL BOUNDARIES

It is impossible to consider the so-called native problem solely in its relation to the people of the Union. The 6,500,000 members of the Bantu race who live in the Union are kith and kin to many more millions living beyond its borders. The political boundaries separating the African States from each other were drawn by European annexationists without any regard to local historical divisions, and cut through the heart of native tribal territories in practically every part of the continent. Brothers were thereby herded into different political systems and theoretically forced to acknowledge a separate allegiance to different overlords. But despite this the inter-tribal communion grows everywhere closer with the years.

The Union is acutely conscious of this. As it attempts to deal with its own conditions it is forced to realise that its destiny may depend not so much on what it may itself do, as on what is done elsewhere by others, and done without a fraction of the responsibility which lies on Union statesmen. For, outside of the Union and Southern Rhodesia, and, of course, the Northern desert regions, all the African States are administered by absentee governments, whose local agents are mere sojourners in Africa.

reduce many of the Cape natives to a landless, impotent proletariat—the prey of negrophilists and the doubtful prop of political parties. In the North there was the utmost antagonism to the Cape system. This was particularly so in Natal, where Sir Theophilus Shepstone had initiated the ideal of trusteeship in the establishment of native tribal reserves and the statutory recognition of native law.

Recognition of the principle of trusteeship was necessarily slow growth, but it was unconsciously emerging as experience and biological study made clear the

in their destruction lie the seeds of bitter conflict between the races. Once the need for racial differentiation is admitted, and political thought ceases to fix itself on class ideology, the issue becomes clear. A Bantu Nation or a Black Proletariat?

The native problem is how best to harmonise, in the interests of both, all the contacts between two separate races—one civilised, the other uncivilised, one having a highly complex system of society and law and government, the other having a very simple and very effective system of tribal



Native life in the Westpansberg district of Natal. A group fording the river, which serves almost like a main street.

permanent differences of race. Its generous application, however, was frustrated everywhere by the fear that the Cape franchise might prevail.

SUSPICIOUS OF NATIVE PROGRESS

This fear operated to prevent all

sanctions and customs, the virtues of which we have only lately begun to understand.

The new legislation, basing itself on the age-long instincts of the European community and aligning itself with the principles of trusteeship—now proclaimed throughout all the British States on the Continent—has set the stage for a policy of a parallel develop-

more on native education than all the rest of British Africa. Its 37 millions of people, put together. Moreover, though, in common with all the others, much of the education in the lower standards, there thousands of natives in post-graduate schools and training colleges everywhere.

To-day the major portion of native taxation is spent on education, and with the development of the ideal of trusteeship now the natives have ceased to be a cause of quarrel, more assistance forthcoming. The whole system of education, which under the Act of 1913, under Provincial Government in the melting-pot. A commission of educational experts has recommended that native education be taken over by the Union Government.

SHARE IN COUNTRY'S REES

Such, then, is the key and accomplishment of government in the Union. It is easy to find fault with existing conditions, to point to the discrimination against the natives in urban areas, the existence of pass laws, curfew laws, and restrictions. But such criticisms ignore the genetic differences which make discrimination necessary.

The provision of land and

LANGUAGE THE KEY TO CO-OPERATION

Fight for the Afrikaner Tradition

EVIL OF 'SUPERIOR' ATTITUDE

By Prof. T. J. HAARHOFF

THERE is nothing so pernicious as the facile optimism that grew up with the "fusion" movement in South African politics. Some people sweep away with a wave of the hand all the complexities and difficulties that arise inevitably in a land where war has come between two races of different tradition and language. That attitude opens the door to reaction. Not facile optimism, but hard work, enlightened by good will and imagination, is required to build a new order of things.

Two ways of behaviour offer themselves to the South African citizen—the positive and the negative. The negative one is employed by the extremists. It is an easy but a dangerous way.

COMBATING TRADITIONAL IGNORANCE

On the other hand, the people who are positive and constructive do not merely assemble grievances. When they see a man, for example, who is neglectful or malignant or ignorant about Afrikaans—and there is still a vast amount of traditional ignorance—they do not record a grievance. They say, as we have said at the University of the Witwatersrand, "Here is a piece of work to be done—a task of conversion that may require much patience and good will, but a task that is worth while because it lays a permanent foundation if it can be accomplished." The emphasis is not on the failure or the grievance, but on the task.

It is thus that much progress has been made in racial understanding. For the language, and all it implies in self-respect and achievement, is still the most potent key to real co-operation. It is the cultural movement that is manipulated by the extremists as their most effective weapon. It was on the language question, rather than on the general Imperial issue, that Gen. Hertzog, the Prime Minister, came into power. It is the same question that forms the hope of the extremists to-day. For their slogan is that they alone are carrying on the great fight for the Afrikaner tradition.

WORTHY OF ADDITIONAL STUDY

For this reason it is to be regretted that so many of our English South Africans still turn a blind eye to the Afrikaans language and literature, the

A hairpin bend on the mountain motor-road to Frenchhoek, a town founded by Huguenot refugees 40 miles from Cape Town. The scenery is magnificent.



New Spirit of Goodwill Maturing

YOUNGER GENERATION FORGETTING THE PAST

By RONALD CURREY

IT has been remarked that South Africa can no longer be regarded as belonging in any real sense, to the Empire. There is a good deal on the surface, and for some little way below the surface, too, to confirm this view. It is long since the last vestiges of Downing Street control disappeared in South Africa, and her citizens to-day, de jure et de facto, are very completely masters in their own house. Of every five of these citizens three use Afrikaans and not English as their mother-tongue. Under the South African constitution every 17 countrymen, who are almost all Afrikaners, have the voting powers of 20 of their fellow citizens in the towns, where the great majority of English South Africans live.

would be to misconceive it entirely. In spite of appearances it is not even superficially correct. For Gen. Hertzog to-day finds himself as Prime Minister at the head of a party which is composed in probably equal numbers of English and Afrikaner supporters, and this party has an overwhelming majority over what at present cannot be called more than opposition groups.

It is not an exaggeration to say that no one of these groups to-day could imagine itself as an alternative government to that of Gen. Hertzog and Gen. Smuts.

BRIDGING THE DIVIDING GULF

UNWISDOM OF ABSENTEE RULERS

These absentee rulers are unconcerned with European settlement, and their primary interests are not directly humanitarian, but economic and strategic. No matter what misdirected policies they may initiate, the results will not affect the lives and fortunes of their own people. But such policies may, and probably will, determine the destiny of the Union of South Africa.

There were only two roads which it was possible for the Union to follow; one, that of a development of "Black" and "White" as a single community; the

other, one of a parallel development. There was no middle course. Either the Union had to adopt the principle of a common citizenship for "Black" and "White" alike, ending ultimately in a coloured or black South Africa, or the white race had to face up to its responsibilities as trustees of a separate native race within its borders. The struggle between these rival conceptions has been at the root of much of the political strife in South Africa for generations.

THEORIES THAT IGNORED REALITIES

The idea of a common citizenship was bequeathed to the Cape 60 years ago with its first franchise. The insistence of the British Government on the enfranchisement of the savage was in accordance with the prevailing political theories of the age, shot through and through with rose-coloured Benthamite utilitarianism.

Successive Cape Parliaments, however, having to deal with realities instead of theories, were driven to minimise the danger of the native vote to utilisation by restrictive legislation. At the same time, Benthamite capitalists, preaching fraternity and equality, batted on the absence of a recognised policy of trusteeship, to

the passing of repressive laws; the intensification of political party warfare and much else, all gave a totally false impression to the world of the native position in South Africa.

The new era may be said to have commenced with Gen. Hertzog's bills in 1926. For eight years they were under consideration by Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament; and the final Acts adopted last year were accepted practically unanimously. Some harmonisation between the Southern and Northern views has been achieved; but, in essence, the legislation is an unequivocal national acceptance of the policy of trusteeship as opposed to that of a common citizenship.

In other words, South Africa has faced the biological fact that the natives of Africa do not form a separate and lower class of the population of the Union, but a distinct race, differing psychologically from the Europeans, having a different glandular system, with different instincts and racial complexes, which are not necessarily inferior to Europeans, but demonstrably different.

Moreover, there is every reason why these differences should be maintained. For not only are they the racial heritage of the natives, in which is enshrined the ethos of the people, but

the political field mixed voting of natives and Europeans in the Cape disappears. The natives will in future vote in the Cape for their own selected members of Parliament. We shall no longer see the European political parties fighting each other over the native vote. In addition, direct native communal representation is provided in the Senate.

The autonomy of native local government in the Reserves, begun years ago, is to be everywhere strengthened. A Native Representative Council, linked up with Local Councils in the Reserves, on which natives themselves are the only elected representatives, has been called into being, with complete freedom of debate on all native matters.

VAST OUTLAY ON LAND SETTLEMENT

The policy of trusteeship requires adequate native Reserves for its success. There must be areas where native interests will be paramount, where native institutions will have liberty to evolve in consonance with the growth of the native people, and where the indigenous tribal government through chiefs and councils, modified to suit local needs, must be encouraged and developed.

To this end the Native Trust and Land Act was passed to establish a Native Trust charged with the acquisition of an additional 15,000,000 acres of land. Ten million pounds have been allocated, to be spent over a period of five years, in the purchase and development of this land, and more money is promised if such is found to be necessary. Large areas of land have already been purchased, and plans for its effective development and settlement by natives are already under way.

The addition of these 15,000,000 acres, mostly in occupation to-day by Europeans, will bring the total extent of the native Reserves in the Union to 54,000 square miles—an area equal to that of England and Wales.

AGRICULTURAL TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT

The purchase of more land for natives permits the development of far-reaching schemes being applied to the old native locations. A total of £1,641,023 is being spent from the Native Development Fund during the coming financial year in agricultural training, in the provision of water supplies, the prevention of soil erosion, veld improvement, livestock improvement, communal cultivation, and many other activities on which over 1,000 officials, natives and Europeans, are employed.

This money is in addition to the ordinary expenditure on district administration, justice, police, public works, provincial roads, and so on, which form so large an item in the accounts of the various Colonies and Protectorates, but which in the Union is provided from the Consolidated Revenue. It is a fact that the Union is spending more money on the actual physical development of the native Reserves than all the British States of Africa together.

CONTRAST IN EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE

What is true of agriculture is also true of native education. An interesting comparison is provided by the cost of native education in the 10 British Colonies and Protectorates in Africa and that in the Union. The former, with a native population of more than 37,000,000, spent £686,516, while the Union, with 6,500,000 natives, spent £819,712. In other words, the Union is spending

A permanent European town, to be regulated, will continue to be developed on farms, and reserves and European areas will add to the roots of the native family which they will develop their own for the benefit of their race.

South Africa can be reconciled and class interests are

interest of which has been recognised by acknowledged authorities like Prof. J. L. Myres, Mr. Lascelles Abercrombie, Prof. Wyld and many others in Great Britain, as well as by competent critics in Holland, Germany, and France.

There still lingers the old ignorant contempt for what used to be called Kitchen Dutch. There is still something of the "superior attitude." This is, of course, exploited by the extremists, and the tragedy is that a headline may undo the work of years. Here our friends in England can help us. For the recognition of what is good and positive in Afrikaans, the realisation that it is a contribution to the total complex of Commonwealth culture, will help to remove obstacles in the way of co-operation.

The growth of Dominion nationalism, which is at least equally apparent in Canada and Australia; the growth of Afrikaner national sentiment, which is something quite different; the Imperial Conference Declaration of 1926, the Statute of Westminster, the South African Status Act, and the appointment of a "Union National" to the office of Governor-General must seem inevitable stages along the same road. It is hardly surprising that a good many impartial observers feel that the end of the journey must be the complete secession of South Africa from the British Empire, either as an independent movement or as part of a general disruption of the Commonwealth.

Yet to judge the present situation thus

Indeed, there is a very great deal to suggest that the old racialist rancours are at long last beginning to die down, and that among the best of the younger people of both races they are already well-nigh dead. A more liberal and generous spirit is stirring among the younger people, and those in touch with the life of the Universities feel that this is especially true of the temper at present prevailing amongst University students throughout South Africa.

For Englishmen and Afrikaner, though each has virtues and failings peculiar to himself, come of essentially kindly and sensible stock. Strife and bitterness and heady enthusiasms which have no root in reality are foreign to the nature of both peoples.

The Englishman was too slow to admit that he and brother Boer have to be fellow citizens and that Afrikaner national sentiment must be understood and respected, that the Afrikaans language rightly has an equal footing with English in South Africa, and that the conception of the Empire as an association of free and equal nations is the only one possible in the world to-day.

IMPATIENCE OF THE OLD ATTITUDE

The Afrikaner, on his side, did not like to face certain indisputable facts; that the Pax Britannica has meant and means everything to South Africa, that the defence of the Union depends, first and last, on the power of the Royal Navy to police the seas, and that the antiquity, language, culture and achievements of England give to all things English a quality to which the products of the Afrikaner national spirit is as yet too young to attain.

But time, patience, common-sense and good will are rapidly bridging the gulf which still separates the two races. At each end of the line extremists from time to time rend the air with their cries. But there is growing up, quite independent of politics, a spirit which will soon make itself articulate and will be merely impatient of all the old, unhappy, far-off things which have so long made for the rancour of life in South Africa. The growth of that spirit is to-day within very close reach of maturity.

Groot Constantia, one of the historical homesteads of the old Dutch settlers. White walls, thatched roofs and decorated gables are typical of these homes.



WHEN OXEN STILL DRAW THE WHITE HOODED WAGONS

Links with Old Days in the Dorps

By AILSA K. GRANDISON

TO the jade-beed-wearied visitor, one of the charms of the sense of restfulness which towns and countryside, partly to the atmospheric conditions, mainly to the retention of so many of the customs and relics of earlier days, is that he is not a master and not a slave.

By this observation, the reader may not imagine the retrogressive in any sense of the word. On the contrary, her development is most marked, but, at the same time, she has been wiser than her countries in that she has not all the habits and uses of her ancestors, and keeps alive the almost lost leisure.

BROAD-BRIMMEDS

Even Johannesburg, most modern and sophisticated, still retains links with the past. The old, too—but as her pace does not date back so very far. In old associations as well as in the Cape.

It is in the country that the atmosphere of old days is best preserved. The hub of a "dorp" is the market square, with its characters and vehicle descriptions are to be found—the ox wagon predominates, especially when it is the time of a Communion Service.

The grassy centre square is used as the outspan of the times when hotels, towns and travellers might obtain fresh water and an amount of firewood, and graze for their oxen. Here the family-hooded wagons, which are convenient enough to house the entire lot of their belongings, if necessary for the night. The menfolk still broad-brimmed "voortrekke" "klapbroek" or flapped and soft skin hunting shoes, "veldskoene," fashioned in the 17th century.

WOMEN'S SUNBONNETS

Their women cling to styles of their great-grandmothers' black frocks, white "ka species of sunbonnet, modella head-dresses of Rembrandt's women, and the veldskoene shoes.

When the ox-team moves, a small native piccanin, times the youngster of the farms at the head of the team of 16 oxen known as a "voorloper," and manipulates the great whips. Their

handles of bamboo often measuring 12 feet in length, and their long thongs of animals' hide on the end of the handle, making them awkward weapons for a novice to wield.

DEFENDING THE HOME

The ox wagon retains its popularity, especially in the Transvaal and Orange Free State where laws are still in force restricting the use of the whips in cities or crossing bridges. It seems incongruous to lie in bed some seven or eight storeys high, in a Johannesburg skyscraper, and to hear the primitive ox wagons wending their ways through the city streets below, in the early hours of the morning.

Another thrilling scene in a country "dorp" is the mustering of a commando, a levy of mounted farmers. Commandoes date from the early period of the settlements when the menfolk were hastily summoned together to ward off the attacks of hostile natives. The Government supplied the guns and ammunition, but the farmers provided the horses and also a certain quantity of food; they were then organised into parties for pursuing recalcitrant robbers and other activities.

A MASSACRE AVENGED

When a person of importance visits a village, invariably they are met on the outskirts by the local commando, mounted on their spirited steeds, who form a picturesque escort into the "dorp." The Dutchmen's prowess with a rifle is recognised as supreme in the world of shooting, and runs in the blood of the sons of men whose very existence often depended on their skill with the gun in fight and hunt.

South Africa is a land of strange rites and interesting traditions, as the following instances show.

In 1835 when the great Boer trek was at its height a small party of men, under their leader, Piet Retief, bargained with a powerful native chief, Dingaan by name, for a grant of territory in exchange for the recovery of some stolen cattle which they had recaptured for him. The chief signed the formalities necessary, and invited the white men to a great feast at which he suddenly turned traitor, and called his

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The Sopitovon Mission



Telephone: Ambassador 1231.
Telegrams: Cumberland Hotel, London.

Book (to NER)
Cumberland Hotel,
Marble Arch,
London, W.1.

June 18/2, 1937.

My dear Mr. Buxton:

I have only just
returned to London
and found your note
of June 7th waiting for
me here. I will be delighted
to come to tea at your
brother's house on Monday

June 21st - Alsbury

Incidentally, your brother,
Ford Noel. Buxton asked me
about some books at

interracial marriage I could
~~not~~ remember the titles
but have since received
them from my husband.

The books are:

Reuter, Race Mixture

Adams, Interracial

Marriage in Hawaii

I hope these titles
don't come too late to

send to Sir J. H.



Hawkhurst

12

Great Wigsell,
Bodiam,
Sussex.

June 17th, 1937.

by Widmer

Dear Lord Noel Buxton,

I have received the text of the Bill you kindly returned. I think the debate was immensely useful, and the fact of unanimity on this subject being shown by people who often disagree on other questions was very impressive. I have sent the Hansard out to Capetown to Mr Coulter, to get it published as far as he can. *(m.p. a very good man)* Reuter has been very bad both ends about native affairs and the Protectorates, and I think it might be worth your while writing a line to Sir Roderick Jones on this subject.

It is appalling to see the way in which South Africa has slipped back into Krugerism in regard to native affairs. We ought to try and pull them back to Rhodes' position:

"Equal Rights for all Civilised Men"

I hope the debate may have affected the South African

qy was
be any
good
really?

Government in their policy. It will not, of course,
change their hearts.

Yours sincerely,

V. Palmer

Pitson

Notes on
Report of Mui Tsai Commission

1. Essential to emphasise our terms of reference were not only to investigate the Mui Tsai problem, but **whole problem of "transferring women and children for valuable consideration"** (P. 1 Report of Mui Tsai Commission issued by Colonial Office; compare p. 233, last sentence).

2. It is not disputed that little children are "transferred," *i.e.*, (1) "sold" for money in fact, though the transaction would not be upheld in court of law—as far as Mui Tsais and young prostitutes are concerned, (2) transferred as gifts, (3) transferred as pledge for debts. (4) They are transferred at a tender age for many purposes: (a) as Mui Tsai (now illegal), (b) as adopted daughters, (c) as prospective daughters-in-law, (d) as young concubines, (e) as young prostitutes (illegal), (f) for immoral purposes on reaching age of consent (Pages 232-33-34).

3. The Mui Tsai Ordinance has been worked in Hong Kong since 1930 with some measure of success. How successful it is quite impossible to say, as the answer to that question depends on an unknown quantity (*i.e.*, the existing number of unregistered Mui Tsai) (P. 215-16).

4. The illegal employment of Mui Tsai by itself in Malaya has generally gone unchallenged by the authorities ever since the passing of the law (Pages 69 and 220).

5. The Mui Tsai Ordinances are (1) confusing, (2) contradictory (in Hong King and Federated Malay States) and (3) unsatisfactory. (See page 225.) "The instances where the Ordinances are silent are too numerous to explore." Loseby Report on Hong Kong, P. 14. They afford too little protection and should be abandoned.

6. The so-called safeguards "Onus of proof" (225, last par.) and legal guardianship are largely illusory (241, line 5).

7. Transferred girls are now always called "adopted daughters." No proof of genuine adoption is asked for at transference of child, transfers of children are common, and take place in a most haphazard way without official cognisance of any authority (P. 234, Sec. 20).

8. Investigation convinces me that machinery of protection should by new legislation be provided for all little children

who have been transferred before the age of 12 (see P. 226-7). The fact that a transferred child is in peril of exploitation is abundantly clear (P. 226, Sec. 14). Every transferred child (with certain exceptions) should be notified, and if it is for purely harmless adoption the Protector must be satisfied on that point, *at time of transference*, thus making the last sentence of clause in 45a a reality (P. 234, Sec. 20). The transference of a child as Mui Tsai is under this clause illegal, but not as an "adopted daughter."

N.B.—The fact that the status of a Mui Tsai is difficult to define (P. 225) creates a dangerous situation to all young transferred children who are quite helpless and are practically always ignorant as to where or who their parents are.

9. By the adoption of a new Ordinance all children transferred under age of 12 shall be notified and where necessary supervised by Officials appointed for the purpose (see full details, page 228 and appendix 295).

10. Two Women Assistant Protectors of Chinese should be appointed for all Malaya, one for Hong Kong.

11. That this wide protection is quite feasible is evidenced by the fact that an Ordinance to this effect (only even wider) passed its first reading in Legislative Council, Singapore, 1933; and never once was it suggested in the debates (two days) that it was practically impossible to work or even administratively difficult (see last sentence P. 235, last lines, and 244).

12. After weighing all the evidence we heard it seems to me quite clear that some of the *conclusions* of the majority report are founded on hopes rather than on data or evidence, *e.g.*, Pages 113, 114, 115 and Sections 8, 12, 13, 18, 28, 30.

13. I am in general agreement with the *recommendations* of the majority report, as useful administrative reforms, but if they alone are accepted the Mui Tsai problem will in fact be a thorn in the side of our Government for many years to come (P. 221).

14. The subject should be treated on a broader basis. As long as it remains on the present Mui Tsai basis with the restricted Mui Tsai register the evidence leads me to believe this constitutes a handicap rather than a help in bringing in a necessary reform on broader lines and this is particularly the reason why my report recommends the abandonment of Mui Tsai Ordinances and the adoption of a new one.

E. PICTON-TURBERVILL.

March 18. 3. 37

My dear Uncle Noel

Many thanks for your

letter of Feb 18th & the

report on that debate. I had

read the Daily Telegraph

account of it a few days

ago. Haig said or wrote

that the fundamental principles

of war were simple but their

application was difficult & not

insusceptible of rules. It was a

matter of study & practice

Some time of that sort I

realize all too well the

deadening power of circulars etc

& the misleading eye wash con-

-tained in reports. Consequently

am not a great admirer

of standard in practice though

the literature side of it seems
to me OK. Old Lawrence's
remark about Punjab administration
'It's not our system it's our men'
is as true today as ~~well~~ when
it was spoken nearly 100 years ago.
& I am concerned to find out
how men of the right type can
be given a better chance than
has been possible under the Kenya
Colonial system or Tanganyika
mandation. I made some
proposals to Sir Alan Pim last
year, submitted them through the
proper authorities who were not
amused. I hope there may be
a chance of a talk with
Brooke Popham before he sinks into
the slough of Nairobi offices
& speeches. The cleavage between
all that is based on Nairobi
& those working in the field
is wider than I have ever known
it before. I am sometimes surprised
to find that we do as a matter
of fact talk the same language as

I doubt if there is any great
difference in administrative quality
in Kenya, Uganda. It's
largely a question of personality
& that factor is for ever change
in every area. Administration is
not an exact science. Little if
any of my experience last time with
the Luo, Kisii & Abakoria Tribes is
the slightest use to be in dealing
with the Masai.

Forgive his last, & ill written
comment on a debate which
interested me very much. You
must remember that I look at
things from an African
not a European point of view.
As a European I should consider
your speech in a different light.
By African, European I mean
generally not ethnologically of
course.
Best love to you all
Yours ever
Clarence

I often wonder whether the words
we use have the same meaning.

Secretariats, with which of course
the League deals, are just fillies
& often the fillies want cleaning
and - You might think from the
frequence that I have some private
preference against our Secretariat
or the word-worshippers

Tanganyika but it is not so.
Our relations socially are pleasant
enough. The mandate system

seems to lead to two opposite
defects in an officers attitude
to his work. Either he acts
in an unprincipled manner because
he is covered by the mandate
theory that all is done for the
good of the native or else he
does nothing for fear he should
infringe some mandatory principle
like indirect rule which may not
be applicable. However on the whole

WITH SIR LEO CHIOZZA MONEY'S COMPLIMENTS

Bramley, Surrey,
March 23, 1937

Addis
Marrane

"ANOTHER MASSACRE BY MUSSOLINI"

AFTER OVER A CENTURY OF RULE

500 KILLED IN COLD BLOOD: 1,500 WOUNDED

FROM HARMSWORTH'S ENCYCLOPAEDIA, Vol I:

AMBITSAR. Grave rioting took place here April 10-11, 1919, following the removal of two native agitators; the mobs burned banks, Government buildings, and railway premises. On April 11 troops dispersed by fire a meeting of 5,000 natives, of whom from 400 to 500 were killed and about 1,500 wounded. The matter was the subject of a public inquiry and the evidence aroused grave concern in Britain.

FROM ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA:

REPRESSION IN IRELAND, 1920 (after centuries of rule)....

....."During the course of the year reprisals of this kind took place in nearly 20 towns, culminating in the serious conflagration in Cork on December 13. These reprisals, except in the cases of Belfast and Lisburn, were the work of the Crown forces. But in the case of the "Black and Tans" and the Auxiliaries, recruited from among ex-service men, it had been understood from the first that they were to be allowed a considerable freedom. Their excesses became notorious; roaming the country, armed to the teeth, they terrorised the countryside....."

N.B. The late Tim Healy told Sir Leo that the denial of a priest to the poor devils executed in Dublin, "would never be forgotten in Ireland."

FROM REPORT OF THE LAST BOER CONFERENCE BEFORE SURRENDER
AFTER GLORIOUS RESISTANCE:

GENERAL J.C. SMUTS SAID, "Our dear country is become one continuous desert; more than 20,000 of our women and children have perished in the camps of the enemy. (Friday, May 30, 1902)

Buying and Selling Children in a British Colony

By Lieut.-Commander H. L. HASLEWOOD, R.N. (Rtd.)

By the Covenant, League Members are pledged "to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control." The League Assembly in 1926 approved an International Convention for the Suppression of Slavery. A Permanent Advisory Committee has been watching progress since 1934. In the British Colony of Hong Kong there has long existed a system of child adoption, known as Mui Tsai, which is a form of modified slavery. A British Official Commission has now concluded an inquiry and presented majority and minority reports. Lieut.-Commander Haslewood, who explains these reports to HEADWAY readers, has played a foremost part in the struggle against a hideous evil.

It is already fairly generally known that the Mui Tsai Commission presents a majority and minority report with widely divergent views as to the methods which should be employed to end a system of buying and selling girls and girl children which has been condemned by successive Governments of whatever political outlook.

The majority report is signed by Sir Wilfrid Woods, K.C.M.G., late financial secretary in the Government of Ceylon; and Mr. C. A. Willis, C.B.E., late of the Soudan Political Service.

The minority report is signed by Miss E. Picton-Turbervill, O.B.E., and it is important to note that it embodies a proposed Ordinance by Sir George Maxwell, K.B.E., C.M.G., formerly Chief Secretary of the Federated Malay States and now a member of the League of Nations Advisory Committee of Experts on Slavery.

The following facts are established without doubt and appear in both the majority and minority reports and in the evidence:—

(1) There is a known number of registered mui tsai still known as mui tsai whose welfare is regulated by a special Ordinance.

Note.—For a better understanding of the general position a mui tsai in the Hong Kong Ordinance is described thus:

"Every female domestic servant whose employer for the time being shall have made, directly or indirectly, within or without the Colony, any payment to any person for the purpose of securing the services of such female as a domestic servant."

(2) There is an unknown number of actual mui tsai who remained unregistered when registration took place.

(3) There is an unknown number of girls living with families or individuals who have obtained them generally in return for a valuable consideration, who, if discovered, would be classified as mui tsai or quasi-adopted daughters although their possessors might describe them as bona-fide adopted daughters or bona-fide prospective daughters-in-law, or relations.

(4) There is an unknown number of girls in all the above categories entering the Colony, principally from the mainland of China.

The majority report appears to have decided against the evidence of those who insist that the numbers of the above-mentioned girls are great and to have accepted the evidence of those who say that the numbers are comparatively small.

Accordingly the majority report, broadly speaking, recommends the strengthening of some details of existing laws and procedure and hopes that girls living under the conditions of a mui tsai and at present unregistered will be detected by the appointment of two additional inspectors or inspectresses especially detailed for this purpose.

The minority report proposes, broadly speaking, that every girl living in a family apart from her

parents, who is under the age of 12, or was under the age of 12 when she left her parents, and is not a near relation, becomes notifiable to Government Authority and is afforded protection in some form or other according to the category in which she may be placed.

It makes no difference as to whether there has been a valuable consideration or not when the transfer took place. Various other proposals are designed to ensure her freedom and general protection from exploitation.

To carry this into effect Miss Picton-Turbervill supports, with a few qualifications, a proposed new ordinance outlined by Sir George Maxwell.

The majority report criticises this ordinance adversely, but Miss Picton-Turbervill makes it quite clear that she intends the new ordinance (at present in "outline" form only) to implement her proposals. So if the present wording does not do so exactly, or conflicts in technical details with other laws, there would appear to be no difficulty in making any adjustments when finally drafted by legal experts.

The majority report considers also that any such extended notification with consequent control is impracticable from a legislative point of view and politically inadvisable.

The question of the political undesirability of further steps seems to be the far more important consideration. But it must be pointed out that it is Chinese residents themselves, as plainly shown in the evidence produced, who have suggested and pressed for these comprehensive measures, and it has to be decided whether the will of the more enlightened and progressive Chinese opinion (which incidentally conforms with new Chinese law), is to be followed, or preference given to the more backward elements which still cling to "Chinese customs," amongst which are the mui tsai and kindred systems.

Nor is it unreasonable to insist that those who voluntarily elect to live in a British Colony should conform with the general principles of British law.

To sum up. In this as in other matters the general public have their duty to examine the whole position and to press for action to be taken which will abolish the mui tsai and kindred systems and thus ensure that every girl in these British areas (whether the number be large or small) is free in fact as well as in law, that full protection is afforded her and that no girl shall be the object of sale and purchase. They will have to decide whether some strengthening of the existing laws as suggested in the majority report will achieve this purpose, which has certainly not been achieved yet, or whether, as proposed in the minority report, far more comprehensive measures must be taken.

It is difficult to see how the proposals of the majority report can be effective when the number, names and whereabouts of those requiring protection remain an absolutely unknown quantity.

Telegraph :
50 CITIZENRY, SOWEST, LONDON

Telephone :
VICTORIA 6065

The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society

(in which are incorporated the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and the Aborigines Protection Society)

Joint Presidents :

THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF LYTTON,
P.C., K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

THE RT. HON. LORD MESTON, K.C.S.I.

THE RT. HON. LORD NOEL-BUXTON, P.C.

Chairman : CHARLES H. ROBERTS, ESQ.

Vice-Chairmen : CHARLES RODEN BUXTON, ESQ.
TRAVERS BUXTON, ESQ.

Joint Hon. Treasurers :

ALFRED BROOKS, ESQ., J.P.

H. J. TAPSCOTT, ESQ.

Secretary : SIR JOHN HARRIS.

Assistant Secretary : MISS E. K. BATTY.

DENISON HOUSE,
296 VAUXHALL BRIDGE ROAD,
LONDON, S.W.1.
(CLOSE TO VICTORIA STATION.)

11th May, 1937.

Dear Noel-Buxton,

These are the points which we feel ought to be discussed with Lord Cranborne:-

(1) The Consular Reports, namely, the publication of such portions of them as may be possible, because we think the country should know the conditions of Abyssinia and the terrific problems which the Italians have in dealing with slavery. (The published information of the last few days points to a growing appreciation of the mess they have got into!) *Prayam 'a long job'*

(2) Consular Reports on the Addis Ababa massacre, and also the illtreatment of the employees of British subjects.

These, I think, are the two main points; the question of the Slavery Committee I am going to discuss with Cranborne in July.

97 Couper
I think he may take up the position that we ought not to publish Consular Reports about the internal administration of other countries, but you will recollect that both before and since the Italian invasion reports on Abyssinia were published by the Foreign Office. The other day on the League of Nations Union Executive, when we were discussing this matter, Sir Arthur Salter emphasised that historians are unanimously of the opinion that Foreign Office practice has gone back rather than forward in the publication of authentic facts.

You will probably also recollect that it was a recommendation of the Putumayo Committee, ultimately carried out by the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade, that all our representatives abroad should report upon local conditions, with a view to publication here, where British interests, British subjects or British capital were affected. I think you may like to have a copy of Grey's Circular.

Yours sincerely,

John Murray

P.S. You might feel able to emphasise to Lord Cranborne that Italy has not sent a report this year to the Slavery Committee on what she is doing to abolish slavery - this in spite of the fact that she is signatory to the Slavery Convention.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Noel-Buxton, P.C.,
18, Cowley Street,
S.W.1.

J.N.

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of C - May 6 '37
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able to discover what has been done not only by the bureau but in every country where slavery is practised.

It is very much to be desired in creating public opinion that the Press of this and every other country should seriously devote attention to the subject. It is very satisfactory in this connection that so many Frenchmen have taken the matter up. The incident about the dhow owner quoted by the noble Earl was based, I think on a report written by a French writer, and *Le Matin*, I understand, published twenty articles dealing with this question. Therefore, if the attention of the world is drawn to the desirability not of taking action, but of making these countries in which slavery exists ashamed of a practice which differentiates them from the rest of the world, something will be done to make those countries desire to put themselves on a higher plane of civilisation.

LORD NOEL-BUXTON: My Lords, I desire to support the Motion before your Lordships' House by way of evidence which lately came to my notice regarding Africa. Africa furnishes the largest contingent towards the shocking total of five millions of slaves which, on the very judicial authority of and carefully compiled by, the Anti-Slavery Society, must be taken as a figure within the mark. Africa has the most melancholy chapter in the whole history of slavery. It is thought that the population of Africa has been reduced by slavery alone by 100,000,000. The whole of Africa has now a population of only 120,000,000—extraordinarily small for that vast area. That is due to slavery and the slave trade in the past.

I want to contribute some facts which came to my notice last month when I attended an International Conference at Geneva on Juvenile Welfare in Africa. Many facts came to light at that conference in regard to slavery and forced labour, although it was a conference not called ostensibly to discuss those subjects. It was a conference rather unique in importance, because it included representatives of Governments, officials from all parts of Africa, scientists, doctors, and missionaries representing both the Roman and other Churches, and it had collected during two years with very

great labour the answers to *questionnaires* which had been furnished by some 350 resident experts in all parts of Africa. As it was not aimed at revealing slavery, the evidence which came to hand was all the more weighty, being incidental. Constantly in the reports which have been compiled, there were references to direct slavery or analogous conditions; and what they showed was the many-sidedness and complication of the question.

It seems to me greatly to reinforce the argument for a bureau and for an expert department at Geneva. Both in autonomous Africa and in Colonial Africa, European ruled, evidence came to hand. I need not labour what has been said to-day in regard to Abyssinia and Liberia. They are notorious fields of crude slavery. They illustrate slavery also in the wider field of semi-slavery. We have, for instance, in the Report on West Africa, referring to Liberia, this sentence:

"Among certain backward tribes, parents sell their children, who become slaves or concubines. Children are also handed over to a creditor as guarantee for an unpaid debt, finally becoming his slaves or the serfs of his family for generations."

Such practices count as slavery under the Convention.

It is true they are not exactly defined in the text, but the Committee on the Convention said, through its *rapporteur*, who was the noble Viscount, Lord Cecil:

"The Convention applies not only to domestic slavery but to all those conditions mentioned by the Temporary Slavery Commission . . . i.e., debt slavery, the enslaving of persons disguised as the adoption of children, and the acquisition of girls by purchase disguised as payment of dowry."

It seems to me that facts of this kind greatly reinforce what has been said to-day.

A still more difficult question arises in regard to forced labour. There was very much evidence at this conference on forced labour of different kinds. The statements illustrated the difficulty of discriminating between the forced labour which is slavery within the meaning of the Convention and forced labour which is not slavery because it is work done for Governments. We had, for instance, in the report on Central Africa, words to this effect:

"In certain regions of Central Africa (e.g., in parts of the French Cameroons) children are obliged to do work which is beyond their strength and which causes them physical harm In addition, women and children are sometimes obliged to help in heavy labour connected with road-making, supervised by native chiefs."

How the Convention is to be made effective as to these subsidiary forms of slavery is a very great question.

We have been told that about forty States have adhered to the Convention, but the League cannot deal with abuses of this kind without the advice of men of administrative experience. All that I have quoted illustrates the great complexity of the question, and seems to me to show that progress imperatively requires such a bureau as has been sketched to-day. The function of providing technical examination of reports will be very valuable. The Convention binds its signatories to furnish reports, but before these can go to the Council or the Assembly they evidently require an examination which they cannot get to-day. Again, the function of advising States of the steps which are taken by other States requires a clearing-house of information. Information which is merely thrown at the head of the Secretariat, as it must be to-day, is not utilised. It comes home to one, if one sees the official now concerned with dealing with slavery information, how greatly a department is lacking. At present it is referred to the Mandates Department, and action awaits the fitting machinery.

It is melancholy to reflect that a whole century has elapsed since British liberation took place. It took forty years of strenuous agitation to end British slavery and the slave trade. It was a tremendous task, but it was simple in one way because the agitators had to deal with our own Government alone. It was a very great event in history, and in confirmation of what has been said to-day it is interesting to recall the words of Mr. Lecky when he said:

"The crusade of England against slavery may probably be regarded as among the three or four perfectly virtuous acts recorded in the history of nations."

To-day the problem, as we have heard, is greatly changed. The influence of States which preserve slavery to-day is based upon the fact that slavery is there

Lord Noel-Buxton.

indigenous, rooted in ideas largely religious, and there have arisen also, what we had not a hundred year ago, insidious forms of slavery stimulated by industrial development and backed by economic pressure.

But in one way the problem is much simpler, because we have the League to act; and action by the League avoids the odium of interference by a single State and it saves the face of the State which needs reform. Our own Government, as has been said, has acted with vigour, and let us hope that it will continue to do so till success is attained. In doing so, it has been true to the tradition of this country, which is based on the fact that it has very often been the leader in movements for liberation. To succeed it needs the backing of a keen public opinion. I think we may say that the noble Earl who introduced this debate has fully expressed the public opinion of the British race—the opinion that slavery must without delay be brought to an end.

EARL BUXTON: My Lords, perhaps I might say one or two words in reply. May I thank noble Lords in the House for the way they have received this Resolution, and especially the Leader of the House for what he has said with regard to the action of the Government in one or two matters? In listening to the debate I recalled to memory the biography of my grandfather, and I traced in my mind the difference between the reception that he had in his time and that which I have received in mine. He was received during the ten years he was endeavouring to deal with this question with the greatest misrepresentation, with vile abuse and with all sorts of insinuations. I receive bouquets; he received brickbats. I think that is indicative of the enormous change which has taken place in regard to this matter.

There are several points on which I should like to say something, but I do not wish to detain your Lordships at this time of the evening, and so I will only deal with two matters. The first is in reference to what the noble and learned Lord the Leader of the House has said about slaves going between Abyssinia and Arabia. In my speech I ventured to remark that co-operation between France, Italy and ourselves was

Ltd Noel Buscton

DURRANT'S PRESS CUTTINGS

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Manchester Guardian

3 Cross Street, Manchester.

Cutting from issue dated..... 7 - MAR 1938

TRANSFER OF COLONIES

Appeal to Premier

CONSENT OF THE PEOPLE

An appeal to the Premier on the question of transfer of colonial territories has been made by the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, which urges that any transfer should be carried through only after taking into consideration the wishes of the inhabitants.

"We are glad to note," says the letter, "that both General Hertzog and Mr. MacDonald have adopted a principle in colonial policy which our society has advocated for many years, and which we trust may be adopted when any matter affecting the transfer of colonial territories to a foreign Power is under consideration."

We desire to emphasise three main features—

(a) Nearly every dependency territory concerned was transferred to overseas "protection" by written contract after consultation with the indigenous authorities.

(b) Within the last twenty-five years education, means of transport, and distribution of news have advanced so rapidly that native peoples are now well informed and articulate upon their own affairs, so that their opinions are more than ever worthy of consideration.

(c) In most territories the question which has been discussed the most is the more representative nature of the government. It should not be ignored that the future of the territories is the desire of the people.

SLAVERY.

THE REPORT OF THE EXPERT COMMITTEE.

The Report by the Committee of Experts to the Council of the League is full of interest, and much of it of an encouraging nature. The following are the main points:-

(1) Collaboration. The total number of States now bound by the Slavery Convention has increased to 43. The British Government is still a long way ahead of all others in the supply of information. At last, China has promised to send information to the League. Nothing was supplied by Italy, thus the Committee was unable to report on slavery conditions in Abyssinia. There was again nothing from Liberia. The Committee points out that Liberia has supplied no information for 5 years, and this in spite of the fact that for 2 years the Committee has drawn the attention of the Council to the failure of Liberia to carry out the Convention in this respect.

(a) Slave Trading and Slave Owning. The Committee gives short accounts of both the foregoing evils in several territories, and of steps taken to punish the slave traders and to set the slaves free. As an illustration, there were 13 convictions in Nigeria in 1934 for trading, but in 1935 the number of convictions had increased to 51!

Several Governments have issued new legislation against slavery. The Saudi-Arabian Government has now made the importation of slaves illegal, whilst regulations have been issued governing the treatment of slaves.

A curious situation has arisen in Aden where two slaves have risen to the position of Governors, and several slaves have become Magistrates, whilst the pay of the slave soldiers is higher than that of the volunteers! During the year, 49 slaves were set free in the Persian Gulf.

A serious statement is made about the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco, namely, that in virtue of Mohammedan law, both the slave trade and slavery have a legal status in the Protectorate.

The Committee has devoted a large part of the Report to the Mui Tsai question. They contest the Chinese view that the Mui Tsai are "Little Sisters" and insist that they are "Slave Girls." The Committee contrasts unfavourably the position in Malaya as compared with Hong Kong.

A large part of the Report is devoted to the admirable efforts being made to eliminate slavery in Burma, and to abolish the debt bondage systems of India.

The Committee is still working under two limitations - (a) Bi-annual meetings, (b) It is not allowed to take cognizance of private information. The second limitation is rigorously applied, but the ever-increasing work thrown upon the Committee has compelled the Council to agree to annual meetings. There is reason for saying that the members of the Committee now expect to meet annually for several years.

Tiger Kloof,
Near Vryburg,
Cape Province,
S. Africa.

1912. July 1937.

Sir John Harris,
Aborigines Protection Society,
London.

Dear Sir

Under separate cover I
am forwarding to you some
newspaper cuttings - chiefly
correspondence - concerning the
Protectorates controversy which has
been recently re-opened by General
Hertzog.

The letter from "X.Y.Z." is my
own. Since I am employed by
the Cape Education Dept. I did
not think it advisable to sign
my own name publicly.

The cuttings will arrive considerably
after this letter, as they will
travel by sea.

I hope that they will be

of some use to you.

I am,
Yours truly,
George W. Luesby.

1912 July 1937
Cape Province
S. Africa

Dear Sir,
The following is a list of
the papers which have been
sent to you for your
reference.

The letter from X.Y.Z. is
now in my possession. I am
glad to see that you are
not thinking of publishing
my own name publicly.
The cuttings will arrive
after this letter, as they
were sent by air. I hope
they will be of some use
to you.

18 Cowley Street,
Westminster,
S.W.1.

14th. June 1937.

The Anti-Slavery people are very pleased with the success of my debate in the House of Lords on the Native question, and I should like to tell you my own impressions.

I was afraid I should get too few speakers, and also that the Government might defend South Africa, especially when Herzog and others are in London. I urged the Government before the debate not to do this, and promised not to mention names. I said that really the less they said, the better, since my object was to support them. As it turned out, the Government seem so much in agreement with us that they wanted the debate, and used it to impress the South Africans. Ormsby-Gore was present, and apparently brought Herzog himself.

It was a stroke of luck getting many new supporters, especially Tories like Moyne, and above all the arch-Philistine Lloyd. I was made to appear so respectable that the Archbishop did what he has always

carefully avoided, up to now, and called me his "noble friend". He was far more anti-South African than I, frankly advocating political equality, while I only dwelt on the repressive spirit, and the denial of openings in work and business.

I was also afraid of being exposed as entirely ignorant of the subject; but here I was assisted by a Kenya settler called Erroll, who told a story about me in East Africa. The story was really about Charlie, but it served to make people think I had been in Africa, though I got up and denied that I had been in Kenya.

Col debate
June 1937

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Natives. debate June 9. 1937

W. H. H. H.

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Westminster,
S.W.1.

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9, 1936.
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HONG KONG—
 "Slavery cannot be abolished,"
 says the Government.



ADEN—
 "One Sultan alone
 owns 800 slaves."



AFRICA—
 "Though the position is confused, there is still
 a lot of slavery."

THE report of the experts on slavery presented to the last Council meeting of the League of Nations, was one of the most astonishing documents ever laid before an International body.

Members of the Council were obviously shocked to find how widespread and how deeply entrenched is this "crime against the human race," as Sir Austen Chamberlain once called Slavery.

Slavery is a very ugly thing, and it is abundantly clear from the Committee's report that several Governments and many rulers are doing their utmost to draw a veil over it.

GRATITUDE of humanity has been earned by the Committee for the courage with which it has refused to throw dust in the eyes of the public by accepting the official view that by calling slavery by some less malodorous name the character of the crime is changed.

It has done well to remember the story of the good monk who, having tired of eating fish every day in Lent, shot a rabbit and, plunging it into the font, declared—"I baptise thee a fish!" thereby satisfying both appetite and conscience!

The Committee points out that not only does crude slavery operate in a number of countries, but that it is allowed to masquerade under such respectable titles as "Debt bondage," "Pawning," "Peonage," "Mui Tsai," "Quasi adoption," "Serfdom."

And then it bluntly tells the Council of the League that with regard to one of these: "It is possible that there is more human

miserly as the result of debt slavery than there is anywhere as the result of domestic slavery!"

In deed, throughout the 100 pages of this report almost every paragraph has its own story of misery and degradation.

The most interesting—and to most British people—most startling facts are found in the review of slavery in British controlled territories. How few British people have grasped the fact that 100 years after the emancipation of slavery in British owned territories our administrators are carrying on a great struggle against slavery in more than a dozen British controlled territories!

IN spite of a despairing Government report that slavery cannot in fact be abolished, the 50 years' struggle in Hong Kong waxes stronger.

In the Aden Protectorate the British Government informed the League Committee that "the legal status of slavery still exists," and that "there are no fewer than 4,000 to 5,000 persons in a state

of slavery," further, that one Sultan himself "owns about 800 slaves."

In Koweit in 1930 "the number of slaves was estimated at 2,000, but must be much smaller now." In the Trucial Sheikdoms "the number of slaves employed in pearl diving is not known, but is estimated at several thousands."

Away in Africa the position is confused, but the Report makes it clear that there is a lot of slavery in Northern Nigeria and the Cameroons—"there is a slave trading route which passes through the north eastern corner of the Bornu Province" . . . "the agents sell their victims to the inhabitants of the Lake Chad area."

The same story is told of other territories. The Slavery Committee has, it seems, commenced an examination of the modern developments of the transfer of

women by means of the so-called "dowry" or "bride price," and they conclude this section with a truth strikingly expressed: "From 'bride price' to 'slave price' is but a short step." And that "short step" has led thousands of women down to a veritable hell of misery and degradation!

Are we soon to hear grave disclosures about slavery in India? Nobody can read the report of the League Committee without a feeling of profound alarm about the Native States of India. It seems that in 1935 the Slavery Committee, doubtless for very substantial reasons, suggested a very reasonable step to the India Office, which, shortly stated, was that the British Government "should invite the Indian States in which slavery might still exist" to declare their intention to take action "for its suppression"—surely a very simple, reasonable and courteous invitation. But with what result?

The Committee makes the disclosure that the India Office cannot do so! Of course, it cannot, but the refusal to do so should now liberate the pens and voices of those who know what was behind that apparently very simple suggestion of the Slavery Committee!

The picture of the British struggle discloses other slave areas and other slave systems, such as Burma, Bechuanaland, Malaya. It is a picture of the darkest corners of the earth, full of the "habitations" of demoralisation, degradation and cruelty.

But it has one or two bright features. For instance, the courageous frankness with which our Government offices have disclosed facts hitherto unknown to the public, and also the devotion and self-sacrifice which British officials are showing in their great task of securing consent to emancipation from reluctant native rulers and slave-owners.

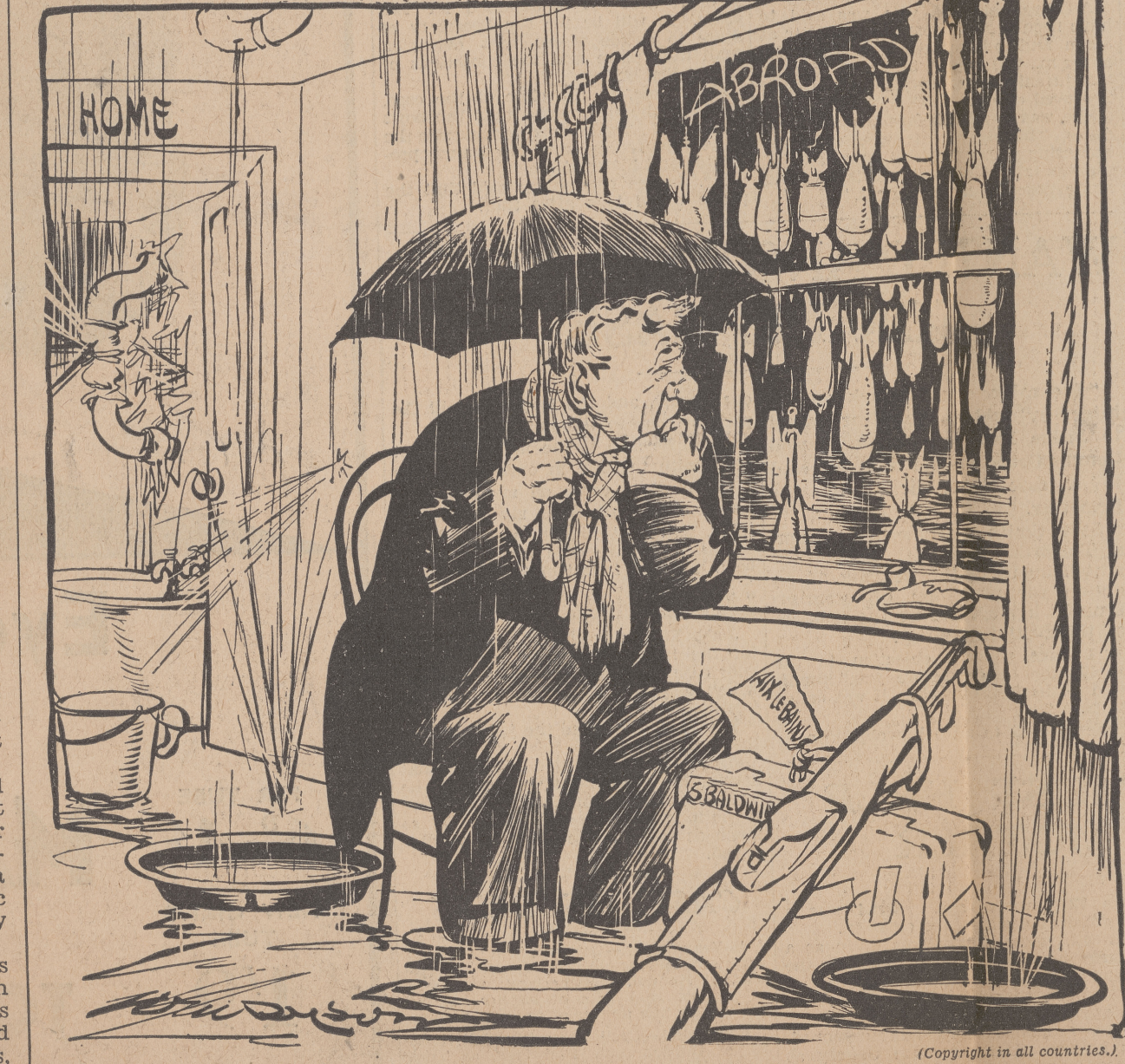
LET one epic story, necessarily reduced to a single sentence, suffice! From 1930 to 1935 the British Legation at Jeddah secured the emancipation of 135 slaves who had fled to the British Minister for protection under the British flag!

The fact that the Chinese Republic has issued a decree abolishing the Mui Tsai system demonstrates the growing strength of public opinion in China against any form of slavery. This is probably the most encouraging feature in the Slavery Committee's report, but China has a great task before her if she is to liberate some 3,000,000 Mui Tsai!

Signor Suvich, until recently the Foreign Office pen of the Duce, brought to the notice of the Slavery Committee the conditions of slavery in certain Abyssinian territories occupied by Italian forces. The most important facts he mentions are that Italian decrees have set free 20,000 slaves in the Tigre; that the Italians discovered the ratio of slaves in that territory to be one-twelfth of the population, which, if correct, would make the slave population of Abyssinia about 1,000,000. But he nowhere told the Committee how Italy proposes to give practical effect to the decree of emancipation! Mussolini has not yet provided any machinery for giving effect to the decree.

THE decision of the Council to forward this indictment of present-day slavery to the Assembly next September, passes to that body the responsibility of proposing new measures for emancipating the slaves. Lady Simon has been criticised for estimating the number of persons owned as property slaves at 5,000,000. Now that this Report is issued one can understand the remark of C. F. Andrews, "There are many more than that!"

To-day's Thought
 AN acre in Middlesex is better than a principality in Utopia.
 —LORD MACAULAY.



"Well, after all, there's no place like home!"

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Telegraph:
50 CITIZENRY, SOWEST, LONDON
Telephone:
VICTORIA 6065

The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society

(in which are incorporated the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and the Aborigines Protection Society)

Joint Presidents :

THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF LYTTON,
P.C., K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

THE RT. HON. LORD MESTON, K.C.S.I.

THE RT. HON. LORD NOEL-BUXTON, P.C.

Chairman : CHARLES H. ROBERTS, ESQ.

Vice-Chairmen : CHARLES RODEN BUXTON, ESQ.
TRAVERS BUXTON, ESQ.

Joint Hon. Treasurers :

ALFRED BROOKS, ESQ., J.P.

H. J. TAPSCOTT, ESQ.

Secretary : SIR JOHN HARRIS.

Assistant Secretary : MISS E. K. BATTY.

DENISON HOUSE,
296 VAUXHALL BRIDGE ROAD,
LONDON, S.W.1.
(CLOSE TO VICTORIA STATION.)

28th October, 1937.

Dear Noel-Buxton,

It would not seem possible to have a formal Agenda for November 4th, when we consider the position of the High Commission Territories, because our meeting together ought to take the form of a general review of the situation.

The most recent developments with regard to the High Commission Territories are, first, the declaration of policy by the Marquess of Dufferin, of which I enclose a copy, and the accelerated negotiations between Mr. MacDonald and General Hertzog.

The question would seem to arise what, if any, action should be taken, (a) whether by deputation drawn from all Parties and denominations, either to the Prime Minister or to the Dominions Secretary, and (b) what should be the nature of the representations?

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a jail?

A good many people with whom I have discussed the problem feel that it would be wiser at this stage to urge that the time for transfer has not arrived, for which the following reasons have been given:-

(1) The strong opposition which the inhabitants continue to show to any proposal for transfer.

(2) The insistent demand of the natives for a secure British citizenship, which has, in fact, become accentuated in view of speeches of leading South African politicians advocating separation.

(3) The failure of the Union Government to give any information as to the policy which should be adopted in the High Commission Territories in the event of transfer.

(4) The unwillingness or the inability of the Union to accept the terms of the Schedule.

(5) The growth in practice of the Colour Bar policy in the Union Territories.

(6) The growth of repression in the Union.

The meeting will be held in Room No.9, House of Commons, taken in the name of Captain Cazalet, M.P.

Yours sincerely,

John Harris

The Rt. Hon. Lord Noel-Buxton, P.C.,
18, Cowley Street
Westminster, S.W.1.

Telegraph:
50 CITIZENRY, CHURTON, LONDON

Telephone:
VICTORIA 6065

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DENISON HOUSE,
296 VAUXHALL BRIDGE ROAD,
LONDON, S.W.1.
(CLOSE TO VICTORIA STATION.)

13th February, 1937.

Dear Noel Buxton,

I am afraid the question of Fortifications is a very difficult one and I should be inclined to leave it alone unless somebody like Jack Selly gets up and asks you definitely what you would propose doing about it. You probably know that this is the thing that is worrying Hertzog and Smuts and has, in fact, led to their saying that they will not tolerate any great power South of the Equator, and, of course, the Australians will take up the same attitude about New Guinea and the New Hebrides.

If you are challenged do you not think it would be enough to say that nobody supposes that all mandates would be drawn in exactly the same manner - variations would have to be made according to circumstances as in the case of the French Mandate where, as you know, the French have retained the right to raise troops "for the defence of territory". It is asking too much to expect you to reply to every minute detail.

WISHES OF THE NATIVES.

Cooke (Mombasa) to Sir John Harris.

Served in Tanganyika.

Not 10% plebiscite could be got. Natives illiterate and lethargic.

Only 10% of the Cape native voters voted.

The Chiefs would reply, but they would reason thus:

if we say we prefer British rule, the English may let us down as they let down the Abyssinians, the Spanish and the Chinese. The Germans will then take revenge upon us. Better say we prefer the Germans, and then if we remain under England, the ~~the~~ English are kind and will not hold it against us.

Feeling in Tanganyika is not pro-British at present, owing to mis-handling of the Chagga affair.

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the nature of slavery - the vital need for the abolition of slave-
 owning, slave-trading and slave-raiding - the extent and cruelty
 inherent in slavery - the need for some international machinery
 for the examination of information and evidence upon the facts - the
 necessity for providing assistance, whether of personnel or finance,
 for countries endeavouring to abolish slavery.

We desire in the first place to urge the importance of
 securing an early acceptance by all Nations of the principle
 underlying the first Article of the Anti-Slavery Convention*, namely,
 that a slave is a person over whom rights of ownership are exercised.
 Our Committee has been struck with this common feature in all the
 systems which it has examined, namely, the element of property-
 ownership over human beings. We are therefore limiting ourselves
 in this Memorandum solely to consideration of these individuals
 (now believed to number more than 5,000,000,000) who are held as
 property by another individual.

The various forms of slave-owning, slave-trading and slave-
 raiding may be comprised in the single word "slavery", and as such,
 constitute not only a crime but, as many of us hold, the greatest
 of all crimes. Sir Austen Chamberlain has already asserted, on
 behalf of the British Government, that our country holds slave-
 trading to be a crime "against the human race."** We go somewhat
 further, and assert that this crime involves the commission of
 almost every other crime in the calendar. Bribery and corruption -
 robbery and assault - hatred and murder - one or more of these
 invariably attach themselves to slavery in its different forms.

In the opinion of our Committee, far too little emphasis
 has been laid upon the wickedness of slave-owning and the need for
 its abolition. Research amongst the Treaties of the world reveals
 the interesting fact that whilst large numbers of Treaties provide
 for the abolition of slave-trading and slave-raiding, hardly any of
 them

* League of Nations Paper, A.104, 1926. VI.
 ** League of Nations Paper, A.10, 1926. VI.

slave
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then deal with slave-owning. Indeed, if we examine one of the latest, a Treaty of Friendship between Great Britain and the Ruler of the Hejaz, this feature emerges in Article 7:-

"His Majesty the King of the Hejaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies undertakes to co-operate by all the means at his disposal with His Britannic Majesty in the suppression of the slave trade."*

Slave-owning which is the real basis of slavery in all its forms is omitted from this Treaty.

A melancholy illustration of the connection between slave-owning and slave-trading is to be found in Hong Kong where a highly efficient administration equipped with all modern elements of civilized rule and firmly supported by the home government is anxious to effect the abolition of the sale and purchase of children. Yet this administration within recent times discovered 47 persons operating from 47 different centres for the sole purpose of purchasing children in China for sale in Hong Kong. This is set forth in question and answer in the British House of Commons.** If we turn to the White Paper issued by the British Colonial Office upon the Mui Tsai system of Hong Kong, we find statements made by British officials which demonstrate how difficult it is to restrict the evils of slavery to the territory in which it prevails. The late Governor of Hong Kong, Sir Cecil Clementi points this out in the White Paper on Hong Kong; he says:-

"The custom is deep rooted in Chinese family and economic conditions."

"Hong Kong with its very large Chinese population cannot break away too far or too fast from Chinese customs." (p.50)

"The practice will probably never entirely disappear from this Colony unless and until China really give it up." (p.50)

"This Government will do its utmost to bring the institution of mui-tsai to an end within the Colony as soon as it is practicable to do so. We shall give the most earnest consideration to any practical proposals, which may be put forward to that end; but we consider that, unless effective steps are taken

* Cmd. 2951, 1927.

** See appendix 2.

taken by the Chinese authorities to abolish in fact, and not merely on paper, the mui-tsai system as it now exists in China and especially in the Kwangtung province, it will not be possible, by means of legislation or by bringing into force Part III of the Female Domestic Servants Ordinance, No. 1 of 1923, to accelerate the abolition of mui-tsai in this Colony." (p.71)*

The nature and extent of this task is shown in the despatch of Mr. Russell Brown, until recently the British Consul at Amoy.

"In theory the slave girl system has no existence in China, but in actual fact it is in force from one end of the country to the other. 'Girls are everywhere bought and sold for maid servants or slaves; the euphemism "adopted daughter" usurping the place of "slave girl".'

The process of attacking slave-owning by denouncing slave-trading is beginning at the wrong end of the problem. All efforts to abolish the twin evils of slave-trading and slave-raiding must fail so long as slave-owning is a recognised institution in any country, since there will always be found persons ready to profit by an available market.

The same difficulty confronted the authorities in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone where, owing to slave-owning amongst the indigenous tribes of the hinterland of Liberia, it was difficult to prevent the traffic across the Sierra Leone-Liberian border. The relationship of supply and demand is also illustrated by a passage in a book recently issued by a well-known missionary in China, Mrs. Dymond, who, speaking from personal observation, says:-

"During a terrible famine, 4,000 little girls were carried pack saddle twelve days' journey to the Capital City and sold."**

According to a telegram circulated by Reuter's Agency on the 21st January, 1931, an enormous number of persons have been sold into slavery in the province of Shensi, China. The complete messages is as follows:-

"About 400,000 persons have been sold into slavery during the last few years in the province of Shensi, according to the Government Special Commissioner who was sent to the Province recently to investigate famine conditions.

a further

* Cmd. 3424, 1929.

** "Yunnan", by Mrs. Dymond.

A further and at the same time more recent example of the extent of slavery and of its intimate association with the slave trade is to be seen in an extract from an article by Mr. J.A. Spender:-

"All over this territory the Administration has to be constantly on the alert to prevent the traffic in slaves which, but for its vigilance, would go on merrily between the west and the Abyssinian border. A round-up last year released a thousand slaves destined for Abyssinia, and landed some scores of slave-merchants, including one notorious old lady, in gaol for long periods.

"What to do with the released slaves is often a very perplexing question, and getting it into the minds of Sudanese Arabs that slave-holding is morally reprehensible is uphill work all the way."*

In further support of the close connection between slave-owning and slave-trading we attach hereto, as an appendix, a copy of a letter received by the Society from Mr. Eldon Rutter, an eminent authority upon conditions in Arabia, and we beg leave to invite particular attention to the section which deals with the slave markets as seen by Mr. Rutter himself.**

Mr. Bertram Thomas, another eminent Arab authority, confirms in some detail the report of Mr. Eldon Rutter. We attach hereto as an appendix a section of the book by Mr. Bertram Thomas, and would draw special attention to the unhappy position of the slaves of the pearl diving industry***

That slavery as practised in Arabia is in conflict with Article 1 of the Convention of 1926, is demonstrated by two passages in the book

* News Chronicle, March 3rd, 1931.
** See appendix 3.
*** See appendix 4.

Arabia

in the book by Mr. Bertram Thomas which describe the "property" rights exercised by the owner over his slaves.

"The law of the land is the Holy or Shar'a law, perhaps the most sacred and powerful institution in tribal Oman. Its ordinances no authority can defy without becoming discredited, or, indeed, incurring odium. By this law the slave is "property" and on a master's death the slave forms part of the estate, and his or her value is subject to the usual rigid laws of Muslim inheritance. While a change of public opinion has in late years greatly modified the once hard lot of the slave, and to-day there is no obtrusive buying and selling as in pre-treaty days, yet the operation of the Shar'a laws of division of inheritance must, and does, entail slaves changing hands on a monetary basis."

In a case heard by the Sultan of Muscat in the presence of Mr. Bertram Thomas, the following ^{passage} illustrates the administration of justice in the case of a slave.

"His Highness, turning to me, whispered that here was none other than Karam, the arch slave-dealer, the notorious Baluchi buyer and seller of the sons of Adam: Karam who had spent four long periods of incarceration in Jalali fort, at Muscat, for his nefarious activities. In an audience whose religion gives divine sanction to slavery, Authority must needs lend patient ear to the alleged grievance.

'What is the ruling of thy Holy Law on this matter? What sect art thou?' asked the Sultan: for this may have some subtle bearing. Baluchis in their own country are generally of the Hanafi persuasion, but not infrequently adopt Shafi tenets when domiciled in Oman, and Shar'a Law, as between the sects of Islam, sometimes has slightly conflicting bearings. Thus according to Ibadhism, the State religion, a slave may not as under certain orthodox Sunni sects, divorce his own slave wife: this prerogative vests in the master by whom the wife is provided. But Shar'a seemed to be unanimous in its ruling that the slave, being property, is not himself permitted to bequeath by the ordinary Islamic laws of succession, that is to say, the slave's wife and children cannot inherit his property at death - this reverts to the master, who is the sole inheritor. Petitioner's claim seemed sound enough, therefore, according to Islamic Holy Law, provided that the slave at decease was his; but the Sultan's patience was already exhausted, and one felt his sympathies to be all the other way.

A shaikh sitting next to me whispered jocularly: 'This fellow has always possessed a human "stud", and has lived by rearing slaves as other men rear horses.'

'Tell me, Karam' - the Sultan was again addressing the old man - 'How many slave have passed through your hands?'

'W'allahi' (By God), 'not more than a hundred head', came back the unabashed reply, as though the speaker referred to cattle."

Apologists for systems of slave-owning are prone to take up the familiar ground that generally the yoke of serfdom rests very lightly upon the slaves, and represents in the main a domestic institution from which the slaves themselves are not at all averse,

Apologists
views -
no cruelty
groundless

that the slaves are provided with food and shelter, and that very little, if any, cruelty, exists. This defence of slavery is shattered by an examination of the facts. While it is true that many slaves are well treated and some even rise to positions of trust, these are only isolated cases. The great mass of the slave community is subjected to the grossest cruelty due to their having ceased to be human beings in the true sense of the word in becoming the mere property chattels of their owners.

We venture to submit one or two striking incidents dealing with the cruelty practised.

Mr. Coates, a missionary in China with over 20 years' experience, says:-

"Individual cruelties which would electrify any country in Europe with a spasm of horror hardly awaken the mild comment of a single street in China's grand modern republic. Floggings, suspensions, and pouring of boiling water over the hands, the amputation of a finger-joint, gagging and tying up for torture with hot irons, and similar cruelties are not uncommonly practised upon these children."*

Mrs. Dymond, a missionary of nearly 40 years' experience in China, says:-

"Slaves are tortured to death by the hands of merciless opium fiends, who go to unspeakable lengths in cruelty when their craving is unsatisfied. Some are hacked to pieces, pinched with red-hot tongs, boiling oil poured down their throats, hung up by their wrists, and for these dreadful deeds no punishment is meted out."**

In addition, there is a further witness whose name we are not yet at liberty to publish, although free to submit it to His Majesty's Government, when the authority of his testimony would be at once recognised. He says:-

"In some cases, the girls are well and sufficiently clothed and fed, and treated well, but from what I have seen, or from enquiries made of Chinese, I fear that most slave girls are very hardly and very often cruelly treated. I have personally come across cases of unimagined cruelty which I am told are by no means isolated instances."

In the British Colony of Hong Kong, His Majesty's Government is unfortunately familiar with cases of cruelty to children purchased under the system called "adoption" for which few parallels in the history

* "The Red Theology in the Far East" by C.H. Coates. p.151.

** "Yunnan" by Mrs. Dymond.

in the history of the ill-treatment of children exist. We content ourselves with drawing your attention to a single but unfortunately typical case, which occurred quite recently:-

"A child of 12 years of age was purchased by a woman in Hong Kong and upon becoming the property of this woman was subjected to such severe flogging that the medical testimony in Court was to the effect that 15 days after the flogging 22 wounds were clearly visible."

The slaves of Arabia number probably from 500,000 to 700,000. The cruelties inflicted upon them are described in unofficial documents. Dr. Harrison, a medical man who has spent over 14 years in Arabia, thus describes the terror of the slaves when about to be punished:-

"When one of these negro slaves starts up as if suddenly crazed, and runs around shouting and gesticulating and talking earnestly in a changed voice as if a new personality had possessed him, even the hard Arab masters are a good deal awed, and hesitate to inflict the punishment they had planned."*

During the latter part of May and June 1929 the Editor of Le Matin published the results of an inquiry undertaken by M. Kessel accompanied by M. Leblache-Combier and Dr. ^{Emile} Peyre into the treatment of slaves in Arabia and Abyssinia. These remarkable articles appeared in some 20 issues of Le Matin and comprised nearly 50,000 words. M. Kessel, whilst dealing with slavery, also made grave discoveries in connection with slave-trading and the cruelties attaching to it, and he thus describes a convoy about to be despatched for sale. This convoy was being kept in a house in Abyssinia prior to departure in the early morning. The slave dealer took the party through some of these dwellings. M. Kessel continues:-

"We penetrated into narrow, tortuous alleys with on either hand dwellings with blind walls, where no light entered except through the doors ... he took us through the dark passages of some of these houses into the court which each dwelling seemed to have. The guards of his convoy were on the watch with their rifles loaded. Each court had a rudimentary cellar, covered with planks. 'In these,' said said, 'my slaves are resting. It is not necessary to chain them for each house has its hiding place. The slaves have come a long way, and have yet further to go.' In the different courts he raised the planks so that we could look into the cellars. In one, four women

* "The Arab at Home" p. 90.

were sleeping, in another three, four men were asleep in a third. They must have been half dead with fatigue, for none of them stirred an eyelid. Said told us 'the caravan will start to-night, it only travels at night.'

In the Red Sea M. Kessel and his colleagues were able to discuss with a slave-trader the difficulties of conveying cargoes of slaves from the African to the Arabian shores. The following extract shows the cruelty involved in the practice as well as methods of the slave-traders.

"One day", he said, "a warship chased me, this was overtaking my zarouk, which is faster than any sailing ship. There was scarcely any wind, there was no narrow channel where I could find refuge. Then I threw a slave into the water and the warship stopped to pick him up. I increased the distance between us and three times I did the same thing. I got off by this trick. How is it", he said thoughtfully, "that the strangers are so fond of slaves that they would lose such a fine zarouk as mine to save a slave?"

The supply of slaves to Arabia is, according to M. Kessel a very lucrative occupation. So much so that breeding for the market takes place as it has done in certain territories throughout the history of slavery. M. Kessel says:-

"In the Hedjaz the supply of human merchandise is kept up in two ways. There is, in the first place breeding for the market. The Sudan and Abyssinia have furnished such a vast number of slaves during the passage of years that their children are sufficient to meet the demand to a great extent. There are organised means at work to multiply the offspring; there even exists a corps of female agents who keep in touch with the owners on the control of reproduction on the selective principle, and are rewarded when a child is born."

A remarkable article by an eminent Frenchman, M. Marcel Griaule, was published by the International Labour Office in February of this year. We understand that M. Griaule visited Abyssinia for an entirely different purpose from that of investigating slavery, but it is quite clear that he became deeply impressed with the conditions of slaves as with the difficulties of abolishing slavery. M. Griaule says:-

"The slave, purchased as any commodity might be, is the chattel of his master, who disposes of his slave's person just as he pleased."

"The slave has no recognised identity; his owner has therefore to pay for any damage the slave may cause. In the case of a crime it is just the same; the master must either pay

blood-money or submit to the penalty of retaliation in kind as the claimants may prefer. In the latter case the master may be released from the responsibility if he hands over his slave to the injured party, who will carry out the sentence. The master may also hand over his slave as a guarantee of repayment of a debt, of the payment of interest, or in compensation for damage."

"The slave, utilised at the will of his master in any and every department of ordinary life, including reproduction in the case of a woman. In fact, just as live stock is placed in favourable conditions for breeding, so a male may be assigned to a female slave in order that their offspring may add to their owner's property."

"The child belongs to the owner of the mother at the day of birth, even if the father is a free man; a free father has the right to buy his child's freedom."

"The owner has theoretically the right to dispose of the child from the moment of its birth; he can take the baby from the breast and sell it. As a matter of fact it is clear that the owner's interests demand that the new-born child should live under the best possible conditions, so that he may be a fine specimen if sold young or that he may develop normally and become a vigorous worker. These two reasons usually prevail to prevent the child being taken from his mother until he is weaned. At the death of the head of the family, and unless he has left directions to the contrary which involve their liberation, the slaves are reckoned as part of the property and are divided among the heirs. No account is taken of the family relations among them and they are disposed of as the heirs may wish or by drawing lots. If it is not possible for the full value of a slave to be allotted to one share, two or more of the claimants have the use of him between them, and he then goes to work for the different masters during times proportional to their shares and at dates which have been agreed."

"The slave has no redress in respect of the punishments his master may inflict; the commonest is corporal punishment, which may be the bastinado. Slaves are frequently put in chains or deprived of food."

"The capture of slaves is as easy as ever; determined people can always organise raids, particularly in Wallaga, Wallamo, Gamou, Djimma, Konta and Gofa. But it is more and more difficult for the slave traders to get their convoys through the central provinces. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that numbers of slaves coming from the south-west of Abyssinia are shipped on the Somali coast to be sold in Arabia."

Abyssinia
escape to Sudan

The slave population in Abyssinia is authoritatively estimated at 2,000,000. In a letter from Sir Austen Chamberlain to this Society dated 21st January, 1928*, we were informed of the large number of slaves escaping from Abyssinia into British territory, to secure freedom from oppression. We feel confident that His Majesty's Government will accept the view of our Committee that the obvious reason for these slaves seeking their freedom in British territory is in order to escape from the bondage and cruelty of the slave systems in the territories adjoining the Sudan, and is doubtless

* See appendix 5.

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* See appendix 5.

escape to Sudan

one of the reasons why escaping slaves are never sent back to Abyssinia by British authorities in the Sudan - "In no case has any escaped slave been sent back to Abyssinia." (Sir Austen Chamberlain, 21st January, 1928). Positive evidence exists, in a White Paper* published by His Majesty's Government, of the ill-treatment to which these unfortunate people in Abyssinia are subjected. Captain Cochrane, a British Officer in Kenya Colony, who has lived for years on the borders of Abyssinia, used the conclusive word "HELL" in describing their conditions. The British Minister at Addis Ababa, commenting upon the fact that Captain Cochrane has been compelled to send back refugees into Abyssinia, says:-

"I am distressed to think of the treatment to which these unfortunate people have doubtless been subjected on falling again into the power of their old oppressors."**

Our Committee does not suggest that the same degree of cruelty is meted out to the entire slave population, but we feel most strongly that wherever man, woman or child ceased to possess the rights of a human being, and becomes a property in the sense in which the slaves in Abyssinia, China, Arabia and elsewhere are claimed by their owners to be a property, cruelty must follow.

We are of opinion that the realisation of the stupendous nature of the task of abolition is the main reason why there has been so much hesitation on the part of certain countries in reporting to the League upon the system obtaining in their territories. It is probable that were expert machinery created, these countries would have less reluctance in frankly declaring the position when appealing to the League of Nations for the assistance which they might feel to be needful.

We have noted the high significance of the attitude of China in this connection. China, where, as a British Consul recently said** trading in slave girls is universally practised, has never so far as we are aware, communicated to the League a single document on the subject, although China has been a loyal and effective

* Cmd. 2553.

** Cmd. 2553.

*** Cmd. 3424, 1929.

*Cruelty
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from
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*abolition so
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information
e.g.
China*

member of the League of Nations since its inception. China has had moreover, representatives on the Slavery Committees of the League, while at the same time she has issued several proclamations affecting her slave population which have never been forwarded to the League of Nations. Our Committee was so impressed with this fact that in 1928 their Parliamentary Secretary urged the Secretary of the Chinese Delegation in Geneva to bring to the notice of the League Committee on Slavery a recently issued Chinese proclamation dealing with the whole subject of slavery. The Chinese Delegation refrained from any action.

In order that such an omission should not recur, our Committee ventured to approach the Chinese Ambassador in London with an appeal dated 2nd August, 1929*, that such proclamations issued by his country should be submitted to the League of Nations. But although a Chinese representative again sat upon the Slavery Committee, he remained silent with regard to this action by China.

This is the more surprising in view of the enlightened legislative steps taken by the Chinese Government. We attach hereto copy of a proclamation issued on November 22nd, 1929**, and are glad to observe that yet another proclamation has been issued, dealing with the position in Canton, in which the admission is made inter alia, that traffic and mal-treatment of slave girls is continuing.

If it were possible for the League to create a Slavery Bureau all these proclamations and documents could be tabulated for the information of the member States of the League.

In the material available upon slavery in Abyssinia, it is recognised that the task is well-nigh beyond the administration. Not only do the economic conditions of Abyssinia depend upon slavery, but it is inter-woven in the religion of the country. As Lord Lugard says - "opposition to the abolition of slavery comes principally from the priesthood, which considers itself the guardian

* See appendix 6.

** See appendix 7.

League
Bureau
for
Confidential
Liam

of the Mosaic law and regards slavery as an institution decreed by Jehovah."*

The intense attachment of the Abyssinian Rulers to property in slaves finds expression also in the statement by Lord Lugard:-

"The attempt to abolish property in slaves, and to carry out the terms of the Edict must involve a complete change in the social life of the people of Abyssinia. This in any country would be strongly opposed by the owners of slaves

"That there will be fierce opposition to the enforcement of the Edict is beyond all possibility of doubt, and it is well known that in Abyssinia this opposition will be practically universal. 'We will die rather than give up our slaves', a Chief is reported to have said to a European."**

What property in slaves means to the Chiefs and Rulers of Abyssinia is demonstrated by Mr. Baum, the head of a Scientific Expedition into Abyssinia, who stated that some Rasses own as many as 15,000 slave each. Dr. Harrison also emphasises the close connection between slave-owning and religion in Arabia:- "Religion endorses it, the social order depends upon it . . ."***

The whole question of slavery is so complicated, and presents such a wide range of difficulties, that in the opinion of our Committee it can only be satisfactorily controlled by some special machinery under the auspices of the League of Nations. Whilst it is true that all systems of slavery have in them the common root evil of property-ownership, they vary widely in practice, according to the geographical areas in which the systems obtain to-day. In certain territories, for example, women and girls only are affected; in other territories the system may apply only for a period of years. In others again, the bondage does not terminate even with the death of the person held as a property, but the vested interest is passed on as a liability to the children. Again, the "purchase price varies according to territory, personality and purpose of the servitude, from £2 to £50. The treatment, of which there is increasing evidence, varies from something akin to paternal relationship to that of a crude property-ownership exposing the person owned to oppression and acts of great cruelty and even death.

* "Slavery" by Lady Simon, p.27 & League of Nations Paper, C.426. M.157

** "Slavery" " " p.17. (1925, VI P.P, 105-6.

*** " " " p.55.

The object of the servitude again varies from a form of domestic control coupled with a loose concubinage to exploitation in agricultural, sub-surface and sub-marine occupations.

Another considerable advantage, if not necessity, attaching to the creation of an International Bureau would be that documents of a confidential nature could be submitted for examination to such an institution of the League of Nations. As an illustration of this feature we enclose a special appendix marked A. 1., which must not be published. These documents concern a great area of the world in which there are an enormous number of slaves within the meaning of the Anti-Slavery Convention of 1926. This document has been prepared under the collaboration of nearly forty persons, many of whom are strangers to each other, but all of whom have lived for many years in the territory concerned. The memorandum shows that in some districts there are as many as 60,000 slaves, whilst the lowest estimate in any given area is 10,000. This memorandum points out that there are a number of slave dealers engaged in the slave traffic; the slave dealers being both men and women. The memorandum draws attention to the fact that sales take place usually between the ages of 3 and 15, and that unfortunately a large number of government officials and those concerned with the administration of justice own many slaves. This authoritative memorandum states that large numbers of the slaves appear to be living in a state of great degradation and demoralization and that "great cruelty is practised even to the extent of killing the slaves." Perhaps one of the most surprising features of this memorandum is that a considerable number of the 40 collaborators of this memorandum state that so far from decreasing, slavery in . . . has actually increased.

The various documents in support of the memorandum form a considerable dossier. It cannot, as we have already pointed out, be published, nor can it be submitted to the League of Nations in

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any other way than to a department having at its command technical advisers appointed to examine in confidence documents upon slavery in the light of local conditions, and is precisely the kind of document which we have in mind for submission to the Bureau of Special Commission of Inquiry.

A further illustration of this difficulty is provided by a communication just received from a reliable and experienced correspondent. We give below a quotation from this communication, but as we have not yet received permission to publish this, we have eliminated for the time being the names and places. This correspondent says:-

"In seven days inland from here, a woman caused the death of a slave, she was also a woman notorious for trading in slaves. A progressive young governor ... had her sentenced to imprisonment, but the public opinion of the town was against him, and he has been put out of office, that was about 6 months ago.

"A few weeks ago, about half-an-hour's walk from here, a woman put the tongs in the fire and beat a little slave girl, the child was unconscious and lying on the street, some neighbours took the child in and sent for the police, she was taken to the hospital and died. Much to the surprise of everyone the woman was arrested, and the magistrate said, 'I would like to give you one year's imprisonment for each blow you have given that child, twelve blows which have killed her, but I can give you two years' imprisonment.' Many are commending the magistrate, and yet they wonder why a slave's life was of such value, and why the owner could not do what she liked with her, for she is only a piece of purchased property."

We would therefore suggest that the time has come to create in connection with the League of Nations, a special Bureau, possibly allied to one or more of the existing departments, such Bureau to be equipped with suitable staff, assisted by experienced Administrators, and others in a voluntary capacity. We are happy to know that there are to be found in the Colonial Service of several nations eminent men, fully qualified and ready to assist in the humanitarian task of bringing about the abolition of this property right in human beings.

It becomes increasingly clear that the abolition of slave-owning will demand the assistance of the best administrative brains

Skilled
personnel
needed

available. The League of Nations can secure such talent under circumstances which facilitate acceptance by Sovereign States concerned. Within recent months the Secretariat of the League of Nations has been able to secure the services of a unique personality for an inquiry into certain conditions in Liberia. It would not have been easy for Liberia herself to secure, or to accept from any single government, a gentleman of such attainments and associations.*

One of the outstanding difficulties which confront China, Arabia and Abyssinia is the question of financial stability. We believe that unless the League of Nations can come to the financial assistance of the governments of these territories, their Rulers will be compelled to negotiate loans with others upon terms which have hitherto contained few, if any of the healthy safeguards secured by the League for administrative progress. The kind of danger we have in mind is to be found in suggestions attributed to the Emperor Ras Tafari which have found some support in certain quarters of the United States of America, namely:- the granting of huge concessions of land to foreigners, under which slaves would be provided to the concessionaires, who would, in turn divide the wages between the slaves and their owners over a period of years, the slaves becoming free at the end of the period.**

Coordinate
of official
private
effort-

The ^{Co ordination} ~~co-operation~~ of official and private effort by the League of Nations in the case of the Refugee work, has proved so beneficial that the principles adopted and the experience gained would be of great advantage if they were applied to the maintenance of Homes and Schools for freed slaves. The need for these is now recognised by all enlightened Chinese and Abyssinians.

We beg to ask that this Memorandum may be submitted,

* Dr. Guthbert Christy.

** "Slavery" by Lady Simon, p. 35.

through His Majesty's Government, to the League of Nations, and
have the honour to be, Sir,

Your humble and obedient Servants,

President.

Deputy President.

Chairman.

Vice-Chairman.

) Joint Hon.
) Treasurers.
)

Hon. Secretary.

Parliamentary Secretary.

9/11/33.

The Abolition of British Slavery. Lord Noel-Buxton *at Wells*

Wells
Lord Noel-Buxton said that the Abolition of Slavery in the British Empire, the Centenary of which was now being celebrated, was a tremendous step forward in the march of the human race.

It had been for ages thought natural that a human being should be the property of another, like a dog or a horse. The civilizations of Greece and Rome had been based on slavery, and serfdom, which was similar, remained in England until the fourteenth century, in spite of protests from Christian authorities like St. Anselm. Therefore, when slavery, even of negroes, was condemned, it was a revolution for society in general. Lord Rosebery said that, when England stood before history, she would be famous not for her fleets or commerce, but for the exertions she made to put down the iniquitous traffic.

It was hardly credible that there are still existing many million slaves. Yet we in England feel slavery so remote that we can hardly imagine what it is to be a slave, never to choose what to do, where to go or whom to meet. Would life be worth living without the possibility of friends, family, pleasures or interests? A slave is worked to the last ounce, he is constantly flogged, barbarously punished, torn from his children and from their mother, and sold like a bullock without notice. If we value considerations of right and wrong, we should remember that such a sense is impossible for the slave, who has no responsibility, no practice in self-direction and no incentive to work except the fear of punishment.

One hundred years ago the unholy traffic of ~~trading~~ in human beings was not only allowed but was vehemently supported by highly

respectable Englishmen. Humane ideas were new. It was a time when English children were worked in coal-mines, sometimes at three years old, and agricultural labourers were deported to Australia for forming a Union. The Corporation of Liverpool spent £10,000 in agitating against the abolition of slavery. Churches were built by the profits of slave labour, and the reformer Sturge was refused church membership in America because he opposed slavery. The Quakers abstained from eating sugar as a protest against its origin, and it is on record that Buxton, who led the agitation in Parliament for abolishing slavery, said that, when he was a boy he ridiculed his sister for her abstinence, but, "at the same time", said he, "it made me think".

The law had already declared, in 1770, that no one could be a slave in England, and the work of Wilberforce had ^{made it illegal for Britishers} brought about the ~~abolition of trading in slaves in 1807.~~ ^{deport slaves from Africa since} But in 1820, when Wilberforce ^{up the abolition of slavery which} asked Buxton to take over the work, and schemes were devised when Wilberforce was his guest at Cromer Hall, it was still regarded as a wicked attack on property to propose emancipation. The reformers were furiously abused as hypocritical promoters of spoliation, under the mask of philanthropy.

There was still a fight to-day, both against definite slavery, and its new form in forced labour. Definite slavery was rife in Arabia, Liberia, China and Abyssinia. His own experience was of Abyssinia, where he went for the Anti-Slavery Society to consult with the Emperor. Slavery there was all the more striking, because the Abyssinians were nominally Christian, and based their theory upon texts from the Old Testament.