

A 27/6/36.

TELEPHONE ABINGER 79.  
STATION DORKING NORTH.

LITTLE PARKHURST,  
ABINGER COMMON,  
N<sup>o</sup> DORKING,  
SURREY.

26th June, 1936.

Dear Noel-Buxton,

I see that you have put down a question, 'Not for Oral Answer', on July 1st, regarding British subjects in Ethiopia. I received a day or two ago the enclosed letter/ & telegram(copy) from Colonel Sandford. Please return. I do not know if it contains anything which would make you wish to amplify your question.

Yours sincerely,

Lugard.

(Encls.).

TELEPHONE ABINGER 79.  
STATION DORKING NORTH.

LITTLE PARKHURST,  
ABINGER COMMON,  
NE DORKING,  
SURREY.

22nd July, 1936.

Dear Lord Noel-Buxton,

I am afraid that your idea of getting Italy to accept the position of Mandatory in order to avoid conscription would not be possible, especially if put forward publicly as a condition of recognition of her annexation, though conceivably something might be done <sup>(on the raising of troops) yes-as I feel</sup> by diplomacy later on. The Mandates Commission has again re-elected an Italian as President (in spite I may say of my strong opposition), who has consistently I think used his position for political motives. Italy would never tolerate the criticism of the Commission after her success in flouting the League.

Garrett, who I believe is a credible witness, in his letter to the Times describes the dropping of political prisoners from aeroplanes into recalcitrant villages, and I read a quotation from Graziani's address to the Coptic Church in Addis Ababa that "the action of your countrymen has annoyed the Italian Government, which holds peace in one hand and a sword in the other. If these embarrassments are not stopped by you at once the Italian Government will have to annihilate you all." It is manifestly absurd to expect people actuated by such motives to conform to

the terms of a Mandate, and personally in such circumstances I cannot tolerate the idea of condoning her action by recognition of her sovereignty.

You ask me to let you know if I am writing on this subject. I am not writing anything at present regarding Italian action, but I am reviewing for the Times "A Place in the Sun" by Grover Clark, an American, which deals with the whole question of Colonial Claims, and I have undertaken to give an address at Ashridge in November.

Yours sincerely,

*Lugard.*

a  
TELEPHONE ABINGER 79.  
STATION DORKING NORTH.  
Coles

not am.  
Lugard.

LITTLE PARKHURST,  
ABINGER COMMON,  
DORKING,  
SURREY.

5th February, 1937.

Dear Lord Noel-Buxton,

It would give me great pleasure to be able to support any Motion proposed by you, but I regret that in this case I do not share your view that British Colonies should be placed under Mandate, and if I spoke I should be compelled to oppose it.

I cannot of course give my full reasons in a letter, but there are two which seem to me conclusive, i.e., that the proposal can do no good, and is more likely to do harm, because the other Colonial Powers would never agree, and our Dominions would resent the proposal. Secondly, because Germany and other dissatisfied Powers would derive no satisfaction from it.

The universal application of the Commercial Equality Clause, on the other hand, which I have supported, seems to me a more practicable proposition.

Yours sincerely,  
He has also sd. of mand Com<sup>n</sup> ed not superior to many!  
Lugard.

~~Very many thanks for the information received from you.~~

TELEPHONE ABINGER 79.  
STATION DORKING NORTH.

Lugard  
amendment

LITTLE PARKHURST,  
ABINGER COMMON,  
N: DORKING,  
SURREY.

13th February, 1937.

Dear Noel-Buxton,

I am very glad to hear that you so much regret to find yourself in opposition to my view in this question, and indeed I heartily reciprocate your feeling. The more I think over this question, however, the more it has seemed to me to be my duty to put my view of it. I propose therefore to submit as an amendment the enclosed. In doing so I shall cordially support the rest of the Motion.

Yours sincerely,

Lugard.

a

TELEPHONE  
STATION  
ABINGER HAMMER 79  
DORKING, S.R.

Say - CH feels doesn't know S.  
supports writing him (L) saying into in S.

Get Col S to commit himself  
on what line he proposes.  
- eg no reports.  
If L agrees, will write

LITTLE PARKHURST,  
ABINGER COMMON,  
N: DORKING,  
SURREY.

2nd February, 1935.

Dear Lord Noel-Buxton,

Mr. de Halpert's resignation of his post as Adviser to the Abyssinian Government on Slavery questions looks like a serious set-back to progress in that country. You told me that you thought that Sandford would make a very good substitute. I have had a number of letters from him about this Italian question, and he seems to be very much in the confidence of the Emperor and trusted by him. In a communication I had from the Foreign Office they obviously thought that his appointment would be very desirable. Barton, our Minister at Addis Ababa, favours it, and Sandford is on excellent terms with him, but the Foreign Office suggested to me that he should not volunteer for it, but wait for the Government to approach him. They have made no advance at present, but he has discussed it with Herowi (whom you will remember), who said that he felt sure that the Government would want to be assured that his appointment would receive the approval of the Anti-Slavery leaders in England.

Contra  
dictio

I am myself convinced that Sandford would be the best man for the job, and I am writing to ask you whether you could take

any action in your capacity as Joint President of the Anti-Slavery Society to give the required assurance. If, for instance, Charles Roberts as Chairman, or Harris as Secretary, would write to me saying that they had heard of the possibility of Sandford being appointed Advisor to the Government on Slavery questions, and thought that he would be a very suitable person who would command confidence in England, I would pass on the letter to Sandford.

Yours sincerely,

*Lugard.*

TELEPHONE ABINGER 79.  
STATION DORKING NORTH.

LITTLE PARKHURST,  
ABINGER COMMON,  
N<sup>o</sup> DORKING,  
SURREY.

24th July, 1935.

My dear Noel-Buxton,

I have read the Slavery Debate in the Lords with the greatest interest. May I congratulate you on your statement of the case. Lord Stanhope's statement that the British members of Council cannot take the initiative in proposing larger powers for the Committee, because it is one that "the Committee must themselves start", seems to me <sup>Very unfortunate</sup> quite wrong. In any case it would mean an interminable delay. I will write to Lord Stanhope on the subject, and also to Gohr as you suggest.

You refer in your speech to the question of Liberia, to which the Government made no reply at all. Do you think that it would be useful if you were to put down a question (not for debate) asking for information as to what has been done in that country, and what action has been taken by the United States ?

Thank you for your kind references to myself in your speech.

I was glad to see your letter in the Times this morning.

Yours sincerely,

Lugard.



TELEPHONE ABINGER 79.  
STATION DORKING NORTH.

phone will be glad to  
give

LITTLE PARKHURST,  
ABINGER COMMON,  
N<sup>o</sup> 1 DORKING,  
SURREY.

30th July, 1935.

Dear Noel-Buxton,

The question of medical help for the Abyssinians is so desperately urgent that it is proposed to make an appeal for funds without delay. The terms of the appeal would of course be subject to your approval, but would be somewhat on the lines of the enclosed. I do earnestly hope that you would consent to be a signatory? I am writing also to the Archbishop, Amery, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Sir Henry Wellcome, Lord Scarborough, Lord Lothian, and Mr. Kipling. ~~Information~~

~~As you suggest some other names~~

As  
/everyone will be leaving London at the end of the week, the matter is extremely urgent. So I should be grateful if you could reply as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Lugard.

TELEPHONE ABINGER 79.  
STATION DORKING NORTH.

LITTLE PARKHURST,  
ABINGER COMMON,  
N<sup>o</sup> DORKING,  
SURREY.

14th August, 1935.

Dear Sir John Harris,

Thank you for your letter, and for sending me Tshekedi's Petition, which I will return when I have read it.

I had heard from Sandford himself about his appointment, and I hear that it was reported in The Daily Telegraph a few days ago. He tells me that the appointment was largely due to the report of the Ethiopian Commissioner who went down to report to the Emperor, and also to Barton's constant pressure. It would therefore be a mistake to attribute it to the desire to gain sympathy in Europe in view of the Italian difficulty.

Yours sincerely,

Lugard.

TELEPHONE  
ABINGER HAMMER 79.  
STATION  
DORKING, S.R.

Tell JH

LITTLE PARKHURST,  
ABINGER COMMON,  
N<sup>o</sup> DORKING,  
SURREY.

13th September, 1932

Dear Lord Noel-Buxton,

I am very glad to hear that your news from Sandford is so hopeful. I also have had similar news from him but the fact that he has been asked by the Emperor to comment on a scheme for settling freed slaves is new to me.

Committee

The Slavery/has strongly and unanimously recommended the creation of a small Permanent Commission and Bureau, but except for this I do not think our work was of much value and the Report is very verbose, with much repetition. It is no doubt chiefly due to your mission to Abyssinia that so very definite a move has now been inaugurated.

Yours sincerely,

Lugard

TELEPHONE  
ABINGER HAMMER 79.  
STATION  
DORKING, S.R.

LITTLE PARKHURST,  
ABINGER COMMON,  
N<sup>o</sup> DORKING,  
SURREY.

3rd December, 1934.

Dear Noel-Buxton,

I sent you Sandford's letter in haste as I was leaving for London, and as you will no doubt wish to know what action I took upon it, I write to tell you that I at once wrote to the Foreign Office strongly supporting Sandford's appointment vice De Halpert. In reply I received a letter from Mr. Strang, in which he said that Barton's view was that "provided the Ethiopian Government, who know him well, ask for him, his appointment would be a suitable one." Apparently Barton had not had any indication of the intentions of the Government, and Strang added that he <sup>(Strang)</sup> thought that the post was such a difficult one that in Sandford's own interest he should refrain from any personal initiative until the Abyssinian Government approached him. "Otherwise, if for any cause, things went wrong he might be made into a scapegoat." I immediately wrote in this sense to Sandford.

Yours sincerely,

Lugard,

A 4/1/35  
TELEPHONE  
ABINGER HAMMER 70  
STATION  
DORKING, S.R.

20 Laden changed

LITTLE PARKHURST,  
ABINGER COMMON,  
N<sup>o</sup> DORKING,  
SURREY.

a. Show int. L.F.O.  
Doubting who says *of course* 2nd January, 1935.  
The doubting job  
b. i h 3 x.

My dear Noel-Buxton,

c. Vanin Buxton

You have asked me to let you have any news I get from Abyssinia, and I therefore enclose a letter received this morning from Sandford. He and the Emperor imagine that I can help, but I am at a loss to know what I can do<sup>a</sup>. Have you any suggestion? Sandford remarks that the F.O. dossier is at my disposal but I know no-one at the Foreign Office except Simon, and it would of course be impossible for me to ask them to shew me all the papers. The Tripartite Treaty with which at one time I was familiar guaranteed the independence of Abyssinia if I remember right, but it would I imagine be read to mean that each of the Contracting Parties pledged themselves not to violate it, not that they would take action against each other if one of the three disregarded the pledge? The Belgian case was different. In the present position in Europe it is impossible for our Government to tell Mussolini that he is wrong. He says that all Abyssinia is relying on the League. It is their only chance. But how can we assist? (Perham says at apt emp bec he refers to it)

I do not understand what Sandford means by saying that

→ b because Lg wd get control (Cris)

Ethiopia should not be "penalised" through applying to the League. Do you know who at the Foreign Office is in charge of Abyssinian affairs? C

Yours sincerely,

Lugard.

The tripartite agreement of 1907 says that the 3 Powers shall cooperate in maintaining the Status Quo, it is (by the preamble & by Article 4) explicitly directed to maintaining their own interests & preventing a clash between them. E: Britain does not guarantee the integrity of Ethiopia vis a vis the other Powers, as I think she did in <sup>1870 in</sup> the case of Belgium? In the event of disturbance of the Status Quo they do will 'concert together'; the inference being that the 'disturbance' arises from the internal affairs of the country.

1

C O P Y

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

6th February 1935

Dear Lord Lugard,

Thank you for yours of February 2nd.

I have spoken to Harris and made the suggestion that you propose, as to writing in favour of Sandford. He feels that he and Roberts should hear something from Sandford before they do this, as they are unacquainted with him. Harris suggests that he should write a letter to you, saying that he is interested in the possibility that Sandford might be appointed, and he would much like to know Sandford's view on the situation arising from de Halpert's resignation, especially asking what line of action Sandford can foresee in regard to the failure of Abyssinia to keep her promise to make reports to the League, and in regard to the breakdown of reform.

I hope you will think this a sensible course. If you agree, I will at once get Harris to write you such a letter. It would not lose very much time, and I think Sandford would like to indicate his views as I suggest.

(Signed) Yours

Noel-Buxton

*Sandford*

TELEPHONE  
ABINGER HAMMER 79.  
STATION  
DORKING, S.R.

*I thank - now heard by Col S. I've waited for Lt  
Pity. Report not feds. I've delayed. delayed again  
with I'd known - he never wrote.  
obviously overlooked. I that he had it.  
Times ed. mandate confirmed by letter is necessary.  
Hint of Private*

LITTLE PARKHURST,  
ABINGER COMMON,  
NE DORKING,  
SURREY.

11th August, 1932.

*Hope to see will hint.  
- Cardman - v my report - correct.*

Dear Noel-Buxton,

I was about to write to you when your letter arrived this morning.

I have had two letters from Sandford dated 18th May and 9th July. Referring to your Report he says in his last

letter:- "The Emperor has not yet seen Noel-Buxton's Report and resents the fact that it has not been sent to him before being circulated to other interested parties. I cannot conceive why this has not been done. I have not received a copy (although Buxton promised to send me one) and Barton has refused to let me see his copy as it is marked "For the Confidential perusal of the Minister". So the Emperor and I could not discuss the Report which I thought was a pity. A copy has not been sent to de Halpert either!"

The previous letter was much in the same sense, and he complains of your interview with Reuter on the 6th April and your letter to The Times of the 7th, which he says has annoyed the Abyssinians, more especially that you should have written an article to the Times containing a threat of a mandate being granted to Italy. (Column 1. line 26.).

He continues:- "The Italians are suspected at the present moment of contemplating an aggressive policy towards this country. Quite apart from the negotiations of 1915 to which Buxton refers in his article there exists the Anglo-Italian Agreement of 1925 to show the Abyssinians that the

*This and his art in Times Aug 12.*



British Government has no objection to giving the Italians a free hand in Abyssinia so long as British interests in Tsana are safeguarded. The Italian Charge d'Affaires call upon Buxton here, as all the world knows, to express the sympathy of the Italian Govt. in the object of his visit and on top of all this comes Buxton's threat in the Times!

Yes.  
Done.

~~He goes on to say~~ He goes on to say "The proper way to work now is by confidential and direct communication with the Abyssinian Govt. or through the special Committee at Geneva. It is very difficult for anyone to speak publicly on the question at home without being misrepresented or misunderstood out here - and harm instead of good is done. In one of the reports of your speech made at the A.P.S. Meeting you are represented as having said (so I am informed by de Halpert) that the first thing to be done was to suppress the huge caravans of slaves which still cross Abyssinia on the way to the sea. As far as I know and as far as anybody else knows whom I have been able to get into touch with there has not been a large caravan of slaves brought through this country for at least ten years, and in any case at the present time it could not possibly happen."

~~What is~~

What is  
'large'.

I have explained to him that my comment regarding the slave caravans was based upon the statement to that effect in your Report, which I cited in order to emphasise the necessity of an adequate police force, to maintain which the Emperor would require financial assistance.

He excused the raid of last March on the grounds that:

"it is not correct to class these in the same category as former Abyssinian slave raids. I have seen official documents relating to these raids and it is clear that they come under the heading of inter-tribal fighting. Women and children were carried off - and it is no doubt unfortunately true that these will be enslaved by the conquering tribe - but the problem involved is a distinct one, not to be confused with that of raids carried out by armed Abyssinian soldiers or bandits. Harris' letter on the subject which appeared in the Times between June 2. and June 6. (I have not noted the exact date) was I thought regrettable. Sir J. Simon's statement made in the H. of C. on June 6 was accurate

Should  
L abm

and fair. You will find that Haile Silassye will co-operate in every way with the Sudan Govt. in order to prevent a recurrence of these episodes. (This I base on his own words to me)."

Sic!

Finally he gives me very interesting information regarding de Halpert's proposals which are as follows:-

"de Halpert's proposals have been accepted en bloc by the Emperor. (They must not be referred to as de Halpert's proposals - they should be referred to as the ~~the~~ scheme of reform produced by the Ethiopian Govt. for discussion with N. Buxton). The process of putting them into effect will take, as everything else in this country, a longish time. The present position is:-

(a). Slavery Dept. A Director has been appointed and a room set aside at the Ministry of the Interior for his use. There are a lot of clerks already employed in the Ministry in connection with slavery, but they have not yet been brought under the direct control of the Director of the Slavery Dept.

(b). There are something like 50 special Slavery Courts installed over the country and a Court of Appeal at Addis Ababa. Some of the courts don't function at all as yet. Some function pretty well. A flow of correspondence from these courts is beginning to set in towards the Ministry.

(c). Instructions have been sent out to the Governors of certain Provinces to create a force of special slavery police. I cannot say yet what progress has been made.

(d). In two Provinces at least (Gojjam and Jimma) the slavery courts have been put under the supervision of a specially sent Central Govt. official and removed from the control of the local Governor.

not!  
police?

(e). In Jimma and Gojjam the slaves of Sultan Abajiffaar and of Ras Hailu have been released by the Govt. (in each case I believe about 1,000 slaves but I have not exact figures). I cannot find out what has been done with these released slaves but hope to get the information shortly. The Emperor remarked to me that the problem was a difficult one as he lacked funds, and if the process of liberation

was hastened he would find a crowd of thieves and prostitutes on his hands.

(f). Quite a number of kidnappers and other offenders are being sent up from the frontier provinces to the capital for punishment. (I have this on de Halpert's authority) Both de Halpert and myself are pressing the Emperor to get statistics and details published.

(g). I am told by the Emperor and Herowi that one of the charges brought against Ras Hailu for which he was deprived of some of his territory (before the escape of Lij Yasu) was contravention of the slavery laws."

*No salaries for police & judges?*

The expense he says will not be much, except for providing for the freed slaves.

Yours sincerely,

*Langair*

*I have just from you the extracts as they stand. - as he says  
ie at it is difficult for anyone to say anything here without  
a 5 miss. being misunderstood in Abyssinia. Please treat the  
extract on this & the last page (de Halpert's Scheme) as strictly confidential at present.*

*L.*

My Lords, In view of the fact that the first report of the Permanent Slavery Committee will be presented to the Council of the League of Nations early in September, I venture to ask Your Lordships' consideration of one matter which appears to me, and to others, seriously to curtail its sphere of usefulness.

That the League of Nations has concerned itself with the question of Slavery has been due principally to the initiative and insistence of H.M.'s Government. Following the appeal of Sir A. Steel-Maitland in 1923 the Assembly of the League ~~in Sept. 1923~~ decided to constitute a so-called "Temporary Slavery Committee", which met in July, 1924. The Committee had no precise terms of reference or instructions as to the method it should adopt, but since the Assembly had intimated that it should obtain information "particularly from Governments of States not Members of the League, and if necessary from individuals or organizations whose competence and reliability are recognised", and since the Council had even instructed the Secretary-General to enquire whether States would indicate such organizations or individuals, it appeared to be clear that the Committee was not to be restricted to receiving only such documents as were submitted by Governments.

In its report to the Council the Comtee. stated that realising the delicacy of the task it had decided to submit to the Council for its approval the precise procedure which it proposed to follow. It did so in these terms: -

"(1). The Commission will consult those organisations and individuals which may have been or may be designated by the Governments of the States in whose territories the headquarters of such organisations or the domicile of such individuals may be established, and according to the methods which may have been or may be indicated by the said Governments;

"(2). In the case of communications received from other organisations or individuals than those indicated by Governments, the Commission will, if it considers such communications worthy of consideration, ask the Government in whose territory the headquarters of the organisation or the domicile of the individual giving information may be established, whether it considers the organisations or the individuals competent and

Lugard

Memo on Slavery, 26th May, 1941.  
Confidential.

It is important to bear in mind that Abyssinia is now in Military Occupation by Gt. Britain, and will remain so until the future status of ex-enemy Colonies receives international recognition at the Peace Conference.

Under the Hague Convention the victors remain responsible for the maintenance of peace and good order without unnecessary changes during this period and it appears from the Foreign Secretary's statement on February 4th that troops will remain in certain districts and officers will be appointed to the Political control. The war may continue for some time, and it may be that if and when an Armistice is declared the period of Occupation may continue for a further period before the Peace Conference.

Meanwhile Gt. Britain has pledged herself to the recognition of the independence of Abyssinia. There should be no difficulty in this since the Emperor has asked for British guidance and will no doubt be glad to avail himself of British support in enforcing his Anti-Slavery decrees. Tact however will be needed in order to avoid friction with <sup>any</sup> reactionary Races or a popular feeling that the pledge of independence is not being kept and that Britain has established a virtual Protectorate. In particular, friction may arise if the troops should seem to treat the Natives as "Niggers" or "Kaffirs". Before the Peace Conference recognises the complete independence of the country the Slavery question will have ceased to exist and the treatment of the races subject to the dominant Amhara will, we may hope, have been put on right lines. "International collaboration" can only come after Military Occupation ceases and the status of Abyssinia receives International recognition.

In the past these races (especially the Gallas) have been treated abominably and the abolition of slavery if effected with due consideration for the future of the ex-slaves is itself the best safeguard for their future status and welfare. I am moreover convinced that since Haile Selassie became Emperor (and indeed while only Regent), he has done his best gradually to abolish slavery by enacting that slaves born after the date of the Edict were born free, and that

slaves could claim their freedom under various conditions.

If latterly his efforts seemed to slacken it must be remembered that he was preoccupied by the threatened incursion of Italy, and also had before him the fate of King Amanullah of Afghanistan, who had been too precipitate. Yet his bold and decisive action in the case of the recalcitrant King of Gojjam, and the drastic suppression of the slave-raiders by a trusted Amharic Deputy with Colonel Sandford's help in the Maji district - the worst in the country - proves that on occasion he did not fear to use force. In my opinion the humanitarian objects which H.M.G. desires to promote can best be realised by placing that trust in Haile Selassie of which his conduct throughout these trying years shews him to be worthy.

Abolition  
of Legal  
Status.

I suggest that the Emperor should, with the approval of the British Adviser, at once issue a decree abolishing the legal status of slavery and serfdom (not a decree of compulsory emancipation), and be encouraged to reconstitute his Slave Courts with new instructions. By the abolition of the legal status every slave or serf may without any legal formality assert his freedom, and his master cannot prevent him by force, or recapture him, but he would be instructed that he must ask for a Freedom Certificate which will be given him. It is not a crime for a master to retain his slave if the slave desires to stay with him.

By a decree of compulsory emancipation on the other hand it is a crime for a master to retain his slaves and whether they wish it or not they must be turned into the street to become vagrants without any means of subsistence, or thieves, and the women to become prostitutes. The abolition of the legal status is essentially in the interest of the slaves themselves, and of masters who have treated their slaves kindly, for it can in practice be applied gradually, and gives the Government time to make provision (inf). Sudden emancipation per contra creates chaos and disintegration of the social system before there is anything to replace it. The Emperor's action would be supported by the British Adviser, and by the political officers who are being appointed to take over centres of administration with the consent and approval of the Emperor, (Mr. Butler, Hans. 2.4.41), pending

"the international arrangement at the conclusion of peace", intimated by Mr. Eden, (Hans. 4. 2. 41).

Warning to Slave-owners.

Simultaneously with the Slavery Decree the Emperor would take steps to inform all slave-owners that the law no longer recognised slavery and every slave could assert his freedom whenever he chose and could not be detained by force, or recaptured if he ran away. If a domestic slave desired to remain with his master, Government would not interfere, but he could leave when he liked and obtain a freedom certificate. If the master wished to retain the services of some of his slaves he could engage them as wage-servants and they would be bound to stay for the period of their contract, provided the wage was paid and they were well-treated. It would be intimated to them that any employer who disregarded the law and detained by force or tried to recapture a slave would lose the office he held (if any) and be liable to penalties.

Provision for Freed Slaves.

The responsibility of finding work and/or subsistence for slaves if compulsorily emancipated would fall upon the Government. Under the system proposed however it was found in Nigeria and in Zanzibar when it was adopted, that when the slave-owners have been definitely though tactfully informed and given time to adjust themselves to the new regime, they are not only willing but often even anxious to engage their 'predial' slaves (viz, those employed in cultivation of free land), as wage-labourers.

The Slavery Convention (League Papers C. 210. N. 83. 1927. VI) defines slavery as "the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised" (Art. 1.). Art. 2 pledges the Contracting Powers "to bring about progressively and as soon as possible, the complete abolition of slavery in all its forms", and Art. 5 refers to "Conditions analagous to slavery."

These undefined 'forms' and 'conditions' clearly include serfdom but in the decree abolishing the legal status it would be desirable to use unequivocal terms, since it was disputed whether the definition included serfs. The words "progressively" presumably refers to the method suggested in this Memo, (which I had urged in the Committee),

in preference to immediate compulsory emancipation.

The method suggested is that advocated by Sir John Kirk, and as he pointed out was the course adopted by India in 1843 for the gradual extirpation of slavery. It was also adopted in Northern Nigeria when H.M.G. replaced the Chartered Company, and has proved effective. From the point of view of the Power in Military Occupation of the country, the abolition of the Legal Status is much less difficult to enforce than a decree of compulsory emancipation, since it does not cause the sudden dislocation of the social fabric or the extensive claims by owners for compensation for the loss of slaves legally acquired under the pre-existing law. Following its adoption in Northern Nigeria this course was adopted in Sierra Leone and other African Protectorates.

Since the Italians are understood to have decreed the abolition of slavery in Abyssinia, the Occupying Power cannot I submit do less under the Hague Convention than abolish the legal status, the course best adapted to securing law and order. It should however be simultaneously made known by Proclamation that slave-raiding and slave-dealing (sale and purchase &c,) are thereby absolutely prohibited under severe penalties.

---

*Lugard*

26/5/1941.