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Per 17 DEC 20

NATIVE LABOUR

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Native Paper

MEMO of a deputation received by Lord Milner on  
14th Dec/20

Sir R. Read ~~and others~~

Keep the original ballot paper

that was sent back to us. This paper  
was sent to the Native Labour  
Commissioner at the end of the  
year and it is now in the  
possession of the Native  
Labour Commission.

The Native Labour Commission  
will be in a position to  
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Native Paper

NATIVE LABOUR IN EAST AFRICA

Memorandum of a Deputation received by Lord Milner  
at the Colonial Office on Tuesday, 14th December 1920  
at 3 p.m.

The Deputation consisted of:

The Archbishop of Canterbury  
The Marquess of Salisbury  
The Bishop of Winchester  
The Reverend A. S. Harvie, D.D.  
Sir Samuel Hoare, Bart., M.P.  
The Reverend Donald Fraser  
Mr. J. H. Oldham  
Mr. E. Maclellan.

The Archbishop of Canterbury opened by referring to a memorial which had already been presented to Lord Milner. He emphasised the wideness of the interests represented by the deputation, and the strong support which they had from religious bodies, missionary societies, both Houses of Parliament, the Labour Party, and the Universities in their attitude towards the native labour question in East Africa.

He laid stress on the strong feeling of responsibility which was prevalent amongst the public with regard to the backward races entrusted to the care of this country, and, whilst admitting the difficulties of administration, especially in a sparsely populated country where there was a great need for native labour, he urged that the development of East Africa should be pursued with a view to the benefit of the whole community including the natives, and not only to that of the European settler. It was felt that the existing laws, however excellent in intention, were drawn up by men in close touch with those whose interests lay in the

commercial

commercial development of the country; and he wished  
to be sure that this commercial development was not  
being allowed to proceed at the expense of the  
interests of the people. He had many wants as to which  
he was not satisfied. The first was that there  
was no sufficient labour force available  
to do the work required. The second was  
that there was no sufficient capital available  
to start the work. The third was that there  
was no sufficient power available to move

Dr. Fr. Oct said he spoke from personal experience of East Africa, particularly Uganda. The magistrate was the best friend of the natives: if he had to find labour, there was no one to whom the native could appeal for protection. He felt that too small a

commercial development of the country, and he wished to be sure that this commercial development was not being allowed to proceed too fast for the true interests of the natives. The particular points as to which there was a feeling of discontent were:

(1) the encouragement given to headmen to use their influence for securing labour for private as well as Government work, and the danger of abuse, especially in view of the fact that the results of the activities of headmen in this connection are cumulative.

(2) the wide scope of the powers given to government by the ordinances, under which natives might be compelled to do work of any kind deemed to be of a public nature;

(3) The danger of breaking up native village life by removing natives far from their homes and alienating them from the life of their tribes.

We had no desire to criticise or to make any formal protest; but in view of the contrast between the state of affairs in West Africa and in East and South Africa, it seemed to us to be a duty of a royal commission to enquire into the whole question particularly in regard to the specific points mentioned.

Mr. Currie said that he consulted himself with the Archibishop's returns. The Free Churches would deeply resent any appearance of giving preference to financial over humanitarian considerations in dealing with backward peoples. He supported the proposal for a royal commission.

Dr. Fraser said he spoke from personal experience of West Africa, particularly Cameroun. The magistrates were the best friends of the natives; if he had to find labour, there was no one to whom the natives could appeal for protection. He felt that the world was

proportion of revenue was devoted to the direct benefit of the native. He also felt that it was a pity that European settlers had been allowed to flock Kenya and Nyasaland in such numbers that there was not sufficient native labour to supply their needs. He thought that the proposed Royal Commission should utilize the experience gained in West Africa and by the United States in the Philippines and in dealing with the coloured problem in America.

Mr. Oldham said that he had had several conversations recently with returned missionaries. He said that it was well known that in practice compulsory labour existed, and the object of the action of the Bishops of Uganda and Zambia was to regularise this with a view to the prevention of abuses. He had learnt that in some villages the whole able-bodied population had been taken away, leaving the women to do the local work. If the principle of trusteeship was to be taken seriously, a constructive policy was necessary and he thought that it would be a great public service if the proposed Commission could mark out lines for the future education of the native, using the experience gained elsewhere.

Lord Milner said that he found little difference between the views of the Deputation and his own on questions of principle. The difficulty lay in applying these principles to very varying circumstances. He was not prepared to commit himself to a Committee or Royal Commission, but he felt that some independent enquiry into labour conditions in East Africa was to be desired. There were many other problems which needed enquiring into, and he had in mind an enquiry of a much wider

scope than had been suggested that afternoon. As regards the particular points which had been raised, he had received information from other sources which put a different complexion on the matter for instance that in the course of many a year, a Mysorean chief, who before the 1760 or 1770 administration had been largely a Hindu, there were now numbers of young men killing in the villages, and it was a good thing in itself that these men should ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup> punished. He would like to know more <sup>about</sup> this - a subject of late and the alleged depopulation of villages which had been so strong and inexplicable. The consideration of an Ordinance would show that Government could combine its efforts to the accomplish a <sup>desirable</sup> ~~desirable~~ end.

Lord Milner then visited the Cape Colony, where  
differences of opinion were again discussed, and he  
showed that the policy in each case left the same  
viz. the development of the country remained unsuited to the condition of the people who  
lived. He said that the country was too large  
for Europeans to settle, and that the native  
tribes were sufficient for their settlement, so he said  
that this country could reasonably expect some reward  
for its work in East Africa. His investigation did not  
show that the demands of the settlers for native labour  
were so great as to interfere with the proper develop-  
ment of the natives' own land; but if this was the case,  
he agreed that it was unsatisfactory.

He was very much interested in the economic development of the country, which he considered to be in the interests of the whole community. Even if no revenue derived from taxation of natives had been devoted to the direct interests of the natives, he felt that the natives would have had good value for their money in the peace and prosperity resulting from

scope than had been suggested that afternoon. As regards the particular points which had been raised, he had received information from other sources which put a different complexion on the matter; for instance that in the case of many of the East African tribes, who before the advent of British administration had been largely warlike, there were now numbers of young men idling in the villages, and it was a good thing in itself that these men should be made to work. He would like to know how far this was general, or how far the alleged depopulation of villages, which he admitted was wrong and indefensible was common. Examination of the Ordinances would show that the Government wished to confine its demands to the surplus labour.

Lord Milner then pointed out that the wide differences in conditions between East and West Africa showed that the policy in each case was the same, viz. the development of the native on the lines best suited to the conditions of the country in which he lived. It could not admit that it was not legitimate for Europeans to settle in a country where a large tract was suitable for their settlement, as he thought that this country could reasonably expect a return for its work in East Africa. His information did not show that the demands of the settlers for native labour were so great as to interfere with the proper development of the natives' own land; but if this was the case, he agreed that it was unsatisfactory.

He was very much interested in the economic development of the country, which, according to him, in the interests of the whole community, must be revenue derived from taxation of Africa had been devoted to the best interests of the natives, in result the country had a large and good value of its own, and the trade and prosperity resulting from

### British Rule.

He would be grateful for information as to any particular instances of the unfortunate application of ordinances or instructions as to native labour. As regards the wide power given to Government by the Ordinance referred to, he pointed out that they were only given for work of a public nature, and that it was impossible to define this definitely; and that as the maximum period of employment was 60 days in a year, it could not be said that the men were cut off from the life of their village. There might be illegitimate pressure by officials to obtain labour for private employers, but if so it was contrary to the spirit of the Ordinance and would not be countenanced by Government. His information was that the native was increasingly aware of his own rights and ready to complain of any infringement of them.

Mr. Fraser said that it was difficult to make natives realise that work, &c., on railways ~~un~~readable, far from their homes, was for the benefit of the community. Any breaking up of village life would set the foundations of African morality and democratic stability.

Lord Milner pointed out that the great development was possible in East Africa by the combination of European capital and enterprise. Experience in South Africa showed that employment - limited for limited periods away from their own Jones - was not necessarily incompatible with the material prosperity of the native. He assured the deputation that any general enquiry that might be desired on would not exclude this question of native labour, and that the points raised that afternoon would be generally noted for consideration.

The deputation then withdrew.

The Question of Native Labour in the Kenya Colony.

To achieve the rapid advancement of the country  
we must recognise the opportunity for natives to become  
citizens.

Integral progress is required. Let the natives  
be represented by us.

Kenya Colony is the main tropical country

and we must sustain our agriculture and industry  
here it thrives, but the

British exhibit

over 100 years

own and young

(Finally) The major cities does not speak either  
language or dialect, traditional custom is lost

and left to themselves, therefore, and in the  
city, there is no room for them, and

the pressure exerted upon the people  
is too great.

And finally, a language which enforces  
and destroys all. A language which enforces  
and destroys all. In fact, the barrier

to equality, inequality. The language  
which creates a barrier to absolute  
equality, the barrier which destroys all. It

is the only barrier which is in the way of progress  
or themselves or ourselves the native peoples.

Native Chiefs and Councils have for years  
tried to live effect to live in the Government Land

Law No. 1 of 1910 to 1912, and in 1913 and 1914  
simply nothing is done.

and either had over payed their own, they have now  
and by law or government progress; left to themselves to  
reach a point then reached and finally been  
overruled or have done so. We cannot say  
about Africa for this, a tropical climate with the same  
operations when fall for the requirements on the part  
of which are at the impossible factor. This, however, the  
want of civilised authority, the actual and potential result of  
Africa cannot be a true result for lack of time and of the  
kind of knowledge and ability to do it, to  
achieve it, such will be the  
all possible achievement in Africa. It is now up to  
the day of their administration and have the strength  
to make up a rapid development and an educational power in  
Africa, the African people will then turn the world to  
itself as a progressive but unchanged  
Instituted by John A. Hill.

# LABOUR IN AFRICA AND THE PRINCIPLE OF TRUSTEESHIP

To the Right Honourable  
VISCOUNT MILNER, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.

A recent Labour Circular in the East Africa Protectorate gave rise to considerable disquiet which found expression in a debate in the House of Lords and in representations made directly to your Lordship. A White Paper ('md. 873) containing a Despatch to the Governor of the East Africa Protectorate and other papers has now been issued. While the Despatch manifests a genuine desire to meet sympathetically the objections urged against the policy embodied in the Labour Circular, it does not wholly allay the misgiving which was aroused.

## THE PRINCIPLE OF TRUSTEESHIP

In regard to the fundamental basis of policy there is happily no disagreement. Speaking in the House of Lords on May 13th, 1920, your Lordship stated that you accepted the principle of trusteeship in the Government of Crown Colonies and Protectorates, and that as a nation we have to exercise our authority in the interests of the peoples of those countries and not for our own advantage. With this declaration we are in complete accord. The question to which we wish to direct attention is whether the policy represented in the recent White Book is in certain important features compatible with this conception of trusteeship. The issue is one in which much is at stake.

In the Covenant of the League of Nations—largely on the initiative and by the efforts of British statesmen—new public and international recognition has been given to the principle that the well-being and development of subject peoples is a sacred trust of civilisation. We have further in the Covenant given an undertaking to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territory under our control. It is a point of honour that these declarations should not in any part of our Empire be permitted to remain a form of words, and that a determined effort should be made to translate them as effectively as possible into administrative practice.

Our Imperial responsibilities in Africa have been greatly enlarged as a result of the war. While in other parts of the Empire the tendency is towards a relaxation of Imperial control, our work in Africa has gained an increased importance and will more and more demand the best that our country has to give. It is of the first moment that this work should be established on righteous, sound, and enduring foundations.

All this we thankfully recognise to be common ground. The disquiet which is widely felt is caused by the apparent incompatibility with these conceptions of recent administrative measures in Kenya Colony and in certain other parts of East Africa.

## COMPULSORY LABOUR FOR PRIVATE EMPLOYERS

We welcome the assurance in the Despatch that "there could be no question of entertaining any proposals" which involve the principle of compulsory labour for private employment, and that "such a policy would be absolutely opposed to the traditional policy of His Majesty's Government." But this repudiation of legal compulsion does not remove the difficulty that the use of the machinery of Government to bring pressure to bear to secure labour for private employers may, just because the pressure is indirect and in some respects unfeeling, lead in practice to very undesirable results as the policy of legal compulsion which it supplants. The authors of the Bishops' Memorandum, quoted in the Despatch, maintain that while in this policy "technically there is no compulsion, practically compulsion could hardly take a stronger form." They felt this so strongly, that

seeing no present means of escaping compulsion in some form, open or veiled, they advocated legal compulsion as a preferable policy on account of the legal safeguards which would accompany it. An illustration of the way in which a system of recruiting which is nominally voluntary may, when administered by native officials, lead to results which are worse than open compulsion is furnished by Sir Valentine Chirol in his recent volume *The Egyptian Problem*. He calls attention to the embitterment created among the fellahs in Egypt by the methods of recruiting for the labour corps during the war, and expresses the opinion that the frank adoption of a system of conscription which could have been fairly enforced all round would not have done nearly so much harm as "the fiction of volunteering" in the way in which the system was worked by the native authorities.

A policy of legal compulsion, as the Despatch states, is absolutely opposed to the traditional policy of His Majesty's Government, and would not be tolerated by British public opinion. But the same reasons which make legal compulsion impossible give rise to serious distrust in regard to the adoption of a policy which may in practice have the same objectionable results, and which is so highly plausible that to some of those who have native interests at heart open compulsion with proper safeguards appears a preferable alternative.

#### GOVERNMENT OFFICERS AND RECRUITING

The use of the machinery of Government for recruiting labour for private employers places Government officials in a difficult and unfair position. It involves them in a conflict of duties. They are made responsible at the same time for giving effect to the declared wish of the Administration that labour should be provided—of which they are continually reminded by settlers who are in desperate straits to obtain labour—and for guarding against abuses of that provision by which alone the desired labour can be obtained. Their identification with efforts to recruit labour must weaken, if not destroy, their position in the eyes of the natives as impartial referees, and disturb the relationship, so vital to successful government, in which the natives look up to the Commissioners as their counsellors and friends. The policy creates an even greater difficulty for the native chieftains and headmen, for whom it is scarcely possible to reconcile the instructions to guard against abuses with the insistent demand that labour must be forthcoming. While the instructions in the further circular which has been issued are excellent in intention, there is reason to fear that the general trend of the policy backed by the strong pressure of circumstances will prove too strong to make them effective in practice.

#### COMPULSORY LABOUR FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES

The Native Authority Amendment Ordinance 1920 is also a cause of misgiving. The right of Government to claim the services of individuals for the benefit of the community is not in question. Nor is it denied that this claim may under certain circumstances be made in the form of compulsory labour, provided that the compulsion is for what Lord Cromer describes as "indispensable and recognisable purposes of public utility" and is accompanied by all possible safeguards against abuse. But the new amending Ordinance appears to go beyond the very strict limitations under which Lord Cromer believed that forced labour might be accepted as a regrettable necessity.

First, the terms of the new clause are too wide. The purposes (if any) for which compulsory labour is required should be exactly defined. Exception must be taken to the words in this clause which sanction compulsion *not only* for the provision of porters for government servants and of paid labour on the construction or maintenance of railways and roads, but also "for other work of a like kind to the foregoing or not."

Secondly, Lord Cromer's definition of the purposes for which forced labour may be employed implies that they should be recognized by those who perform the labour as being for the good of the community. African natives, whose sense of the community is limited to their tribe, cannot be expected to regard labour that has to be performed outside the tribal area as having social utility or to under-

stand how it contributes to the general good. The motive which makes for labour-servitude is lack of and compulsion for Government is apt to evoke the feelings of resentment and bitterness as are created by compulsion for private purposes. Recourse to compulsion where the social bond is not recognized or understood may thus, through the exasperation of native feeling, undermine the foundations of Government which are set in the welfare and contentment of the masses.

Thirdly, the experience that labour work wherever established in the Protectorate removes natives from distance from their villages. It is doubtful whether the removal of natives from their villages may be regarded as a good thing. If not, the period of absence from the village, if it is to be prolonged, should be limited by the arrangement by which the individual aborigines are attracted who can be spared from their families and their own interests to look after.

The objections to compulsion are so great that only the necessity can justify recourse to it. Sir Frederick Lugard in *Cairo* (1868), states that "the Government should not employ compulsion in any form, even for works of such utility as railways and roads, will not employ private undertakings." Before public opinion is to be won over to the adoption of a different policy it should be shown clearly, first, that the need is urgent; secondly, that foresight and organisation, on which recourse to compulsion must rely, cannot be obtained by the offer of better inducements; thirdly, if these prove insufficient, that the development of the country should proceed at a rate which will gradually bring the people in habits of industry which will gradually eliminate idleness.

It is recognised that the Ordinance exempts from compulsion any who is "fully employed in any other occupation or has been so employed during the preceding twelve months for a period of three months." Much will depend on the fuller definition of the grounds on which exemption may be claimed. Let us have been expressed lest this provision taken in conjunction with the policy embodied in the Labour Circular and in particular with the statement that "requirements of native labour for Government departments should be met as far as possible from the more remote areas," may have the effect of driving labour to European farms to escape Government compulsion, which, being for labour a distance, may be more distasteful. If that were so, the compulsory powers of Government would be an indirect means of compelling labour for private employers. Let us, therefore, reassuring to learn from an answer to a question in the House of Commons on October 27th that "if a native has been fully employed in educating himself for three months during the preceding twelve months, he is exempt from the provisions of the Native Authority Amendment Ordinance, 1920." An assurance can be given that the attention of Government officers will be directed to this interpretation of the Ordinance, and that it will be made widely known to the natives this will go a considerable way towards allaying misgivings.

#### THE PREVENTION OF IDLENESS

The present policy has been defended on the ground that it is beneficial to the natives as well as to the European settlers, inasmuch as its purpose is to prevent idleness, and that it is good for the natives to learn to work. White documents about the idleness of the natives fail often to do justice to the negligible amount of work in their villages which they actually perform, making no difference of opinion as to the desirability of encouraging the natives in their

seeing no present means of escaping compulsion; in some form, open or veiled, they advocated legal compulsion as a preferable policy on account of the legal safeguards which would accompany it. An illustration of the way in which a system of recruiting which is nominally voluntary may, when administered by two officials, lead to results which are worse than open compulsion, is furnished by Valentine Chilo in his recent volume *The Egyptian Dilemma*. He calls attention to the embitterment created among the fellahs in Egypt by the method adopted for the labour corps during the war, and expresses the opinion that "had the French adopted of a system of conscripting men from their own tribal districts all round would not have done nearly so much harm as the fielding of conscripts in the way in which the fellahs were worked by the native authorities."

A policy of legal compulsion, as the Dispatch states, is absolutely opposed to the traditional policy of His Majesty's Government, which would not be tolerated in any part of the Empire. But the same reasons which make legal compulsion undesirable give rise to serious objection in regard to a adoption of a policy which would force native labour to work for public undertakings, and which would be liable to abuse. Such a policy would have the same pernicious result, and when it is liable to abuse, the only ones who have a true interest at heart of a compulsory labour scheme are those who desire to profit by its amperage.

**THE PREVENTION OF IDLENESS AS A GOAL**

The introduction of the system for recruiting labour for private works, and the difficulties involved in such a system, has been fully discussed in the preceding section. Much remains to be done in the same direction in respect of the administration of labour. It is important that the native authorities should be given the opportunity of dealing with cases of illegal and unjust abuses of the pressure by public authorities, or of giving redress therefor, either in the course of the period of service, or in the case of a complaint. Social lawlessness in the matter of labour should be dealt with by the native authorities, and the European officers should be relieved of the responsibility of dealing with such cases. The native authorities should be forthwith given the power to inspect and to punish all persons who are engaged in unauthorised labour except those who are employed in the further extension which has been issued of the executive powers. Any attempt to limit the general trend of the policy harked back to the days of the Native Authority Ordinance under which Lord Cromer believed that forced labour was a negotiable necessity.

First, the terms of the new clause are too wide. The purposes (if any) for which compulsory labour is required should be exactly defined. Exception must be taken to the words in this clause which sanction compulsion not only for the provision of services by government servants and of paid labour on the construction of roads and railways and roads, but also "for other work of a like kind to the former." This is a dangerous clause.

Lord Cromer's definition of the purposes for which forced labour may be exacted implies that they should be recognised by those who perform the labour as being in the interest of the community. Among natives, whose sense of responsibility is limited to their tribe, cannot be expected to regard labour which is to be performed outside the tribal area as having social utility or to under-

stand how it contributes to the general good. The motive which makes forced labour tolerable is lacking, and compulsion for Government is apt to evoke the same feelings of resentment and bitterness as are created by compulsion for private purposes. Recourse to compulsion where the social benefit is not recognized or understood may thus, through the exasperation of native feeling, undermine the foundations of Government which are set in the welfare and contentment of the masses.

Thirdly, the requirement that labour may be demanded for Government work wherever situated in the Protectorate is open to the grave objection that it removes natives to a distance from their homes, and thus tends to break up village life. It is not clear whether the 60 days which may be required include the time spent in travelling to and from the place of labour. If not, the period of absence from home may be several months. Compulsory absence from home for a long period must necessarily interfere with the development by the natives of their own land and care for their own affairs. It must prove a continual source of irritation by its interference with both the plans of the individual and the arrangements of the village. Where the recruitment of labour is voluntary, those labourers are attracted who can be spared from the villages and no hardship is inflicted on men who desire to remain with their wives and families and who have other interests to look after.

The objections to compulsion are so great that only the most urgent public necessity can justify recourse to it. Sir Frederick Luytzen, in his report on Nigeria in 1881, states that "the Government policy, in the earliest stages of the administration, in any form even for works of such urgency and importance as railways and roads, will not employ it in order to procure labour for private undertakings." Before public opinion in this country could reconcile itself to the adoption of a different policy in other parts of the Empire, it would need to be shown clearly, first, that the needs of labour for public works cannot be met by foresight and organisation, on which private undertakings which cannot have recourse to compulsion must rely; secondly, that the necessary labour cannot be obtained by the offer of better inducements and conditions of work; and, thirdly, if these prove insufficient, that it is essential that the economic development of the country should proceed at a more rapid pace than the education of the people in habits of industry which will gradually produce sufficient voluntary labour.

It is recognised that the Ordinance exempts from compulsion any one who is "fully employed in any other occupation or has been so employed during the preceding twelve months for a period of three months." Much will depend on the fuller definition of the grounds on which exemption may be claimed. It has been expressed lest this provision, taken in conjunction with the clause embodied in the Labour Circular and in particular with the statement that requirements of native labour for Government departments should be met as far as possible from the more reputable classes, may have the effect of driving labour to European terms to escape Government compulsion, which, being for laboured instances, may be more distasteful. If that were so, the compulsory powers of Government would be an indirect means of compelling labour for native employers. It is therefore, referring to learn from an answer to a question in the House of Commons on October 27th that "if a native has been fully employed in cultivation of himself for three months during the preceding twelve months, he is exempt from the provisions of the Native Authority Amendment Ordinance, 1920," an assurance can be given that the attention of the European officers will be directed to this interpretation of the Ordinance, and that it will be made widely known to the natives. This will go a considerable way to assuring the abiding support of the natives.

### THE PREVENTION OF IDLENESS

The present policy has been defended on the ground that it is beneficial to the natives as well as to the European settlers, inasmuch as its purpose is to prevent idleness, and that it is good for the natives to learn to earn their living. Statements about the idleness of the natives fall often in disrepute to the considerable amount of work in their villages which they normally perform. There is no difference of opinion as to the desirability of encouraging the natives in habits

of steady industry. But it by no means follows that the only method of doing this is to force them to seek work on European plantations. Where the conditions of employment are favourable, such labour may have a beneficial and educational effect. But it is also possible to encourage habits of industry by a policy of education within the Reserves, by the demonstration of improved methods of agriculture, and by the development of native industries. Such methods, combined with the attraction of voluntary labour to European farms, proper inducements and good conditions, and the gradual stimulation of native through contact with a more advanced civilisation, will in time achieve the desired end, without the unfortunate results which beset any attempt unduly to force the pace. When recourse is had to compulsion, a distaste for labour is created and the policy defeats its own end.

#### GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF POLICY

Beyond the terms and provisions of the Circular and Ordinance there lie the issues of humanity and gravity. It arises from the existence of Kenya Colony and other colonies and protectorates in Africa of two civilisations at very different stages of development. The new labour policy in Kenya Colony is due to the acute shortage of labour on European plantations. The difficulty of the situation is real and must be viewed with sympathy. The danger is that if attempts are made to thwart the interests of the native population should be resisted. This danger is all the greater where, as in Kenya Colony, the European community, who are the employers of labour, have a powerful voice in the government of the country so that the local administration is constantly subject to pressure from one side while the labourer's point of view is not effectively pressed. When a colony of interests as the European community and a much more favourable position to make its voice heard and enforced, it is the responsibility of His Majesty's Government, and of the British people who they represent, to make sure that the interests of the natives of which they are the trustees, are not permitted to suffer injury.

Any attempt to meet the difficulties arising from the shortage of labour is recourse to compulsion as the South African Native Affairs Commission has pointed out, "is to be deprecated, not only as unjust, but as economically unsound." The inevitable effect of forced labour is to check enterprise, to impede the development of new industries, to divert attention from the possibilities of progress through the employment of labour-saving machinery, and thus to act as a barrier to economic advance. It may also lead to discontent resulting in spending money in creating discontent and unrest.

But a merely negative policy of opposition to the new method of developing and the practical difficulties involved in applying the old method of administration of trusteeship implies the study of factors which influence the growth and development of independent nations. These factors are due to the need for adequate funds for security and defence, to the extent to which in the case of the labour, the furtherance of their own interests, to the extent of agriculture and industry, and to the extent to which they are free from responsibility and self-government. The main argument in regard to certain features of the Labour Circular in Kenya Colony is that they seem to be incompatible with the existing labour policy. Compulsion to labour for Government purposes is distinctly against the spirit of the Labour Circular. No pressure to work on European estates, even with the best safeguards, can easily be reconciled with the healthy growth of village life, the foster of native agriculture and industries, and a continuous policy of native education. A clear, resolute and continuous policy on the part of Government, aimed at the furthering of native life and institutions, there is no alternative to the opening up of European farms and plantations together with the requirements of Government, may make such demands on native labour as may bring the destruction of village life. No greater calamity could overtake the native population. To allow it to take place would be the negation everything that is implied in the conception of trusteeship. On the other hand nothing would do more to create a prosperous and contented people, who

from the economic standpoint are the chief wealth of the country, than by a wise policy of education and fostering of native industries to make the natives feel that they have a real economic advantage from the taxation to which they are liable and from the presence of white men in the country.

It is possible that even after all legitimate means of attracting voluntary labour by the offer of adequate inducements have been exhausted, there may still be a shortage of labour arising from the rapid development of plantations and farms under European management, that is compatible with the natural advance of the native population in civilization and habits of industry. If such a situation has arisen in Kenya Colony the issue should be squarely faced, however great the cost, and the pressure of circumstances should not be allowed to compel the adoption of administrative measures inconsistent with the principle of trusteeship to which as a nation we are committed.

It is of vital importance to us as a nation that we should have a clear and definite policy in regard to the administration of our African Empire which we know to be consistent with the principle of trusteeship. This is necessary both for the sake of our own good name and also that we may be in a position to exert our proper influence in the counsels of the League of Nations in questions affecting the government of subject peoples. We are bound, moreover, as a Christian nation, to bring all national policies to the test of conformity with Christian conceptions of life. Fundamentally among these is the conception of the supreme value of human personality and the worth of each individual in the sight of God. We cannot without the surrender of our deepest convictions reconcile ourselves to any policy in regard to the natives of Africa which contravenes this truth.

#### APPOINTMENT OF ROYAL COMMISSION

In view of the wide-spread misgiving which has been aroused by the recent administrative measures in Kenya Colony (and by recent decrees imposing compulsory labour in the Zanzibar Protectorate) and the apparent lack at present of a clear and consistent policy in regard to the government of subject races, based on a reasoned view of the obligations of trusteeship, we appeal to His Majesty's Government to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the guiding principles of Imperial policy in the East African Crown Colony and Protectorates with special reference to the means by which the principle of trusteeship may be applied to existing conditions in these territories as far as particular as regards

- (1) The tenure of land by the natives, and the extent, character, adequacy, and inter-communal nature of native resources.
- (2) The extent to which land has been alienated to Europeans and the terms on which it is held; the situated supply of land necessary to cultivate such land; the capacity of the native population to possess the same; our responsibilities to Governmental parts as an European nation and place in our endeavour to be healthy, peaceful, and patriotic; the native's attitude towards the same.
- (3) The native's attitude towards the European, and the European's attitude towards the native.
- (4) The effects of social and economic development on the native, and the best means of dealing with these effects in the development of a native race.
- (5) The economic and moral advancement of the native population, by the teaching of improved methods of cultivation, the development of native industries, the dissemination of knowledge of personal sanitation, and education generally.
- (6) The proportion of taxation contributed by the native population to the amount expended upon their social and material advancement.

7. The best means of obtaining expression of native opinion in matters affecting their interests and a adequate representation of these interests in the government of the country, and of training the natives in responsibility and the management of their own affairs.

It is suggested that the inquiry should include Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Uganda, Zanzibar Protectorate, Nyasaland and Tanganyika Territory. The commission should be empowered to obtain such evidence from other British possessions and from other governments as in their judgment will shed light on matters to which the inquiry relates.

#### PROVISIONAL MEASURES.

Pending the result of this inquiry we should ~~welcome~~ renew our assurance to His Majesty's Government that it is a cardinal aim of its policy to foster in every possible way the growth of a healthy, independent native ~~order~~ and that the above Circular and Native Authority Amendment Ordinance will be interpreted, and if necessary amended, in such a way as to bring them into complete harmony with this policy.

Since it is of the first importance that Government officers should be in position to judge impartially with regard to conflicting claims as for native labour and should continue to be regarded by the natives as disinterested counsellors and friends, we should like to see instructions issued to European officers in Kenya Colony and, if necessary, elsewhere that while it is their duty to encourage natives in the habits of industry, they are not expected to accept any responsibility for providing labour for private employers; and similar instructions given to native chiefs and headmen.

RANDALL CANTUAR

COSMO EBOR

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*President of the Primitive Methodist Church.*

D. J. HILEY,

*Chairman of the Baptist Union.*

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*Moderator of the Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland.*

H. OLDHAM  
KENNETH MACLEAN

*See types of the Conference  
Government and Local*

*Chairman of the Law Committee*

BRUCE

EMMOTT

HALDANE

ISERGTON

MAXO

SALISBURY

SHAW

STANLEY

TREVELYN

WILLIAMS

WILSON

and the growth of the labour force in the country are closely interlinked. The growth of the labour force is due to the following factors:

(i) Great process of expansion among the natives and the non-natives alike.

Kenya Colony is in the main a tropical country where white men caused instant influxes several decades before & followed later on the much smaller native influx.

Native Kenya is a very large outlet to be developed by the natives & can be soon in a few years people.

Usually the labour force starts working after the rains are over & a long period of time passes before the rains again come. It is considered to you and let it increase of employment should mean increasing the production of the land which is a great and precious wealth. In the early part of the year go out & engage the natives and especially natives. It is very difficult to find natives following and make the labour force the best of the country. It is not always necessary to entice them, as many come to the land in the annual effects of famine and races, to earn their living and the only way to do this is to offer them better opportunities than others.

It may take some time to get the natives to work, but once they are engaged, they will work hard & well.

Agenda and Agama is well known in Africa. The first is the most popular & the second is the second. They are both good for the natives.

as regards the legality of such men coming up  
or to whether he has been employed or provided  
with the documents. The point we must consider is  
the following manner:

- (a) The Registration of Native African workers.  
With the Registration Certificate of each man who  
has ever worked, i.e. is working for an employer,  
will also go endorsements a man's name.
- (b) A postscript. Register all those for whom  
there is no record or dispute in the case  
of the person in service of a Colony government.  
Any obstacle to issue of the Native Identity  
Document will not be brought except  
in case where the Registration number coincides  
with that of a known murderer at a particular  
place.

Applies from the foregoing that is as follows:  
method of punishment. Before for all non  
pecuniary work we must rely upon

- (a) public opinion in the colonies against  
idleness.

or (b) flogging of such men.

It will seem necessary to bear in mind  
that even though there had been no European  
settlement in West Africa we should, in order to  
ensure a prosperous and a people fit to govern  
and the nation to become independent.

It must be known to me that the person that  
lives in Africa in case of war and African  
War can be a great loss to our enterprise  
as well as from a loss in goods and considers  
a reduced estimation of the native population  
as regard to work that one fourth of our men  
should be assigned in the same place to pull the weight  
in the present state.

In West Africa all effort will fail if it is not  
success must be made or in other words, cooperation.  
A peaceful country must necessarily except all  
expenses and not the least of time will be the  
result.

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1919, the  
Government of Rhodesia will be in force.  
The following is the effect of the Law of 1919. The  
Bill for the year 1919 & shows that all responsible  
men directly associated with the country and  
its actions, concerned, will be absolute  
power for compulsion in certain circumstances.  
In Uganda and Kenya Colony Government have only  
authorized for compulsory paid labour in respect  
of government works. The Zanzibar Government  
leaves any work within the Protectorate.  
The Government accepts compulsory work for  
a given period as any undertaking.  
As regards the legalization of employment of natives  
in Government works in the Colony, the power  
of such employment is confined to such days in  
one month, notwithstanding however, there  
comes of the fact that the provisions of the  
Native Welfare Department Ordinance 1930 are not  
to be regarded as anything other than a final  
method of obtaining labour in case of necessity.  
Up to the time of my departure from the Colony the  
power conferred under the Ordinance has not been  
utilized except in, I think, one case. However,  
consider that this legislation was and is necessary  
so far as to give an such procedure whenever  
necessary.

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1919, all men in  
Ordinance will be prohibited from  
working which will be settled in fact  
with a simple form any further by during the  
year in which the certificate is current. Each man  
will be paid the current wage for similar work  
performed by a similar workers, they will be fed,  
lodged and receive medical treatment as well  
as being brought to the work and restricted at  
governmental expenses.

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that therefore has the High Administration  
done to further a policy of co-operation in the above  
sense & to improve other things I have gathered  
of all useful and necessary means & stimulate  
industries which amongst the native young men  
it has involved in acting the Chief and has now  
at attempted, with some success, to bring into effect  
the opinion of complete welfare education in  
the Reserve, and also to assist the students and  
desireless among the people who formerly  
instituted the various classes. The present  
recruitment of local labour for industrial projects  
has been delayed so we means for giving  
effect to this desired state of affairs.

Local bodies & the shades of opinion do in  
practice support the government policy of  
class, however by working on the previous article  
of October 1918 it criticise but in general  
principles of the circular are approved mostly  
things in the town and so have been supported  
by Greeks and who ever the working here in no  
doubt but that the Protestant missions agree with  
the somewhat policy of work. The mission  
is a body fully aware what is going on  
in industries both bad disciplines  
as well as class that is prone to be not only  
a danger to local and outside but highly  
injurious to our society today and tomorrow  
influence.

In Africa and particularly in missional  
families it is not as other people, or at least he  
should be treated as other people. In Africa  
we in the past days in the present are still for  
some time yet to come still in need of a beneficent  
a solution, they cannot think for themselves in  
terms of betterment on certain basis, they therefore  
require to be told what to do and how to do it  
and once told & determine upon can quickly  
organise the whole condition of the African society and

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it will be found that, left to themselves with no  
other will never begin their own they can never  
make any real or permanent progress. It is to  
remember by been treated a certain point or  
several and finally been left abandoned in  
the offhand. On the part, however, of the  
African as due to a physical one and  
conditions which allow to remain  
stationed here in a number of  
localities, and also  
opinion prevalent among them  
is that they are not  
able to be used  
in any way to such purpose  
the same  
time  
standards  
and  
Habits  
between Greeks & Christians and  
the people. Even under such conditions  
that the said topics are discussed  
they are always turn aside and the  
same is not even done proper and  
in short there is a desire  
to discuss in - but if find a place  
however  
in the same case  
again as above, and  
so on.