

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. Warvis, D.D.
Sir Samuel Hoare, Bart., M.P.
The Reverend Donald Fraser
Mr. J. H. Oldham
Mr. E. MacLennan.

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 stated that there was a strong feeling of responsibility and trusteeship 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 demand for native labour, he stated 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 too fast for the benefit of the natives.

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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 disquiet 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 were tabulated;

(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.

He had no desire to criticize or to make any formal protest: but in view of the contrast between the state of affairs in West Africa and that in South Africa, he wished to press for the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the whole question particularly in regard to the specific points mentioned.

Dr. Carvie said that he associated himself with the Archbishop's remarks. 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 Uganda. The magistrate was the best friend of the natives: if he had to find labour, there was no one to whom the natives could appeal for protection. He felt that too would be

preparation 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 flood 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 Northern Rhodesia was to regularise this with a view to the prevention of abuses. He had learnt that in some instances 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 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 case of many of the African tribes, who before the advent of British administration had been largely nomadic, there were now numbers of young men taking to the villages, but it was a good thing in itself that these men should be settled. He would like to know how far this was the result of the alleged depopulation of villages. It was admitted that along with indefensible ordinances would be the trouble which might be confined its operations to the surplus labour.

He was asked whether they would be out of the country differences of opinion as to the policy to be adopted and showed that the policy to be adopted was the development of the country for the benefit of the natives suited to the conditions of the country. He said that he had seen a report for Europeans to settle in the country and that the exact was suitable for that. He said that this country could reasonably expect some return for its work in East Africa. The 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 he considered to be in the interests of the whole community. Even if the 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 British

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 West 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 of conditions between East and West Africa and 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. He could not admit that it was not legitimate for Europeans to settle in a country where a large tract was suitable for their settlement, and he thought that this country could reasonably expect some return for its work in West 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 he considered to be in the interests of the whole community, even if the revenue derived from taxation of natives had been devoted to the best interests of the natives. He thought that the investments would have had good value for themselves, and the peace and prosperity resulting was

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 too closely; 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.

Dr. Fraser said that it was difficult to make natives realise that work, e. g., on railways and roads, far from their homes, was for the benefit of the community. Any breaking up of village life would eat the foundations of African morality and domestic loyalty.

Mr. Milner pointed out that no great development was possible in East Africa by the introduction of European capital and enterprise. Experience in South Africa showed that employment of natives for limited periods away from their own homes was not necessarily incompatible with the maintenance and prosperity of the native. He assured the deputation that any general enquiry that might be decided on would not exclude this question of native labour, and that the points raised that afternoon would be carefully noted for consideration.

The deputation then withdrew.

The Question of Native Labour in the Kenya Colony.

To relieve the general advancement of the country

and recognise the position of natives to become

citizens.

General progress is required for the natives

to be able to take

Kenya Colony is in the main a rural country

with its own small-scale agriculture and industry,

and it is necessary that the natives should be able to

take advantage of the opportunities which exist

for their advancement.

At present, the natives are not able to

take advantage of the opportunities which exist

for their advancement.

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 ... of ... progress; left to themselves the ...
 ... point then receded and finally been ...
 ... submerged or have disappeared. We cannot ...
 ... Africa for this, a tropical climate with the ...
 ... which call for few requirements on the part ...
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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 (Cmd. 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 unguided, lead in practice to some undesirable results as the policy of legal compulsion which is repudiated. 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 unscrupulous officials, lead to results which are worse than open compulsion, is furnished by Valentine Choud in his recent volume *The Egyptian Problem*. He calls attention to the enlistment created among the fellahs in Egypt by the method of recruiting for the labour corps during the war, and expresses the opinion that the frank adoption of a system of conscription might have been a good thing, but that the way in which the work was done by the natives was a bad one.

A policy of legal compulsion, as the Dispatch states, is absolutely opposed to the traditional policy of His Majesty's Government and would not be tolerated by the public opinion, but the same may be said of any other form of compulsion, and it is not clear how it would differ in principle from any other form of compulsion which might be adopted. It is not clear how it would differ in principle from any other form of compulsion which might be adopted. It is not clear how it would differ in principle from any other form of compulsion which might be adopted.

The Native Authority Amendment Ordinance 1920 is also a source of anxiety. The right of Government to claim the services of individuals for the use of the community is not in question. Nor is it denied that this claim may be enforced by compulsion, but the form of compulsion, provided that the compulsion is for what Lord Cromer describes as "indispensable and essential purposes of public utility" and is accompanied by all possible safeguards against abuse. But the new amending Ordinance appears to go beyond the limits of these provisions under which Lord Cromer believed that forced labour could be used as a legitimate necessity.

COMPULSORY LABOUR FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES

The purposes (if any) for which compulsory labour is required should be exactly defined. Exception must be taken in the case of this clause, which sanctions compulsion not only for the provision of government servants and of paid labour on the construction of railways and roads, but also for other work of a like kind to the construction of roads.

The definition of the purposes for which forced labour may be required is not clear, but it is not clear how it would differ in principle from any other form of compulsion which might be adopted. It is not clear how it would differ in principle from any other form of compulsion which might be adopted.

and 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 workers are attracted who can be spared from the villages and no hardship is caused to 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 Lugard, in his report on Nigam (1908), states that "the Government policy, being absolutely opposed to coercion in any form, even for works of such urgency and importance to the country as railways and roads, will not employ it in order to procure labour for private undertakings." Before public opinion in this country could recede to 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 organization, 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 man 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, but it has been expressed lest this provision taken in conjunction with the views embodied in the Labour Circular and in particular with the statement that arrangements of native labour for Government departments should be met as far as possible from the more remote areas, may have the effect of detaching labour from European farms to escape Government compulsion, which, being a labour of constant nature, may be more distasteful. If that were so, the compulsory powers of Government would be an indirect means of encouraging labour for private employments. It is 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 cultivation of himself for three months during the preceding twelve months, he is exempt from the provisions of the Native Authority Amendment Ordinance (1920)." It is an assurance can be given that the attention of the 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 any anxiety.

THE PREVENTION OF IDLENESS

The 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 encourage the natives to work, and that it is good for the natives to learn to work. It is not clear how it would differ in principle from any other form of compulsion which might be adopted. It is not clear how it would differ in principle from any other form of compulsion which might be adopted.

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 need 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 created and the policy defeats its own end.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF POLICY

The generalizations of the terms and provisions of the Circular and Ordinance thereon are based on the gentleness and gravity of the crisis from the existence of Kenya Colony and the Protectorates and protection of 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 shared and must be viewed with sympathy. The danger is that attempts to solve them the interests of the native population should be neglected. 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 expressed. When a conflict of interests arises the European community and other more favourable position to make its voice heard and enforce its claims. 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 native of which they are the trustees, are not permitted to suffer injury.

Any attempt to meet the difficulties arising from the shortage of labour by recourse to compulsion, as the South Africa Native Affairs Commission, British policy, is to be deprecated, not only as unjust, but as entering a wrong note. The inevitable result of forced labour is to obstruct enterprise and opportunity, to divert attention from the possibilities of progress through the substitution of labour-saving machinery, and thus to act as a bar to economic advance. It may also lead to disturbances and to a corresponding weakening of the great discipline and order.

But a merely negative policy of opposition to compulsion neither removes the shortage of the native labour difficulties nor fulfils the duty of the trustees. The only way to meet the requirements of the white community is to encourage the growth of a self-reliant and independent native population, to give to the native the opportunity and the security of his own land, to enable him to earn in the course of their labour, the fruits of the soil, to encourage the growth of agriculture and industry, and to substitute a policy of responsibility and self-government. The

objection to the measure in regard to certain features of the Labour Ordinance in Kenya Colony is that they seem to be incompatible with the carrying out of such a policy. Compulsion for labour for Government purposes is not such. No pressure to work on European estates, even with the best safeguard of a daily recompense with the healthy growth of village life, the fostered of agriculture and industries, and a continuous policy of native education, a clear, resolute and continuous policy on the part of Government directed to the fostering of native life and institutions, together with the opening of European farms and plantations, together with the encouragement of Government, may make such demands on native labour as to lead to the destruction of village life. No greater calamity could overtake the native population. To allow it to take place would be the negation of everything that is implied in the conception of trusteeship. On the other hand, to do more to create a prosperous and contented people, who are

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 incompatible 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 councils 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. Fundamental 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 Colonies and Protectorates, with special reference to the means by which the principle of trusteeship may be applied to existing conditions in these territories as in particular in regard to

- (1) The tenure of land by the natives, and the extent, character, adequacy and inter-communication of native reserves.
- (2) The extent to which land has been alienated to Europeans and the terms in which it is held; the estimated supply of labour necessary to cultivate such land; the capacity of the native population to provide the labour required for such alienated lands; the health of European farms and plantations without injury to the health and subsistence of the native population; the effect of such alienation on the native population.
- (3) The extent to which the natives are engaged in agriculture and other forms of industry, and the means by which their productivity may be increased.
- (4) The extent to which the natives are engaged in commerce and industry, and the means by which their productivity may be increased.
- (5) The economic and moral advancement of the native population by the teaching of improved methods of agriculture, the development of native industries, the dissemination of the knowledge of sanitation, and education generally.
- (6) The proportion of taxation contributed by the native population to the amount expended on their physical and material advancement.

7. The best means of obtaining expression of native opinion in matters affecting their interests and 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 Koria Colony and Protectorate, Zanzibar Protectorate, Newaland and Tanganyika Territory. The Commission should be empowered to obtain such evidence from other British possessions and from other governments as in their judgment wished light on the matters to which the inquiry related.

PROVISIONAL MEASURES

Pending the result of this inquiry we should welcome a renewed assurance from 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 labour, and that the Labour Circular and Native Authority Amendment Ordinance will be interpreted, and if necessary modified, 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 a position to judge impartially with regard to conflicting demands 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 Koria 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
- MATTHEW P. DAVIDSON.

President of the Primitive Methodist Church.

D. J. HILEY,

Chairman of the Baptist Union.

DUNCAN P. MACGREGOR.

Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of England.

F. B. MEYER.

President of National Council of Evangelical Free Churches.

H. SMITH.

President of the United Methodist Church.

J. T. WARDLE STAFFORD.

President of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference.

THOMAS MARTIN.

Moderator of the General Assembly of Church of Scotland.

ALEXANDER MARTIN.

Moderator of the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland.

W. C. F. ROBERTS.

Bishop of the Anglican Province of the Episcopal Church of Southern Rhodesia.

J. SIMON JONES.

Moderator of the General Assembly of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists.

CHARLES F. ARMAGH.

H. H. GLESS.

Moderator of the Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland.

H. H. OLDHAM
KENNETH MACLENNAN

Secretary of the Conference of the Churches of the British Empire

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Memorial Societies associated with the College of Arts, London.

... necessity, as shown in the following Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons of 1919. The all the foregoing go to show that all responsible authorities connected with the countries and conditions concerned prefer the absolute right for compulsion in certain circumstances. The Legation and the Congo Government have only been obliged for compelling paid labour in respect of Government works. The Zanzibar Government has never carried any work within the Protectorate.

The British Government advises compulsory work for a given period in any emergency. As regards the legislation of employment of natives in Government works in the Congo Colony the period of such employment is confined to six days in a week and after instructions have been issued to the effect that the provisions of the Native Labour (Employment) Ordinance, 1920 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 proviso conferred under the Ordinance had not been violated except in, I think, one case. I, however, consider that this legislation was and is necessary and to be applied in such procedure whenever

In the case of labour which is not needed for such purposes each man will be provided for in the most suitable manner which will be detailed in the fact that it is a general rule any further by during the period of the emergency in current, but when the period of the emergency work for similar work performed by voluntary workers, they will be fed, housed and receive medical treatment as well as being brought to the work and separated at intervals.

As regards the mobility of each man called up as to whether he has been employed as provided in the Ordinance the points are raised in the following manner:

- (5) The Registration of Native Reserve provides that the registration certificate of each man who has been working in a workshop for an indefinite period shall be an endorsement accordingly.
- (6) A Government Registrar will issue for any man who is not registered for manual work. Returns in case of any complaint or dispute as to the fact that the person is a Reserve or a British Possession. Any obstacle explanation of the Native Certificate Amendment Ordinance will not be possible except in those cases where registration has been established. Registration of Reserve provisions of a certificate.

Apart from the foregoing there is a last method of compulsion. Therefore for all more Government work we must rely upon

- (a) public opinion in the Colonies against ill-treatment.
- (b) appeal of the public.

It would seem necessary to bear in mind that even though there had been no ill-treatment in itself Africa we should, in order to ensure a prosperous and a people, require to compel the natives in some industries.

It is not in terms to be the person that has a right in the land and the land and African people are not to be treated as a mere labour force. It is not a matter of force, and considering the natural inclination of the average native to regard to work that some form of compulsion should be exercised in order that the work will be carried out in the most efficient manner.

The next Africa all efforts are to be made to ensure success must be meted out in other ways. Cooperation. A prosperous country must necessarily accept all concerned and not the least of time will be the result.

