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Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend.

APRIL, 1913.

[The Editor, whilst grateful to all correspondents who may be kind enough to furnish him with information, desires to state that he is not responsible for the views stated by them, nor for quotations which may be inserted from other journals. The object of the journal is to spread information, and articles are necessarily quoted which may contain views or statements for which their authors can alone be held responsible.]

Quarterly Notes.

The Putumayo.

THE result of the petition for the winding-up of the Peruvian Amazon Company is in the highest degree satisfactory to the Society, at whose instigation the action was taken, and a splendid encouragement to persevere in the fight against the abominations on the Upper Amazon. The moral effect of Mr. Justice Swinfen Eady's judgment cannot but be very great. It must be remembered that Sir Roger Casement's report and other important recent evidence was not admissible as legal evidence in the case; in spite of this, the Judge found ample evidence in the Company's own report to lead him to the conclusion that Arana was "the last person in the world to whom the winding-up of the Company should be entrusted," and that there ought to be the fullest possible investigation as to the methods by which the business was conducted and as to the dealings between Arana and the Company. He therefore declared that there must be a compulsory winding-up order.

We ask attention to the remarkable official papers recently published by the United States Government, showing how little the Peruvian Government have done, or even tried to do, in the direction of reform, and that there is absolutely no guarantee that the old cruelties may not be resumed at any moment, even if they have temporarily ceased, as to which there is little evidence. There must, therefore, be no slackening in the fight, and we earnestly ask for all the support that can be given us to enable us to prosecute a vigorous campaign.

The Annual Meeting.

OUR Society's annual meeting this year will be held on Wednesday afternoon, April 23rd, and will be marked by certain features of special interest. Mr. W. E. Hardenburg, whom, in view of the full confirmation of all that he so courageously made known to the Society and to *Truth* in 1909, we may

call the hero of the Putumayo, is expected to be in London very shortly and will, it is hoped, be present to speak at the meeting. M. le Comte de St. George, of Geneva, who has long been a corresponding member of the Society, is expected to speak about the movement on behalf of native races in Switzerland. The other speakers, whose names will be found on another page, are all men who have done good service in the anti-slavery cause, and who will speak with authority on different aspects of our work.

Conference with Africans. This Conference has been fixed to take place on Friday, April 18th, when Sir Charles Lucas, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., will preside. At the dinner in the evening, which is being organised by the African Society, Sir Clement Hill, the President, will preside, and Sir C. P. Lucas will speak.

Speaking of the proposed Conference, at a meeting of the African Society on February 8th, Sir C. Hill said, "They (the Africans who have come to this country for education), of course, naturally find very great difficulty in attending places of education. They are very apt, with no one to take any interest in them, to get into bad ways and fall into bad society, and get bad companions; and it is hoped that in some way or another we may be able to develop some place, or some system, by which they may meet together, and may receive encouragement from those who are interested in Africa over here."

Coloured Medical Men in West Africa. WE have received further communications from the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone on the subject of the employment of native medical officers in Government service, which show that this matter continues to arouse much feeling among the educated natives. The Gold Coast Auxiliary of our Society has forwarded a petition to the Governor, through the Colonial Secretary at Accra, for transmission to the Secretary of State, asking that the regulations governing appointments to the West African Medical Staff may be modified so as to permit the inclusion of doctors of African descent. The Sierra Leone Auxiliary also forwards a statement which has been drawn up on the subject urging that the Government should "open wide the door for the employment of native medical men for service in the Colonies."

We hope that the question may be raised in the House of Commons on the Colonial Vote.

New Book on Portuguese Slavery. WE are glad to be able to announce that Mr. Harris is bringing out a popular book upon Portuguese Slavery. This will be published at one shilling only. The Society has taken a supply of these for sale. It is hoped every member will assist in the sale of this book, and by so doing spread information upon this question throughout the kingdom. The book will be published on, or before, May 1st.

**The New
Hebrides
Abuses.**

THE news of the labour conditions in the New Hebrides continues to be of a very bad character. Labourers are commonly passed from hand to hand with their plantation, without their being consulted; as to wages, in spite of the provision of the Convention that they must be paid in cash, an ingenious truck system has sprung up, by which labourers receive tokens which can only be exchanged for goods at their masters' store, whereby the latter make a considerable profit. The term of labour is, by a common French practice, increased by adding on an extra period for days alleged to have been lost through sickness, which often mount up to six months at the end of three years. Repatriation is not properly carried out, and flogging is said to be rife on French plantations in defiance of the Convention.

A recent case shows that abuses are not confined to French plantations, but that on one British Company's property, at any rate, the natives have much right for complaint.

**The Indians
of British
Columbia.**

AN Agreement has been arrived at between the Special Commissioner appointed by the Dominion Government to investigate Indian affairs and the Premier of British Columbia, against which the "Friends of the Indians" protest, as ignoring the rights and claims of the Indians, the agreement confining itself mainly to the question of Reserves. We understand that the Canadian Ministers are moving actively in the direction of taking steps to determine the rights of the Indians, and there seems to be some prospect of an early conclusion being reached.

The Putumayo Slavery.

REPORT OF THE UNITED STATES CONSUL.

A VERY valuable collection of documents, entitled "Slavery in Peru," has been published as a United States Paper from the State Department containing reports from Mr. Stuart Fuller, the American Consul at Iquitos, who accompanied Consul Michell up the Putumayo last year, and other papers, including a report dating as far back as December, 1907, from Mr. Eberhardt, then American Consul at Iquitos, on the native Indians and their enslavement and exploitation by the Arana Company, and the reports of Dr. Paredes, the Peruvian Commissioner, in 1911 and 1912.

Mr. Fuller's report of October 28th last entirely endorses Sir Roger Casement's account and conclusions as to the appalling cruelties committed on the Indians, the responsibility of the Company, and of Arana in particular, and the inaction of the Peruvian authorities. "The atrocities of the past,"

he writes, "were everywhere admitted throughout the region, and there can be no question of the substantial truth of the Casement report."

Mr. Fuller also confirms Consul Michell's account of the measures deliberately taken by the Company and the Government to prevent them from seeing the actual conditions on their journey wherever possible. This treatment, the Consul wrote,

"throws an interesting light on the protestations of the Company and of the local Government that they have nothing to hide and no fear of unprejudiced publicity.

"Throughout the trip we were so carefully watched and hedged about that if there was anything to hide we could not possibly have seen it. In fact . . . anyone travelling through here is of necessity entirely dependent on the Company. None but their men know the roads, there is no food but what they have, there are no facilities for water transportation but what they own, carriers can only be obtained through them, and all the time one is travelling on their private property.

"The Peruvian Consul-General and his suite were far from being of any assistance to us. . . . When we suggested going on ahead by land, it was not possible to secure the necessary carriers. On the trip he succeeded in delaying us in one way and another, apparently on purpose, to such an extent that the river trip, where, for lack of facilities, we had no choice but to go all together, was extended from the proposed three days to a week. . . .

"He continually attempted to take the direction of the whole thing into his hands, and ordered the Company's men about to suit his convenience, apparently with the intention of conveying the impression that this was an inspection tour under his sole direction.

"We particularly did not wish to be identified with this party that insisted on accompanying us. . . . It was quite evident throughout the trip that not only ourselves, but even our interpreter, were the subjects of a close espionage. It was not possible to go anywhere among the natives without being followed by employees of the Company. Whenever we tried to talk privately to the Indians, an employee of the Company, familiar with the Huitoto language, always approached, with the result that the Indians invariably ceased to be communicative."

The Consul quotes the instance, which was given by Consul Michell, of the cook who interrupted their conversations with Indians, and who told their servants that he was under orders to repeat everything to Arana and Rey de Castro; the latter afterwards told the Consul that "he considered this sort of surveillance a part of his duty."

Of the peonage system Consul Fuller writes frankly as "nothing more nor less than forced labour." It is to the patron's interest to get those working for him hopelessly into debt and keep them there, and, as these claims are transferable, "the Indians and their families are really bought and sold, passing from hand to hand under a system that bears a striking resemblance to actual slavery." Many Peruvians, he says, are not

unnaturally apprehensive that a strict investigation of the conditions in the Putumayo may lead to such an exposure of the whole peonage system as may deal a death-blow to the rubber industry.

Mr. Fuller lays stress upon the overwhelming influence of the Arana clique. Arana himself is regarded by the Indians with much more awe than the shadowy Peruvian Government, of which the people have no conception. That Government leaves the whole zone to the Company to do as they please. Consul Fuller saw nothing whatever to support their repeated protestations of future reform, and if there was evidence that the Company had to some extent mended its ways for the time, it was plain that the Government proposals put forward were "the very minimum for the insurance of protection for the natives." Mr. Fuller believes that the Company would not hesitate to repeat past cruelties, "if it were necessary to make a big showing preparatory to unloading the property"; as he puts it, "the machinery is all there" for the purpose. The position is ably summed up in a letter from Mr. Secretary Knox to the President, dated February 4th last.

"That the natives of the region have been inhumanly treated by the mercenaries of the rubber-gathering concerns and been reduced to a state of peonage indistinguishable from slavery is undenied and unquestionable; that the horrible conditions laid bare by the testimony of observers in the past still exist in all their enormity in the districts visited by the inquirers is not fully substantiated by the scanty evidence they were able to collect, but enough is known to show that whatever amelioration of labour conditions has been effected falls short of the demands of common humanity, and that the efforts of the Peruvian Government to work a remedial change and clear itself before the bar of the world's opinion have been for the most part painfully inadequate and unhappily misdirected to a degree making the results unresponsive to the unquestionable desire of the administration at Lima that its control of the vast and almost trackless regions of the Putumayo, embracing some 12,000 square miles of territory, shall be just and humane. The more energetic action of the present administration in Peru in sending a prefect of recognised ability and integrity to Iquitos and in pushing the prosecution of Messrs. Arana and Vega is considered significant as indicating the attitude that will be henceforth assumed by the Peruvian Government.

This book also contains two reports of Dr. Paredes on his investigation into the Putumayo crimes, dated September 30th, 1911, and June 14th, 1912, respectively. The first contains a full account of the rubber-collecting system. The Chiefs of Sections are described as "genuine dictators without morals and without a God." These autocrats inflicted atrocious penalties for shortage of rubber, and pronounced sentence of death with the greatest coolness. They are "morbid, degenerate criminals of sensual nature." The Indian natives are a submissive, affectionate, and even tender-hearted race, inspiring sympathy and compassion, and Dr. Paredes declares that Mons. Robuchon's account of the people as cannibals was ascertained by the Judicial Commission to be absolutely false. It is

rare, says Dr. Paredes, to find one Indian native who does not bear "enormous traces" of floggings. He speaks of having seen some three thousand of them who exhibited every moment "this mark of infamy of their dominators."

Dr. Paredes maintains that conditions on the Putumayo are now largely improved, owing to the action taken by his Government, but admits that the reform is far from complete. The criminal employees were replaced by others who are ignorant and ill paid.

In a letter addressed to the Society in December last, Dr. Paredes spoke of the obstacles put in his way by "the house of Arana" and the Government of Senhor Leguia, but he hoped under the new conditions, and in the absence of successful opposition, to leave for the Putumayo at the end of the year.

We notice that Consul Fuller is not sanguine as to the good effects which can be accomplished by what he calls "the roving Commission" of Dr. Paredes.

Aborigines Protection in Peru.

In its South American Supplement of Feb. 25, the *Times* published the following :—

At a meeting of the Sociedad Pro-Indigena of Peru, held on December 27 last, of which the proceedings were reported in the Lima paper *El Comercio* on January 4, a large number of reports by agents of the society were read on the ill-treatment of Indians in various parts of the country, formal complaints being in many cases lodged against the Governors and other officials. Dr. Juan José del Pino, delegate of the society in Ayacucho, for instance, reports on accusations lodged in the Court of Ayacucho, and states that his services have been solicited by various aborigines of Sacsamarca, in the district of Ongoy, province of Audahuaylas, who complain that the Governor, Don Juan José Flores, forces the Indians to act as porters for him without pay, bastinadoing and imprisoning those who resist. From Pallasca, Don Herminio Cisneros reports that Indians have been forced to labour for nothing in restoring a church and carrying heavy steel girders for building a bridge, while from several quarters there are accounts of needless harshness in enforcing military conscription, the Indians being surprised in their huts by night and dragged off bound with strong cords. The society is to be congratulated on the activity it is displaying.

The Lima Society is in frequent communication with our Society, and keeps us informed of the energetic policy which they are pursuing to bring to light cruelties and ill-treatment inflicted on Indians.

Portuguese Slave Labour.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPER.*

THE latest White Book on this subject, published at the beginning of March, is of special interest to the Society, as it contains a large number of letters addressed by it to H.M. Government, and shows the active pressure which it has endeavoured to apply upon the Portuguese slavery issue. The last page of the book points out that the Government have adopted what they describe as "a somewhat controversial attitude" in the correspondence, and it has undoubtedly been a keen disappointment to the Society to note the general attitude of H.M. Government, as now set forth in Sir Eyre Crowe's letter to the Society of 31st January last, which is of the nature of an apology for Portuguese slave labour conditions. This keen anxiety to repel every criticism, great or small, on the Portuguese position, and to explain and defend the latter as against the Society in every particular, is indeed prevailingly evident throughout the volume, and the sensitiveness manifested by our Government to any use of the words "slave" or "slavery" is so great as to be almost comical, especially as the Foreign Secretary himself has committed himself in the not very remote past to the statement that the recruiting methods constituted slavery. The Government reply apparently is that this was all "in the past," and it is therefore hardly "good form" to refer to it when the Portuguese profess to be doing their best. Besides, are they not always ready to draft detailed regulations on every conceivable branch of the subject? Several fresh decrees will be found included in this paper.

The passage summarising the Government attitude runs as follows :—

"As regards the general attitude of His Majesty's Government, I am to say that they are still, as you have frequently been assured, ready to do all in their power to see that recruiting is carried on under proper conditions, that repatriation continues, and that the labourers are fairly treated both on the islands and on their return to Angola. In the main these conditions appear now to be satisfied, but His Majesty's Government have not hesitated to point out to the Portuguese Government any infringement of those conditions, and they have found that Government ready to remove any abuses which were thus brought to their notice. His Majesty's Government cannot pledge themselves to call upon the Portuguese Government to repatriate at once some 30,000 labourers, even if some of those labourers were originally recruited by fraud or force; these labourers are not now in a condition of slavery in which manumission comes into question. They are people who have been brought to the island, some, it may be, originally against their own wish, but are now

* Africa, No 2. (1913.) Cd. 6607.

legally free, and all the evidence shows that they are generally well treated and are gradually being repatriated, while it is very far indeed from clear that they would benefit by being forcibly sent back to their original homes or that they would desire to go there.

"In these circumstances, Sir E. Grey does not feel able to do more, as regards repatriation, than to press the Portuguese Government, as, indeed, he has recently done, not to let the rate of repatriation slacken."

To this the Society replied as follows on the point of repatriation (February 13, 1913):—

"The testimony from every source—from travellers, Consuls, and also Portuguese informants—is abundant as to the deplorable manner in which repatriation is being carried out from the Islands, and our Committee believes that the Portuguese Loanda newspaper, the *Reforma*, of the 19th August, 1911, exposed the real motive when it stated:—

'... this form of repatriation is a stratagem which will, on account of the protests that will be raised against it in this province, enable the planters to argue that repatriation is unproductive of any good results, and that the truth is, as they have said all along, that people who have once gone to those islands never want to leave them again, well knowing that they could not find a better spot in this world.'

"In fact, it would appear that this 'stratagem,' as the *Reforma* called it, has even succeeded, to some extent, in misleading His Majesty's Government, if we are to judge from the words, 'while it is very far, indeed, from clear that they would benefit by being forcibly sent back to their original homes, or that they desire to go there.' We cannot but maintain that the deplorable conditions which our correspondent found among the 'repatriated' natives fully bear out the words recently used by Lord Cromer on this subject:—

'The process of dumping down a number of starving blacks on the coast of the mainland and leaving them to find their own way to their distant homes in Central Africa can scarcely be justified'—

and that they form a complete warrant for the language of our letter to the Foreign Office of the 17th ultimo."

On the argument that the labourers are "legally free," which is repeated in various forms several times in this White Book, we wrote in the same letter:—

"Our Committee holds firmly to the view that good treatment, even if it existed in the absolute sense (which we do not admit), does not transform a condition of slavery into one of freedom. It is true that since 1908 some repatriation has taken place, but this is at a very slow rate and under conditions which involve great cruelty and suffering. It was with considerable surprise that our Committee observed the statement

that these people 'are now legally free.' It is difficult to believe that His Majesty's Government can regard as a measure of reform a condition which has prevailed in theory for nearly forty years! It would seem late in the day to attempt to explain the difference between Portuguese law and Portuguese practice, but we think this contention of His Majesty's Government is authoritatively met by Mr. Mackie, a Consul of large experience in Portuguese methods."

Another apologetic statement of the general position as it appears in the eyes of British officials is made in a despatch from the Chargé d'Affaires at Lisbon, who offers them "with considerable diffidence, owing to (his) lack of first-hand knowledge." This gentleman admits that there have long been grievous abuses in the system of labour, but holds that much has been accomplished by the Portuguese, and that "patience is still very necessary," and an appreciation of the Portuguese difficulties.

The White Paper opens with a reproduction of Mr. Harris' article on Portuguese Slavery in the *Contemporary Review* of May last, which was forwarded to certain officials for comment, as was also the long Memorial which the Society addressed to Sir E. Grey on July 15th (published in pamphlet form by the Society last year under the title "Portuguese Slavery and British Responsibility").

A report of Dr. Machado's speech at the Society's meeting in the Westminster Palace Hotel in June is then published in full from the *African World*, and Senor José d'Almada's letter to the *Times* defending the Portuguese labour system (Mr. Harris' answer, however, published in the *Times* a week later, is not given). The observations of the Vice-Consul in San Thomé on Mr. Harris' allegations are chiefly remarkable for their admissions, such as that the writer "scarcely thinks every institution is in the grip of the planting community," and that the death-rate on the islands is "certainly heavy," but not so bad as Mr. Harris says. Again, ill-treatment and punishments "doubtless do exist on some of the plantations," but on the large roças everything is done to make the labourer happy. As to the separation of husbands and wives, to which the Society had referred, we cannot find that the facts alleged are disproved, either by the Vice-Consul or by the remarks of the British Chargé d'Affaires at Lisbon, though the latter says that the Portuguese Government "absolutely deny" them! "Repatriation must," the Vice-Consul insists, "necessarily be slow, otherwise San Thomé would cease to exist for want of labour." But Mr. Harris has never, as he infers, suggested the repatriation of all the San Thomé slaves *en bloc*.

In August, 1912, Sir Edward Grey wrote to Sir Arthur Hardinge on the repatriation question, which had been urged upon him by a deputation from our Society. "The question," he wrote, "is of paramount importance," but "presents very great difficulties." He added:—

"I therefore request you to call the attention of the Portuguese

Government to the reports which have been brought to the notice of His Majesty's Government as to the state of destitution in which many of the labourers find themselves on their arrival on the mainland from the islands, and, while stating that there has not yet been sufficient time to investigate them, to point out the unfavourable effect upon public opinion in this country which would undoubtedly be produced if these reports should eventually prove to be even approximately correct. You should add that this feeling would be all the stronger if it were the case, as is reported, that there are a considerable number of British subjects among the 'serviçaes.' You should express the hope that the Portuguese Government will not fail, in these circumstances, to institute a searching inquiry without delay into the truth of these reports, and that they will lose no time in taking such steps as may be possible to prevent hardships."

In reply to this, the usual answer was given by the Portuguese that they were making every effort, but "this could not be done in a moment."

Some useful despatches will be found from Acting-Consul Smallbones at Loanda, giving repatriation figures, and describing labour conditions on the Angola mainland. According to the official figures, 1,436 Angola serviçaes were repatriated in the first six months of last year; in July 55, August 11. For three months repatriation to Angola was suspended, a course to which Sir E. Grey took strong exception. The Portuguese authorities declared that the reason for this interruption was that proper arrangements might be made for the protection of natives arriving in Angola. The real reason, however, probably is that the planters were unwilling to lose the labour during the harvest period.

In his despatch on Angola labour, Acting-Consul Smallbones, referring to "acquired" labourers, states that these "are usually prisoners made by the natives during tribal warfare. The fact that they are not free is sometimes disguised by their entering into a contract." The Governor-General was of opinion that it would be impossible so to "acquire" labourers in the future, but Mr. Smallbones thinks this an optimistic view, as "in a considerable portion of this colony the Portuguese rule appears to be of a very shadowy description, and there are said to be whole regions in which a Portuguese soldier or officer cannot show his face." The Governor-General, however, "means to do all in his power to do away with this kind of labour."

The authorities have been unable to enforce the whole of the regulations. Abuses have occurred in regard to recontracting. The excuse given was:—

"... that in the present state of the labour supply such scrupulous observance of the regulations as that for which Mr. Smallbones had contended would entail the stoppage of a large plantation for which he could not be responsible."

The Acting-Consul writes that, even on a very well-managed plantation, where the labourers are very well treated,

"it has failed to make the conditions of labour attractive to the

natives. And as long as the Government are unable to force a supply of labour according to the regulations, they will have to tolerate, or even practise, irregularities in order to safeguard the property and interests of the employers."

In reply to the complaints of the Society as to the deaths which had occurred among slaves "repatriated" to Angola, and the statement quoted from a Portuguese document that no less than fifty corpses were found out in the open near Benguella, it was stated in an official memorandum of October last that of the hundreds repatriated from San Thomé in the first six months of 1912 only seventeen died in Benguella, which could not be held to be an abnormal rate. But the statement in question was actually circulated by the Portuguese defenders of the system at the Anti-Slavery Society's meeting in London last year, and cannot be so easily disposed of.

Reference should be made to the interesting correspondence from the Belgian Legation about the slave trade which is carried on on the frontiers of Angola, the Congo, and N.-W. Rhodesia, for labour in Angola and the coast, as to which our Government wrote to our High Commissioner in South Africa asking that the matter should be considered with the Northern Rhodesia authorities, with a view to taking steps for suppressing the traffic. On this subject the Administrator reported that no complaints of slave trading had been made in the district referred to, though a few occasional cases might occur, "for the status of slave exists." The words quoted are surprising when used in reference to British territory, and need explanation.

We are glad to note the proposals by the Vice-Consul at Loanda for settlements of repatriated servicaes from San Thomé and Príncipe, and that an Order in Council was passed on October 17th last creating two such settlements.

THE REPATRIATION FUND.

THE Society having called attention to the irregularities in the fund which is supposed to be set aside by the planters for repatriation, Mr. Smallbones wrote on the subject as follows in October last:—

"The money belonging to the Repatriation Fund was apparently put and left on a deposit bearing no interest, notwithstanding the fact that a decree of the 17th July, 1909, allowed it to be even invested in securities. As the calls on that deposit were incalculably small, the lack of enterprise shown in the management of this fund can only be accounted for, in my humble opinion, by the slackness of the responsible officials or by their desire to benefit the Banco Nacional Ultramarino.

"From an Order in Council of the 26th August last, and published in the 'Official Bulletin' of San Thomé and Príncipe of the 21st ultimo (a translation of which I have the honour to enclose herewith), it appears

that the planters are heavily in arrears with their payments to the Repatriation Fund—some hundreds of contos (100 contos equal to about £20,000) are spoken of. As the rate of interest in San Thomé is very high, the planters have every reason to delay payments into the fund. These arrears and the non-payment of interest on the money deposited probably account for the fact that the Repatriation Fund has not been increasing as rapidly as might have been expected."

In an enclosure, the Secretary-General of San Thomé and Principe admitted that the money in the fund had not up to the present produced any interest, because all of it had been deposited in the branch office of the Banco Nacional Ultramarino, "which bank does not pay any interest on deposit accounts."

These are extraordinary admissions, and show that this matter demands very close investigation.

Since the White Book was published, the Society has addressed a short letter to the Foreign Office asking for definite information on a specific point in regard to this fund, reserving its general remarks and detailed criticisms until later. The Society's letter of the 12th August is recalled, in which it was pointed out that:—

"the fund in the hands of the planters in 1907 was officially stated to amount to one hundred thousand pounds, and that this fund was stated to be handed over to the San Thomé Bank. We further pointed out that in October, 1908, Mr. Cadbury saw the receipt for this, which was, however, only for sixty-two thousand pounds; a sum of nearly forty thousand pounds had therefore disappeared.

"Mr. Wingfield, writing to His Majesty's Government on the 17th August last, stated that the Portuguese Government categorically denied the allegations of this Society, and proceeded to give the amount of the Repatriation Fund last May. But we submit that a general denial, coupled with the statement of the fund at the moment, can hardly be said to dispose of the allegation that forty thousand pounds had apparently disappeared in the simple process of transference from Lisbon to San Thomé."

The Committee ask what it is that the Portuguese Government categorically deny in regard to the missing forty thousand pounds. Is it denied that Mr. Cadbury saw the receipt in October, 1908, or that only sixty-two thousand pounds figured on the receipt? By what evidence is the Portuguese denial supported? The amount of the fund in 1907 was one hundred thousand pounds, according to the public and reiterated statement of the planters. It is suggested that these questions, which merely involve reference to the account books in Lisbon, should be capable of prompt answer.*

* [See further on this point page 18 *infra*.]

GROWTH OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT.

That there are clear indications as to the growth of the agitation for the release of the slaves in Portuguese West Africa few would deny, but in the last White Book issued by the Foreign Office we find recognition of this fact in the most expected quarter. "M. Teixeira Gomes," says Sir Edward Grey, writing to Sir Arthur Hardinge on Nov. 27 last, "called to-day to say that he had once again called the attention of the Government to the whole question of contract labour *and the growing agitation in this country.*"* Since this despatch was penned, however, the agitation has made enormous strides, and the spade work of the last two or three years is making itself felt, not only in Great Britain but on the Continent.

First in importance is the fact that the British Parliament and Press no longer regard this as a party question. Until a few months ago the moment one raised the question of Portuguese Slavery an acrimonious and futile controversy obscured the real issues. It has involved a good deal of patient effort behind the scenes to remove the impression that party interests were lurking somewhere in the background. The letters issued to Members of Parliament under the joint signatures of Mr. W. A. Cadbury and Mr. St. Loe Strachey, have, we have reason to believe, virtually put an end to these regrettable suspicions, and men of all shades of political opinion are now combining upon the common policy emancipating the slaves.

The increased and ever-increasing pressure has forced the Portuguese Government to insist upon a more rapid "repatriation" of the slaves from the islands and to make a beginning on the mainland. Last year the total repatriation of slaves and serviçaes to Angola amounted to just over 1,700, the majority of whom were undoubtedly slaves belonging to Angola proper; but this aspect of the question will need most careful scrutiny, for whilst the rate of repatriation during the first half of the year was over 200 a month, during the latter six months it fell below 50 a month, and during the harvest period practically ceased. On the mainland the Governor has ordered the release of the slaves in the Pungo and Andongo district, and some forty are known to have applied for freedom papers; a small number it is true compared with the half million slaves in the territory, but it is encouraging and shows the value of organized and expressed public opinion.

ACTION BY THE FREE CHURCH CONGRESS.

Another sign of the growing agitation is the action just taken by the Free Church Congress at Newcastle, where a resolution was moved and seconded by Mr. W. Cadbury and Mr. Harris. The Portuguese Sub-

*Italics ours.

Committee at its recent meeting decided to carry the agitation through to every local Free Church Council in the Kingdom, and steps are being taken to secure a similar movement in the Established Churches. Just as we go to press we notice that the Congregational Union passed a resolution at Exeter denouncing Portuguese slavery.

CONTINENTAL ACTIVITY.

Through the energy of our friends in Switzerland, a series of important meetings have been held, at which Mrs. Harris has been the speaker, and we are glad to report that the foundations of the movement have been laid which bid fair to spread throughout the Continent. The Committee at its March sitting decided that, providing our able and energetic friend, Mons. René Claparède were free, Mrs. Harris should return to the Continent and should co-operate with him in pushing the propaganda in France, and possibly Italy. There are indications also that a movement may shortly begin in Germany.

If, however, the slaves in Portuguese territories are to experience the full benefit of work which is now being done by the Committee, it is imperative that every member of the Society should give solid assistance. The burden after all must fall mainly upon the people of Great Britain. It is at once our responsibility and privilege to lead—to lead in sacrifice and in energy, and to maintain a determined front before the interests arrayed against us. The greatest service members can render to the Society is that of securing “other helpers.” The membership subscription of the Society is only ten shillings a year, and whilst of course we welcome larger subscriptions most heartily, we would far rather double our present membership. Last year we recorded a considerable increase, but we are still far below the numerical strength of what the organisation should be, considering that it is the only permanent Society for the defence of native races from oppression.

PARLIAMENTARY ACTION.

Reference has already been made to a letter which has been addressed to Members of Parliament, over the signatures of Mr. St. Loe Strachey and Mr. W. A. Cadbury, asking them to ballot for a day to discuss the Portuguese Slavery question. The following is the text of the letter sent:—

DENISON HOUSE,
VAUXHALL BRIDGE ROAD,
LONDON, S.W.,
March 8th, 1913.

SIR,

We desire to draw your close and earnest attention to the question of labour conditions in Portuguese West Africa, and to British responsibility towards what we hold to be a state of slave trading and slave owning on the mainland and upon the islands of San T homé and Principe.

We had hoped much from the Portuguese Republic, but, after waiting now for nearly three years, we deplore that little progress has been made. In our opinion there is urgent need that the whole question should be brought up in the House of Commons for debate at as early a date as possible, particularly in view of the attitude which our own Foreign Office now appears to have adopted.

To us it seems incredible that the opinion of the civilised world will allow the Portuguese permanently to render null and void the Berlin and Brussels Acts by the simple expedient of changing words, *i.e.*, by calling "contract labour" what, by accumulative and irrefutable evidence, is clearly slavery. By reason of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, Great Britain is made to occupy a position which will only be tolerated so long as the public is kept in ignorance of the actual state of affairs. Remember we are by the Alliance pledged to defend Portugal and her oversea possessions against all comers. That is an obligation which is intolerable in the case of a State which allows slavery. It makes the protecting or allied State a partner in the worst of national crimes—the crime of slavery. We submit that Portugal should at once set about abolishing slave owning and show some resolution in putting a stop to slave trading, or that Great Britain should withdraw from an Alliance which may at any time involve our national resources in a defence of slavery. We are a hypocrite nation if while we boast of our attitude towards slavery in the past, we continue to grant the tremendous advantage of our defensive alliance to a State which cannot or will not purge itself of slavery. We have often admonished Portugal as regards slavery and slave-raiding and always fruitlessly. We have not yet said to her: "Unless you put an end to these things in fact as well as in name, we cannot continue to be your Allies." If we have not now the moral courage and sincerity to use this final appeal, how can we pretend that we have done all in our power to stop slavery and slave-raiding in West Africa?

In the space of a single letter it is impossible to enter into the many aspects of this question, but we shall be glad to provide you with further information, and append herewith some of the points which appear to us as most important at the present juncture.

Acting upon advice we are appealing to you, as we are appealing to several other Members of the House of Commons, in the hope that you will be able to ballot for a day for the discussion of this question. We hope that as one of the trustees of the national honour you will, if possible, co-operate with us in bringing this question prominently before the House of Commons.

We are,

Yours faithfully,

J. ST. LOE STRACHEY,
W. A. CADBURY.

DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT.

IN the House of Commons, on March 27th, Lord H. Cavendish-Bentinck appealed to the Government to adopt a more active policy on behalf of the labourers in San Thomé and Príncipe, as it was a question with which we,

as a country, were under a moral obligation to deal. If, he said, repatriation were "proceeding satisfactorily," we must be very easily pleased.

Mr. T. E. Harvey supported the appeal.

We give, in full, Mr. Acland's reply on behalf of the Foreign Office from the Official Report.

"With regard to the subject raised by Lord H. Cavendish-Bentinck and Mr. T. E. Harvey, the question of principle involved is what should be our general attitude towards the Government of Portugal in this matter of the conditions of recruiting and repatriation from the islands. In trying to make up one's mind about that, one has got to remember this main outstanding fact, that there has been very considerable improvement in many directions in connection with this question in the last few years. Therefore, that being so, and improvement having taken place and continuing to take place as we hope, our attitude, I think, may reasonably be rather different from what it would be if our efforts and the efforts of the Portuguese Government had not had the comparative success which they have had up to the present. After all, if hon. Members carry their minds back they will remember that the great complaint not so long ago was as to recruiting labour in Angola for San Thomé, and as to the conditions of recruitment there. That recruitment has stopped altogether, and now such recruitment as takes place for the islands takes place either in Mozambique or in Liberia, and so far as we know is carried on under quite reasonable conditions. That question, on which attention was concentrated not so long ago, has therefore been settled, and, so far as we know, settled satisfactorily. Similarly many other matters to which we have given our attention have been satisfactorily settled. We have pointed out to the Portuguese Government, for instance, the very great undesirability of making the contracts on the Island of San Thomé. We have pointed out that the only fair thing to do is that the contract should be made at the place where the labourer is recruited, and not when he has been taken away to a distant island from which he cannot return. Our representations were listened to, and in response to them the system of making the contracts in the islands themselves was abandoned. That is an improvement.

"It must also be regarded as an improvement that this scheme of depots, if I may so describe them, to which the repatriated labourers shall be sent on their first coming from the islands, has been ordered to be set up by an Order in Council. The Noble Lord expressed the opinion that probably no progress had yet been made with that scheme. But, after all, the Order in Council was only dated, I think, October last year, and perhaps there has not yet been time to get it fully into working order. These two depots, if I remember rightly, will be one at Loanda, where we have a Consul, and the other on the little isolated piece of territory called Congo to the North of Angola, and that can easily be visited by our Consul at Boma. Certainly, I quite agree with the suggestion that it would be our duty to see that real progress is made with that scheme. It must not remain a paper scheme, and we do not think that there is any intention that it should. I do not think that we or Members of this House should regard it as in the least satisfactory if the policy of repatriation was only to bring them back to the

settlements and settle them permanently there. These settlements, I think, should be regarded as places of passage where the labourers can get accustomed to the conditions of agriculture on the mainland, and from which whenever possible they should proceed in due time back to the places from which they were brought. These settlements will, we hope, be used in that way and not as permanent dwelling places for the men.

"So far as the scheme goes, we recognised that it is a very considerable improvement on the system which undoubtedly prevailed, at any rate to some extent, of dumping the men on the coast with no provision for looking after them when they got there. It is a good thing that barracks and huts should be provided by the Colonial administration, together with implements and seeds, so that there may be something for the men to do as soon as they arrive until arrangements can be made for getting them back to the places from which they came. There has been improvement also in the conditions inland. My hon. Friend the Member for West Leeds said that we needed more information on that point. We do, and we are trying to get it. Such information as we have is very much more favourable than anything we have had for a long time. He would be a bold man who would say that domestic slavery does not exist in the districts near to the headquarters of the Kasai and the Zambesi Rivers; but we are told that slave trading is practically extinct on the North-Western frontier of Rhodesia, which is up in that area, where it undoubtedly used to exist. We know that two definite reforms have taken place. First, the fees for registering the labourers no longer go to the registering official but to the Provincial Treasury, so that the official has no longer a financial interest in the number of labourers registered. Secondly, there has been a considerable restriction of the old system of allowing convict settlers from Portugal to range wide over the whole country, because it was found that that had the effect of causing them to engage in the slave trade on their own account.

"I now come to the particular points raised by the hon. Member for Nottingham, as to the number of repatriations and the Repatriation Fund. I think that when he said that repatriations were taking place at the rate of 500 a year he was, no doubt unintentionally, rather unfairly representing the facts. He arrived at that figure by taking the average over five years. It would have been fairer if he had stated what appears in the White Paper, namely, that last year more than 1,400 were repatriated in the first six months of the year. That is a very great improvement, and it puts rather a different complexion on the fact than to state that the repatriations are only at the rate of 500 a year. I am bound to say, however, that although over 1,400 were repatriated in the first six months of last year, there was a very considerable falling off in the second six months. There has been an improvement since, as we recently heard that in January this year 227 were repatriated. If that rate is kept up it will produce a total of something like 3,000 for the year. There ought not to have been that practical suspension of the repatriations in the second part of last year, and we shall take what steps we can to see that it does not occur again. The great improvement which one finds in the more than 1,400 in the first six months of last year is much more the sort of thing which we could regard as being fairly reasonable, and we hope that that will be steadily kept up from now onwards whatever the season of the year may be. In connection with the improved

condition, so far as our position is concerned, I want to draw attention to the fact that, in order that we may watch these things and be able to give advice when we consider it necessary, we have established a Consul at Loanda and two paid Vice-Consuls, one of whom will spend part of his time at San Thomé and the rest at Fernando Po, and the other at Benguela. These two Vice-Consuls, because of the unhealthiness of the climate at Fernando Po, will change about at different times of the year, so that we shall have in the future permanent paid servants at the ports of arrival and departure of these contract labourers. That will help us very much in watching over what is going on and to give reports to the House as to the actual repatriations and the system under which they are carried out.

"As to the Repatriation Fund, there is no doubt that that fund has not been carried on in the strict, business-like way that one might have hoped for and which we should like to see. It has been admitted that the planters were badly in arrears with their payments, and that no interest had been paid by the banks with which a part of the fund was deposited. That, I think, undoubtedly points to mismanagement. As to our general policy in regard to this fund, the best thing I can do is to quote word for word from a letter which was sent on the 11th of this month to the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, in reply to a letter from them on this very subject. That letter will be included in the next White Paper that is laid, or, if it were asked for, we could have it specially laid, because I am going to quote from it. It gives the policy of the Government with regard to this matter:—

"In reply to your letter . . . I am directed by Secretary Sir E. Grey to observe that the proper administration of the fund for the repatriation of contract labourers from San Thomé is a domestic concern of the Portuguese authorities with which the British Government are not in a position officially to interfere. When your Society, in their letter of the 15th July last, supplemented later by another letter, mentioned serious defalcations alleged to have taken place in connection with the fund in 1907-8, Sir E. Grey went as far as he could by instructing His Majesty's Charge d'Affaires at Lisbon to inform the Portuguese Government of your criticisms, and to ask whether any explanations could be given to meet them. The Portuguese Government answered by categorically denying that any such defalcations had taken place. They at the same time gave information which showed that there was a substantial balance standing to the credit of the fund on the 31st May of last year, so that it cannot be said that the process of repatriation is hampered by want of money to pay the prescribed bonuses. In these circumstances, Sir E. Grey does not consider that he can pursue the matter further with the Portuguese Government."

"I am afraid that the policy shown in that letter will not satisfy either of the hon. Members who raised the question. The letter shows, however, exactly what our policy is. We think it is wiser and better to concentrate our attention on seeing that the repatriated labourers to whom bonuses are due receive those bonuses rather than to criticise the accounts of the fund, which we consider to be a domestic affair of the Portuguese Government. I am sorry I cannot go further than the policy officially shown in the letter which I have quoted. I would only press our friends to consider whether there is not something to be said from our point of view, that so long as the men receive the bonuses to which they are entitled that is the great point. It would be rather difficult for us to go behind the statements that

were made to us so long as we could not dispute the fact that the bonuses when due were being properly paid.

"The hon. Member for West Leeds suggested what I think is a new point, namely, that it would be a good thing to have a census of the labourers on the Islands. I agree with him, and I will have the question of the desirability of having such a census, and of putting the suggestion before the Portuguese Government carefully considered. In conclusion, I would repeat this: the improvement that has taken place in the last few years has been very great indeed. I think, therefore, it is only reasonable that our attitude should be one of carefully watching what is now being done, giving counsel and advice where we think them desirable—particularly if there is any falling off in the rate of repatriation—and in always encouraging the improvements which have taken place already, and getting the rate of improvement maintained and even increased rather than in bringing particular grievances to the notice of the Portuguese Government, which has been so very definitely trying of late years to meet the criticisms and the points which we have made."

Consuls for Gulf of Guinea.

[We have referred previously to the promise of further Consular representation in this district. The following letter from the Foreign Office gives the satisfactory information that two Vice-Consuls have been appointed.]

FOREIGN OFFICE,

February 7th, 1913.

SIR,—

With reference to your letter of the 31st ultimo, respecting the appointment of a salaried Consular Officer for the islands of the Gulf of Guinea, I am directed by Secretary Sir E. Grey to inform you that it has been decided to appoint two salaried Vice-Consuls, under the superintendence of His Majesty's Consul at Loanda, to reside for alternate periods of six months at Fernando Po, San Thomé, and at Lobito.

The Vice-Consul for Fernando Po and San Thomé has already reached Fernando Po; the Vice-Consul for Lobito will be appointed shortly.

I am, etc.,

A. LAW.

The Secretary,

The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society.

Sierra Leone.

" THE HUMAN LEOPARD AND ALLIGATOR " SOCIETIES.

THE following correspondence has passed between the Colonial Office and the Society in regard to the Society's request that certain amendments might be inserted in the ordinances against these unlawful societies.

DOWNING STREET,

December 30, 1912.

SIR,—

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Harcourt to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of December 12, on the subject of the recent Ordinances passed by the Legislature of Sierra Leone to amend the Human Leopard and Alligator Societies Ordinance, and to establish a Special Commission Court, and to inform you that both Ordinances have now been sanctioned. In view of the gravity of the situation Mr. Harcourt considers their provisions amply justified.

(2) With regard to the right of appeal, I am to explain that the fact that the Judge who is to act as President of the Commission is an officer who held for a long period a higher judicial office, and has had longer experience of West Africa than any of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Sierra Leone, renders it impossible to consider the question of allowing an appeal from the decision of the Special Commission Court.

I am, etc.,

H. J. READ,

For the Under-Secretary of State.

THE SECRETARY,

ANTI-SLAVERY AND ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

February 11, 1913.

TO THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE,

COLONIAL OFFICE.

SIR,—

I beg to acknowledge your letter of December 30 last (No. 39486/12), informing us that the Ordinances relating to the Human Leopard and Alligator Societies in Sierra Leone have been sanctioned. In view of the conversation which Mr. J. H. Harris and I had with Lord Emmott last week, I am to ask, on behalf of my Committee, that in case any person should be arrested under the provisions of the Ordinance, who had been in past years a member of an unlawful society, but has since been living a respectable life, this fact should be taken into consideration and the clemency of the Crown should be exercised, even though past membership of an unlawful society should be proved against such person.

I am, etc.,

TRAVERS BUXTON,

Secretary.

DOWNING STREET,

February 19, 1913.

SIR,—

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Harcourt to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of February 11 on the subject of the legislation recently enacted in Sierra Leone to deal with the Human Leopard and Alligator Societies, and to inform you that the exercise of the prerogative of mercy is vested in the Governor, and it would be entirely contrary to precedent for the Secretary of State to interfere with his functions in the matter.

2. In any case, the consideration of such questions cannot arise except in the case of convicted criminals after their conviction, and Mr. Harcourt has no doubt that in dealing with the cases as they arise the Governor will take all the circumstances into careful consideration.

3. A copy of this correspondence is being forwarded to the Governor.

I am, etc.,

G. V. FIDDES.

THE SECRETARY,

ANTI-SLAVERY AND ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

MR. VICTOR BUXTON'S VISIT.

Mr. T. F. Victor Buxton who, with Mrs. Buxton, recently visited Sierra Leone in order to take part in the Jubilee Celebration of the Native Pastorate Church, received an extremely cordial welcome from the community. Mr. and Mrs. Buxton were present at a number of meetings and receptions of a deeply interesting character, and have brought back with them a very strong impression of the kindness and warmheartedness of the people of Sierra Leone. The *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, in the course of an enthusiastic article, wrote:—

"The community, knowing Mr. Buxton to be also a leading member of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society—an offshoot of the anti-slavery idea—decided that he should be welcomed as one of a magnanimous band of men in England who watch day and night, and toil in the same manner, that a weak race may not be wholly unprotected, nor lack the elementary justice which is due from man to man. . . . We congratulate ourselves first and Mr. and Mrs. Buxton on the universal welcome which these distinguished visitors have received from the people of Sierra Leone."

The Secretary of the Auxiliary of our Society in Freetown has also written to us of the delight given by Mr. and Mrs. Buxton's visit and their public utterances.

"The Auxiliary," Mr. Roberts wrote, "had the high pleasure of welcoming Mr. Buxton at its meeting, and we were grateful for the patient and careful hearing which he gave to the discussion which took place of some of the questions perplexing us."

Mr. Victor Buxton has kindly consented to speak on his recent West African visit at the forthcoming Annual Meeting of the Society on 23rd April.

David Livingstone and Slavery.

IN connection with the Centenary of the birth of Livingstone, on 19th March, celebrations have been held all over the country as well as in the Colonies. The President and Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society accepted invitations to join the Celebrations Committee of the London Missionary Society and have taken part in some of the demonstrations. The Organising Secretaries also have spoken at some of the meetings in London and the country, Mr. Harris taking part in the Free Church Council meetings in Newcastle, at one of which a strong resolution of protest was passed against present-day slavery in Portuguese West Africa.

There can be no doubt that to fight against and overcome the monster iniquity of the African slave trade was one of the chief aims of Livingstone's life. The well-known words of the inscription on his grave in Westminster Abbey recall his earnest longing that "the open sore of the world" might be healed. Livingstone's biographer, Dr. Blaikie, tells us that the ambition to substitute legitimate commerce for the slave trade was one of the motives which led him to take up the wider pioneer work of his life in preference to that of a more settled missionary, and it became a master idea which grew upon him, involving great issues, to realise which no sacrifice would be too great.

"This idea," Dr. Blaikie says, "naturally gave a great impulse to the purpose which had already struck its roots into the soil—to find a road to the sea either on the eastern or western coast. . . . The welfare of the whole continent, both spiritual and temporal, was concerned in this plan of opening up new channels to the enterprise of British and other merchants."

It was "the spectre of the slave trade" which had enlarged Livingstone's horizon and shown him the necessity of a commercial revolution for Africa, if permanent good was to be hoped for.

Throughout his career Livingstone always showed the same burning zeal to put an end to the universal curse of slavery, from his early days among the Boers to his later experience of the horrors of Portuguese slave-raiding. The more he saw of it the deeper grew his hatred of the system as "an insurmountable barrier to all moral and commercial progress." He had great visions of English colonisation in Africa for the displacement of the slave trade. The evils of the slave system, he wrote in 1860, had only been intensified by Portuguese colonisation, and he recognised that the Portuguese who were engaged in the slave trade were far too much devoted to it ever to encourage an enterprise that aimed at extirpating it.

On his great journey across the continent from Loanda to Quilinane he had written that

"... the great bane of the Portuguese settlements was slavery. Slavery prevented a good example, it hindered justice, it kept down improvement. If a settler took a fancy to a good-looking girl, he had only to buy her, and make her his concubine. Instead of correcting the polygamous habits of the chiefs and others, the Portuguese adopted like habits themselves. . . . The whole system of slavery gendered a blight which nothing could counteract; to make Africa a prosperous land, liberty must be proclaimed to the captive, and the slave system, with all its accursed surroundings, brought conclusively to an end."

When recalled by the Government from the Zambesi expedition, he wrote to his friend, Mr. James Young, from the Murchison Cataracts (July 3, 1863):—

"I feel abundantly thankful to H.M.'s Ministers for enabling me so far to carry on the experiment of turning the industrial and trading propensities of the natives to good account, with a view to thereby eradicating the trade in slaves. But the Portuguese dogged our footsteps, and, as is generally understood, with the approbation of their Home Government, neutralised our labours. Not that the Portuguese statesmen approved of slaving, but, being enormously jealous lest their pretended dominion from sea to sea and elsewhere should in the least degree, now or at any future time, become aught else than a slave 'preserve,' the Governors have been instructed, and have carried out their instructions further than their employers intended. . . . The regret was the more poignant, inasmuch as, but for our entering in by gentleness, they durst not have gone. No Portuguese dared, for instance, to come up this Shire Valley; but, after our dispelling the fear of the natives by fair treatment, they came in calling themselves our 'children.' The whole thing culminated when this quarter was inundated with Tette slavers, whose operations, in connection with a marauding tribe of Ajawas, and a drought, completely depopulated the country. The sight of this made me conclude that, unless something could be done to prevent these raids, and take off their foolish obstructions on the rivers, which they never use, our work in this region was at an end. . . . In leaving, it is bitter to see some 900 miles of coast abandoned to those who were the first to begin the slave trade, and seem determined to be the last to abandon it."

Earlier on this expedition he had written (January, 1863) from near Tette of the heart-breaking desolation caused by Mariano, a Portuguese slave agent:—

"Wherever we took a walk human skeletons were seen in every direction. . . . The sight of this desert, but eighteen months ago a well-peopled valley, now literally strewn with human bones, forced the conviction upon us that the destruction of human life in the middle passage, however great, constitutes but a small portion of the waste, and made us feel that unless the slave trade—that monster iniquity which has so long brooded over Africa—is put down, lawful commerce cannot be established."

On his last journey Livingstone was specially gathering information about the slave trade. He had pointed out its horrors before, but it was

not until his last journey that his descriptions took hold of the minds of his countrymen, and that what used to be thought "the crotchet of a few" became part of a great national work.

"The slave trade," he wrote, "utterly demoralised the people." In the last months of his life he wrote to his daughter:—

"No one can estimate the amount of God-pleasing good that will be done, if, by Divine favour, this awful slave trade, into the midst of which I have come, be abolished. This will be something to have lived for, and the conviction has grown in my mind that it was *for this end* I have been detained so long."

To his brother in Canada he wrote (December, 1872):—

"If the good Lord permits me to put a stop to the enormous evils of the inland slave trade, I shall not grudge my hunger and toils. I shall bless His name with all my heart. The Nile sources are valuable to me only as a means of enabling me to open my mouth with power among men. It is this power I hope to apply to remedy an enormous evil."



DR. LIVINGSTONE.

We are glad to be able, by kind permission of *The Christian World*, to reproduce the greater part of an admirable and timely article on "The Livingstone Spirit in England," by Mr. Silvester Horne, M.P., which appeared in the Centenary Commemoration Supplement to that paper of February 27th. (Mr. Horne is a member of the Society's Parliamentary Committee.)

"Let us remember that slavery has many disguises. There are infinite degrees of forced labour, and vigilance is the eternal price we have to pay for the freedom of others as well as of ourselves. The old Zanzibar slave trade was a crude and horrible affair. When the Zambesi was thick with corpses, and the slave routes white with the bleaching bones of those who died on the forced marches, the offence was rank, and it was easier to excite the compassion of the world. But when the white man in the name of civilisation exploits the black races for gain, he has many ways of making them his chattels, and of substituting a new and more refined form of slavery for the old.

"Everybody knows that Livingstone's remedy was Christian missions and Christian industry. . . . The partition of Africa has gone on apace; and the black man's rights have again and again been contested and affirmed. But nobody can pretend that European powers have been equally concerned to establish the rights of the original inhabitants. Still less has it been thought necessary to protect the native races against the white man's vices, the result being that often he becomes the victim of a more horrible slavery than that against which Livingstone pleaded and fought. But the years that have passed have effectually vindicated Livingstone's policy. . . .

"Where is the man who will tell us, after the struggles of the past few years, that we do not need to pray for a double portion of the spirit of David Livingstone? If such a man there be, let him read with open mind the blood-red epic of the Congo. Let him read how, when Stanley's great journey was finished, the opportunity of King Leopold and his concessionaires came, and how in the name of Christianity and civilisation they exploited the Congo natives, robbed them of their lands, reduced them to a condition of intolerable servitude, and established that 'system' under which millions of them were exterminated. Never in the whole sad history of the relations of white men to black had there been heard so colossal and appalling a story of callous brutality and infamous cruelty. It is the literal truth to say that that 'system' might have been in existence to-day but for the splendid faith and titanic exertions of E. D. Morel, who almost alone began the campaign of exposure which ended in the deliverance of such Congolese as survived from the worst conditions of their servitude. How fearlessly he was supported by men like J. H. Harris and Roger Casement we all know. We know also how the latter was subsequently sent by Sir Edward Grey to report upon the systematic outrages practised on the wretched natives of the Putumayo River. His report horrified the world; and the responsible directors of the company, whose agents have been found guilty of nameless atrocities, are even now on their trial before the bar of public opinion in this country. These exposures of the inhumanities practised upon the dark races show that if the old Arab contempt for humanity

has survived in men of other blood, the old respect for human rights and love of freedom and justice did not wholly perish when Livingstone yielded up his spirit in Ilala forty years ago.

"Nor are the proofs that the soul of Livingstone is marching on confined to the Congo and Putumayo campaigns. The fight goes on against the slave system wherever it succeeds in establishing itself. The searchlight of the Christian conscience has been turned to-day upon the Portuguese cocoa plantations, where it has been proved that the cruel conditions of forced labour have resulted in appalling mortality. The Churches who cherish Livingstone's memory are bound to continue his struggle, till, as he said, every man who feels the heat of the sun shall rejoice in freedom and in the blessings of the Gospel of Christ. It was Livingstone's ideal that the Christian missionary should be ever the champion of the weak and the oppressed; and should speak for those who cannot speak for themselves. He was ever respectful of native customs and laws, and there is no record of his having ridden roughshod over their rights. Let anyone study the Congo question, and realise how the tragedy began in the alienation of native lands, which was the first step to the total enslavement of the people. Let him realise how the unfortunate Africans have everywhere been scattered and subdued by the advance of their white conquerors, who have taken their country, enriched themselves with their precious metals, and converted them into hewers of wood and drawers of water. Some of this may be inevitable, but what is not inevitable is that we should forget what is due to those whose country we have appropriated for our own ends. We owe the disinherited magnanimous compensation, not only of laws but of education, and protection from such evils of our civilisation as mean extinction to the natives of Africa. . . . So long as 'the open sore of the world' is not wholly healed, we shall need those who will 'help to heal' it, and in so doing will receive that blessing of heaven which Livingstone besought for them."

Mrs. Harris' Visit to Switzerland.

THE visit of Mrs. Harris to Switzerland, from February 12th to 25th, under the auspices of our Society, was the occasion of numerous conferences and receptions in Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel.

The meetings had been well advertised in advance, and lengthy and eulogistic notices appeared in the Swiss newspapers by M. René Claparède, M. Daniel Bersot and others.

Mrs. Harris' first appearance before a Swiss audience was at the Athenée, Geneva, on February 14th, at a Conference arranged by the Geographical Society, of which M. Eugene Pittard is the President.

Amongst the audience were the Comte St. George, Professor and Madame Edouard Naville, M. Lucien Gautier, MM. Léopold and Ernest Favre, Dr. Geo. Montandon, MM. René and Alexandre Claparède, M. and Madame Alfred Bertrand, M. and Madame Hentsch and other leading people of Geneva.

The greatest interest was evinced in the lectures and in the lantern slides, which served to advertise the well-attended lecture on Portuguese Slavery and the Putumayo Question the following week at the Salle Centrale.

The ladies of the Lyceum Club also arranged an interesting gathering, at which the Society's work was discussed.

In Lausanne much interest was awakened both by the lecture delivered before the Society of Natural Science, presided over by Professor Dutoit, and at the Anti-Slavery Conference in the Salle Centrale, where the well-known author, Professor Vallanton, occupied the chair. A reception at the Foyer Feminine was another excellent opportunity for speaking of our work.

In the Aula of the University, Neuchâtel, a large audience assembled on Saturday, February 22nd. Professor Dubied presided, and amongst those present was M. Russ Suchard, the head of the firm of chocolate manufacturers.

The Swiss Congo League, at its General Assembly on February 24th, also addressed by Mrs. Harris, decided to widen the interests of the League to embrace questions of slavery in other countries, and they look forward to co-operating with our Society as occasion demands. It has been decided to modify the name of the *Ligue Suisse pour la défense des indigènes du Congo* by adding the words, *et des autres races de couleur*.

Parliamentary.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

January 1.

LIBERIA (EXPORT OF COOLIES).

Sir J. D. REES asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether His Majesty's Government will make friendly representations to the Liberian Government to the effect that risk to the health and prosperity of British possessions in the vicinity of Liberia, as well as to Liberia itself, is involved in the export of coolies to St. Thomé and Principe, wherein sleeping sickness is believed to prevail?

The UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Mr. Acland): Sleeping sickness is not believed to prevail at San Thomé and,

as the hon. member was informed on January 1, I have no reason to believe that Liberian natives are being recruited for Principe.

January 6.

Sir WALTER ESSEX asked whether attention has been drawn to the fact that the Portuguese planters are recruiting hinterland Liberian labour for the cocoa farms on the islands of the Gulf of Guinea; whether, in view of the prevalence of sleeping sickness on the island of Principe, the return of such labourers at the conclusion of their contracts might be the means of transporting sleeping sickness to the British Colonies of Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast; and whether it is proposed to take any steps to prevent such a calamity to these British possessions?

Mr. ACLAND: As I stated in reply to the hon. member for East Nottingham on January 1, though I believe that Liberian labour is being recruited for San Thomé, I have no reason to believe that it is being recruited for Principe. As I also stated on the same day, the West African Governments are taking precautions to prevent the importation of sleeping sickness, and they will continue to do all that is necessary.

January 13.

Mr. HOARE asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Portuguese planters are recruiting hinterland Liberian labour for their islands in the Gulf of Guinea; and whether, in view of the prevalence of sleeping sickness on the island of Principe and the danger that returning labourers might carry back this malady to the mainland, he will obtain assurances from the Liberian Government, or from the British company engaged in this traffic, that Liberian labour will not be shipped to the island of Principe.

Sir E. GREY: It has been already stated in answer to the hon. member for East Nottingham on January 1, and the hon. member for Stafford on January 6, that I have no reason to believe that any labour is being recruited in Liberia for Principe. The latter part of the question involves technical points on which I must be guided by the expert advice at the disposal of His Majesty's Government.

January 13.

PERUVIAN AMAZON COMPANY.

Mr. CARR-GOMM asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he had received any recent information from the Peruvian Government or from the British Vice-Consul at Iquitos with reference to the present

position of the Peruvian Amazon Rubber Company and its officials, and, if so, whether he can give any information to the House upon this matter.

Mr. ACLAND: I am considering the question of publishing Mr. Mitchell's Report, but it must first be communicated to the Peruvian Government. I have learnt from His Majesty's Minister at Lima that orders have been issued for the arrest of Señors Julio Arana and Juan Vega as accessories of the crimes in the Putumayo, that Señor Arana has exercised his legal right of appeal against the order of arrest, and that the Peruvian Government, who are anxious to do what they can in the matter, are considering what is the best course they can adopt.

January 23.

Sir HILDRED CARLILE asked whether, since November 4 last, His Majesty's Government has received any information which indicates that the change of Government in Peru has resulted in the arrest and punishment of any of the Putumayo criminals?

Sir E. GREY: As I informed the hon. member for Rotherhithe, on the 1st instant, orders of arrest have been issued against Señors Arana and Vega. The Peruvian Government have also recently appointed new officials at Iquitos, and in informing me of the fact the President of Peru has given an assurance that the new authorities will proceed with all energy to secure the ends of justice. I have not heard that any of the Putumayo criminals have been arrested or punished since the change of Government in Peru.

Sir HILDRED CARLILE: Have the orders referred to in the first passage of the answer been served?

Sir E. GREY: Perhaps the hon. member will give notice of that question.

January 23.

PUTUMAYO MISSIONS.

Sir HILDRED CARLILE asked the Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether he is yet in a position to state that both missions which are being sent to succour the Indians on the Putumayo will be given equal facilities?

Sir E. GREY: No other mission to the Putumayo has applied for facilities but that mentioned in my reply to the hon. and gallant member's question of November 14 last.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: Will one or other of the missions be given facilities in the district?

Sir E. GREY: I must ask for notice.

January 27.

IQUITOS (BRITISH CONSULATE).

Mr. WHITEHOUSE asked whether His Majesty's Government is yet represented at Iquitos by a salaried Consul; and, if not, when will that office be again occupied by such a representative?

Mr. ACLAND: The Consulate is now in charge of the unsalaried Vice-Consul. I am aware of the importance of having a salaried Consul at Iquitos, but I cannot at present give the exact date at which this will be effected.

February 4.

PUTUMAYO RUBBER DISTRICT.

Lord ROBERT CECIL asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is in a position to say if any, and, if so, how many, of those responsible for the atrocities on the Putumayo have been punished?

Sir E. GREY: We have not heard that any have yet been punished; some were arrested, but their trials were not proceeded with pending further arrests of more important persons. Orders for arrest have recently been issued against Señors Arana and Vega.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: Is it not a fact that 157 warrants have been issued and only nine arrests made, and that not one of these men have been brought to justice?

Sir HILDRED CARLILE: Has the warrant for the arrest of Señor Arana been served?

Sir E. GREY: I must ask for notice of that. I do not know whether I should be able to answer that even in this country.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: Am I not correct in the statement I have made that only nine arrests have been made, and that not one was brought to punishment?

Sir E. GREY: The first sentence of my answer is that we have not heard that anyone has yet been punished.

Mr. KING: Is the right hon. gentleman aware that Señor Arana is stated to be on his way to this country; if he arrives here will a warrant be issued for his apprehension here?

Sir E. GREY: I do not think that is a very discreet question.

February 11.

Mr. KING asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has received a copy of the Report from the United States of the finding of Mr. S. J. Fuller, the result of whose visit to the Putumayo

has now been laid before Congress ; if so, whether the findings of Mr. Fuller gives ground for the belief that atrocities are still being perpetrated by collectors of rubber on the Putumayo ; and whether, in view of this publication by the United States, the Report of Mr. Consul Mitchell on his visit to the Putumayo will now be laid upon the Table?

Sir E. GREY : I have not yet received a copy of Mr. Fuller's Report, for which I have asked the United States Government. I hope to lay Consul Mitchell's Report early next Session.

January 23.

SAN THOME.

Mr. SILVESTER HORNE asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the finance department of San Thomé publishes a monthly balance sheet of the Repatriation Fund ; whether it will be possible to incorporate the balance sheets for the last twelve months in the forthcoming White Book ; and (2) whether His Majesty's Government have any information which points to the probability of British subjects having been captured and sold as slaves in the interior of Angola and then transferred to the plantations of San Thomé ; if so, whether he will instruct His Majesty's Consul to make particular inquiries upon this question as to the means by which such people were obtained ; how long they have been held captive ; and in the event of liberation how much money they received from the Repatriation Fund?

Mr. EDMUND HARVEY asked whether the Belgian Government has communicated to His Majesty's Government any Reports alleging slave-trading practices on the part of the Portuguese ; and, if so, whether such Reports will be published in the White Book?

Sir E. GREY : Papers dealing with labour conditions in Angola and San Thomé and Principe are now being prepared, and will very shortly be presented to Parliament. It might be convenient if hon. members would put their questions on these subjects when they have had an opportunity of studying the Papers.

January 30.

RECONTRACTING.

Mr. ARMITAGE asked whether any recontracting of labour has taken place at the curator's office on San Thomé at which any British Consul has been present ; and, if so, will the forthcoming White Book contain any report upon this feature of the question?

Sir E. GREY : As far as I am aware, no British Consular officer has yet attended the renewal of contracts of labourers employed in San

Thomé, but the salaried Vice-Consul, who is going there, will no doubt take an opportunity of attending when contracts, which are, I understand, made in public, are renewed.

Mr. ARMITAGE asked whether the system of recontracting the slaves and serviçaes on the islands of San Thomé and Principe takes place at some Government office, or whether upon the premises and in the presence of the planters where, for the time being, the Government official would become in the eyes of the labourers the guest of the planter?

Sir E. GREY: Under the regulations of May, 1911, the contracts of serviçaes employed in San Thomé and Principe can only be renewed before the curator or his representative, but I am unaware of any stipulation as to the place where the new contract should be signed.

February 13.

REPATRIATION.

Mr. EDMUND HARVEY asked what is the total number of Angolan labourers, exclusive of Cabendas, who have been repatriated to the mainland of Africa since the commencement of repatriation in 1909?

Sir E. GREY: As far as the figures are available the number of serviçaes repatriated to Angola appears to be about 2,300, of which number about 1,700 were repatriated last year.

Mr. HARVEY: Will the right hon. gentleman give any particulars that are possible in the forthcoming White Paper?

Sir E. GREY: I will inquire whether everything is included.

NORTHERN NIGERIA EXPEDITION.

Mr. J. LYTTELTON asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he could now give any particulars of the casualties amongst the natives as the result of the expedition arising out of the murder of Mr. Campbell; whether there were any women or children amongst the killed and wounded, and what casualties, if any, there were amongst the Government troops?

Mr. HARCOURT: It is exceedingly difficult to state with accuracy the casualties which occur among natives when it is necessary to undertake military operations in what is called the bush country, and it is impossible to check the estimates which are made. In the present case these estimates range from 179 total casualties to 130 killed. So far as I am aware no women or children were killed or wounded. Of the troops engaged, 1 officer and 10 men were wounded.

January 13.

FERNANDO PO.

Mr. FERENS asked whether His Majesty's Government has received allegations of slave-trading practices for the supply of labour for Fernando Po; whether the attention of the Spanish Government has been officially called to these allegations; and whether the commander of a British warship has been informed of this traffic and urged to keep a look out for any vessels engaged in slave trading?

Sir E. GREY: We have received information that there have been irregularities affecting British subjects in the recruitment of labourers for Fernando Po under the pretence that they were to be sent elsewhere, and also in their contracts and in regard to their departure from the island. The circumstances have been brought to the notice of the Spanish Government, who are considering them. The commander of H.M.S. "Dwarf" has furnished information on the subject and will continue to watch for any further irregularities.

January 14.

Mr. HOARE asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether His Majesty's Government had any reason to believe that British coloured subjects are being recruited for the island of Fernando Po; and whether His Majesty's Government is satisfied as to the conditions under which this labour is employed.

Sir E. GREY: His Majesty's Government have reason to believe that some British coloured subjects have been recruited clandestinely for Fernando Po, and that the conditions under which they are employed are unsatisfactory. They are taking steps to see that the men's rights are protected. I may add that a salaried Vice-Consul has recently been appointed for the Spanish and Portuguese islands in the Gulf of Guinea.

January 29.

WEST AFRICA (NATIVE DOCTORS).

Mr. MACCALLUM SCOTT asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will say how many European and native doctors, respectively, are employed in the British Colonies of West Africa?

Mr. HARCOURT: The numbers (including those employed in the British Protectorates) but exclusive of doctors not in the Government service, as to whose numbers I have no information, are respectively 214 and 7.

The Native in Parliament.

By Our Parliamentary Correspondent.

THE questions asked during the last three months upon native affairs show the necessity of keeping strict watch over conditions in every part of the tropical and sub-tropical world. In many respects the most disquieting incident arose from the question put to Sir Edward Grey by Mr. Ferens, appropriately enough one of the Members for Hull, the birthplace of Wilberforce. The British Government has for some time been watching the administration of that little Spanish island just south of Calabar, and the patrol gunboat "Dwarf" has been instructed to keep a sharp look-out for slavers. The most regrettable feature about the whole business is that British subjects are engaged in this revolting traffic in human beings; if my information is correct, one of these has just been arrested.

PORTUGUESE SLAVERY.

Another White Book has been laid upon the table of the House of Commons, a further testimony to the success of the agitation; but perhaps the most remarkable incident in this connection has been the circulation through the House of a letter bearing the joint signatures of Mr. W. A. Cadbury and Mr. St. Loe Strachey. Those of us who have watched this question know, of course, that between these two gentlemen in the past there has apparently existed some bitterness of feeling, and for Hon. Members to receive a joint letter under their signatures created something more than a mild sensation. The issue of this letter removes a stumbling-block from the path of the reformers, for it is now possible to push the propaganda free from any suspicion of party politics. I am informed that as a result of this communication a large body of Members have agreed to ballot for a day in order to debate the whole question of Portuguese Slavery and British Responsibility.

There is an unpleasant flavour about certain British conditions in Nigeria. Mr. Harcourt is, unfortunately, still unable to deny that any women and children were killed during the most regrettable punitive expedition arising out of the murder of Mr. Campbell, but there is no doubt that this incident will be brought forward upon the Colonial Office Vote and full explanations will no doubt be forthcoming from the Colonial Secretary.

THE PUTUMAYO.

There has been no lack of questions with regard to the Putumayo, but the most persistent questions fail to draw from Sir Edward Grey anything satisfactory with regard to the position of the criminals. It seems that over two hundred warrants have been issued for the arrest of guilty persons, but, like all such features in the Latin colonies, these are little more than waste paper. The only possible method is for Great Britain

and the United States to join together and take some one of the dozen actions that are open to them in order to bring home to the Peruvian Government some sense of responsibility.

Reviews.

THE PUTUMAYO : THE DEVIL'S PARADISE.

By *W. E. Hardenburg*,* edited by *C. R. Enock*.

THE LORDS OF THE DEVIL'S PARADISE.

By *G. S. Paternoster*.†

THESE two books both relate to what Mr. Paternoster aptly calls "the grim story of rubber collection in the Putumayo," and are based on the information brought to this country by an American engineer, Mr. W. E. Hardenburg. It will be remembered that it was he who, coming direct from the remote Putumayo in August, 1909, by his communications to *Truth* and to the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, forged the first link in the chain of events which led to the official verification of the appalling disclosures in the Putumayo which have so profoundly stirred the public conscience, with results which we hope will be of a far-reaching character.

The first book named embodies Mr. Hardenburg's narrative, and is ably edited by Mr. C. Reginald Enock, a high authority on Peru and Latin America, who contributes a valuable introduction dealing with the various questions raised.

The general character of the disclosures, fully corroborated by the official Casement report, is now well known. Mr. Enock agrees with Sir Roger Casement in holding the view that the general features of the brutal exploitation of the Indians of the Upper Amazon in the collection of rubber are not confined to the Putumayo, nor are they a new condition.

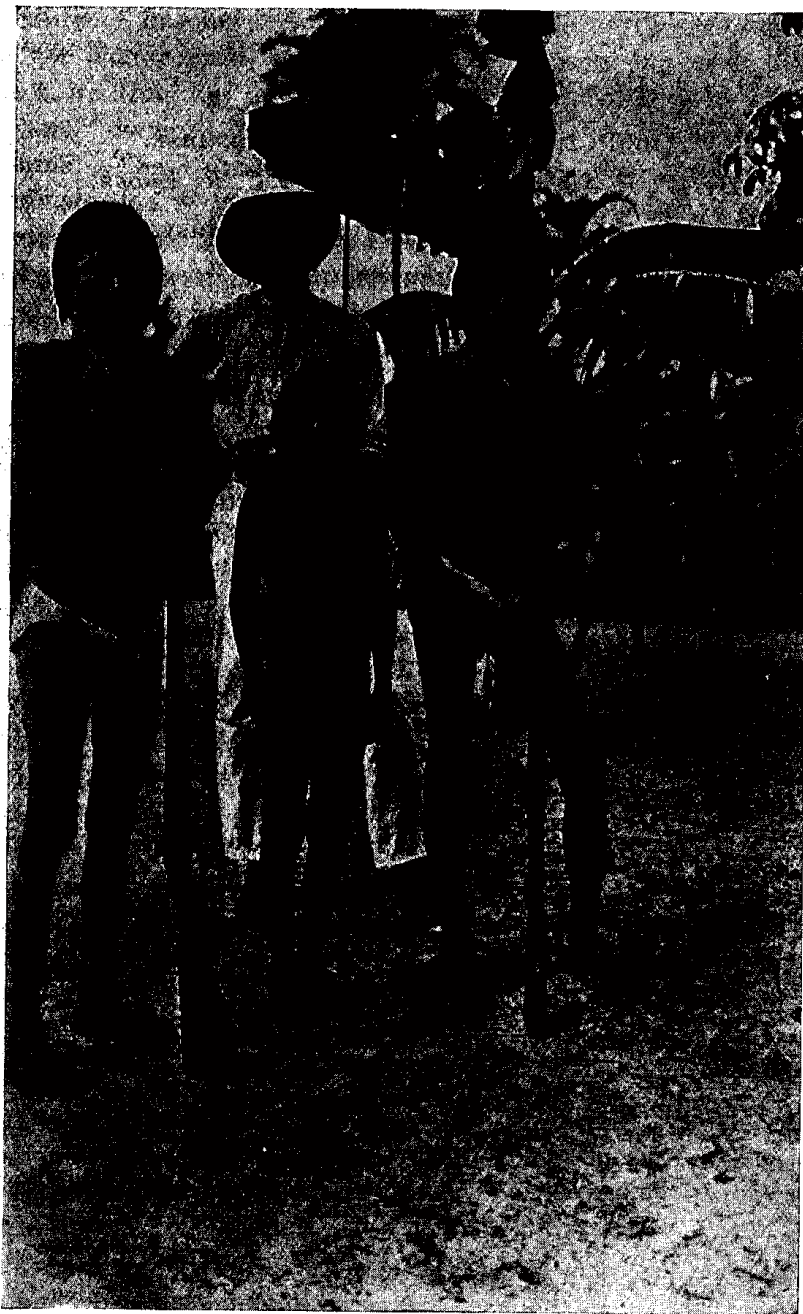
"The Peruvian Government," he writes, "and the Press of the Republic, have long been aware that the Indians of the forest regions were brutally exploited by the rubber merchants and gatherers. Reports and articles have been made and published both by officials and travellers. That Indians were sold at Iquitos and elsewhere as slaves, and that there was a constant traffic in Indian women, has been known to the authorities ever since rubber-collecting began."

As long ago as 1906, *El Comercio*, a Lima newspaper, drew attention to similar barbarous methods of slave raiding and slave dealing on the Madre de Dios River, where rubber forests abound, and several companies—British, American, Peruvian, and Bolivian—were engaged in rubber gathering, "organised by the authorities themselves, or by the rubber

* T. Fisher Unwin.

† Stanley Paul & Co.

merchants." Mr. Enock reminds us in a foot-note that, even while his volume was in the press, accounts of systematic ill-treatment, murder, and enslavement of natives of the Montana of Cuzco and elsewhere, were



HUITOTOS AT ENTRE RIOS AND BARBADOS NEGRO OVERSEER

[By permission of Mr. T. Fisher Unwin.]

published in June and July last in the same newspaper. The root cause of these horrible abuses—and herein Mr. Enock agrees with Sir Roger

Casement—is that the Indians are regarded as beasts, possessing absolutely no rights.

“In the persecuted districts of Latin America native labour is practically being hounded off the face of the earth.”

These conditions are not, Mr. Enock states, confined to Peru, and although Mr. Hardenburg contrasts the Colombians very favourably with the Peruvians, the editor declares:—

“In reality there is little to choose between the methods of the representatives of any of the South American Republics as regards the administration of justice in remote regions. Power is always abused in such places by the Latin-American people, be they Peruvians, Colombians, Bolivians, Brazilians, Argentinos, or others. Tyranny is but a question of opportunity, in the present stage of their development. Justice is bought and sold, so far as its secondary administrators are concerned.”

It was in December, 1907, that, travelling through the Central Putumayo, Mr. Hardenburg and his companion learned of the boundary dispute between the Peruvians and Colombians, of the high-handed dealings of the Peruvian Amazon Company, which had recently obtained Peruvian troops from Iquitos to help them in ousting the Colombian rubber traders, and of the systematic harsh treatment of the natives by this company, who forced them to collect rubber without payment. The barbarous raid committed on the Colombian trader, Serrano, by the infamous Loayza, who robbed him of his wife and child and all his merchandise, was narrated to the travellers by Serrano himself, with whom Mr. Hardenburg entered into negotiations early in 1908 for a half-share in his rubber business. A few days later, on their way up the river, Hardenburg and Perkins met the company's steamer the “Liberal,” and a Peruvian gunboat, the occupants of which attacked them, and with kicks and blows seized them and their goods and forced them on to their vessel. (It may be added that the captain of that gunboat, Benito Lores, has recently been officially appointed as *Comisario* to “police” the district!) The travellers then heard of the now famous raid on La Union, which had just been perpetrated, and Hardenburg was himself witness of at least one foul outrage by their captors, who taunted and insulted their Colombian victims. At El Encanto, one of the company's stations, they saw something of the treatment of the Indians employed in loading and unloading vessels, “so weak and debilitated and scarred that many of them could hardly walk.”

“It was a pitiful sight to see these poor Indians, practically naked, their bones almost protruding through their skins, and all branded with the infamous *marca de Arana*, staggering up the steep hill, carrying on their doubled backs enormous weights of merchandise for the consumption of their miserable oppressors.”

It was only by a *ruse* that Mr. Hardenburg and his companion escaped from the clutches of Loayza, and having, after much difficulty,

reached Iquitos, they laid their case before the acting American Consul, and eventually received £500 by way of compensation for the sufferings they had undergone and the loss of their effects.

Mr. Paternoster describes in a very clear way the nature of the indictment against the Peruvian Amazon Company and the Peruvian Government, the character of the men now proved by the disclosures of Mr. Hardenburg and of Sir Roger Casement to have been the chief agents in these abominable cruelties, and the position as it stands to-day. He emphasises the importance of making the facts known "to all mankind," for it is only the force of public opinion which, in the last resort, can bring such deeds of horror to an end.

As our readers know, one result of the public feeling aroused in Lima has been the formation of a Native Protection Society; there has always been a party protesting against abuses on the Indians, which has been strengthened by the recent disclosures. The Peruvian Government has, in Mr. Enock's opinion, undoubtedly been aroused. But this is not enough. "The pressure of public opinion must be sustained," and "the subject must not be suffered to sink into oblivion." To that end the publication of these books, added to the publicity which has been given to the Putumayo disclosures by recent events, will unquestionably contribute. The criminals, and, above all, as Mr. Paternoster points out, Arana and Macedo, though the evidence does not accuse them of murder by their own hands, must be brought to justice. Arana was "the founder, the head and the guiding spirit of the murderous confederacy," and in the Putumayo region this man's will was (and is) law.

"The bricks in the house of Arana were made of the flesh of the Indians of the Putumayo and cemented with their blood."

THINKING BLACK.*

By D. Crawford.

FIVE and twenty years ago, writing about Tropical Africa, Henry Drummond expressed the wish that he "could get inside an African for an afternoon, and just see how he looked at things." Mr. Crawford in the present volume gives us the result of a similar endeavour during "22 years without a break in the long grass of Central Africa" to look at things African from the inside—in other words, to "think black."

It is a striking and realistic picture (or rather, series of pictures) which Mr. Crawford has drawn, with high lights and very dark shadows, and his style is that of the impressionist. Connected arguments and dates and figures are not in his line, but the impression which he

* Morgan and Scott, Limited.

conveys of this wonderful continent and its people, its joys and its heart-breaking woes, its excitement and its monotony, its beauties and its horrors, its virtues and its sins, is extraordinarily vivid. Mr. Crawford's writing is marked by a keen and often grim humour, and by a real sympathy with the negro.

The specially interesting fact for us is that he takes the existence of slavery in West Central Africa for granted. On landing at Benguella he reminds us that "this Western Zanzibar is the great Portuguese entrepôt of slavery, slave labour nearly running the whole concern," and refers to the Portuguese slave-dealing Senhor as a well-known character. The trail debouching from the Catumbella Hills is the most famous slave track in Africa, and all "under the nose of high constituted authority." This is the slave route which Mr. Nevinson, Mr. Burt, Mr. Swan, and others have described, with its shackles and its skeletons, and here is how Mr. Crawford depicts it:—

"My date is in August, the location a forest in which Latitude 12° South is intersected by Longitude 21° East. Who could ever forget the nightmare of this monster slave caravan we meet in the Chokwe country? Flying as we both are in opposite directions through the hungry country, you are bewildered and exasperated to see this staggering mass of captive humanity heading for the West Coast. Through desolate marshy lands have they come; across the burning sands of the Kifumadzi flat have they dragged; Lunda and Luvala lands are now passed, but the Ocean is still a weary way off. Already months on the road, hunger is gnawing at the vitals of the whole cruel caravan, and dozens of hectoring brutes are clubbing on their 'moving money' (*olombongo*) from behind. The coldest-blooded creature south of the Arctic Circle could not contemplate that *via dolorosa* without revolt, for here is the 'open sore' streaming with life's blood before your eyes. Spring expostulatingly on one of these obese and orthodox slavers in the forest, and he tells you with alacrity that the Portuguese buy them all up. Yea, further, with engaging frankness this brutal black gives you the name and address of reputable merchants in Benguella and Catumbella who snap up as much black ivory as possible; are they not going to ship them over to San Thomé for the cultivation of cocoa? Look, then, at this caravan, taking nearly three hours to march past, a horde of eight hundred souls, all doomed to exile for life. Some tottering old men there, mere shrivelled sacks of bones, who at any moment may need to lie down by the roadside and die. Dozens of women there, staggering along with little babies born and unborn, for this famished 'hungry country' demands a rushing speed for the caravan. *Item*: One mother, the grief-lines furrowing her face, goaded on with baby just born that day by the roadside, maternity convalescence, say, one hour and a fraction. Saddest sight of all, crowds of little emaciated boys and girls all sold for a song in the Congo State, the little legs at last giving out. Yet only four months before every one of them had radiant youth bubbling in his veins. . . . But here they are, far from home, that long wriggling horror of a slave track before and behind them, so thin and hollow-eyed you can only think of them as a moan materialised into flesh. Heading for the slave-pen at Benguella, there is no such magic word 'Home' to stiffen their back in resolve to reach it. One of these girls had fallen behind, strength gone, load of

rubber thrown on the ground, so, emerging from the bush, I was just in time to see her owner club her head, yelling out a threat with each stroke. This was more than I could stand. . . .

And this is the estimate of a blunt Portuguese slaver when asked to give the percentage of slave mortality on the route to the ocean:—

"Far from parrying such a preposterously pointed question, 'Well,' says he, 'they vary a good deal; from some districts they are harder than from others. If we are lucky we may get *six out of every ten alive to Bihe, and if unlucky, perhaps only three out of ten.*'"

No wonder the author invites the reader "to call a spade a spade, and return a true bill against Portuguese slavery."

Our space, unfortunately, does not admit of description of Mr. Crawford's varied and thrilling adventures in difficult country among savage and cannibal tribes, and we can only refer to the ingenious villainy by which one slave is made to produce twenty-three others "*plus oxen, rubber, and pigs thrown in,*" by the simple means of forcing a slave woman by ill-treatment to run away, and then fining every settlement in which she takes refuge, for harbouring her!

One extract must be given as to the deadening effects of slavery in the words of one who has studied it daily "at its fountain-head in the far interior" of Africa:—

"... All who have worked among slaves know that bondage of body induces also bondage of brain. That is to say, as the slave has been valued only as a current coin in commerce, he fatalistically accepts the valuation, and really becomes as dead and metallic to all human susceptibilities as a literal coin. Why then be surprised? Men who have no rights cannot justifiably be complained of for having any wrongs. Yet hundreds of African travellers have ignored this negro truism and slandered the slave because his degrading status has degraded likewise his state. It is ridiculous for a man to go and treat a negro as though he were a demon, and then express surprise that he is not an angel. Even we missionaries are reaping the harvest of this oppression, for the worst type of convert is a redeemed slave. . . . If you breed slavery in the bone for centuries, how can you annul it all by the cash payment of an hour?"

COMMON SENSE IN FOREIGN POLICY.*

By Sir Harry Johnston.

Sir Harry Johnston's new book provides most interesting reading for all those—and they are an ever-increasing number—who feel some uneasiness as to the trend of British Foreign Policy. It is the "unknown quantity" which alarms—the uncertainty with regard to the terms of treaties which we know only vaguely, but which we fear may at any

* Smith, Elder & Co. 2s. 6d.

moment involve Great Britain in a disastrous war. Sir Harry Johnston, possessing endless material, has in the compass of this admirable little book put in plain but convincing language the thoughts some of us have long entertained, but with less courage than he have seldom uttered.

Anyone with experience of French colonisation must admit the truth of the following bold passage:—

“The difficulty about negotiating with France is that she has not yet developed a national conscience, an ideal of abstract right and wrong to which philosophers and philanthropists may appeal with any hope that its influence will override material and commercial interests. For example, France was not in the past capable, to the same extent as Great Britain, of an overwhelming national impulse to abolish slavery and the slave trade, such as broke down all the barriers of personal and party interests in 1808 and 1834, and enabled Great Britain to forbid and penalise the slave trade to her subjects and finally to abolish slavery on terms involving the expenditure of nearly forty million pounds of national money. It is true that France, in a laggard way, did declare the sea-trade in slaves illegal, and gradually abolished the status of slavery throughout the French dominions. But the action was taken unwillingly, was sometimes revoked and annulled, and was only finally carried to completion to please the zealous philanthropists of Great Britain. It would be unfair to minimise the splendid work achieved in the anti-slavery cause by French soldiers and administrators in North Africa, in West Africa, and in Central Africa—notably of late in Wadai. But the conquest of these countries has been the aim with France rather than the doing away with a great social evil.”

It is impossible in the space of so short a review to reproduce extracts from this book, which dwells in a stimulating manner upon our relations with every European Power; but the members of the Society would be well-advised to ponder carefully the possible results of our firm alliance with Portugal. Sir Harry Johnston points out very clearly the dangerous position of this country in regard to the Portuguese Colonies:—

“In fact, not long after the supposed understanding with Germany, Great Britain, at the outset of the South African War, formally renewed her old treaty of alliance with Portugal and guaranteed to the latter all her existing possessions. It was acknowledged in 1912 by the responsible authority for foreign affairs, that this step had taken place, and that the Portuguese possessions were protected by the full strength of the British Empire.

“Whether it is right in policy for our Empire to be bound to such solemn and far-reaching engagements without the consultation or approval of the legislature is a question considered in other chapters. But whatever may have been the wisdom or unwisdom of the Act in 1899, it was not repudiated by any vote of the House of Commons in 1912, and, therefore, received the tacit sanction of the British people. Of course, no such engagement precludes Portugal from voluntarily disposing of her colonial possessions.

“In such an event as that, it is to be presumed that the Anglo-German agreement of 1898 would come into force. Consequently, if Portugal decided

at anytime to sell Portuguese Guinea to France, Portuguese Congo and the northern part of Mozambique to Germany, Great Britain almost certainly would offer no objection. But as things stand, if—for example—the German Government were to bring pressure or threats to bear on Portugal to part with her colonies, Great Britain is pledged to resist, by force if necessary, any such pressure."

We must not forget, however, that Germany would be only discharging a minimum duty imposed upon her under the Berlin Act if she were to bring pressure or threats to bear on Portugal with regard to the scandalous state of affairs in the West African Colonies.

Northern Nigeria.

PUNITIVE EXPEDITION.

THE Society has again written to the Colonial Office asking if the further explanations of certain aspects of the expedition arising out of the murder of Mr. Campbell, which the Secretary of State said in Parliament that he considered it desirable to obtain, had yet been received from the Governor. In reply, a summary of "all the essential and material facts relating to the patrol" has been sent from the Colonial Office, but the Governor's despatches are stated to be confidential. There are certain features in this account on which we hope to communicate further with the Colonial Office, and it is hoped that some more questions may be put in Parliament.

A trusted missionary correspondent in West Africa has written to us on this matter as follows:—

"I am glad you are raising the question of a punitive expedition in N. Nigeria in connection with the killing of Mr. D. A. Campbell.

"It often has seemed to me strange that on such occasions when one or two white men are killed in such places, the punishment should be so disproportionate as it is in the case of a punitive expedition. No doubt it is simpler and more effective and less trouble than trying to find out why the white man was killed, and to catch the actual murderers—and in some cases I have no doubt it is necessary to take such severe measures.

"But the wonder to me is that there are not many more such murders of white men in mining camps and out-of-the-way places, when one knows the kind of treatment often meted out to natives by miners and men of the buccaneering type, who are still at large in places like West Africa.

"The punitive expedition to avenge the deaths of Lieut. Vanrenen and eleven native police in Nigeria in 1909 killed at least 600 natives, with 'no losses on the British side' (reported *Daily Telegraph*, 12/8/1909).

"An officer who may have to help in such expeditions out here, if required, said to me the other day that the only way to carry such punishments out was to 'wipe out as many niggers as one possibly could.'"

One fears such a spirit animates those in charge sometimes; though, on the other hand, I know others who would be as careful and humane as possible.

"To hear some people who come to our Colonies talk of 'the proper way to treat niggers,' and to know some things that happen at times, makes one think it not a great loss to the community when such an one meets with his deserts."

The Natives of South Africa.

THE Rev. Robert H. Dyke, who died in July last, was a well-known member of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, which has done so much for the uplifting of the natives of Basutoland, among whom he had worked devotedly for over thirty years.

In the last month of his life, Mr. Dyke delivered an important address on the Native Question in South Africa, which, as we are informed by Mr. J. G. Alexander, who kindly forwards the following particulars, was delivered with great dignity and feeling, and produced a great impression not only on his audience but on the public of South Africa.

Mr. Dyke began by referring to the important events that had taken place during the preceding three years, including the transformation of political arrangements by which the four States of former days had been fused into the Union of South Africa. In the religious world, too, there had been efforts at unification, of which the World's Conference in Edinburgh had been a splendid example. With regard to the South African Union, he asked what it meant "for the natives to whom we are sent, and for whom we are spending our lives." He earnestly repudiated the statement which had been made "that the Union was not made for the natives, and that South Africa was to be a white man's country," and deprecated the intention evident in some quarters, "that the gulf of racial difference is . . . to be widened and deepened." The natural effect, he said, was that the coloured races were being forced into a union of their own which might shape itself into a strong confederation, so that, "instead of carrying the black man along with the white in the development of the union principle, the colour bars lately erected will create a great and compact party which will have to be dealt with some day." He urged that in this question the missionaries have a most responsible part to play, and must take their legitimate share in safeguarding the welfare of their people.

"The problem that lies before us," he urged, "is how to bridge the gulf thus being deepened by colour bars, squatters' laws, and similar limitations." "The native question is, without doubt, the most serious that our legislators have to deal with. Whites and blacks are in the land, they are both here to remain. The one cannot do without the other." Segregation was an impossibility. "Provision must be made whereby the native can make his needs and wants known."

The Native Commission of 1905, "composed of the keenest men of affairs, not missionaries," had stated, "that for the moral improvement

of the native there is available no influence like that of religious belief." "It therefore devolves upon us, as the leaders in the religious matters which affect the native, to be not only zealous for the cause, but wise and prudent, and to use the forces of combination and co-operation for the carrying out of this great and responsible duty."

Australian Native Races Association.

WE have received the first annual report of this Association from our corresponding member, the Ven. Archdeacon Lefroy, who acted as its hon. general secretary until his removal from Sydney.

The report states that although the Association was not actually inaugurated until August, 1911, there had for some time previous been a growing feeling of the need for such a body. An opportunity for co-operative action was afforded early in 1911 by the federalisation of the Northern Territory and other circumstances which brought the condition of the Australian Aborigines very prominently before the public. Meetings were held to press upon the Federal Government the necessity for making provision for the large population of Aborigines in the newly acquired Northern Territory. Later on, it seemed to those who were taking up the movement, desirable to include a similar concern for the races of Polynesia.

"Considering," the report states, "the smallness of its beginnings, and the shortness of the time during which the Association has been in existence, the amount of valuable work which it has been enabled to do is a subject for much thankfulness and encouragement."

The Australian Aborigines have been the Association's primary and special care, and the Federal Government was approached in regard to the 25,000 or 30,000 natives of the Northern Territory for whom it had taken guardianship since January, 1911. In response to appeals of the Association, solemn assurances were given by the Federal Prime Minister and by the successive Ministers for External Affairs that the Federal Government would use all its powers to improve the condition of the natives who were its wards. These assurances were followed by appointments of a Chief Protector and Administrator for the Northern Territory which promise well for the future. It is felt that if the Federal Government adopts a really humane and statesmanlike policy for the uplifting of the native races the State Government will not be slow to follow suit.

The Association has been in communication with the Governments of Western Australia and Queensland, and its policy is thus summarised:

"The positive policy of the Association with regard to the Aborigines lies in the direction of bringing them all (except those in N.S.W. and Victoria) under a single national authority and control—as was done long

ago in the case both of the Indians of North America and the Maoris of New Zealand, with most beneficial results. A national control alone can create a national sense of responsibility, and a national sentiment of pity."

We are glad to notice that the Association has also given attention to the abuses in the New Hebrides group, which the report states have been constantly reported in the Australian Press, and are far better known to the Australian public than the wrongs of their own aborigines. Strong hopes are entertained that there will be "a great and rapid diminution" of the abuses. Assurances were given by the late High Commissioner, Sir F. H. May, in reply to representations by the Association, that stricter and better regulations, both for French and for British subjects, are about to be enforced throughout the group.

As regards New Guinea, where the natives are more happily situated, the Association "feels bound to maintain an attitude of watchfulness" in view of probable commercial and industrial developments in Papua in the very near future.

The report pays a high tribute to the value of the work done in connection with the starting of the Association by Archdeacon Lefroy, who was from the very first "the head and front of the movement," and his resignation is greatly regretted.

We sincerely congratulate the Association on the excellent results already achieved, and the great work which it is taking up so earnestly, and concur in the opinion expressed in the report that

"the existence of the Association has been amply justified by the work which it has already accomplished, by methods of quietness and firmness; that increasingly important work and opportunities will open out before it in the immediate future; but that many years are likely to pass before urgent reasons for its continued existence shall cease to be found."

QUEENSLAND ABORIGINES.

THE Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for 1911 contains some interesting information about the natives and the steps which are being taken by the authorities for their welfare. The suggestions of the Protector in regard to the formation of additional settlements under Government control, in different localities where there are a fair number of aborigines, have been carried out with considerable success. The natives are willing enough to reside permanently on the settlements. The men, he says, learn to be self-reliant and useful, so that they have no trouble in obtaining employment at good wages, and the children receive elementary teaching, besides being trained in gardening, milking, and household duties; they are therefore able to secure good employment at a suitable age. The Protector is of opinion that many of the evils

which have existed among the aboriginal tribes would have been avoided if this system of Government reserves had been started years ago. The work of the settlements has shown that these people are capable of permanent improvement, and are apt pupils in adopting the benefits of civilisation when properly controlled. They are, however, like children, and sympathetic handling is necessary to bring out their faculties. In his uncivilised state the native gives himself up to gratifying his appetite and passion, and is entirely under the sway of his passions. The officers in control of the native settlements must be practical men, whose temperament enables them to exercise a large amount of patience and firmness, combined with sympathy. Such officers, we learn, soon win the confidence of the natives, and there is little trouble in controlling and teaching them. The people have been taught to save, and the amount in the savings bank to the credit of the natives has shown almost amazing increases. Under agreement the aborigines in most cases behave well and are contented, provided that the contract is not for too long a term. Otherwise "the walk-about spirit sooner or later comes upon them, and they crave for a change."

The use of drink and opium by the blacks is decreasing in many districts, and opium is practically unknown in most northern centres. From most of the settlements and mission stations good reports are given of the conduct and progress of the aboriginals, as well as of their physical condition. The Report is illustrated by interesting photographs of the natives, illustrating their occupations and the work which is being done for them.

DATES TO REMEMBER.

- April 18th. CONFERENCE WITH AFRICANS IN LONDON.
Meeting at Westminster Palace Hotel, 3 p.m.
Chairman : Sir C. P. LUCAS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.
Dinner at Trocadero Restaurant, 7.30 (for 8) p.m.
Chairman : Sir CLEMENT L. HILL, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., M.P.
(Tickets 5/6 each, to be obtained from the Secretary of the African Society, 64, Victoria Street, S.W.)
- April 23rd. ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.
Westminster Palace Hotel, 3 p.m.
Chairman : Sir T. FOWELL BUXTON, Bart., G.C.M.G.
For Speakers see Cover.
Tickets for the Afternoon Conference with Africans and for the Annual Meeting can be obtained from the Society's Office on receipt of 1d. stamp.

Death of Dr. Thomas Hodgkin.

WE greatly deplore the loss of Dr. Hodgkin, who had for many years been closely connected with the Aborigines Protection Society, and was a Vice-President of our Society, in whose work he took a deep and practical interest. It was mainly owing to Dr. Hodgkin's uncle, the late Thomas Hodgkin, that the Aborigines Protection Society was founded in 1837, so that his interest in the subject was hereditary. Dr. Hodgkin died suddenly at Falmouth on March 2, having reached the age of 81. He is best known as a historian, and his chief work on "Italy and her Invaders" was published between 1880 and 1899. For this he received



DR. THOMAS HODGKIN.

[Photo. by Elliott & Fry, Ltd.]

the honorary degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford in 1886. Besides his literary and scholarly activities, a correspondent in the *Times* has called attention to his "width of general interest" and his "warm sympathy with all forms of human life." A leader in the Society of Friends, Dr. Hodgkin was associated with many religious and philanthropic causes, and was prominent in the cause of Congo Reform in the days when the fight was fiercest. His loss will be deeply felt by all friends of native races. As the correspondent already quoted writes: "The spirit and fruits of his religion were in sight of all who knew him." A resolution expressing the Committee's sense of their loss and their sympathy with Dr. Hodgkin's widow and family was passed on the 7th March.

A FEW NOTICES FROM THE PRESS

OF

"DAWN IN DARKEST AFRICA."

By Rev. J. H. Harris.

"It is a book which everyone concerned with the Congo basin and the vast tract of coast lands from Sierra Leone down to Mossamedes will be bound to read."—*The Nation*.

"Mr. Harris treats the Congo question in a large and statesmanlike manner. He surveys the whole area of European possessions in Central Africa, and foresees the inevitable reckoning."—*Truth*.

"No one who takes any interest in Colonial problems generally and in the development of West Africa by European Powers can afford to go without reading Mr. Harris's book."—*Westminster Gazette*.

"This is a valuable contribution to current tropical African problems, which are handled with energy and sometimes with a rather dogmatic assurance eminently calculated to provoke discussion."—*Manchester Guardian*.

"From the standpoint of the detached observer, whose prepossessions, not to call them prejudices, are kept well under control, Mr. Harris distributes praise and blame with refreshing frankness and noteworthy discrimination."—*Times Literary Supplement*.

"Altogether the book is an exceedingly valuable contribution to our knowledge of the economic and social conditions of the African native, and the more valuable because of the preface which Lord Cromer has written, wherein the former pro-Consul discusses with his usual lucidity and foresight a number of the most pressing questions which are raised by the text."—*Newcastle Daily Chronicle*.

"Lord Cromer in his introduction refers to Mr. Harris's book as a vivid and picturesque presentation of African life and travel, and of the problems of African administration. To this tribute from our greatest pro-Consul we may add that the illustrations, made from photographs taken by Mrs. Harris, are of exceptional interest and value."—*Christian World*.

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The Anti-Slavery & Aborigines Protection Society.

THE
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

WILL BE HELD AT THE

Westminster Palace Hotel,

VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

On Wednesday, April 23rd, 1913,

At 3 p.m.

CHAIRMAN :

SIR T. FOWELL BUXTON, Bart., G.C.M.G.

President.

SPEAKERS :

Mr. W. JOYNSON-HICKS, M.P.,

On the Putumayo Slavery.

Mr. W. E. HARDENBURG,

On the Putumayo Slavery.

M. LE COMTE DE ST. GEORGE (Geneva).

Mr. J. ST. LOE STRACHEY,

On the Portuguese Slave Labour Question.

Rt. Hon. J. W. WILSON, M.P.,

On the Work of the Parliamentary Committee.

Mr. T. F. VICTOR BUXTON,

On his Recent Visit to Sierra Leone.