

"Because Commendatore Dulo also raised the question of expense the Ministry added that in any case no expense could be put to the charge of the Government for measures in connection with slavery."

"The Communication of Commendatore Dulo had not any character of urgency, as it treated only of measures and questions at large, and not specific facts. I reserved my examination of the matter till my arrival. Now, in view of Commendatore Dulo's notification of his departure, I hasten to make known to you the above reported instructions of the Government."

"I should add my personal opinion that the forcible restitution of slaves who have emancipated themselves seems to me in open contravention of the spirit of the Brussels Act and to the more evolved conception of domestic slavery as a transitory institution, which should lead to complete liberation, presupposing the tacit acquiescence of the slave in his lot, and rejecting any violence which might make domestic slavery degenerate into slavery true and proper."

Thus, as on all previous occasions, the Italian Government, in the so-called Liberal Democratic period, made a categorical refusal to incur expense, and having done so withdrew with pious platitudes, leaving the responsibility to the Chartered Company.

VI

ITALIAN GOVERNMENT LEGALISES SLAVERY

In 1911, two years after an alleged "spontaneous awakening" of Italy's "national energies" towards the Somaliland colony, there were still only a mere 14 hardy grantees who had been willing to take up concessions of free land there. Amid the many deterrents there were locusts, malaria-bearing mosquitoes, and the tsetse fly in some areas, but the unwillingness of the native inhabitants to serve the new colonists for whom they had been evicted from the lands near the rivers presented the greatest difficulty. Prestige was still cited against importing Italian workers, but the cost of bringing them and the unanimous preference of Italian emigrants for Europe and America were more insuperable obstacles. Only the concession held by Signor Carpanetti on behalf of the Somaliland Cotton Company was partly worked by Italian labour. Chinese labour and Tamil labour, which might be obtained by arrangement with the Indian Government, were considered as possible expedients but nothing came of either proposal. According to a handbook prepared by the Historical Section of the British Foreign Office* and published by His Majesty's Stationery Office in 1920, alleged escaped slaves, and slaves freed from their masters, by force or purchase, were the only sources from which the Italian Government could obtain labour for road construction, and from which Italian grantees could get labour for their concessions; but attempts to free a number of slaves had created too much disturbance. Governor Dulo's injunction to Lieut. Badolo: "Do not break the glass," may be recalled. Chiesi and Travelli stated in their report that the attitude of the inhabitants towards foreigners had altered greatly for the worse since Filonardi first journeyed from the coast to Bardera, accompanied by his wife.

Since then the Italians had established themselves on the coast, and had attempted to assert their authority at certain spots in the river areas. Filonardi had bombarded Merka and commanded labour for building the wall and forts around Merka. As Pestalozza and Di Monali, Chiesi and Travelli, and numerous other

* Handbooks prepared under the direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office—No. 128, *Italian Somaliland*. (His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920).