

**BRITISH EAST AFRICA
PAST, PRESENT
& FUTURE**

Lord Hindlip, F. R. G. S., F. Z. S.

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PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

By LORD HINDLIP

F.R.G.S., F.Z.S



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DEDICATED BY PERMISSION

TO

SIR CHARLES ELIOT, K.C.M.G.

LATE HIS MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONER FOR
BRITISH EAST AFRICA

AS A SLIGHT TOKEN OF REGARD IN RECOGNITION OF
HIS SERVICES TO THE COUNTRY, AND AS A
PROTEST AGAINST THE TREATMENT
HE RECEIVED.

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To teach you your business I offer no claim,
But the man who looks on sees a deal of the game.

—WHYTE MELVILLE.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA

CHAPTER I

THE MASAI QUESTION AND SIR CHARLES ELIOT'S RESIGNATION

Sir Charles Eliot's resignation—The Masai—Their origin—Occupation—Marriage customs—Dress and habits—What led to Sir C. Eliot's resignation—The East African Syndicate—Application for concessions—Messrs Bowker, Chamberlain, and Flemmer—Their application refused—Messrs Jackson and Bagge—Sir Charles and the Masai locations

"Some take their tucker with Tigers and some with the Giddy Masai."—RUDYARD KIPLING.

THE tragic and almost dramatic resignation of Sir Charles Eliot was the means of causing many people to hear of the Masai, perhaps for the first time in their lives. For a short time it seemed probable that Sir Charles' resignation would be taken up and an explanation demanded, but it was, unfortunately, only looked upon as a stick with which to beat

the Government, and was dropped like a hot potato when it was regarded (quite wrongly) as entirely a question of native rights, and no one in England was sufficiently acquainted with local facts and necessities to dispel the illusion. I do not intend to attempt to exhaustively consider the manners and customs of the Masai beyond what is necessary to acquaint my readers with the circumstances which led to the enforced resignation of Sir Charles Eliot, and the loss (I hope only temporary) of a public servant whose services the Empire can ill afford to dispense with.

The Masai, or rather the Masai proper, who are the main body and the real Masai, and who are the "persons concerned," are a pastoral nomadic race who are supposed, though I believe there is no positive proof, to have migrated southwards, and are perhaps distantly related to the Somalis. Their occupations consist of stock-raising and raiding their neighbours, or other portions of their tribe. Their young men, or Laionis, from their boyhood up to the time of their circumcision, are employed in herding their stock, cattle, sheep, goats, and donkeys. From the date of circumcision the youth blossoms out into an El Moran, and is a warrior on the fighting

strength of his tribe. During the warrior period, and until at the age of somewhere about thirty, they become an Elder or Meru and are allowed to marry, the Morans generally live in distinct villages or Kraals, in sexual intimacy with the immature girls of the tribe until the latter have approached their womanhood, when they also undergo an operation; and a girl who shows any objection to follow the universal custom and choose a lover is often held up to scorn and derision. After marriage the Meru is looked upon as an old man, and joins in the tribal councils, while he goes back to the bow and arrow of his boyhood, and generally lives a life of ease, and occasionally of debauch.

This custom of the Morans cohabiting with the young girls has had a most injurious effect upon the tribe, and unless suppressed by contact with civilisation, will very possibly, with the aid of venereal diseases imported by Swahilis and Indians, which are very rife among the Masai, reduce their numbers to a very considerable extent. The arms of a Masai during his youth consist of a bow and arrow, and a club or Knobkerrie. When he becomes a Moran, he discards the bow and arrow, the club is carried behind

in his belt, and his offensive weapons are the typical Masai spear and a long, heavy knife called a "Sime"; while, for defence, he carries a large shield, generally oval-shaped, decorated with his family arms and made out of buffalo or ox hide. On ceremonial occasions, a head-dress made of a lion's mane is worn, while the face is encircled by a leather band into which ostrich feathers are fastened. On entering the state of ease and becoming a Meru, he reverts once more to the weapons of boyhood, the bow and arrow, which he is not allowed to use while a Moran.

Both sexes are fond of personal adornment, the most noticeable, which is common to both men and women, being the decoration, or rather the mutilation of the ear, in which a hole is pierced at a very early age and is gradually stretched until it is possible to insert a round piece of wood of about two and a half inches or more in diameter. The phrase "rings on her fingers and bells on her toes" may be suitably applied to the men of the Masai, anklets with a kind of bell being worn, and bracelets, while one common armlet consists of a leather band round the upper arm with two uprights joined by a chain.

Clay and grease take the place of pomades

and powder among the toilet necessities, and a gentleman dressed up for the occasion is a very pleasant sight at a distance. As far as actual clothing goes no one can accuse the Masai of being over-dressed, a skin or piece of cloth, or, when in affluence, a blanket, being all that is required by the most fastidious dandy. In Nairobi, however, no natives, not even the favoured Masai, are supposed to be allowed without a loin cloth; such is the punctiliousness of the inhabitants.

The ladies clothe themselves with care and decorate themselves in profusion from wrist to elbow, elbow to shoulder, and from ankle to calf with bracelets, armlets, anklets, leglets, made of iron wire. The neck is surrounded with ring upon ring of wire, while resting on the bosom are often curious flat coils of the same material. Shaven heads are the rule, and occasionally the face is slightly mutilated or tatoed. The women make good milk-maids. Polygamy is practised, though not to the extent common among polygamists. The Masai at present neither cultivate nor kill game for food, therefore they are excellent game rangers, except when their presence in force drives game from their vicinity. Their food is almost exclusively obtained from their

flocks and herds, and therefore consists of milk, blood, and flesh. Warriors are forbidden to eat anything else; Merus, Laionis, and women may, I believe, eat more or less what they please, but when at home seldom avail themselves of their privileges. When away, however, they often prefer "forbidden" or uncommon "fruit"—a practice not confined to savages.

Having introduced the Masai, I will now come to the events which led to the resignation of Sir Charles Eliot. Prior to the influx of settlers, but not before concessions of land had been applied for and taken up, the East African Syndicate (which owes its inception to a few men who served and travelled in East Africa) had a staff of men under Major Burnham of scouting fame, scouring the country in a necessarily very superficial manner for minerals, gold, and precious stones. Except for two finds, one the discovery of gold, on the Victoria Nyanza, said to be valueless, and the other, a soda deposit on Lake Magardi, south of the railway in Masai Land, which is supposed to be valuable, their efforts were fruitless. The first application made by the East African Syndicate for a concession was entered on 22nd April

1902, but apparently nothing more was heard of it by the Foreign Office till May 1903, when the Syndicate intimated that they had selected 500 square miles, which was certainly as much, if not more, within the nominal limits of the Masai grazing grounds (the real cause of the trouble) than were applications which were put forward by Messrs Bowker, Chamberlain & Flemmer. Hard words have been used in reference to the Syndicate, and they are generally thought to have been granted the land on far too easy terms. I do not quite agree with the latter criticism, as they were certainly the first in the field except small settlers. I do, however, think that settlers in East Africa need not look for support from the Syndicate in their demands¹ for reforms or for concessions likely to benefit the community. On receiving applications from Messrs Bowker, Chamberlain & Flemmer, Sir Charles Eliot twice asked for information concerning them, first on 25th May in a telegram which miscarried, and, secondly, on 10th September 1903. There was no question raised of their not being desirable persons, or that they should not be granted their land because they were likely to speculate

¹ I may say that I am a shareholder.

in it, but the application was refused by the Government, the sole reason given being that the grant, if given, would interfere with the grazing rights of the Masai. It would thus appear that a large tract of 500 square miles might be granted to an influential Syndicate in London, but that individual private settlers, like Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Flemmer, and Mr. Bowker, could not be granted 32,000. acres apiece. This refusal was contained in Lord Lansdowne's telegram to Sir Charles Eliot on 27th February 1904, of which I quote one sentence: "I am advised that the grant of lands in these grazing grounds (Masai), except the area comprised in the lease to the East African Syndicate, may lead to serious difficulties, and I cannot sanction them." This was the first intimation received by Sir Charles Eliot that his policy was not approved by his superior, and that the latter was being advised by Sir Charles' subordinates. This was followed on 3rd March by a despatch from the Secretary of State stating that "the Masai" "are said to be quite satisfied that the lease (to the Syndicate) should be given, and have expressed their confidence in the gentleman (Colonel Smith) to whom the local arrangements will be entrusted,

so that no apprehension need be felt as regards that district."

Lord Lansdowne, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, could hardly be expected to be as intimately acquainted with the (in reality) comparatively unimportant affairs of East Africa as was desirable that he should have been; and it was most unfortunate that his decision should have been given on the advice of Messrs Jackson & Bagge, two of Sir Charles Eliot's subordinate officials, who were apparently not favourably disposed towards European immigration.

CHAPTER II

THE MASAI QUESTION AND SIR CHARLES ELIOT'S RESIGNATION—*continued*

Correspondence between Mr Jackson and Sir Charles Eliot
—Solution of the Masai problem

"It all went into the Laundry, but it never came out in the wash."—RUDYARD KIPLING.

A CONSIDERABLE amount of correspondence passed between Mr Jackson and Sir Charles Eliot in 1903, to which I will briefly refer. In a memorandum of July 1903 Mr Jackson states in reference to land questions: "In Uganda the question has been settled with the various tribes by agreement, and it is recognised throughout the Protectorate that land occupied by natives belongs to them, and only unoccupied land to the Government."

The situation in the two countries, or rather in Uganda and the country used by the Masai, is totally different. Uganda tribes are not

nomadic, the Masai are nothing but nomadic raiders. Another point which must not be overlooked, though it is perhaps open to some criticism, is that East Africa is a white man's country, while Uganda is said not to be. In the same paper Mr Jackson states: "Europeans are not likely to ask for anything but the best, neither are many of them likely to allow the Masai to graze their cattle and flocks on their land." Men who leave their homes to try and better their fortunes in a new country naturally wish to obtain the best available land, and it stands to reason that when their holding is stocked they cannot allow other flocks and herds to graze on what is necessary for their own; although till their flocks are large enough to require almost the whole holding, Masai cattle and sheep, if free from disease, would be useful in keeping the coarse grass down. Again, in another memorandum of 15th August 1903, Mr Jackson, in suggesting that the Masai should be placed on a reserve round Navaisha and on both sides of the railway, says: "This reserve as suggested would only affect two out of five applicants for land, and as these two appear to think that there is such a brilliant future and fortune before them in wool and frozen mutton, and

that they are both prepared to go to considerable expense, they will no doubt easily find other areas equally good and handy to the railway, though perhaps at first not quite so suitable for sheep as those areas that have been grazed for generations by the Masai flocks." The suggestion of creating a native reserve on the railway to the exclusion of white settlers was outside the bounds of practical politics, and was typical of the attitude adopted in certain quarters towards settlers; while the remark as to fortunes in wool and frozen mutton was certainly ill-timed and most unnecessary sarcasm. Sir Charles, in a clear and lucid memorandum on native rights in the Naivasha province, points out very forcibly that "two things seem to me to have been confused:

"1. The right of the Masai to inhabit particular districts.

"2. Their right to monopolise particular districts,

and keep every one else out." Sir Charles then asks for the following information, *i.e.*, "an estimate of:—

"1. The numbers of Masai.

"2. The average number who live in one village.

“3. The number of sheep and cattle which they possess”—

ending up with the perfectly harmless and, I think, almost necessary remark, “The Masai should beware of exaggerating their numbers, as they might be called upon to pay more hut tax.” Bearing in mind the propensity of all natives to swagger and exaggerate their personal powers, wealth, etc., this seems an innocent remark and would seem to guard against unjust taxation, yet it brings forth a most indignant sentence from Mr Bagge, who says: “I have no reason whatever to suppose that the Masai would for one instant intentionally exaggerate their numbers, etc. ;” while Mr Jackson interprets it to mean coercive methods or an increase in the tax (3 rupees), and declares that any increase would be a breach of faith. This is distinctly humorous. Is an extra rd. in the £ income tax a breach of faith? It surely cannot be maintained that the hut tax for the Masai must remain at 3 rupees per hut for ever more, and that the tax can neither be altered nor raised.

The peculiar partiality entertained by Messrs Jackson, Bagge and the Foreign Office for the Masai was misplaced, unnecessary, and, having regard to the other tribes of East

Africa, unjust. The sole reason, apparently, for treating the Masai differently from other tribes, not only in East Africa, but in other countries where white men have made their home, was, unless any occult reason existed, because relations with them have never been sufficiently strained to necessitate an expedition against them. The slaughter of a Government caravan consisting of a thousand or more unarmed porters in 1894 seems to have been overlooked. Sir Charles was perfectly correct when he described their customs as "Beastly, bloody, and immoral." As for their friendliness to us, it is extremely doubtful that it arises from any affection or disinterested motives. The Elders or Merus are friendly and try to curb their young Morans, because they know that if they did not their peaceable existence would probably be rudely disturbed. Another factor conducive to friendliness, which does not bear out Mr Bagge's statement of 29th September, that "Assemblages of warriors are being, and have been, continually discouraged," is that their Morans are used as friendlies in our punitive expeditions, where they are used chiefly for capturing cattle and sheep, and are able to indulge in their favourite pastime of killing without fear of retaliation. That efforts

are made to prevent cold-blooded murder, and that rewards are, I believe, offered on these occasions for women brought in unhurt, I am willing to admit, and although the Masai are generally in charge of one white man, it is impossible for him to exercise much control over them; and the employment of the Masai or other such-like friendlies, though perhaps necessary for the capture of cattle, lays the authorities open to charges of inhumanity; and led a late lamented officer in the Uganda service to describe himself as "a Captain of Bashi Bazouks, a raider, etc."

That the Masai deserve their reputation for bravery and justify the opinion expressed by their champions is open to considerable criticism and doubt. When they existed in very large numbers they were the terror of the country for hundreds of miles (on one occasion they raided almost to Mombasa), extracting blackmail from all passing through their so-called districts, and bullying any and all weaker tribes who were unfortunate enough to be their neighbours. Owing to their reputation all caravans passing through or near them were well armed, but it does not seem that they ever did very much harm to an armed Safari,¹ whether a white man's or a

¹ Safa Ri = Caravan.

native trader's. The late Colonel Vandeleur, in his book, writing of the Masai and the Nandi, says: "The Masai have never dared to raid into their country (namely, Nandi), preferring probably a less warlike and more defenceless enemy." Again, in the unfortunate Nandi expedition of 1900, when Colonel Evatt's column was so roughly handled, the doughty Masai friendlies huddled round the Maxim and impeded its fire to a considerable extent.

The solution of the Masai problem is not hard. All parties concerned seem to agree that they must be placed on a reserve; but the difference of opinion lies in where they should be placed. The Foreign Office and its chosen advisers wished to make the reserve round Naivasha on both sides of the line, and comprising some of the best land in the Protectorate, to the exclusion of European immigrants and to the detriment of the interests of the railway and the country. If no one was to be allowed to settle, except the favoured Syndicate, anywhere in a district or districts occasionally used by the Masai, why, in the name of fortune, build a railway through the country? In all reports presented to Government prior to and during the construc-

tion of the railway, tribute has been paid to the country and colonisation has been more or less foretold, but, unfortunately, disregarded by the authorities, no doubt owing, to use Sir Charles' expression, to the Consular methods of administration at home. Sir Charles Eliot's pet project—if I may call it so—was to allow the Masai to live among the settlers, and by that means he no doubt hoped that by degrees they would become absorbed as herdsmen, policemen, boys, etc. This plan would not have worked for any length of time, and his alternative scheme was the only one really worth taking into consideration, namely, placing the Masai on Laikipia. The chief objection advanced by the supporters of the Naivasha reserve to this scheme was that the Masai would be too far off, that they would be out of touch and control would be lost, and a contemplated outbreak would not be discovered till too late. That fear is groundless, for with a competent officer with a force at his disposal stationed in the reserve and due precautions taken, less apprehension need be felt than if the Masai were close to settlements. The Masai can certainly travel far and fast, but a telegraph message, a heliograph, or even mounted men, can travel faster.

During the period between his first cable asking for information regarding Messrs Flemmer and Chamberlain and his resignation, Sir Charles had, owing to the Foreign Office policy, or rather lack of one, been placed in a very false and unenviable position. Every one in East Africa who wished to take up land, or who was seeking for knowledge or for information as to what he could do and what he could not, was blaming Sir Charles for his apparent vacillation and helplessness, while he, loyal to his chief at home, took the whole blame on his own shoulders, even when a demand was made for his recall by the settlers; and not till his resignation was accepted was the truth known. Then followed a revulsion of feeling, and people saw how they had been duped. The immediate result of Sir Charles' resignation was that many men left East Africa in disgust and despair, and many more were persuaded not to immigrate owing to the idea, fast gaining ground (and naturally), that no white men were really wanted in the country, except the favoured East African Syndicate. It was not till Sir Donald Stewart, the next Commissioner, declared that the Masai should be moved, and that he was anxious to further

the interests of settlers and hasten the development of the country, that the mischief done by the Foreign Office was checked. If the present policy of Sir Donald Stewart and the Colonial Office, of placing the Masai on a reserve on Laikipia with a Civil Collector and a body of troops, is carried out, the Masai question is practically solved. Certain regulations and restrictions must, however, be made, and, what is more important, maintained and enforced. First of all, the Masai must be kept on the reserve and the reserve must be kept for them; and, what is even more important, they must be prevented from raiding once and for ever. The objectionable practice of using them as auxiliaries, except in a case of grave danger, which tends to foster their tribal customs and murdering propensities, must be put an end to. If this policy is carried out firmly and in its entirety, I see no danger or likelihood of trouble. They know that if they attempted to rise against the whites, all their old foes would be only too delighted to, in their turn, play the part of friendlies, and, while helping the Government, get a little of their own back again.

The Masai Laionis already make excellent

house-boys and herdsmen. I have had experience of an almost raw Masai as cook, and he was as good as any ordinary native *chef*, while the Roman Catholics have, I hear, succeeded in making very fair carpenters of some. Encouragement should be given to the chiefs to send their Laionis out into service; by this means mutual knowledge would be gained both by Masai and whites. The Laionis would grow up, and if raiding is abolished, their fighting spirit would not be fostered; they in their turn would become old men who would likewise in their turn help to do away with the present tribal customs; the race of Morans, therefore, as warriors would die out, and in a generation or two the Masai, as the word Masai is now interpreted, would cease to exist, and probably the necessity for a reserve would in the not far distant future be non-existent. The Masai are supposed to be a race who will never take to work willingly; an interesting and instructive parallel may be drawn from the report of the Department of Indian affairs in Canada, in which it is stated that in twelve months, ending June 1904, 127,290 dollars had been earned by the Indians of Manitoba and the north-west territories numbering 24,336 in all. Surely

if the Redskin will take to honest labour the Masai will. A word in conclusion : Sir Charles has been compelled to resign owing to his high ideas of right and wrong. He refused to play the part of phonographic receiver in East Africa ; he had a definite policy which he was not allowed to carry out,¹ but which has been practically adopted by his successor and the Colonial Office, and events have proved him to be in the right. His despatches were perhaps not such as the Foreign Office were wont to receive, and as such perhaps placed him in the wrong. His policy was the right one, and it would be a great boon to the nation and a gracious act on the part of the Foreign Office or Colonial Office to reinstate him in his former high position in some post where his undoubted abilities would enable him to again work for the Empire. He left East Africa with the knowledge that he had done his best for the country, that his efforts were, and are, appreciated by settlers, and that the policy he propounded has been adopted by the Colonial Secretary. If Sir Charles is compelled to remain in oblivion, his case is but poor encouragement to any public servant who believes in his own judgment,

¹ Appendix.

and who refuses to be simply a dummy at the end of a wire.

I wonder if the efforts of Sir Charles Eliot and Sir F. Younghusband would have met with their respective rewards at the hands of the Colonial Office?

CHAPTER III

THE UGANDA RAILWAY

The railway and its critics—Its financial history—The railway cat—The Protectorate dog—Construction of the line—The Indian invasion—Indian commercial morality—Trade on the railway—The labour question—Temporary work—Probable railway extension—New lines—The difficulties of construction—Upkeep

*"Money, like manure, does no good till it is spread.
There is no real use of riches except in the distribution."*

—MAXIM.

WITH the exception of its constructors and the late Committee of Management the Uganda Railway has few champions, but neither its most rabid opponent nor its most severe critic can say that it should not have been built. What would Uganda and East Africa have been without it? Valueless, certainly, and they might possibly have even passed into other hands. It has lately been described as one of "the largest advertisements of the British Empire," and not quite so lately as

“the English Panama,” which certainly was an exaggeration. Personally, I should say it provides future statesmen with a valuable object-lesson of “how not to do it.”

Having decided to build the line, there were three courses open: one was to call for tenders and build it by contract, another was to call in the assistance of a financier or financiers who might have had the line built to certain specifications in a given time with a guarantee of interest from the Government, the third course was to construct the line departmentally. Tenders were called for, submitted, and for some unknown reason, refused; the third method was adopted, and a committee was formed by the Foreign Office of most excellent and worthy gentlemen to build a railway into the heart of Africa! This committee was entirely separate from the administration of the East African Protectorate, through whose territory the line was to run; the railway zone was separate and under the entire control of the railway authorities, who also employed their own police. The result of this was that the railway and the Protectorate might well be compared to the Uganda Railway cat and the East Africa Protectorate dog — the cat, as

usual, getting all the old lady's milk and the poor dog the bones. To the charges of excessive cost which is the chief cause of complaint, the champions of the railway reply that conditions were very hard and peculiar, and that compared to many lines the average cost per mile was not so extraordinarily high; these two arguments are very easy ones to advance, but it does not follow that because A. spends a great deal of money on a certain enterprise or venture, that because B. does not spend much more or as much in a possibly similar undertaking, he does not spend more than necessary. It is quite futile to deny that the Uganda Railway has cost more than it should have done, because it is patent to every one who travels on it with even half an eye open, while if one only believes a thousandth part of the stories told of its construction, one is bound to hold up one's hands in bewilderment and wonder if such things could have happened, or whether all David's alleged followers of Ananias have taken up their abode in East Africa for the set purpose of declaiming against the railway. The line was initiated in the first instance by the I.B.E.A. Company, who commenced the construction of a light, narrow gauge line at their own risk, rather

than waste valuable time and perhaps endanger the enterprise and future of the country by waiting for a subsidy or grant from a dilatory government. This line was built for a distance of some eight miles, and then had to be abandoned in 1891, owing to the indifferent attitude of the home authorities. When the Foreign Office decided in 1895 to build the line to the Lake, it decided that everything should come from India, which was practically the beginning of what may be termed the Indian invasion. Indian artificers, coolies, drivers, telegraph operators, all were brought into the country, while this necessitated the employment of white men able to speak Hindustani. Naturally with this large number of workmen came storekeepers, merchants, etc., all on the make, and very few were disappointed. The Indian standard of commercial morality can hardly be styled a high one, and with so many inhabitants of that country, their peculiar habits and practices had plenty of opportunity. Axles of trucks, conveying railway stores on more than one occasion, are said to have become hot from some mysterious reason; and the truck, if of a full train, often had to be left behind from that cause at a station, where, curiously enough,

was often a load of goods belonging to some Indian merchant which was thus able to continue its journey ; while storekeepers and traders often found themselves at the mercy of drivers or guards to enable them to continue their journey, and not to leave their load behind. Irregularities were freely spoken of, and several scandals occurred, one of which has certainly left an unpleasant feeling of insecurity among merchants new to the country. There are even now by far too many Indians and Goanese employed on the line, all through the system, from storekeepers and station-masters downwards. Indian drivers are not the most economical in the long run, and some of the Americans who built the viaducts are reported to have stated that the American engines would have a very short life in the hands of their Indian drivers. As trade increases it will be found impossible to handle the traffic without a larger white staff ; the slow methods of the Indian, bound up with red tape, would send any English or American railwayman stark staring mad in a few days, and can commend themselves to no railway except, perhaps, a Spanish one.

It was, of course, impossible to obtain the whole of even the unskilled labour necessary

in the Protectorate, but I can hardly believe that it was obligatory to have imported so many Indian coolies, or that, even if it were so in the beginning, their services could not have been dispensed with sooner. They had, and have, to be fed on expensive imported food-stuffs, and their presence in the country and their intercourse with the natives has had a disastrous effect both morally and physically. The Company was able to obtain a certain amount of labour from the country, and the Government should have made every effort to use the native, and not have imported a single Indian over and above the absolutely lowest number required.

The amount of temporary work on the line was enormous, and although doubtless the champions of the line will defend it on various grounds, after so great an authority as Colonel Gracey¹ has in his report condemned much of it as unnecessary, the defence does not carry much conviction. However, although the railway has been constructed in a most expensive and wasteful manner, it is now finished, and with the settlement of the country in a fair way towards paying expenses. The line was an absolute necessity for the opening

¹ 6th April 1901.

up of East Africa ; although that does not seem to be the object for which it was built, it was a great enterprise which has been justified by events. The policy of the present management appears to be to reduce freight to a minimum and to do all that is essential for the welfare of the settler in the country ; but until ocean freights are considerably reduced, both the railway and the producer will be heavily handicapped. Feeders or branch lines will soon be necessary—one to Lake Magadi, where the East African Syndicate have a concession of the deposits of soda, will probably be commenced very shortly by a Syndicate formed for the purpose, starting from Kiu or somewhere near there. The construction of three other lines will in the future have to be considered, one from Voi to the German districts and Kilimanjaro, another north from the coast to tap the fertile coast belts, and a third from Nairobi out to the Fort Hall districts where lands have been extensively taken up. Another line has been mentioned as likely to be built from Londiani to Ravine by a Syndicate said to be anxious to exploit the timber in the Ravine district.

In conclusion, it must be admitted that the constructors of the line had a most arduous

task, and their paths were beset with many difficulties, while they have brought the enterprise to a more or less satisfactory termination. Whilst maintaining that the cost was excessive, there is one branch where, with one or two notable exceptions, extravagance has not only been justified, but might well have been imitated by the Foreign Office administration of the Protectorate, and that is that proper dwellings were provided for the white staff employed. It must not be thought that all expenses connected with construction have ceased: considerable ballasting is needed, and a considerable sum needs to be expended upon rolling stock, etc. ; while, in my poor opinion, if East Africa as a country succeeds and comes up to the scratch, the present metre gauge line will be quite inadequate to handle and carry the produce, and the Government and the tax-payer have, I fear, not heard the last of the misnamed Uganda Railway.

CHAPTER IV

ADMINISTRATION

The High Commissioner and his staff—Provinces—Continual change of local officials—Is it necessary?—Health of stations—A sanatorium required—Absence of survey—The Veterinary Department—Indefinite boundaries—Difficulties for settlers—Financial system—Sanitation—Nairobi—Kisumu—The most unhealthy town—Grass huts—Unfit for human habitation—Unnecessary sacrifice of life

“What constitutes a State?

*Not high-raised battlement or laboured mound,
Thick wall, or moated gate;
Not cities proud with spires and turrets crowned;
Not bays and broad armed ports
Where laughing at the storm rich navies ride;
Not starred and spangled Courts,
Where low-born baseness wafts perfume to pride.”*

—SIR WILLIAM JONES.

THE East African Protectorate is now administered by a High Commissioner (Sir Donald Stewart) under the Colonial Office, while there is a Deputy Commissioner whose services are often required to proceed to any point requiring for the moment special attention, and who acts as commissioner when

the latter is on leave or absent. There are seven provinces, each under a sub-commissioner, and these are subdivided again under collectors and assistant collectors, whose duties are of the most varied description. The collectors and assistant collectors in out-stations, and where they are single-handed, have at times a hardish lot, and as the Administration is under-staffed, they are frequently detained after their leave is due owing to there being no one to relieve them, and for the same reason have to stay in unhealthy stations longer than is conducive to health. Occasionally a collector has to leave his station on account of illness or other cause, and his clerk, generally a Goanese, is left in sole charge. Collectors who are fortunate enough to be left in a healthy station for some time are able to become acquainted with the surrounding country and the natives; but often, when they have gained the confidence of the chiefs and are beginning to do their district justice, they are moved to another station where they have to begin all over again, only to be moved once more. The reason given for not keeping men in a station when they have become intimately acquainted with its workings, and for the continual changing, is

that it is unfair to keep one man in a healthy place and another in an unhealthy one. The remedy is simple, but no doubt at first an expensive one, *i.e.*, an increase in the staff, which, however, also means increased efficiency. Districts or provinces with unhealthy stations, and they all have one or more, should always have at least one spare officer who could be sent to take temporary charge of a station while the officer belonging to the station was sick or on leave; while it would be of great benefit to East Africa and also to Uganda if a sanitorium could be built and maintained in some healthy place where convalescent officials from both Protectorates could be sent to recoup. The Administration is under-staffed throughout, and especially in the Survey Department and Land Office. Great dissatisfaction has been caused by the failure of the Administration to provide for a survey of the country; for this the local authorities cannot be blamed, and an urgent appeal by Sir Charles Eliot for more money for survey purposes was met with a flat refusal. Another department which has been starved is the veterinary; the local authorities were driven to such extremities that they had to appoint "quacks." Any one,

would do for a veterinary surgeon at the coast and to examine animals entering the country; and fees were charged for examination of animals by men who, whatever their other qualifications might be, certainly were not fitted for the post of veterinary surgeon. If this was not obtaining money under false pretences I do not know what is! This has now been rectified, and the Colonial Office certainly appear to be anxious to push on the survey of the country and increase the staff, without which no development can take place. The veterinary department has also been added to. It is impossible to expect a man to develop or even fence his holding until he knows exactly where his land lies; he cannot afford to fence two or three times or risk building on other people's land, and consequently work is delayed and capital wasted or lying idle. Personally I am a great sufferer, as also is my manager, Mr Clutterbuck. My application for land was made on 31st October 1904. There was no objection, and yet, as I write now, the end of June 1905,¹ no attempt has been made to even roughly ascertain my boundaries.

¹ In a letter dated 1st August I have heard that a rough survey had been made of a portion of my holding. My survey fees were paid last November |

Mr Clutterbuck's case was very annoying, and might have resulted in considerable loss; and similar cases to his are sure to occur. He applied for, and was granted, his land, and some three or four months after was informed that he could not have it, because it did not exist; other farms were overlapping. This is really laughable, but it is serious, and typical of the result of eleven years' administration by the Foreign Office. Many intending settlers have left owing to the lack of survey, and because they have been unable to obtain any definite reply to their applications for land. Men coming into a country to earn their living cannot afford to spend months in hotels or travelling round the country looking for land, and then to be told that the districts in which their selections lay are Jew reserves, Masai reserves, game reserves, forest reserves, closed districts, etc.: yet this was the state of things, which has not by any means been entirely remedied yet.

The financial system was impossible in a new and growing country where the unforeseen was continually happening, and where allowance could not under the system be adequately made even for the foreseen. Estimates had to be made for the ensuing year sometimes

even more than a year in advance, and the grant from home was based on these estimates. The utter impossibility of working on such a system, which was a hard-and-fast one, can be imagined. Economy it might be imagined to be, but as false as false can be. For instance, houses have to be erected for officials and for other purposes such as offices, etc., instead of being built and paid for; the services of Indian speculators are called in and the houses are built by them, the Government finding the land. The Indian builds the house, and the Administration pays 10 per cent. on the cost as rent for a number of years, often ten, when the lease falls in; and unless the Government has exercised its option of purchasing at any time during the lease at cost price; the house, and presumably the land, becomes the property of the builder. Is this economy? Is the Government so hard-up or its credit so bad that it must pay such a percentage for money? It is devoutly to be hoped that the Colonial Secretary will change this, if he has not already done so.

Among other matters with which the Treasury will have to be more liberal, or upon which more money will certainly have to be

spent, are the sanitary arrangements, and the housing and general conditions for the preservation of health. Mombasa itself requires much more attention to be paid to sanitation. Most of the official residences are built on high ground, and in positions where the sea breezes blow away mosquitoes, etc. ; but every one cannot be an official, and not even all officials can at present live in the best part of the island. A great deal of the scrub and rank vegetation on the island needs clearing away in the first instance, and when, as must be soon, the main stores and offices are moved across to Kilindini, it is to be hoped that no native village or Indian bazaar will be allowed as near the European settlement as at present at Mombasa. Both Germans and Belgians as well as, I believe, our own West Coast authorities have found that the healthiness of a place is greatly increased by not allowing any native habitations within a given distance of the white settlement. Another problem for the authorities is that of the water supply ; at present all the drinking water in Mombasa is obtained from wells, in case of an epidemic—a source of great danger. Every effort should be made to secure a satisfactory and sufficient water supply to Kilindini, which must supersede

Mombasa as a port, where the fleet could take advantage of the splendid harbour and procure a supply of water instead of, as now, being obliged to go to Zanzibar.

Nairobi also presents an almost hopeless task to those to whom the sanitary arrangements are entrusted. Built, with the exception of the houses of chief officials, the club, and some newcomers, in an absolutely flat level plain which in the rains is often in many places a swamp, and where under many houses, especially those inhabited by Indian railway employees, stagnant water collects, forming ideal breeding-places for anophiles, its future drainage seems a most difficult undertaking. Why Nairobi was dumped down where it is, is hard to conjecture: some passing whim or momentary mental aberration on the part of the first builders is the only solution. Fever is present in Nairobi to a certain extent, and this drawback could have been easily obviated by building the town a mile or so away on rising ground, and leaving perhaps only the station and railway works on the level plain. Nairobi must be the capital of East Africa, and will be in a short time a town of no inconsiderable size. On the hill it is pleasant and healthy, but the town itself,

with its flat plain, although at an altitude of some 5,450 feet, with its breeding-places for mosquitoes, its Indian bazaars, and native markets, presents great difficulties to the medical and sanitary staff.

No doubt the most unhealthy, or rather the only really unhealthy, township or station on the Uganda Railway is Kisumu, or in railway nomenclature, Port Florence. Although the new European portion of the township is built on rising ground, and certain precautions, such as a water supply independent of the lake, and the cutting down of much of the scrub, have been taken, yet the place has a nasty, unhealthy atmosphere, where one always feels as if one had too many clothes on, and where one runs a great risk of catching a severe chill by going about without a coat in the evenings, or where one is exposed to a breeze from the lake. Many thousands of pounds will have to be spent before Kisumu is made a healthy station, and even then I do not see that the effect will be lasting. Papyrus abounds all round the shores of the lake, while into the harbour of the Ugowe Bay floating islands of rank and rotten vegetation are continually being carried, both silting up the harbour and breeding thousands of mosquitoes, while the stench

from near the pier at night is something terrific. On my return to England in November last year, in an interview with a representative of the *Morning Post*, I made certain remarks as to the unfitness for human habitation of a grass hut at Kisumu which had been used by Dr Mann for want of a better, and in which the unfortunate officer had died; and I gave it as my opinion that he had been to all intents and purposes murdered. I was afterwards told by some one, for whose opinion I have the very greatest respect, that this was not for the following reasons a stick with which to beat the Government. (1) Owing to the outbreak of sleeping sickness, it was essential to move up to Kisumu the best medical officer in the country, and also to move the hospital suddenly. (2) That neither the P.M.O. for East Africa or Dr Mann ever complained of the accommodation found for the latter. (3) That a contract given to a firm in the country to build a residence fell through owing to the failure of the firm. (4) And lastly, that, as usual, the Administration had no funds which could be applied for the purpose, or perhaps something might have been done. I really do not quite see that any of these

arguments meet the case, and certainly they do not alter my opinion, neither can they justify the housing at the terminus of a railway in the year 1904 of any white man in as notoriously an unhealthy station as Kisumu in a grass hut without any protection from mosquitoes. I am of the opinion that for the sum of £50 or so a temporary mosquito-proof dwelling could have been perfectly well erected, if only the grants had not been so rigidly allocated; and if prompt attention at home to telegraphic requests could have been relied on, and if the fear of responsibility were not made, as throughout the services, so dominant, a valuable life would possibly not have been sacrificed. If any further argument be needed to prove my contention I may state that since the occupation of Kisumu five Protectorate officials and one railway official have died there, and yet up to the final report of the Uganda Railway Committee about £5,317,000 had been spent on the line, while the sum expended on the Protectorate up to the same date was under £80,000. This, I think, speaks for itself. I have also heard it argued with reference to the same case that because certain members of a certain commission who once proceeded to Uganda slept in canoes without

mosquito-nets, and that one anyhow of the number escaped fever, that there was no reason to adequately house officials living permanently at an unhealthy station on the railway in 1904.

CHAPTER V

ADMINISTRATION—*continued*

The Foreign Office and antiquated methods—Fixing responsibility—More instances of negligence—The forces of the Protectorate—Massing the police force—The Nandi—Fighting the Nandi—Ridiculous operations—Government raid—Native police and white settlers—The Abyssinian question—The northern boundary—Its occupation and protection—Fear of the Abyssinians—The Boer Settlement—A possible menace—Government farms—Expensive luxuries—Zebras—Crossing with horses.

*No! Men, high-minded men,
With powers as far above dull brutes endued,
In forest, brake, or den,
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude;
Men, who their duties know,
But know their rights, and knowing dare maintain;
Prevent the long-aimed blow,
And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain.
These constitute a State."*

SIR WILLIAM JONES,
"The Ideal of a State."

By the same method of controversy or argument I might with just as much reason and truth maintain that "Because in the dim days of Biblical history Noah and the animals

lived together in the Ark, that in A.D. 1904 there was no reason that the late African branch of the Foreign Office and its satellites should not have been content to carry on the affairs of the nation in an antiquated and insanitary barge on the Thames. Of course it is unfortunately impossible to fasten the responsibility on to any one person, and I certainly am not prepared to attempt to do so; possibly the blame may rest with the British Constitution, possibly with a public office, and possibly with one man. It is only one instance where, owing to the lack of £50 or £100, an official's life is lost, or where he has had to be invalided home and pensioned, another engaged to take his place, and the Government in the end incurs a far greater expense.

Another instance also in Kisumu where a few extra rupees would have made all the difference in the comfort and healthiness of a residence, was in the house built to accommodate the Sub-Commissioner or Collector. This was a substantial, well-built house, composed of stone, and which should have been made proof against mosquitoes. Yet, apparently for no reason, except, I suppose, the want of money, the house was infested

with these dangerous pests. For one thing, there was no door at all to the front entrance, which should have had at least one door, and if only one, that one should have been made to fit closely, perfectly mosquito-proof, and with a powerful spring to keep it shut. The same applies to at least one other door, which leads out of the sitting-room on to the verandah overlooking the Bay. Here, owing to there being a fastening on only one side, I think on the inner, it was impossible for any one going out by that door to fasten it after him, the result being that the room was always full of mosquitoes, and owing to these two deficiencies, which should not have cost more than 30s. to rectify, the house was by no means a fit and proper residence for white men at a place like Kisumu.

As a larger grant must be given to the Protectorate, and receipts are increasing and will increase in proportion to the money spent, it may not be out of place to consider where money can be saved. I think that the military force could be very well reduced instead of being increased, which was the intention; I do not know if it is so still.

I do not think that such a large body of so-called regular troops are necessary, and I

cordially agree with Sir Charles Eliot when he states: "Well-trained troops which military officers desire are unsuited for administrative purposes, being only intended for use in an emergency. I would, therefore, propose not to have more than a thousand regular troops in the country, and to devote the economy thus made to considerably increasing the police force, who should have a sufficiently military training to enable them, if necessary, to fight with naked savages only armed with spears and arrows." The police arrangements are inadequate and require special attention; moreover, a mounted force is a necessity, both native and a small, compact body of white mounted police, men after the stamp of the North-West Frontier police: these, combined with a volunteer force and an adequate police, would be quite sufficient to deal with any internal trouble with the aid of the aforementioned regular troops. It has, I believe, been proposed to try and enlist more Masai for the King's African Rifles, but as the general idea, which I do not share, seems to be that the Masai are to be the dreaded factors, I fail to see the force of trying to enlist so many more of them. In the last report on East Africa, it was

stated that all fear of trouble with the Nandi was over—that statement was quite incorrect, and perhaps by now has been proved to be so ; the Nandi form a most disturbing element, and their punishment must take place one day. It would have been meted out to them in 1900, only the expedition which was operating against them was injudiciously stopped by a higher authority than the Commissioner, just after a reverse, which action has had most unfortunate results, and the work, which was then half accomplished, will have to be done again. When I was on the railway an exciting account reached me of the Nandi operations near Mohoroni and Fort Ternan. Two columns of troops had left to co-operate with the police at Nandi, and directly they left, the Nandi thought they would pay the railways a visit, which they did, killing several coolies working on the line, and also murdering two Sikh soldiers in broad daylight, within a few hundred yards of their own camp. The situation was comical in the extreme ; here were three columns in the Nandi country looking in vain for the Nandi, who had come down and practically besieged the punitive force's base, where they had built a Boma to hold the cattle they hoped

to capture. This was done, I suppose, to warn the Nandi that they were to be attacked, although the whole thing was supposed to be a dead secret. The official report on East Africa for 1904 says that the Nandi trouble is over, makes little or no mention of the murdered coolies, and yet, late in 1904, the Nandi were raiding at will, and in 1905 attacked the caravan of the Zionist commissioners.

A word or two on Government punitive expeditions in East Africa will perhaps not be out of place here.¹ An East African official once said that every officer should land with two medals; for the first "nigger hunt" he took part in he should lose one, and for the second he should lose the other. I most thoroughly agree with him; and Sir Charles Eliot strongly deprecated the idea that punitive expeditions were fun, and insisted upon calling them police operations. When it is necessary to punish a tribe the punishment should be short, sharp, and decisive. If the case can be met by the imposition of a fine of cattle, the chief or chiefs should be told that they were to pay so many head in a given time; and if the fine be not paid by the stated date, then an expedition would be sent, and

¹ Opinion also quoted in "The East Africa Protectorate." Sir Charles Eliot.

would take double the amount. If the animals were not forthcoming by the given time, then the expedition should start at once and if possible capture the stock, and should return any taken over and above double the original fine, unless fighting had taken place when more should be kept. If this were done the Government would cease to be regarded as mere looters, and would be thought just. All tribes have from time everlasting been accustomed to raids and to counter-raiding in return. The Government follows the same plan; one day it retaliates and takes what it can lay hands on, but there is no system or systematic punishment, and often fines are never enforced—a fatal error.

A white police force, if not already needed, and I maintain that it is, will certainly be necessary in a very short time. With the rapidly increasing European population the employment of native police solely will sooner or later be sure to lead to trouble with the settlers. I know that it is not the policy or intention of Sir Donald Stewart to arrest a settler except by a white officer if he can help it, but cases are sure to occur, and to attempt to arrest whites with black police will be fatal, and in the interests of the prestige of the

white man throughout Africa should not be attempted.

Again speed is everything, and a small body of mounted men could often stop a raiding party of natives, or a freebooting party of Indians, Somalis, or Whites when all the regular infantry in the country would be perfectly useless. The Abyssinian question is really the only one for which a large force must be kept. When the northern boundary of East Africa is decided upon it must be occupied at once; and as it will probably stretch from somewhere on the eastern shore of Lake Rudolph to Kismayu, a force of Somalis or Soudanese mounted on the hardy Boran pony of the country would be most valuable for keeping up a system of patrols, and also for holding up parties of raiders who break through the posts. Camels might also be used, as they are indigenous. To keep up this force sounds impossible because of the expense it would necessarily entail, but I feel convinced that there would be little difficulty in inducing Boran people to pay heavy taxes in order to escape the cruelties and oppression of the Abyssinians. Somalis who have been through the country have often told me that the Borana, like us, detest the Abyssinian, and

would be only too thankful for an English occupation—*not protection*.

When it is realised that from one unfortunate tribe, the Turkhana, who live on the western shores of Lake Rudolph, a year or so ago the Abyssinians stole 25,000 head of stock, it is not to be wondered that tribes would pay large tribute to ensure their safety. The Abyssinian question is a serious one, and must be faced directly the boundary is delimited, or trouble and endless difficulties will ensue. A secondary danger is that of the Somalis north of the Juba. The last expedition sent against them was hardly successful, but as I know practically nothing of the question I merely refer to it. While on the subject of defence it will not be out of place to refer to the Boer settlement supposed to have begun near Kilimanjaro, in German East Africa, where the Germans are said to be encouraging the Boers to settle, and arming them freely. Several parties have been heard of poaching on the Masai Land game reserve, and it is a factor in the situation which must not be lost sight of. They may very likely prove to be a disturbing element, and it may be noted that there are some very serviceable field guns in German East Africa, and none in British.

Before leaving the subject of grants in aid I might throw out a further suggestion towards retrenchment. I must confess that I do not see the use of or necessity for the Government farms; they are very expensive, and might very well be abolished. Nothing is grown by them which cannot be produced by settlers; and as there are now in East Africa men from every colony, it is probable that certain individuals know more of produce peculiar to the country whence they came than any one person official or unofficial. The farms, according to the report for 1904, are managed on anything but business methods, therefore they must tend to destroy individual enterprise, which should be encouraged and not discouraged. Later, possibly, when the Administration is in a position to run farms on practical and business lines, perhaps take pupils, and generally run them for purposes of education, they might prove to be most valuable assets; but in the present state of the country they are of little benefit, for it surely cannot be claimed that they attract desirable settlers. One plea may possibly be advanced for their retention, *i.e.*, on account of the zebras. It will prove a great boon to Africa generally if the zebra can be successfully crossed with

the horse and retain its immunity from Tsé-Tsé. Still, even if the Zebra Ranche were retained, its cost is put down at £800 per annum; this might be maintained separately from any farm and solely for the purpose of crossing. In the same report it is stated that thoroughbred stock costs too much to import for crossing purposes; this surely is not so. A really serviceable blood stallion can be easily purchased for from £25 to £40 in England; add £30 for freight, fodder, etc., to Kilindini, £6 or £7 railway fare to Naivasha, and £15 for incidental expenses, £7 for insurance, and the cost to Naivasha is, say, £100, and this, I think, is an outside figure. Personally, I have landed one seventy miles beyond Naivasha for less, and his price in England—£42—was, I think, his full value, and a suitable animal should be obtained for £30.

In South Africa I believe the broken zebras have never been successful because they are said to have a very bad, or perhaps very good, memory, and that unless they are worked nearly every day they, after a short rest, become again unmanageable. As expensive luxuries and toys they may have uses and a certain value, but the future of the zebra, if there be one, lies in successful mating with

horses and ponies ; and as the wild zebra will, I fear, disappear, though not in the immediate future, these are certainly strong arguments in favour of the continuation of the Zebra Ranche. Young zebras are easily caught and tamed, but are most difficult to rear.

My last suggestion towards reduction of expenditure lies in the labour wages and in the rationing of labourers, and also prisoners. The Government is in very many cases or places the greatest offender in keeping up the rate of wages, and also, except in out-stations, they ration natives of the country on rice, an expensive and imported food-stuff which is quite unnecessary. By substituting an equal ration of native food, Matama flour and beans for rice, the cost of rationing the men per man *per diem* would be halved, which would reduce a considerable item of expenditure. The same remarks apply to native prisoners, and as I shall refer to this subject again in the chapter dealing with Labour I will, for the moment, leave it.

CHAPTER VI

ADMINISTRATION—*continued*

The settler's grievance—Necessity for a legislative council—
The amalgamation of East Africa and Uganda—Sir Harry
Johnston's scheme—The Indian Penal Code—Indian
traders and white settlers—Speculation in town sites—
Indian currency—Unsuitability of the Ceylon currency—
Steamship services—German competition

"Tribunes, we will have tribunes."—LORD MACAULAY.

THE greatest grievance among the settlers and the unofficial community, and a most natural one, is that they have no representation, and consequently no voice in the government of the country, or in the formation of regulations relating to matters of vital importance to their interests. Naturally for the present representative government is out of the question, but some kind of legislative council in which representatives of the settlers and the unofficial community will have seats is to my mind an absolute necessity. This question of representation and the proposals

for amalgamating Uganda and East Africa do not seem to be widely different, and I will attempt to discuss them together. In April last, after reading in the *Morning Post* an able article on the amalgamation of African interests, it appeared to me that the most important question in East Africa, namely, representation, had been overlooked, and I was induced to write a letter to the same paper, drawing attention to this point, which I now give almost *verbatim*.

“The problem of the administration of our African possessions is one which has been put before your readers on several occasions, and it has been advocated that Uganda and East Africa should be united and placed under one High Commissioner. It appears to me that concerning these two countries the most important factor in the future has been overlooked. This point is the influence which the present and future white unofficial population of East Africa must have on the development and destinies of the country. It seems to me that the conditions of the two Protectorates are totally different. In Uganda there is a species of native civilisation, a country unfitted for the support of a white population or colony; land questions have

been settled, and native rights are vested and acknowledged; the chiefs rule to a great extent, and cases are referred to them, I believe, by officials. In East Africa you have a country where at present there are some five hundred white families; land questions are under consideration, the country is capable of supporting a large white population, and perhaps in the future it will rank among the food-producing countries of the world. The country has emerged from the condition in which it was subject to the bureaucratic consular jurisdiction of the Foreign Office, and has passed under the experienced and enlightened rule of the Colonial Office. Sir Donald Stewart is working for the settlers' interests, and has even called meetings of settlers to discuss matters appertaining to the defence of the country; a Land Commission has been sitting, on which were appointed two unofficial members. It is idle to suppose that a colony of five hundred families, a number which is constantly increasing, will rest content without some kind of representation in the councils of the Commissioner. If all form of representation is withheld it will create a feeling of intense dissatisfaction, and it will not tend to allay friction between the

official and the unofficial communities. Such a scheme has already been adopted in German East Africa, where the unofficial population is certainly not as large as in British East Africa. If, therefore, in the not far distant future East Africa is formed into a Crown colony and amalgamated with Uganda, the unofficial members of any council might be perhaps called upon to legislate upon matters appertaining to Uganda with which they would not be conversant, and which would be much better dealt with by a commissioner for that country. The interests and future of the two countries seem to be so totally different that I hope that no amalgamation will be made without due consideration being paid to the points I have ventured to set forth in this letter. In view of the great engineering schemes for the regulation of the Nile, is it too much to suppose that perhaps the future high road to Uganda may be *viâ* the waterway of the Pharaohs, and not *viâ* the Suez Canal and the Uganda Railway?"

Provided that the interests of settlers do not suffer, that they are granted some form of representation and that their opinions on matters concerning their own affairs are not likely to be rejected without very good reason,

I am not prepared to oppose the amalgamation of the two Protectorates; and although I reserve the right to change my opinion, I think I may join with Sir C. Eliot in agreeing with Sir H. H. Johnston's proposal, which was that the two Protectorates should be united under a High Commissioner assisted by three Deputy Commissioners—one for the coast, one for the Highlands and Kisumu, and one for Uganda, from which might be separated the Nile province, which could be added to the Sudan territories, and which could be supplied to a great extent by the Nile steamer. But if this arrangement be carried out, I—and I am sure the majority of settlers in the country will agree with me—should stipulate that the Deputy Commissioner for the Highlands should be brought in from some colony, and that he should be a man of tried ability, conversant with the necessities of a white agricultural population. But at the same time any change in administration which may delay the formation of a council on which settlers will be represented is to be strongly deprecated: and will cause intense irritation and dissatisfaction among the unofficial community.

Among other matters to be noted by the Colonial Office both in the consideration

of the amalgamation proposals and in the ordinary administration of the East Africa Protectorate, is the law under which all sections of the population of the two countries are to be governed. At present the Indian Penal Code is in force amplified by various ordinances and regulations which are continually being repealed, changed, or re-enacted, to such an extent that, as there is no means of discovering what law is really in force except through wading through columns of print and innumerable issues of the *Official Gazette*, in many cases it is almost an impossibility to discover what rule is for the time being law. The Indian Penal Code may work excellently in India, but it is inapplicable in an uncivilised country, while it is out of place in a young colony. I have heard it said that Canada is freer from crime than almost any other country, owing to the simplicity and paucity of its laws; but then Canada has been ruled and made by men who understand their business. I am aware that in a new country it is impossible to do without ordinances and regulations, but they should be changed as little as possible. But as files of the *Gazette* have to be searched and a new man at a station sometimes finds

them incomplete, great delay is caused, and a list of rules and regulations might well be published every six months, which would save delays and endless clerical work. I cannot resist, while on the subject of law in East Africa, relating the following anecdote, which I have every reason to believe to be a true one, and if it is not, perhaps some one will be kind enough to correct me. A settler and the employee of another settler had each certain articles of wearing apparel—to wit, a pair of boots and a pair of trousers—stolen by the same thief. The thief was arrested, and the two gentlemen who had been robbed were warned to appear on a certain date to prosecute. I should mention that the court where the trial was to take place was some fifty miles distant, and that there existed no sort of accommodation for travellers, which meant that any one proceeding there would be obliged to take a camp and outfit with him. The two prosecutors did not appear, possibly because one was without his boots, and the other did not wish to appear in public minus his nether garments, with the result that the thief was discharged, the two prosecutors were fined different sums for Contempt of Court, and the Revenue of the

Government was augmented by the confiscation, intentional or otherwise, of the stolen property.

It is greatly to be regretted that the Indian trader is such a power in the land, and there are unpleasant feelings of insecurity which should be dispelled at once. The authorities should confirm and amplify Sir C. Eliot's statement, that the Highlands should be kept for white settlers. Nairobi is to a great extent the property of Indians, to whom every opportunity of speculating in town sites at a minimum risk has been given. There is a great danger also that by means of mortgages they may become possessed of agricultural land, and for this reason, transfer of land except among white men should be forbidden. If, however, the Administration intends to go back on its word, let it do so at once before settlers have incurred greater losses. The Highlands are unfitted for Indians, but there is not so much reason why they should not be allowed to settle on the coast belt and also in the province of Kisumu, where crops peculiar to tropical climates flourish, and where white men cannot live in absolute comfort. The Indian currency was another incident of the Indian invasion,

and apparently as a parting shot in a death struggle, the Foreign Office proposed and has forced upon the unfortunate country that bastard coinage, the rupees and cents of Ceylon. The one saving clause is that paper notes will be issued, which will save great trouble and expense; but why, in the name of all that is wonderful, a coinage only current in a small Eastern island should be foisted upon a young, rising, white colony, whose trade will in the future be with white countries where the English coinage runs, passes all comprehension.

It is a great pity that there is practically no English steamship line running out to East Africa, the cargo boats of the British India being unable to contend with the foreign lines, and only carrying a percentage of the cargo, which is borne chiefly by the German East Africa, while the majority of the passenger traffic goes to the Austrian Lloyd. It is not only the traffic to and from East Africa and Uganda which should attract a steamship line, but a considerable amount of passenger and goods for the Congo Free State and German East Africa goes in and out *viâ* the Uganda Railway, while further south, besides German East Africa, there are British Central Africa,

Portuguese East Africa, and Delagoa Bay. It is said that the Steamship line, which would most naturally undertake the service, contends that it is at present not feasible, but granted a reasonable subsidy, a good English line would soon capture the majority of the east coast trade, and also would give a great impetus to colonisation and progress, at any rate, in East Africa.

CHAPTER VII

HUT TAX AND LABOUR SUPPLY

The value of the Pax Britannica—Tribal raids—The tribes and the payment of taxes—The hut tax—Payment in kind discountenanced—The value of a cash demand—A tax on wives—Difficulties of tax collection—Native collectors and their methods—An iniquitous system—The suppression of Indian stores—Freebooters and Government control—Labour supply—Unsuitability of rice food—Extravagant sportsmen—Rich casuals—Labour commission

*“ A little rule, a little sway,
A sunbeam in a winter’s day,
Is all the proud and mighty have
Between the cradle and the grave.”*

—DYER.

THE taxation of uncivilised people is a very complex question, and one which has to be treated most carefully. It may be argued that it is not right to tax natives living in their own land, but it must be remembered that if it were not for the Pax Britannica the tribes who pay tribute would be subject to raids (as they very often are in spite of

it) from their neighbours, and perhaps have to pay the equivalent of taxes to another and more powerful tribe. It seems fair, then, to demand certain payments in return for, at any rate, a show of protection and the opening up of trade. It is a matter for congratulation that many of the tribes pay taxes quite willingly, and that in many cases even the initial collection of them has been made without any opposition or bloodshed. The present taxation of natives takes the form of hut tax, which is supposed to vary from two to three rupees per hut per annum. The payments are made by means of sheep, goats, ivory, grain, labour, and cash. The payment in kind (such as sheep or goats) should be, I think, discouraged, except in the case of tribes who have no other means of making payment. One reason for discouraging payment in kind, in addition to those I shall refer to under grain payments, is because there is considerable risk of loss and wastage. The number of a flock of sheep driven into a station is frequently lessened *en route*, and often there is no immediate sale for them at the station. Payment¹ even in male ivory should

¹ In the French Congo a decree has been recently issued prohibiting the payment of taxes in ivory.

also be discouraged for obvious reasons, while immature male and any and all female ivory should be confiscated at sight, and the owners fined, unless in cases where the system has only just been initiated. It is difficult to determine whether the payment in grain, tobacco, cotton, etc., should be encouraged or not. I am strongly inclined to say "No" for the following reasons. One of the most important questions to be considered is that of labour, without a sufficiency of which no development can take place; and if much encouragement is given to the natives to pay their taxes in grain, etc., the supply of labour will visibly decrease. I am sure that as far as possible taxes should be paid entirely in labour and in cash. A demand for cash should be created among the natives, who would then have to obtain coin in order to pay their taxes. Thus the agricultural natives would be induced to work, and the pastoral natives both to work and trade, which they are not too willing to do. The former, it is only too true, by this means would be encouraged to grow produce for sale, but if the payment in produce was discouraged they would find it more difficult to sell their produce to dealers and merchants than if

they were able to just bring into a station enough to pay their yearly tribute and to have sufficient over to keep them till the following season. Except in a time of famine, when the native naturally makes an attempt to procure food by hook or by crook, he is quite content to only grow sufficient or earn sufficient to keep him, his only object in saving being to obtain cattle with which to purchase wives. It seems that a tax on wives on the system in force in parts of South Africa would help to create a supply of labour. There can be no doubt that at some future period the hut tax will be superseded by a poll tax, which, though not applicable at present to outlying districts, would be beneficial in towns and near stations where loafers and general riff-raff not only abound but flourish amazingly. There will always be some difficulty in collecting the taxes, and to perform this work in certain parts is at present an impossibility, owing to the great distances involved. Even when the country is properly controlled there will be isolated cases of oppression and injustice, especially if any system of passes is introduced by which the police will be empowered to enforce payment in the case of no pass or receipt for

taxes being forthcoming. While the country remains in its present state all taxes should be collected by a European officer in person; and where this is not possible, they should be collected through the chiefs and brought by them to a European official. When the chiefs are entrusted with the collection of the taxes it is customary to hand them a percentage of what they bring in, which is no doubt more or less necessary; but at the same time the chiefs probably take care that they benefit themselves beyond the extent of the percentage allowed them, and therefore the system cannot be entirely commended. Some of my readers may perhaps have perused Major Powell Cotton's "Unknown Africa," and Sir Charles Eliot's "The East African Protectorate." In both these books reference is made to the employment of Swahili hut tax collectors in the province of Kisumu. In the latter it is stated that their employment "has led to complaints," while in the former Major Cotton shows that although they were originally introduced in the hope of increasing receipts that their employment has really had the opposite effect. On no grounds can this policy be defended. The system was that certain Swahilis were employed to collect

hut tax from the Kavirondo, and in order to assist them in the execution of their "duties," they were each allowed to raise a small following of armed natives with whom they scoured the country. The method of paying these men was by giving them a percentage (I think 10 per cent.) of what they obtained, while the extra amount wrung by them from the unfortunate Kavirondo did not appear. Grave excesses were committed by these men and their followers, who were little better than authorised thieves. I cannot conceive how their employment ever came to be sanctioned or even thought of. I do not know, and I do not wish to know, who was primarily responsible for the initiation of this iniquitous system, which was done away with by Sir Donald Stewart, and had only been allowed to continue as long owing to the lack of funds, which did not allow of an adequate staff being stationed in the province. The system has had its evil consequences. North of Elgon are to be found parties of traders belonging to many tribes, and even several nationalities, who masquerade under the guise of Government employees, and who raid, collect taxes, and plunder more or less at their will, while owing to the lack of money and mounted

troops they are very seldom brought to book.

A reference to the Indian stores outside the sphere of influence or beyond the arm of the law will perhaps not be considered out of place. I should like to see these suppressed, because I know that they supply these gangs of freebooters and marauders with necessities which they otherwise could not acquire without coming or sending in to a station where they would be within reach of the Administration. If these permanent stores were abolished, the large encampments which are far beyond the reach of the law, and which are only semi-permanent, forming bases for flying trading and other expeditions into the far interior, where advantage is often taken of inter-tribal quarrels to join in and reap the benefits of victory, a great change would soon come over the outlying districts.

Hut tax, or whatever taxes are imposed on the natives, must have a great effect on the supply of labour for the Protectorate, and the state of the labour supply is at present very far from satisfactory. Much could be done to improve the existing state of things without any form of coercion: increase of the hut tax, or the expenditure

of money by adopting the means I have already referred to in my remarks on retrenchment — *i.e.*, the reduction of wages and the substitution of native or indigenous food for the expensive imported rice. The practice of feeding men on rice was no doubt originated by the Indian invasion, and by the absurd regulations governing the rationing of prisoners, and has been fostered and encouraged by rapacious merchants, both Indian and white, who are naturally unwilling to lose a good trade. The chief offenders, as I have already stated, are the Government, while following close upon their heels, are, I regret to say, one or two settlers, and the majority of wealthy, casual and exceedingly careless sportsmen who infest the railway and the districts adjoining. In many cases the blame does not lie with the sportsman, who arrives in a blissful state of ignorance and excitement, and believes what he is told by those who take him in tow, and foist every conceivable article upon him on the plea of necessity, regulation, and that abomination—custom. I blame many officials very much for trying to make sportsmen give their men rice; they are the very people

who for their own sakes should try to keep the rate of wages down. I know one case where some gentlemen from South Africa, who had come into the country with the intention of selecting farms, were made to pay ordinary up-country porters ten rupees per month and feed them on rice, when the wage of the district was from six to eight rupees, or less, and native flour; thus these men had to pay two or more rupees per man per month, plus an anna per man *per diem*, more than was necessary, and this arrangement was officially made. Sometimes sportsmen, who should know better, seem to delight in spending money in a ridiculous fashion, and in pandering to all the wants and fancies of their boys; one, at least, has described almost gleefully how the headman of the caravan practically refused to leave the precincts of bazaars and stores, and how the men were fed, not only on rice, but also on the game killed, which was thrown in as an extra. These practices should be put down, as it will be impossible to get men to work for a wage which settlers can afford to pay if rich casuals can come in for a few months and provide a very large number of men with sufficient to keep them in affluence for

a considerable time, and ration them on expensive food which they should not be allowed. Men working on a farm may naturally expect a present of a meat ration over and above their "posho"¹ once in a way; and if they do not get it, no doubt some of the settler's flock will die in some mysterious manner, and the boys will devour the carcase with gusto. I can truthfully say that during my two expeditions to East Africa, with the exception of my first week in the country, not a single man ever had a handful of imported food, with the exception of my personal Somalis, in spite of all efforts of merchants and others to induce me to ration my men on rice, and I have never had any trouble whatever, and I always took very good care that no game killed was wasted in any shape or form.

At the time of writing I believe there is a commission sitting in East Africa to consider the question of labour regulations and laws, and it is devoutly to be hoped that their efforts will be made in the right direction, as at present everything is apparently for the native and nothing for the employer, who has no security and no redress. The commission consists of Mr Jackson,² Mr Ainsworth,

¹ Posho=daily allowance of food.

² Sub-Commissioner Ukamba Province.

and Mr Currie, the manager of the Uganda Railway; great discontent has been caused by the fact that the settlers on this commission have no representation, which feeling of dissatisfaction is doubtless intensified by the fact that the Colonists' Association had two representatives on the Land Commission. Surely the one question is identical with, and of as vital importance to settlers as the other. Moreover, I am afraid that the constitution of the commission after Mr Jackson's attitude in the Eliot incident will not be popular; and although this commission will probably take evidence and will only make proposals to Sir Donald Stewart, it will be felt that it is by no means certain that the proposals will be satisfactory. To my mind a better commission could have been formed by the appointment of the manager of the Uganda Railway, the Director of Agriculture, a legal official, with a representative of the Colonists' Association with their legal adviser, and with Mr Jackson or Mr Ainsworth as chairman. I think, then, that all interests would have been represented, no one would have anything to cavil at, and the Government would (with the chairman's casting vote) have been in the

majority of five to two—large enough for any bureaucratic administration.

At present, with the exception of the Swahilis, the coast people who are expensive, the Kikuyu and Wakamba from whom the chief supply of labour is drawn, dislike going very far from their own country for any length of time, and often desert in a few days, leaving the employer minus workmen, and sometimes confronted with the loss of the railway fares paid to convey them to his station.

The Kavirondo, who are only fair workers, but who are content with a very low wage, and who do not object to serve for a sufficiently long period, seemed to be a source of labour supply which should be fostered and used; but owing to the sleeping sickness in the islands of the Lake and Uganda, and also to the recent outbreak of plague at Kisumu, the supply is most limited.

Labour bureaux should be opened in different districts where the chiefs should be induced to supply labour, and where settlers could obtain men at a fair wage on a definite contract. There would be no objection on the part of the settlers to pay registration fees, etc., if the Government would do its duty, fulfil its contract, and see that the

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native performs the work he agrees to do. Collectors and assistant collectors should ascertain at once what available labour exists in their districts, and forward returns to the labour bureau of the province. The time which would be thus taken up would be far better employed in this way than in writing triplicate returns, and in collecting the folk-lore of the various tribes for purposes foreign to the actual development of the country and the interests of the British tax-payer.

CHAPTER VIII

SETTLEMENT OF THE COUNTRY

East Africa as a white man's country—No attempt to procure immigrants—Hampering settlers—Inventing restrictions—A private estate of the Foreign Office—A dog-in-the-manger policy—The grant to Zionists—A history of settlers' difficulties—The change to the Colonial Office—A final warning

*"Be where you list, your charter is so strong
That you yourself may privilege your time
To what you will; to you it doth belong
Yourself to pardon of self doing crime.
I am to wait, though waiting so be hell
Not blame your pleasure, be it ill or well."*

—SHAKESPEARE.

FROM the very first all reports forwarded to the home authorities from East Africa have maintained that the Protectorate offered great possibilities as a farming land and generally as a white man's country, yet for many years practically no steps whatever were taken to prepare the country for settlement, or to attempt to induce men to immigrate. In

drawing up the land regulations, and even up to the time of the transfer of the country to the Colonial Office, both the home and local authorities seemed actuated by fear lest any unfortunate individual should make money in East Africa, and appeared to go almost out of the way to hamper him and invent restrictions. The authorities really seemed to think that the country should be a kind of private estate of the Foreign Office, and that every one should be kept in abject subjection, and not be allowed to call anything his or her own. It is hard to determine what the reason was for this dog-in-the-manger policy, and the explanation may be the same as is perhaps applicable to the backward state of the country. In old days progress was necessarily slow, individuals often did the work of Government, and found and practically made new countries; but when France and Germany appeared on the scene as candidates for or rivals in colonisation of the Dark Continent, the Government had to hustle in an unaccustomed way, and evinced extraordinary jealousy of anything in the way of private enterprise. They had, however, no right to commit themselves to schemes, unless they were capable and willing to carry them through effectually. When,

towards the end of 1903 it was announced that a large tract of land had been offered to the Zionists to the exclusion of English settlers, a wave of indignation passed through East Africa, and every one in England who knew anything of the country was at a loss to know to what new act of imbecility the Foreign Office had committed itself. In the attempts made to justify this absurd and dangerous offer, it was stated that it was found almost impossible to attract settlers to the country. At the time the offer was made public this excuse was untrue, as despite the many difficulties and annoyances the tide of immigration had commenced to flow.

The following is a short account of the difficulties which confronted the unfortunate pioneer up to 1903, with some of the main restrictions and regulations. First and foremost came the ridiculous law, which was repealed almost immediately, that no settler might keep goats without express permission.

ii. Provided always that the Commissioner may, in any particular case, insert special additional conditions, when he shall deem such to be necessary.

iii. The right of the occupier to *cut* or sell the timber, if any, situated on the land,

and to get, work, or take away any minerals or precious stones in, upon, or under the land, shall form the subject of a special agreement to be inserted in each certificate.

iv. That the occupier will develop the land as provided in this certificate, and within the first five years of his holding will either plant at least one-quarter of the land with coffee, cocoa, cotton, indigo, rubber or other plants approved by the Commissioner, and will maintain the land and the above-mentioned plants in a proper state of cultivation to the satisfaction of the Commissioner, or will maintain upon the land at least — (here insert the number of cattle, sheep, or other animals to be maintained) — and will not, without the written permission of the Commissioner, use the land except for residence and for the purpose of cultivation, grazing, or of the operations connected with cultivation or grazing.

v. That, if at any time the occupier fails to perform, or contravenes any of the remaining conditions of this certificate, the Commissioners may declare the land forfeited, and may remove the occupier from the land without compensation.

vi. Travellers shall be allowed to encamp

with their servants, animals, waggons, and baggage, for a period not exceeding forty-eight hours on *any land purchased* or leased from the Crown under this ordinance, which is uncultivated, and which is not within a quarter of a mile of a dwelling-house, and shall be allowed access, or their servants and animals, to any river, stream, or lake upon the land.

vii. Any person refusing to allow travellers to camp or to have access to water under this section, or interfering with travellers who are encamped, or any traveller refusing after request from the owner or lessee of the land to depart after the expiration of forty-eight hours, or interfering in any way with the comfort or convenience of the owner or lessee of the land, shall be guilty of an offence, and liable to a fine not exceeding 1000 rupees, or to imprisonment of either kind not exceeding two months, or to both.

viii. The Commissioner may at any time hereafter enter upon any land sold or leased under this Ordinance, and take therefrom stone and other material for the making or repairing of roads, railways, canals, or other public works.

ix. If the materials are taken from

cultivated land, compensation shall be payable by the Commissioner, but not otherwise.

HOMESTEADS

i. Within six months the settler shall fence or mark out in a distinct manner, to the satisfaction of the land officer, the whole of his selection, including any pre-empted land.

ii. Where a holding has forest on it, at least 10 per cent. shall be kept in perpetuity as forest land, and be maintained to the satisfaction of the forest officer. For this purpose any belt of forest, if not less than one chain in width, shall be accepted as forest. When there is less than 10 per cent. of forest in the holding, the settler must raise the amount of forest to the required proportion, provided that he shall not be compelled to create more than 5 per cent. of new forest in any event.

iii. Price four rupees (5s. 4d.) per acre payable at the expiration of three years. Provided that the settler may spread the payment over a period of sixteen years, paying at the rate of four annas per acre per annum without interest, with a right to

pay the whole or part of the outstanding balance at any time in sums of 100 rupees, or a multiple thereof.

Settlers will be permitted to draw only a reasonable amount of water from any *lake, pond,* source, or stream being on or passing through their homesteads, and may not pump up water for any but domestic purposes; or draw up or divert, or in any way interfere with the natural flow of water either directly or indirectly (as by sinking wells so as to diminish a stream), except with special leave, to be obtained from the land officer in writing, for temporary purposes not exceeding a period of one year, or by Crown Lease if for any longer period than one year.

All timber on a homestead is the *property* of the *Crown*. Settlers may use so much as they may require for their own purposes on the homestead, but may not take any timber without permission of the Forest Office, and may not clear away timber except for the purpose of cultivation.

Every settler who keeps live stock must provide fences to prevent his stock from straying off his own land.

GRAZING LAND

i. Land suitable for grazing will be let on twenty-one years' lease up to a total of 3000 acres at a rent of one anna per acre per annum.

ii. Land taken up on grazing lease must be fenced in within two years, if the area rented does not exceed 1000 acres. If the area rented exceeds 1000 acres, the first thousand acres must be fenced in two years, the second thousand in three and a half, and the third thousand in four and a half years.

iii. Tenants must be prepared to import their fencing, as the Government will not ordinarily supply timber from the forests for the purpose.

iv. All leases of grazing lands will be conditional upon the erection of proper fencing, and until the land is fenced the lessee shall have no exclusive right to use the land.

Every tenant of a grazing area shall within five years stock his run with at least one head of horses or cattle or ten sheep for each seven acres.

In the case of water-courses running through a grazing tenancy, the tenant will not be

entitled to the exclusive use of the water; and the same prohibitions in regard to its use will be enforced as in cases of water running through homesteads. As a rule, a strip of at least 100 feet on either side of a permanent water-course will be reserved by the Crown. When grazing land is let, the Crown will reserve the right to grant a passage to water to neighbouring tenants at such points, and upon such conditions, as the land officer may from time to time determine.

All timber and saplings on grazing areas will be reserved to the Crown, and may not be felled without permission.

Besides these laws import duties were charged on nearly all articles including even seeds till 1903, and up to June, or later, in 1904 horses also had to pay duty.

From the foregoing it will be seen that it was a practical impossibility for any one to obtain land, and even when in August 1902 a notice was issued for the sale of land, it was not obtainable at a reasonable rate. Moreover, sub-commissioners had the power to refuse land without reason—a dog-in-the-manger policy which was pursued in more than one case.

What the Government expected, I cannot

think. They could not suppose that free men would come into a new untried country, and be satisfied with a grazing lease of 3000 acres for twenty-one years, and only to have common rights with wandering, thieving natives, the only alternative to which being that they would be compelled to import timber from abroad, when there were thousands of square miles of forests of both valuable timber and timber fit only for fencing or firewood. Free access to this land for forty-eight hours was insisted upon, but there were no restrictions or conditions by which the settlers could move on or keep off thieves, suspected persons, or persons or animals with contagious or infectious diseases, who might contaminate their land, flocks, and even their drinking water. It is doubtless necessary to provide rights-of-way, but there should be clauses by which damage and danger to life should be avoided. Yet no precautions appear to have been taken in this respect. To be compelled to plant their land according to the wish or caprice of every short-lived commissioner, and to be obliged to keep a certain head of stock per acre in an untried country, were impossible conditions. Mr Jackson, whose name appears as signing these land regulations, was both consistent and

inconsistent in his attitude during the discussion of the Masai question; consistent in that his laws made settlement a practical impossibility, and inconsistent in that in the same laws he attempts to compel a settler to keep ten sheep on every seven acres, while in many parts of Australia land capable of carrying one sheep per acre is considered good, and worth £2 per acre freehold. In 1903 he states that sheep farming in East Africa is an unknown quantity!

In addition to the regulation under which a settler was to conform to all conditions which might be made by the Commissioner, the settler was liable, if he did not carry out all regulations, to ejection from his holding without compensation, even after perhaps spending several years of his life and sinking his capital in an untried and strange country; surely no such unjust and arbitrary law existed under any other so-called civilised government.

It will be also noticed that the Commissioner was empowered to obtain and take without compensation, any building material from any land not actually cultivated.

All water rights were reserved to the Crown, and all land was subject to any future Government irrigation schemes, good

or bad. A settler could not even use a pond or lake which might be entirely surrounded by his land for any purpose other than those actually domestic; he might not pump for irrigation even.

Within six months a settler on a homestead was to fence or mark out to the satisfaction of the land officer his whole selection, with *imported timber*, the Government refusing to supply timber from the forests; and every man keeping stock was to fence.

It may be argued that perhaps some of these rules and regulations might not have been enforced if men had freely taken up land, but they were quite sufficient to prevent a great many from attempting to immigrate. I think that the foregoing will have effectually proved that the authorities did not do their best to attract men before offering the Uashin Gishu Plateau to the Zionists. If it had been proposed to settle the country with slaves or convicts, the land laws up to 1903 might not have caused so much surprise; but that a code of laws containing such provisions as I have attempted to describe and intended for the regulation of a free white settle-

ment, should have emanated from any place other than Colney Hatch, is, to say the least, curious.

In January 1903 Sir Charles Eliot issued a new and very fairly liberal set of land laws, and later in the year, in May, free grants of land not exceeding 640 acres were obtainable. Under these laws great progress was made, and the immigration increased for the country, enormously, only to be checked by the unfortunate decision of the Foreign Office in the Eliot incident. This caused a great set-back, which was luckily remedied by Sir Donald Stewart almost immediately after his arrival. I stated in an article in the *Nineteenth Century* in 1903 that the feeling in certain circles in East Africa towards settlers was not what it should have been, and this statement has been substantiated by Sir Charles Eliot in the same publication in 1904. I do not understand how the feeling arose, and it is a thousand pities that it ever did so. That a number of ruffians arrived in East Africa to attempt to settle, or make what they could, and that a certain number are there still, cannot be denied, and I agree that the country would be far better off without them. But to

condemn all for the faults of a few is not fair; and the settlers as a class were branded as 'unclean without deserving it, and deeply resented the only too freely-used expressions "land grabbers," and epithets applied to the word "settler." This was the commencement of the feeling which at one time rose to almost bursting-point; and in proof of this statement, it was thought by one official politic and necessary to write a personal letter to an influential settler to ask him to deny the statements circulating to the effect settlers were not wanted. I think this letter did a certain amount of good, and it was meant in the proper spirit. I hardly believe that the feeling at first arose altogether in East Africa, and cannot help thinking that it was originated to a great extent at home, and by the policy pursued there. It is to be hoped that now this feeling will die out, and that all opposition to settlement has ceased; while now the country is under the Colonial Office, the slate has, metaphorically speaking, been cleaned, and the Protectorate has entered on a new phase in its history with a clean sheet and, it is to be hoped, a time of prosperity. A land commission was appointed by Sir Donald

Stewart towards the end of 1804, and on representation by the Colonists' Association, two settlers were appointed to sit with the official members, a concession which gave satisfaction, and which must be regarded as tacit acquiescence in the demand that settlers must be given some form of representation.

In the future it must be understood that, with the already mentioned exceptions to Indians and natives, the free¹ transfer of land is absolutely essential, if the country is going to prosper. It is quite right to proceed cautiously with the sales and leases of land, but it must be remembered that very few go to a new country to be tenants, or to be content with making a bare living; if they can buy the land they will be content to live and slowly develop their own, and a living, in that case, will satisfy many. But any restrictions as to transfer between white men (proved undesirable excepted) will be fatal. Men cannot be expected to develop their land in the same fashion when leased as they would when it is freehold. If the Government wish to preserve the country as a *domaine privé*e and the settlers as tenants, then they should be prepared to pay for their amusement, and should perform the ordinary duties of a landlord. This

¹ Appendix.

they certainly will not do, and therefore the idea of only selling a few acres and leasing the remainder is a preposterous policy which cannot long continue. The present laws limit a settler to 1000 acres freehold. I cannot conceive whence this idea originated, or what is its object, for a sheep farm of 1000 acres is a childish impossibility. The Government can always share the prosperity of individuals by taxation, and therefore the objection to sell the land, which is supposed to emanate from the Treasury at home, becomes frivolous and certainly vexatious. No doubt the Treasury, as well as the local authorities, are terrified by the Bogey of Speculation; perchance there is a motto hidden away in the archives of the Treasury: "No Speculation." Speculation is bad when the land is largely taken up by rich syndicates, who can afford to sit still, do practically nothing, and wait for a rise in values; but when individuals prove that they are developing the land, whether they mean eventually to sell or not, the condition is different. Speculation, whether successful or unsuccessful, is a good thing for the country. Would there be a railway in the world, or a

ship on the ocean, if there had not been speculation? Would there be any business in any country if it were not for speculation? If it is thought best to keep a band of struggling men in East Africa till they give up in despair, then "No Speculation" is an excellent motto to follow; but if it is, on the other hand, thought better to make the country a flourishing colony, then place practically no restrictions on land transfers¹ and encourage men to develop as well and as fast as they can, whether they do so for speculation, or only to make a home.

Mr Wason in his recent book on East Africa and Uganda makes some very useful observations on the settlements, and valuable suggestions for the reception of settlers by a Government official, who should provide for their immediate transport up country, and for their accommodation at an average price, so as to save them the expenses of hotels and agents. But Mr Wason, although perfectly correct in declaiming against grants of land to syndicates who have no intention of doing more than absolutely necessary, apparently wishes no one man to hold more than 640 acres for either cultivation or grazing. This,

¹ See Appendix.

if carried out, would have a more paralyzing effect on the development of the country than any present opposition to transfer of land. For even now 10,000 acres can be obtained by suitable settlers, on proof of sufficient capital, for grazing purposes. If the country were to consist of Cockatoos or small men holding 640 acres, and there were not men in the country with capital, no real progress could be made; it would be impossible, there would be no one to make experiments or import stock from home or the Colonies, and individual enterprise would not only be strangled, but there would be no one able to embark in any venture. Individual enterprise is the greatest asset a country can possess, and any restrictions will be fatal. No country can prosper unless the people are well-to-do, and no inhabitants of any country can thrive unless private individuals or firms are flourishing. That chaos in the land settlement reigned, and reigns even now to a great extent, I admit, and have said so on more than one occasion; but to attempt to remedy it by parcelling the country into small allotment holdings would be madness. Small holders are very valuable people, and to a great extent

should be encouraged, as long as they are capable of making a living, but a country cannot be developed without capital, and a man with capital could not, and would not, attempt to make anything of 640 acres

CHAPTER IX

LAND AND PROSPECTS OF SETTLERS

The Protectorate and its boundaries—Zones—Temperatures—
A tropical and rich strip—The water question—Government boring experiments—A white man's country—Nairobi—Lord Delamere's estate—Lord Hindlip's station—The third zone

*"There's no sense in going further—'tis the edge of cultivation,
So they said and I believed it—broke my land and sowed
my crops.*

*Built my barns and strung my fences in the little border
station,*

*Tucked away below the foothills where the track runs out
and stops."*

—RUDYARD KIPLING.

IN this chapter I shall endeavour to describe the country, beginning at the coast and following the railway line to the Lake; I should, however, warn intending settlers that nearly all the available land along the line has been taken up, and immigrants will have to go further afield, unless they prefer and are able to purchase a "going concern"—in some cases, perhaps, a preferable course.

The Protectorate is bounded on the east by

the Indian Ocean, on the north by the Italian Benadir coast and the Juba river as far as the undefined Abyssinian boundary, on the west by Uganda and the Victoria Nyanza, and by German East Africa on the south. The country can be divided for present purposes into three zones, of which the coast or first zone should, to be accurate, be subdivided into three. Mombasa, the chief port and terminus of the railway, is naturally in the first or actual coast zone, which stretches for some ten to twenty miles or more inland from the sea. In the town, the official tables show that in the cool season, July to October, the thermometer often falls in the evening to 70 degrees Fahr. (I should have thought lower), and in the hot season, January to April, the nights are cool, and the temperature does not rise in the daytime above 90 degrees; these figures, I suppose, apply to the whole coast belt. This strip is tropical and not too healthy, but it is rich, and offers a greater field for immediate returns on speculation than the healthier or higher plateaux. The vegetation consists of mangrove forests, cocoanut palms, mangoes, fibrous plants, such as sisal and sansvirei; while bananas, pineapples, oranges, limes can be obtained at the proper time of

year. There are also forests of valuable timber and of rubber, while the mangrove forests have been already successfully exploited. Labour is fairly easily obtained; and if the natives had, like the tramps at home, to show "visible means of sustenance," it would be very much more plentiful. Within ten miles of the island European vegetables are grown to a certain extent, such as potatoes, cabbage, carrots, beetroot, and turnips, while maize, native cassava, and sweet potato are also cultivated; and these foregoing remarks can, I believe, be applied to Lamu and the Tana river districts, where it is expected that cotton will be grown to a considerable extent, but where the question of labour is a serious one, and where the river is not under control. Beyond the twenty miles or so of actual coast strip the bush becomes thicker and wider, interspersed with fibrous plants; at Samburu, forty-three miles from Mombasa and 910 feet above sea-level, low scrub and euphorbias predominate, and while maize is grown, water is very, very scarce. There is nothing further of any great interest till Makindu, miles 209; and from there to Kiu, some fifty-eight miles might be termed the third subdivision of the coast zone. In this part there is some

fair grazing land, but nearly up to Kiu water is scarce, and the soil is thought to be too porous for the construction of dams. This is the opinion of the three South African colonists, who also state that they found excellent grazing for cattle, goats, and indigenous sheep, which they think should thrive. They express doubts as to the rainfall being sufficient for agricultural purposes, and fear that owing to the scarcity of water irrigation would be hardly possible. Personally, although in this respect I do not care to put my opinion forward against theirs, I think and sincerely hope that they have exaggerated the drawbacks of this district. I believe that in time some of the subterranean rivers which are universally believed to flow somewhere under this part of the country will be tapped, and the country supplied with water by means of Artesian wells. At Mile 61, the Government were boring for water in October last, and their experiments will be followed with great interest. I now come to the second zone, or the real white man's country. The Kapiti and Athi plains extend from Mile 280 to Nairobi 328, and are noted chiefly for the herds of game, gangs of gunners, and the quantity and ferociousness of the ticks: near the Athi river,

Mile 311, these pests are particularly bad. These plains will do for stock, if the ticks are not too deadly. At present I am afraid that they would be. South of the railway and these plains is the Masai Land game reserve in which the East African Syndicate's soda lake lies, and to which they will build a railway probably from Kiu. At Mile 328 is Nairobi, the future capital of the Protectorate, at an altitude of 5450 feet. I have discussed the healthiness and the questionable site of the town before; the days are not very hot, and the nights are cool, if not actually cold. The headquarters of the railway and troops are here, while the other Government departments will probably very soon be established here also, with the exception of one or two such as the Customs, which are inseparable from the coast. A building stone of good quality is plentiful in the vicinity, and is being freely used. Three hotels—one recently failed, I believe—were running last year, but another well-built one, with first-class accommodation, situated on the hill should pay. A town hall, market-place, Indian and native bazaars, all find their places; while to provide amusement are a race-course,¹ where races are held twice

¹ Races. See Appendix.

a year, cricket ground, an agricultural show, and the Colonists' Association rooms. Quite a number of blue gums have been planted, which serve three extremely useful purposes: they provide shade, they look very well, and they diminish the unhealthiness of a malarious situation. A branch of the Bank of India has been opened, and it is to be devoutly hoped that they will soon have a rival in the field, for the practical monopoly which they hold, though perhaps excellent for the shareholders, is by no means as advantageous to their clients. Although living is cheap in Nairobi, as the Government is so backward in the matter of a survey of the country, they might well assist intending settlers, and might provide accommodation for *bonâ fide* men at a minimum rate. Nairobi is, not unnaturally, at present the chief centre of settlement, and land has been taken up towards Fort Hall and the north for a distance of some thirty miles; this, the Kikuyu country, on the whole, is essentially an agricultural district as opposed to a grazing and stock-raising one, though for the combination of the two I prefer the land further west, where the stock-raising prospects are infinitely superior and the agricultural possibilities, in my mind, hardly inferior.

Passing from Nairobi along the line there is evidence on all sides of the strides made during the last two years, and no doubt, on my return I shall, I hope, see more signs of increasing development and prosperity. After cresting the Kikuyu escarpment the railway brings one down to the fine grazing lands round Naivasha Gilgil and Elmentcita, to the north of which lies the valuable sheep-runs of the East African Syndicate, which, owing to the Masai flocks, are perhaps better prepared to be immediately stocked with wool-bearing sheep than any other land in the country. Near Naivasha are also the Government stock farm and zebra ranche, both of which I have spoken of in previous chapters. Beyond Elmentcita, Nakuru is reached, and northward from here towards Lake Baringo some twenty-three farms have, I believe, been taken up for South African farmers. These nestle under the foot of the hills of Laikipia, on the high plateaux of which range is the land reserved for the Masai. Almost adjoining these farms on the north of the line is Lord Delamere's station, a leasehold property of 100,000 acres, a great deal of which, although not the finest land, is a tract of country well fitted for carrying a large stock of sheep, and apparently

sufficiently watered to guard against even a most serious drought. On this station a settler can obtain more object lessons on the way of cross-breeding and of imported sheep, as well as the crossing of cattle, than he could in almost the whole of the rest of the Protectorate put together. On the south side of the railway between Nakuru and Njoro Stations lies my own station, which, although in an embryo state, may show not uninteresting trials and experiments, and where the *bonâ fide* settler, of whatever means will always be cordially welcomed. Adjoining my own land, also on the south of the line, is the estate of Messrs Sheen and Tunstall, who are trying to succeed by growing oil seeds, and whose previous experiences in India and Ceylon will no doubt prove of great value, not only to themselves, but to their neighbours. At Mile 476 is the sawmill belonging to Lord Delamere and Dr Atkinson; while not far beyond, along the line reaching to Londiani, are several farms taken up by South Africans. Southwards is the Lumbwa country, and south again the Sotik, which country is at present disturbed and unfit for colonisation, but both of which will no doubt shortly provide a considerable tract for settlement. West of

Londiani and north of the railway beyond the foot-hills lies the Nandi plateau, said to be one of the most promising districts in the whole country, but which, owing to the turbulence of the natives, is practically a closed district. Clover is said to be unusually abundant in this part, which should be a great consideration. North of the Nandi plateau is the Uasingishu plateau, which was offered to the Zionists, and which will, I am sure, prove to be both a stock-raising and agricultural district which will be very hard to beat. It is a country for large farms, as the homesteads and buildings will have to be built near the fringes of the forests, and the runs stretch out into the open plains. The only drawback is that it is a little way off the railway, but when transport is better and roads or tracts are made, that difficulty will be to a great extent overcome. This plateau extends for a considerable distance northwards, the grazing still being good when the bush is reached, but growing coarse after crossing the first tributary or affluent of the Nzoia. Returning to the line after dropping down from the main plateau Fort Ternan (Mile 536) is reached, and here, with the exception of the high ground to the north, the edge of the white man's country proper is reached.

Beyond Fort Ternan another drop of some 800 feet runs before at Mohoroni, the third zone begins stretching to the lake at Mile 584. Near Mohoroni there is good grazing, but west of Fort Ternan I should be doubtful about importing stock; this third zone is really hardly fitted for a white man's home. It has been thought that cotton and ground nuts should do well in this district. An Indian settlement has been started at Kibos, which is reported to be making progress. In the Kavirondo country, in addition to the crops grown by the natives and stock-raising, I think that rice should succeed; but this again is hardly a district for a settler's permanent home. The country lying to the north of Kenia and across the Guaso Nyiro is practically an unknown quantity, and by many is supposed to be useless; personally I am very sceptical of this, and until it has been stated by a party of competent men to be of no value I shall believe from what I have been told that the country, except where an absolute desert, has great possibilities for wool-producing and stock-raising.

CHAPTER X

SUGGESTIONS FOR SETTLERS

Minimum capital for intending settler—Ploughs—Oxen—Stock
different districts will carry—Medicine—Stock to import—
Fencing—Housing—Native languages

*"It was our fault, and our very great fault, and now we must
turn it to use ;*

*We have forty million reasons for failure, but not a single
excuse."*

—KIPLING.

UNTIL fit and proper preparations are made to receive immigrants and a survey of the country has been made, so that settlers shall not be put to the expense and inconvenience of wandering over the Protectorate, any intending immigrant from this country should ascertain as much as possible about the districts likely to suit the style of farming he fancies, and also he should try to find some firm connected with the country who could perhaps select one or two pieces of land for him to choose from on arrival. The

Government reports state that £300 is the minimum capital to be possessed by an intending settler; personally, I should say £500, and I am inclined to say that till proper preparations are made, such as I have already suggested in former chapters, £1000 should be taken out intact. I had formerly thought that £300 would suffice, but then I was almost guilty of the folly of "putting my trust in princes," for I never dreamt that the survey would not have taken place, and that *bureaux*, etc., would not have been established long ere this. If the settler has made up his mind to settle in East Africa, and has made the necessary enquiries, he will find that it will save time, trouble, and expense in taking a few absolutely essential agricultural implements out with him, for at present they are practically unobtainable in the country, and a good firm with enterprise might make a good thing out of supplying first-class machines. The rolling disc stump-jumping ploughs, such as are used in Australia, are the most serviceable; the discs can be taken off or added at will, according to the nature and state of the soil, and the depth at which it is desirable to plough. Oxen are, and will be for many

years to come, the chief beast for traction and agricultural purposes: their prices varying from a little over £1 upwards for untrained animals, and from £3 upwards for trained or broken ones. Their size is generally small, and they will no doubt improve when crossed with — preferably — Hereford bulls. Horses are few and expensive, an animal of any size at all costing £30 at least; and although there are one or two imported stallions in the country, and the attention of some is being turned to horse-breeding, heavy losses have been incurred, and the enterprise is one of, at present, greater risk than almost any other. It would be of great service if a first-class expert were to be sent out to fully investigate the horse diseases of the country. Apparently the beginning of the rains is, as usual, the most dangerous period. Mules are scarce, and cost anything from £20 upwards: the last mail from East Africa stating that they were not to be purchased for love or money. This state of things will soon, doubtless, be remedied, for a mule's value is very great. Donkeys which are bred by the Masai and Suk, are not easily obtained in any number, they are of a fair

size, and are most useful for pack animals, and could be used as in South Africa for drawing waggons, etc., while they are liable to fewer diseases than any other domestic animal. Zebras and hybrids, as yet, cannot be taken into consideration. It is too soon to state what head of stock different districts can or will carry. It is, however, certain that many parts will have to be heavily stocked to keep down and break in the rough pasturage; but statements that certain districts will carry as many as four sheep to the acre, seem to me to be almost rash; and, although not traversing these assertions, I will content myself by saying that they should not be taken as absolutely proved. Imported bulls and cows must be taken care of, and should not be imported until arrangements can be made for their accommodation and a crop of some suitable fodder grown, as the local forage is not only expensive, but the supply is at present uncertain.

A store of medicine should be laid in, and will be found invaluable. Very few of the animals, both native and imported, which die receive proper treatment, and I firmly believe that the death-rate among cattle and sheep will be greatly decreased by judicious use of drugs

and dips, and with proper attention and food on arrival. For milking purposes the Shorthorn will be probably the best for a number of years. A Jersey strain might be introduced later, but not until more is known and a free market is available for dairy produce. It might not be unwise, and would certainly be interesting, if a Friesland bull were imported from Holland; the breed is popular in South Africa for dairying. For stock-raising, both for meat and for working bullocks, the Hereford is undoubtedly the best animal. He is extremely hardy, is a good beast for meat, and matures more quickly than the equally hardy Polled Angus, which is thought much of in the Protectorate. Among live stock sheep offer the quickest and surest means of success, and the Merino from Australia or New Zealand has been found to be the best animal for crossing with the native hairy beast, as well as the hardiest of the different varieties imported as yet. Personally, I sent out a couple of Hampshire rams and half a dozen ewes, and, so far, they are doing very well; but it is too early yet to say whether they will be more successful than other English breeds, though I am inclined to think that they will be. The opinion has been

expressed that parts of Mau and similar districts are unfitted for wool-bearing sheep on account of heavy rainfall. I do not share this apprehension, but should it be so, it does not necessarily mean that the districts are unfitted for sheep; it probably only indicates that sheep will have to be grown for meat instead of wool, as in the Argentine, where the sheep are fed on natural grasses in the summer, and on stacks of Lucerne in the winter. The chief drawback will be the delay before there is a cold storage to handle the carcasses.

It has been found that with the Merino crossing with the native 65 per cent. and upwards of lambs should be obtained, and possibly this percentage may improve. Sheep can be bought at from 4s. to 8s. per head; the former is the price that hut tax sheep and captured sheep are sold at by the Government.

Some of the South African settlers have lately been agitating for the withdrawal of the restrictions placed on the importation of South African sheep, and a circular has by order of the Commissioner been sent to the owners of imported sheep. I expressed myself strongly against the importation of any stock from South Africa, except under

the most stringent regulations and examinations. There are quite sufficient diseases to battle with in East Africa already without the importation of others from South Africa, where the Merino sheep, at any rate, are, or were, of a poor description. I also recommend compulsory dipping of all wool-bearing sheep, which has been so successfully carried out in Australia, and a law for the same is now being introduced in this country. Goat breeding with imported Angora animals is said to offer good prospects, and should do in districts where Mérimos and wool sheep will not.

Imported pigs thrive in East Africa, and the produce of Berkshires are especially sought after by settlers; there is little expense attached to the breeding and keep of pigs, and the chief danger in sending them out from this country is the heat.

There is, I think, an opening for a butter manufactory in the Highlands as well as for the already established Dairies near Nairobi. Butter in Nairobi and Mombasa costs 2s. per pound, while some of the inhabitants get their butter from Uganda, nearly 800 miles distant from Mombasa. A butter business could be easily started; the chief difficulty would lie in obtaining agencies at Nairobi and Mombasa.

If this were carried out no doubt the Fleet and some of the liners would be glad to obtain fresh butter. While eventually it is not unreasonable to hope that a considerable trade in butter would be opened with the United Kingdom, especially considering the enormous amount exported annually from Australia, which country is much farther from England. This, as well as the trade in frozen beef and mutton, can only be commenced when there is the capital in the country and cold storages, etc., are established to deal with the produce; but it might just as well be remembered that East Africa is a British possession, and when preferential tariffs or retaliation comes, as it surely will, the country will have a very considerable advantage as regards the trade with Great Britain in dairy produce, frozen beef, etc., over such countries as Denmark, Holland, Argentine, the United States, etc.

The question of fencing¹ is a serious one, and as it is expensive the settler should not fence more land than he actually requires. He will, of course, have to ensure that his stock is safely enclosed at night in a place where they will be secure from lions, leopards, hyænas, etc., and it will often be necessary to have a guard all night. Herd-

¹ Of course fencing lessens the danger of disease among stock.

ing is resorted to in the daytime—the Masai making very good herds. Fences should be protected from grass fires by the land being ploughed up on each side of the fence for some eight or ten feet. The East African grass fire is a poor thing, and cannot be compared to a serious fire in Australia. It is as well when fencing to take some precaution against the ravages of white ants; a simple and inexpensive method of protection being partially filling up the post-hole with ashes of burnt grass, twigs, rubbish, etc., and charring the stake. Cultivated land, where there is much game in the vicinity, will have to be carefully fenced, and in the neighbourhood of forest wire-netting will be very useful to keep out small animals such as duikers. Barbed and plain wire, as well as corrugated iron sheets, are best got at home, and will, I think, be obtained thus cheaper; all these are necessary. The settler will at first be content with a grass hut. It is a mistake, I think, to build these too elaborately; I would suggest separate houses, if there are more than two in the family, for sleeping and eating rooms, which should be pulled down and burnt and others built when, after about nine months' time,

other occupants have arrived, and then even the best powders, however lavishly used, are of but small service. These grass houses are really quite comfortable, and luckily plans, etc., do not, at present, have to be sent in for the approval or sanction of any local authority, either builder or parson!

Two native languages should be learned by settlers, except those on the coast, where Swahili will suffice; those engaged in planting in Kikuyu and employing Kikuyu labour might with advantage learn Kikuyu, while those who use the Masai for boys, etc., or herds should certainly learn Masai. Swahili is imperative, and time spent in picking it up on board ship would be far from wasted. It is difficult to suggest what crops the settler should turn his attention to, and the first thing he will probably do is to grow sufficient for his own consumption and for his imported stock, if he has any, or for half-breed stock bought in the country, if it is found to require any. Potatoes have been grown more than any other crop, and an export trade was commenced with South Africa with almost disastrous results. However, this was perhaps not entirely the fault of the article, and the lessons learnt may not

prove unprofitable, while, in spite of the failure of this enterprise from perhaps various reasons, it must not be thought that it is no use growing potatoes. There is a certain demand, of course, for bread-stuffs in the country, which will, if the country prospers, naturally increase, and there has been some mention of a mill, but until there is more demand and a larger local market, cereals will not prove attractive. Owing to the importation of stock of all kinds from different parts of the world, there is a small but growing demand for green crops of any description; but these again will not be very remunerative unless the grower is fortunate enough to supply a sudden local demand. The most likely crops are the more expensive ones, so that when heavy rates and sea freights have been paid there is still a fair margin of profit. Among others I might mention ground-nuts, linseed, and rape-seed, while beans of almost all sorts have been successfully grown. Coffee gives great hopes of success, and the planting of this is increasing. Very few trees have as yet reached the bearing stage, but those that have promise well for the crop. Tobacco is grown extensively in Kikuyu,

and might be successfully grown by settlers. Black wattle grows well, and as this is a valuable product, worth from £8 to £9 per ton, it should be well worth attention. Fruit trees, such as apples and apricots, have done well in certain districts, and Cape plums ought to be worth importing. The settler has not one string to his bow, he has a varied choice, and probably a mixed farm is at present the best to go in for. The seasons are not properly known yet, and much has to be learnt as to the proper time and way to plant different crops. Every day spent by settlers in hotels waiting for their land is so much out of their working capital, and a margin, if possible, should be left for travelling expenses incurred in selecting land. I think, and certainly hope, that East Africa with ordinary fortune and fair government should have a prosperous future, and that in time it will become a large wool- and food-producing centre.

CHAPTER XI

• A SETTLER'S VIEWS OF GAME PRESERVATION

Licences—Anomalies—Casual sportsmen—Fencing vegetations
for preservation of game—Game reserves—Some sugges-
tions

*“The game was never worth a rap
For honest man to play,
Into which some danger, some mishap
Can't possibly find a way.”*

—WHYTE MELVILLE.

No game may legally be killed in the Protectorate without a licence, the terms of which vary for different classes of people. The first set of licences issued were (1) A sportsman's licence, costing £50; (2) a public officer's licence, costing £10; and (3) a settler's licence, costing £10. While the first two mentioned allowed the holder to kill identically the same number and variety of animals, the third only allowed the holder, a settler, to kill a very limited number of the ordinary animals on his

own land, and did not permit him to kill any such game as elephant, buffalo, rhinoceros, zebra, topi, giraffe, eland, and other species, or even protect his crops against animals, large or small. To enjoy the same privileges as an official he had to pay £50, which was grossly unfair, but typical of the treatment the settler then met with. When the first sudden influx of settlers came, the local administration, had, I believe, no power to change the law, and the Foreign Office authorities, following the dictates of red tape and clerical autocratic ideas, would not permit them to do so. Consequently the law-respecting settlers became practically a dead letter, with the result that many neglected to take out a game licence, and frequently did not even possess a licence, to carry a gun or a rifle. Such an impossible state of things ought never to have arisen.

Lord Delamere, to whom we, as settlers, for many reasons owe a great debt, was the first to do more than merely protest against the existing regulations. His action took the form of killing one zebra beyond the number his £50 licence entitled him to; this he did to test the legality of the regulation which prevented a settler killing animals, causing damage to his crops, fences, etc. He was

fined by a magistrate whose decision was upheld on appeal, but almost immediately after this decision a new law came into force, allowing the settler, for a sum of £3, to take out a licence to kill animals other than "Royal game" on his own land, and also to kill "Royal game" found damaging his property. In the latter case, however, the skin, horns, or ivory of the Royal game shot was to be the property of the Crown. As I was leaving East Africa the end of last October another law was spoken of as likely to come into force, viz., that for £10 a settler would be entitled to kill the same number and variety of game as a public officer—a perfectly fair arrangement. If these last two laws have been put in force the settler has nothing much to cavil at, except that it is perhaps hardly likely that he would take the trouble to preserve the skin of, say, a zebra, or do very much more than advise the nearest official of what he had killed, and request him to send and remove any portion of the animal which the Government might claim.

I am sure that all settlers with large holdings, and the best of the small men, will be the last to wish to exterminate the game, and to regard the settlers, as a class, as being

antagonistic to the preservation of game is to do them a great injustice, and is not advisable in the interests of the wild animals themselves. The settlers will not kill or wound the same quantity of game as was killed and wounded before and during the construction of the Uganda Railway!

If the settlers are fairly treated as regards game, the good ones will assist greatly in its preservation; but it is also to be hoped that the proper authorities will rigorously prosecute all persons who slaughter or wantonly kill beyond their limits. The men who wish to keep game on their properties will, I feel sure, uphold and assist the game ranger, and I hope that all public officers will do the same, and when Mr Percival, the game ranger, applies to any district for information for the detection of breaches of the game regulations, that he will be promptly given all the assistance possible. The interests of the settlers, however, sadly need protection, especially from casual sportsmen who appear to imagine that for some occult reason they are allowed to roam about and shoot on whatever ground they please without asking permission of any one, and at present it is often regarded as

below the dignity of a "public servant" to warn them that certain lands are private.

Owing to the absence of survey it is impossible for all settlers to fence their land, and even if the land were surveyed it would be impossible to fence a large holding in a short time, while temporary boundary marks would receive scant attention from the majority of "gunners." I can quote a case affecting myself: Two sportsmen camped for a week on what is, I believe, a portion of my land¹ within sight of a police officer's station, but it was not for him or his men to warn them off. As it happened, the sportsmen in question happened to be personal friends of my own, and it did not therefore matter, but what, I ask, are police for? They are certainly not paid by the British tax-payer only to look after the interest of the Government and public servants; yet this is far too often the case in British East Africa, and it is to be hoped that the Colonial Office will remedy this state of things before unpleasant cases occur. I will mention another case—perhaps more amusing than serious. A sportsman,

¹ It is only fair to state that possibly the officer was away, and more probably he had had no official notification that the land in question was private. Official wheels grind slowly.

whose name I will not mention, was shooting on a certain landowner's property without having asked leave, and without taking the slightest notice of the owner. The latter purposely ignored the presence of the poacher, and when the gunner eventually went away he remarked: "What a funny man the landowner is! He never called on me!" In this connection I cannot resist repeating part of a conversation I overheard at a dinner party this year. "Do you get much shooting in South Africa, Mr So-and-So?" "No, not much now; you see the beastly farmahs have fenced their land and you have to ask their leave to shoot their game—beastly nuisance." The sooner the British East African colonists assert their rights the better.

The present regulations for the preservation of game in the country are miserably inadequate, and require immediate attention. The yearly expenditure remitted is the wretchedly small sum of £350 per annum, being £250 as the salary of the game ranger, and £100 a year for expenses. What can a man with £100 a year for travelling do in a country like East Africa? and it is only lately that Mr Percival, the present Warden,

has been encouraged and assisted in the way he should be. Before leaving the financial considerations, I will attempt briefly to point out to what a very large extent the Protectorate's exchequer benefits from the presence of game. I do not know how many sportsmen visited East Africa during the last twelve months, but in Sir C. Eliot's report, dated Mombasa, 9th February 1904, giving the amount of game shot during 1903, I find that there were thirty-five sportsman's licences, eighty-eight public officer's, and seventeen settler's. These licences, the number of which have increased in 1904 and, I fear, are still increasing, show a total of £2800. To this considerable sum must be added very heavy import dues on rifles, ammunition, cameras, glasses, provisions, camp outfits, etc.; registration fees for porters, boys, etc.; railways expenses and export dues on trophies, skins, etc.; and a very large sum will be found to be derived solely from the presence of game in the country. However, the sum obtained from licences alone would amply suffice for the more or less adequate protection of the game. I would suggest that the number of game wardens be increased to three, that their duties should be entirely confined to the protection of game

and that they should not be temporarily appointed to do ordinary collector's work at a station, or employed for months on end, risking their lives and wasting their time solely for the purpose of catching lions for Indian potentates. These three wardens should consist of one chief and two assistants, and their pay and expenses might be as follows: Chief warden £300 to £350 per annum, and £500 for expenses; two assistants £200 to £250 each, and £500 each for expenses: a total of £1700, or £1850 or say, £2000, which is well inside the actual amount brought in by licences alone.

I do not think it is an extravagant demand that a proportion of the money obtained by means of the game should be spent on its adequate protection. By the present system the revenue of the Protectorate may benefit more for a few years, but at what cost? the cost of the game: which is, and I hope will be for many years, the means of attracting a few people and a certain amount of money and attention to the country.

Besides the game ranger and game licences the other means of preservation adopted are game reserves. Of these there are three, none of which are really worthy of the name.

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The first reserve, the only one which can be really spoken of as such, is the southern or Masai Land reserve. This would be an excellent reserve, were it one in reality, but when the following facts are taken into account it will be seen that it ceases to be one except in name.

(1) W'androbo tribesmen, who subsist almost entirely on game, hunt in a portion of it.

(2) It is poached from German territory, and since the inception of the Boer settlement on the border, has been visited and shot over by small parties of four and five men. One party told an official that they were shooting at trees! Boers were always fond of wasting ammunition.

(3) I believe some land in the reserve has been granted to settlers.

(4) The East African Syndicate are talking of building a railway from Kiu to their soda concession, Lake Magardi. When a company starts building a railway, heaven help the game, for they will be used to feed the railway employees.

(5) Officers of the Boundary Commission and some survey officers have been allowed to kill a certain amount of game in it. A reserve ceases to be a sanctuary when it is

shot over, and I fail to understand why officers performing their duties should be allowed such extraordinary latitude. It is the principle which is objectionable, and leave to officers to shoot in a reserve should only be given under most exceptional circumstances: and then only leave for a strictly limited number of animals. In the case of the commissions I believe this was so. Private persons who have done survey work generally tell me they have very little time to shoot. The practice of allowing officers to shoot in reserves has had curious results.

I have heard of it being suggested by an officer that because he held a licence to shoot game in one British Protectorate, he should be allowed to go and shoot in all without taking out another licence. The coolest incident I have ever heard of, and one which has even been supported by some legal authorities, was the case of an officer in a certain Protectorate, who killed a number of animals without a licence, and what is more, killed more than he could have been entitled to, even if he had taken one out. This "gunner" was fined by the local administration, and paid up; but he appealed on the grounds that as he was under military law he could not be fined by the civil

powers. I believe and hope he is still appealing, and sincerely trust that he is finding it a very expensive form of amusement.

But this is wandering from the subject. The two northern reserves, Sugota and Jubaland, are not worth discussing, as they are not watched, and traders kill what they want. Occasionally a party is caught and convicted of trading in a closed district, or, perhaps, of killing elephants, but this is the exception. Mr Percival lately made a good capture, and I hope he will meet with still more success in the future.

The mile reserve north of the railway was a very good one, as, to a certain extent, it prevented shooting from trolleys, etc. Unfortunately it has been done away with!

If a private person who happens to be an owner of land in the country may offer any suggestion for the benefit of the game without being accused of doing so for his own interests, I should like to make the following proposals:

1. Make the present Southern or Masai Land Reserve a real sanctuary; this will probably mean more money and necessitate a post or patrol on the German frontier.

Perhaps the question of the Wandrobo can be dealt with.

2. Renew the ordinance, making a reserve along the north side of the railway line for a distance of a mile from the centre of the track. This would extend from the coast to Nairobi except on private land.

3. If the Masai are moved into a reservation on Likipia (as I hope they either have been, or will be), this tract would make a good game reserve, and the officer in charge of the Masai reservation could be held responsible for the protection of the game. I would also make the adjacent Baringo district, now heavily shot over, part of the new Masai reserve, and do away with the so-called reserves of Sugota and Jubaland. By this means the New Masai reserve could be well watched without any fresh grant being necessary for the game ranger, provided that the officer in charge of the Masai and the officer at Baringo were made responsible for the protection of game in their districts.

The ordinance of 1st December 1904, which allows female and immature ivory to be sold to Government, should be repealed, and all female and immature male ivory should be

confiscated, or the possessor should be allowed to buy his own ivory from the Crown at a price to be fixed by the game ranger and H.M. Commissioner. The example of the French in West Africa, where they refuse to accept ivory as payment of hut tax by natives, might be well followed.

In my opinion it is not in the interest of the game that a sportsman may—within ten miles of the line—shoot as many of whatever species as an individual travelling over a large tract far from supplies where he may have to shoot up to his limit for meat. I think that the issue of two forms of licences would meet the case: (1) A £30 licence enabling the holder to shoot half the number at present allowed by the £50 licence, within a certain distance from the line, say up to fifty miles. (2) The present £50 licence for sportsmen travelling over larger areas away from supplies, etc., might enable them to kill the same amount as at present, while a £60 licence might also include a male buffalo, giraffe, and eland; add an extra antelope or two, if the number of species in the districts traversed was limited. But this licence should not be issued to those who only shoot from the railway. I think that as so many sportsmen shoot so close to the railway

that they are allowed to shoot too much, and considerably more than necessary, but if their limit were to be curtailed the cost of their licence should be reduced.

APPENDIX

FROM the latest information derived from British East Africa, it appears that I was rather premature in giving Sir Donald Stewart and the Colonial Office credit for wishing to more or less adopt Sir Charles Eliot's policy. Certainly the Masai are being moved on to Laikipia, and settler's representatives were appointed to sit on the Land Commission. But the all-important question, or perhaps demand for, of some form of council has apparently met with objections from East Africa, and also the demand for a white mounted police has encountered opposition presumably emanating from the same source. Colonists will, no doubt be interested to learn where the opposition really comes from, but I am led by circumstances to believe that it does not come from home.

The military forces consisting entirely of Africans have unfortunately been increased instead of decreased, and greater expense must now have been incurred; while efficiency seems to have been sacrificed to display, and the formation of a force capable of striking a swift and effective blow at a threatened spot, seems to have been entirely

neglected. I cannot help imagining that the Colonial Office have (temporarily, I hope) sanctioned this policy against their own judgment. •

It is with great regret that I hear that three race meetings are to be held annually in Nairobi instead of two. If there are sufficient white men and horses to justify six days' racing a year, there can be no valid objection to a white mounted police. More attention to the needs and demands of settlers, and less to gymkhana and mummery, seems to be required.

The crying necessity for a white police can be pointed out in startling colours by the following case which is quoted not *verbatim* from the local paper, the *East African Standard*:

"A settler named Graham, whose wife was approaching her confinement, was annoyed, and Mrs Graham apparently frightened, by a number of natives creating a disturbance near his house, which was an isolated one. As they refused to desist, or leave, Graham is said to have fired off a shot gun in their direction, for the purpose of frightening them, and to have accidentally slightly wounded one of their number. For this he was arrested and tried, presumably without jury, by a Sub-Commissioner, who sentenced him to six months imprisonment, and a fine of six hundred rupees. On being sentenced Graham was handcuffed to a black policeman, and marched to Nairobi, a distance of sixty miles, while his wife was left without any protection."

Such an action on the part of an official is absolutely indefensible; it can only be characterised as an outrage, and sufficient to cause an outbreak of the feeling existing between the official and unofficial communities. It is certainly to be hoped that the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies, whose attention has been directed to the matter, will take steps to prevent a recurrence of such a dangerous and unwarrantable action.

The settlers, in a memorandum, have formulated their wishes and demands; among them the repeal of the Indian Penal Code is made a *sine qua non*. The *Times* report (1st August) of an appeal to the Privy Council by a settler named Wehner against a sentence of death commuted to Penal Servitude for Life by the Commissioner, is worth noticing.

“The grounds on which it was denied to appeal” were these:

- i. “The Petitioner was tried before five Juries instead of nine.”
- ii. “The Judge purported to sit as a Session’s Judge under two orders in Council, which it was contended had both been repealed.
- iii. “The native witnesses were not sworn, but only warned to speak the truth.
- iv. “The Judge, it was contended, did not give any explanation of the law to the Jury in his summing up.
- v. “The Jury were sworn after two witnesses had been examined.”

The Lord Chancellor said the more serious point was that there was no verdict of guilty; that what the Jury said did not amount to a verdict of guilty.

“The Lord Chancellor, having again pointed out the importance of the point that there was no verdict of guilty, said their Lordships would humbly advise His Majesty to grant special leave to appeal.” “It was not a question of a new trial being ordered, because in their Lordships’ view there had been no trial.” Such is the law in British East Africa! The Colonists also ask for either a subsidised line of British ships or a Government vessel to convey produce to Delagoa Bay and Durban; also for inclusion in the Customs Union of South Africa: these seem moderate and not unnatural demands.

The table given below shows the increase of trade in May and June 1905 over the same months of 1904, in rupees:—

Imports—May 1904	Imports—May 1905	Increase
585,505	817,101	231,596
Exports—May 1904	Exports—May 1905	Increase
194,940	311,296	116,356
Imports—June 1904	Imports—June 1905	Increase
584,898	767,916	183,018
Exports—June 1904	Exports—June 1905	Increase
141,804	230,586	88,782

Figures from *Official Gazette*.

I cannot quite concur with the settler’s request

that transfers of land should be absolutely free, because at present the Commissioner has power to deposit an individual without showing cause. As I do not think this right, I think there should be a clause by which a proved undesirable could be prevented from obtaining land, and I think this can be met by the sanction of the Commissioner being required and cause shown in case of refusal.

• The land regulations proposed by the Commissioner have not yet been made public in England, but I have heard of one which savours more of the old *régime* of obstruction than of Colonial Office methods. The law is this: Land in the Railway Zone will only be leased for thirty-five years, and 50 per cent. is to be planted with wattle for the use of the railway. At the termination of a thirty-five years' lease the tenant has the option of renewing his lease, paying according to the value of the land in thirty-five years' time. This sounds extraordinary. If some kind of Agricultural Holdings Act were in force in the country it would be more or less all right, but to expect a man to work for thirty-five years and then be mulcted according to his industriousness is puerile. But I cannot honestly say that I should be very much astonished at any curious local regulation made in British East Africa.

Latest cables state that an expedition has been sent to the Nandi country, and that it is hoped to deal finally with these natives. This will show

the value of last year's Official Report, and the result of the injudicious intervention of a gentleman in 1900.

I have just heard that a survey of my land was finished the end of August, but no plan or map has yet been delivered.

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