

EAST AFRICA





MASAI HERDSMEN, LAKE NAIVASHA, KENYA.

Frontispiece.

EAST AFRICA

A NEW DOMINION

*A CRUCIAL EXPERIMENT IN TROPICAL
DEVELOPMENT AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE
TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE*

BY

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WITH PHOTOGRAPHS
AND A MAP

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TO
R. A. G.

INTRODUCTION

ON 8th April, 1924, as the benches in the House of Commons were partially emptying, Sir Sydney Henn, the member for Blackburn, moved a resolution to the effect that a Parliamentary Commission of Investigation should be sent to East Africa, and on their return, report to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the measures to be taken to co-ordinate policy and to stimulate the economic development of the five territories.

Visitors to the House may well have been surprised by the different spirit displayed by members in approaching this subject and that which prevailed earlier in the day's proceedings during the second reading of Mr. Tom Shaw's Unemployment Bill. The closing speeches of the opposing party leaders had been punctuated by an exchange of epithets, "parrot," "jackass," and the like, between their respective followers on the back-benches. Upon this vexed problem members felt so strongly that dispassionate debate was out of the question. This was a matter of immediate and vital concern to their constituents, one upon which they were being continually harassed. And the heat engendered during the debate was some measure of the interest which the subject aroused throughout the country.

But in matters of colonial policy the electorate cannot often be roused to any display of feeling.

It can be occasionally stirred to indignation by tales of persistent ill-treatment of natives, but it needs the fiery advocacy of a Joseph Chamberlain to arouse it to any display of interest in colonial development. And it must be confessed that the interest then aroused was based upon nothing more than the cupidity of interested producers and merchants who hoped to benefit from preferential tariffs. The nation is too apt to take its vast possessions with their great potentialities for granted. It has not yet begun to realize its dual responsibilities to the native inhabitants committed to its care, and to the world for the development of the resources of the territories over which it holds sway. It has no appreciation of the effect of tropical development upon our economic life at home. It is quite unconscious of the fact that less favoured nations are severely critical of our administration of our overseas dominions. It never calls upon the responsible statesmen and administrators to give any account of their stewardship. This is bad for the colonies, and worse for the nation.

If the fact that members of Parliament, in a debate on colonial affairs, can forget parties, party prejudices and party considerations, were due solely to their desire to approach questions of such magnitude with a single-minded desire to do justice to those peoples for whose welfare and to the lands for whose development we are responsible, it would indeed be a matter for congratulation. On the other hand, if it be due to the apathy and indifference of the nation to colonial affairs, which is more probable, it is a matter to be deplored.

Nevertheless, a debate of this kind is of the utmost importance. Those present are made to realize more fully the responsibilities of members

of an Imperial Parliament. To them are entrusted not merely the responsibility for the welfare of their fellow-countrymen at home, but also for the untutored millions of natives under British influence and control overseas. Listening to the informative and eloquent speeches delivered on this occasion, it was impossible for members not to realize the privileged position of Great Britain in regard to tropical development. 6,000 miles away, between the Zambesi and the Sudan, are 12,000,000 people under our protection, spread over a region eleven times the size of Great Britain, the natural resources of which had scarcely begun to be developed. There is scope there for the carrying out of a magnificent experiment, one aiming at the birth of a new commonwealth, based upon the co-operation of white, black, and brown races. Well might Mr. Amery say: "We can call new worlds into being to redress the balance of the old." Courage and vision alone are needed for the task.

Mr. J. H. Thomas showed no hesitation in responding to the invitation to write a new page of colonial history. He accepted Sir Sydney Henn's resolution. At the time I had no thought that I should be personally affected by his decision, but three months later I was summoned to his room, invited to serve on the East Africa Committee which was being formed, and to visit East Africa as a member of a non-party Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry.

On 15th August, 1924, Major the Hon. William Ormsby-Gore, Mr. F. C. Linfield, and I, representing the three political parties, together with Mr. J. A. Calder of the Colonial Office, left Southampton for Capetown, by way of which we proceeded to the five territories that formed the subject of our inquiry, viz., Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland,

Tanganyika, Uganda, and Kenya. Mr. Linfield and Mr. Calder visited Zanzibar also.

In these days of fierce political partisanship it occasioned some surprise that Mr. Thomas, a Colonial Secretary in a Labour Cabinet, should have appointed Major Ormsby-Gore, a Conservative, as Chairman of this Parliamentary Commission. His action is certainly without precedent. And it was a risky experiment. It was calculated to create the impression that there was no member of the Labour party qualified by knowledge and experience, and possessed of sufficient enthusiasm, to be entrusted with the task. It lends colour to the oft-repeated assertion by Conservative platform orators that they have a monopoly of interest in the Empire. But putting aside political considerations there is little doubt concerning the wisdom of the choice. Major Ormsby-Gore had already filled with distinction the post of Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in Mr. Baldwin's first Ministry, and his experience in that capacity and the additional authority it lent to the Commission, were alike valuable to us. Moreover, even had the Labour Government survived until our report had been presented, the fact that it was presented by a Conservative ex-minister would have weighed with his own party and lessened the effect of any opposition to our recommendations in Parliament. As it happened, he had the felicity to present our report in the dual capacity of Chairman of our Commission and Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

We reached Capetown on 1st September and left Mombasa for home on 1st December. To have attempted a comprehensive tour of the five territories it would have been necessary to have had considerably more time at our disposal. It may be urged therefore that we could add very little, if

anything, to the store of knowledge which has already been accumulated regarding East African peoples and their social and economic environment. We are deeply conscious of our limitations in this respect.

Nevertheless, the favourable reception which was accorded to the report which we presented to Parliament, and the wide interest it has stimulated in the problems which face the colonial administrations, and the possibilities of developing East Africa's resources, lead me to believe that there is a real demand for information regarding its territories. Our duty as Commissioners was to carry out our investigations in a spirit of scientific inquiry : to put all preconceptions aside, to pander neither to political partisans looking for a vindication of their attitude, nor to any sectional interests at home or overseas. We enjoyed certain advantages above those of the ordinary settler, merchant, or traveller. We had placed at our disposal the information accumulated in the archives at the Colonial Office. Our terms of reference and the detailed subjects of our inquiries were drawn up in consultation with the members of the East Africa Committee, most of the members of which could speak authoritatively on one or more aspects of the social and economic life of the countries we were visiting. The public announcement of our projected visit aroused the interest of a large number of persons who sent or brought us memoranda commending to our attention their views on the local administrations, and the problems with which they were faced. Some of these memoranda were most helpful.

The range of our inquiries was then communicated to the governors of the five territories. In the short time available they collected a mass of evidence from official sources, and provided the

non-official elements of the population with reasonable facilities for presenting their views to us personally or by memoranda.

A large number of meetings with the natives were arranged. The natives, emboldened by the knowledge that we had been sent to their countries by the King-Emperor—the distinction between Parliament and the Crown is best ignored when dealing with the unsophisticated—made the best use of their opportunities which such powerful protection afforded them to voice their grievances and aspirations. When they needed it—and often when they did not—they had the assistance of local missionaries of various denominations in presenting their case. Apart from these formal meetings we were approached by individual natives or groups who wished to bring to our notice complaints against the British administration, though more often their complaints were directed against their own chiefs or the natives of other tribes.

In addition to the meetings with the official and non-official elements of the white population and the natives, we received numerous deputations from Indians and Arab traders. We had no power to take evidence on oath, but every effort was made to sift fact from fiction.

We should have wished to have seen more of the country and heard more from its peoples. With twelve instead of three months at our disposal we could have wandered afoot from Bwana Mkubwa to Fort Jameson in North-Eastern Rhodesia to Zomba in Nyasaland, and later steamed up Lake Nyasa to Mwaya and visited the Abercorn district in Northern Rhodesia before continuing our safari through Tukuyu across the beautiful southern highlands to Iringa and thence to the Central Tanganyika Railway. We should probably have found time to make

partial ascents at least of those magnificent peaks, Ruwenzori, Kenya, Meru, and Kilimanjaro. And we could have visited that stark but richly fascinating crater country east of Victoria Nyanza, or have journeyed from port to port along the coast from Beira to Lamu, comparing and contrasting the picturesque remains of former Arab splendour with the ugly utility of our modern wharves and warehouses.

Even as it is we can look back on the distance covered in the time available with pardonable pride of achievement, as a glance at the map of the territories will show, particularly when it is considered that we had perforce to spend several days at each of the five administrative centres in consultation with the governors and the directors of the various departmental services. The strain of the journey was not inconsiderable in spite of the excellent arrangements made for us, and we were exceptionally fortunate to have suffered no casualties. Mr. Linfield, it is true, spent an uncomfortable two days after passing through the fly-area between Dodoma and Tabora in Tanganyika and rested one day in Tabora hospital, but made a surprising recovery and was able to keep a rendezvous at Shinyanga without occasioning us delay.

We were welcomed everywhere and by all sections of the community with the greatest goodwill and cordiality. We found much to criticize and said so before we left the country. We had many suggestions to make. Both criticism and suggestion were met in the spirit in which they were made, and we came quickly to the conclusion that such visits as ours do much to promote healthier understanding. Round table discussion can take the place of the exchange of formal dispatches at a distance of 6,000 miles, and soften their acerbities.

The precedent of a commission representative of each party in Parliament is also valuable. It should not be allowed to remain an isolated instance of political wisdom, but should be the forerunner of a series of such tours of inquiry involving each of the portions of the Empire where self-government is not yet a possibility.

Unfortunately, in spite of the acknowledged success of the experiment, it has not been followed up. Mr. Thomas's Conservative successor in office, Mr. Amery, not only dissolved the non-party Advisory Committee on East Africa which had been appointed, but gave other political parties no opportunity of assisting his Under-Secretary, Major Ormsby-Gore, on a similar mission which he undertook in West Africa in 1926.



Boundaries of British Territories
 International
 Interterritory - - - - -
 Railways ————
 Scale 1/15 000 000
 Miles 100 50 0 100 200 300 Miles

CHAPTER I

EARLY CULTURAL IMPACTS

WHILE it is true that we no longer regard Africa as a Dark Continent, it is equally true that we are still inclined to overlook the earlier impacts of other races upon Africa. We regard our comparatively modern Age of Discovery as the first effort on a grand scale to navigate the greater ocean expanses, as we are still prone to believe that the flat earth theory was first dispelled immediately prior to the voyages of Columbus and the Cabots. Most textbooks on geography and history in use in our schools encourage this ego-centric outlook. Too little regard is paid to the achievements of the forerunners of our modern civilization.

We are told too little of the pioneer enthusiasm for discovery of the Mediterranean peoples. We appreciate their impact upon our own country, but fail to realize that Phœnician and Roman traders were probably equally assiduous in their attention to the vast territories to the south. We still commit ourselves to the unqualified statement that Vasco da Gama first discovered the Cape of Good Hope and subsequently the harbours on the East African coast, and tacitly ignore the testimony of early historians and travellers from Herodotus to Marco Polo regarding the exploits of the traders of other countries on the high seas. Herodotus relates, for example, how Pharaoh Necho dispatched Phœnician

navigators with the command to sail from the Gulf of Suez round the continent of Africa and through the Gibraltar Strait back to the Nile Delta. According to the historian, they accomplished their task in three years. Although no mention is made of Arab settlements along the coast, it is highly probable that their existence facilitated the voyage of the navigators. Credence is lent to the story, in spite of the absence of detail, by the ease with which such a journey could be accomplished from the East in comparison with the difficulty experienced by the modern European navigators in countering the adverse winds and currents when proceeding in the contrary direction.

Alexander's conquest of Egypt and the subsequent domination of the Nile Delta by the Ptolemies gave an impetus to Greek trade with the Arab stations along the African coast. The coasts of Somaliland and Equatorial East Africa were carefully explored and charted at least as far south as the modern port of Dar-es-Salaam. Little is recorded regarding the interior, but the *Periplus of the Red Sea* written by an unknown Greek merchant about A.D. 80 contains the information that a certain Diogenes travelled for twenty-five days inland from a port which is believed to have been Pangani and arrived in the vicinity of two great lakes and a snowy range of mountains whence the Nile drew its twin sources. Sir Harry Johnston discounts the idea that Diogenes could have reached Victoria Nyanza and the peak of Ruwenzori in the time, and suggests that Kilimanjaro was the limit of his penetration. To his impressions of that mighty dome of snow he added the statements of Arab traders of that period who may have been familiar with the further interior.

Apart from those peoples whose countries were

advantageously situated in relation to these coasts, it is certain that the Chinese were navigating the Pacific and Indian oceans in luxurious fashion in the days of Marco Polo. And there is every reason for believing that in the early years of the Christian era, and perhaps prior thereto, Chinese shipping was contesting with Indian and Arabian vessels for the trade of the East African coast, which had already fallen from the hands of Egypt and Mesopotamia, and those who brought and carried for those countries. Chinese porcelain in the Zimbabwe ruins in Rhodesia, Egyptian and Roman coins at Fort Grosvenor in Eastern Pondoland, a Hebraic coin of the reign of Simon Maccabæus (143-136 B.C.) found eighteen inches deep in the sand near Durban, while not conclusive evidence of occupation, at least are important indications of early trading settlements along this coast. There are, however, more substantial proofs forthcoming in the persistence of place-names of Eastern origin, in certain peculiarities of head-dress, ornament, and clothing of the African natives, and in the Bushmen's portrait records of the arrivals and activities of untold numbers of invaders at successive historical epochs.

The coastal regions of East Africa, which are separated from the Nile and Lake Territories for the most part by arid regions and the Great Rift divide, have been subject to fairly constant visitations from overseas invaders. The Arabs from South Arabia have undoubtedly been the most successful colonists of this coastal belt over a period—broken possibly by the Roman destruction of their irrigation works in Southern Arabia and Roman interference with their shipping—dating from at least a thousand years before Christ. Whether or not the Ophir situated in Southern

Arabia, from which Hiram, King of Tyre, obtained gold to send to King Solomon, was the gold emporium to which was sent the yellow metal from Zimbabwe in Rhodesia by way of Sofala, it is reasonable to assume that the Sabæan navigators and traders dominated the East African coast and that they established settlements at least as far south as Beira. Early in the first century an account is given of the coast and of the large ships sent by the Mapharitic chief in Arabia, "using Arab captains and agents who are familiar with the natives and inter-marry with them, and who know the whole coast and understand the language." These Arab captains and agents were evidently the progenitors of the Swahili race. The rise of the Roman Empire checked the flow of Arabs into East Africa, but following upon the schisms and persecutions which followed in the wake of the growth of the Mohammedan Empire in the seventh century, a great impetus was given to Arab and Persian colonization. Gradually through the following eight centuries the Arabs established those petty sultanates and small principalities which the Portuguese found towards the close of the fifteenth century.

Under the Arabs the East African coast became the seat of an extensive export trade, for the Arabs showed great enterprise in utilizing the natural resources of the territories they had conquered. Its commercial importance can be gauged from the fact that its products were in great demand in China, and an important overseas trade existed with that country from the ninth until the fifteenth century. When Vasco da Gama explored this coast in 1498, he was astonished to find how different it was from his expectations. On the West coast he had found primitive wild peoples. On the East he

found civilized communities possessing settled and organized trade connections with India and the East, which had been established for a thousand years or more.

Whatever had been the characteristics of Arabian or Persian rule in the interior, fewer traces of them remain than remained in Britain of Roman influence in the interregnum between the Roman evacuation and the Norman conquest. Those early colonists who remained were merged in the tribes, imbibing their customs and beliefs. But on the coast the Arabs never lost their individuality. They remain to this day a dominant race—now shorn of their power, it is true—and until the advent of Europeans concentrated in their own hands the external trade and industry of the country. The people they subjugated by force of arms remained a beaten people. They developed the natural resources of the territories they had conquered by the ruthless exploitation of slave labour. Serfdom, in fact, was the keynote of their enterprise. Independence and initiative in the native peoples were crushed. Yet until the nineteenth century Arab yoke was beneficent in comparison with that of the Portuguese. For comparatively few Arab captives were deported as slaves to other countries. Having subdued the aboriginal inhabitants the Arab maintained them under his own permanent yoke, and with their labour laid immense areas under cultivation. In this respect his settlement was similar to European settlement in Africa south of the Zambesi.

The price the Arab has paid for centuries of control of the labour and destinies of the native population within his sphere of influence has been the loss of his erstwhile virility and initiative. In crushing the independence and initiative of his

serfs he has destroyed these capacities in himself. In this wise our own feudal aristocrats and those of France became effete. So also are Britain's captains of industry, in exerting their energy to crush their workers into meek submission to their will instead of exerting it to regain Britain's lead in the world's commerce by the super-excellence of her products and her methods of production, losing their capacity to command, and all title to respect. Slavery in any form is a subtle social poison most deadly to the master class.

But climate has to a great extent been the determining factor in devitalizing the Arab settlers. Hot and humid, the East coast is enervating in itself. To this must be added the debility due to the coast Arab's disregard for sanitation, his sensuality, and the prevalence of malarial mosquitoes and fever-carrying ticks. Small wonder that he bears little resemblance to his all-conquering Saracen forbears.

Not that the Arabs were the only races to suffer in these respects. Tropical Africa for thousands of years past appears to have been the grave of effort, to have vitiated every race which has entered into its tremendous isolation. The price paid for easily filled stomachs was degeneracy. Warmth and plenty were obtained at the expense of racial virility and life itself, for where these two conditions obtained, the climate sapped energy, and mosquitoes, ticks and flies spread pestilential plagues. And these same visitations of plague were no negligible contributory factor in the general stagnation. For they were regarded in witch-bound Africa, just as they were regarded in Christendom until comparatively recent years, as supernatural visitations against which the acts of man were of no avail. They controlled the

EARLY CULTURAL IMPACTS 23

fecundity of the peoples, and this reacted against the progressive tendency of pressure of population.

The complete isolation of the interior tribes of East Africa is best appreciated when it is realized that no trace of a building in any permanent materials is to be found in any of the five territories (Zimbabwe lies outside them), except on the coast. Yet the Caucasian invaders at least must have at some time been under the influence of early Egyptian culture.

For evidences of the influence of Asia and the Mediterranean peoples upon Africa we must look to the varying types of domestic stock, to the methods of cultivation and types of food crops raised, to the weapons in use, native arts and crafts, the customs and beliefs of the tribes, and their forms of government. A certain amount of information regarding these matters is available in the records of explorers, missionaries, administrative officers, and officials of the specialized services. But so far the work has been done sporadically and very little attempt made to systematize it. It is a work which badly needs doing, and happily there is every indication that the local governments are now sufficiently alive to its importance to provide the necessary funds for its accomplishment.

CHAPTER II

THE IMPACT OF EUROPE

BEFORE Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1487 the King of Portugal, acting on the information given by two Portuguese Jewish merchant adventurers, had already decided that East Africa was accessible by 'sea-route.' As a preliminary undertaking, he sent out two Portuguese officers to the court of the Christian King of Ethiopia, with instructions also to visit the Arab East African trading settlements, for the purpose of establishing friendly relations with the Arab rulers. This accomplished, Vasco da Gama set out in 1497 on his famous voyage, and eventually called at Sofala and Malindi *en route* for India.

This was quickly followed by many other Portuguese expeditions. No attempt was made to continue friendly relations with the Arabs. They were attacked and their trading stations were rapidly wrested from them. The seeds of mutual antagonism thus planted led to the almost complete overthrow of the Portuguese by the Arabs two centuries later. Before this happened, however, the Portuguese had succeeded in penetrating the interior, Jesuit missionaries and merchants establishing stations along the Zambesi as far westwards as the Luangwa tributary. In 1616 Jaspas Bocarro nearly reached Lake Nyasa itself, crossing the Upper Shiré River and Lake Shirwa in

his journey to the coast port of Mikindani at the mouth of the Rovuma. For three centuries the Portuguese worked the gold and silver mines immediately north of the Zambesi. There persist, however, much more permanent results of their occupation. Many of the plant foodstuffs upon which the African natives now depend for subsistence were introduced from other countries by these early colonists, as well as many luxuries. Sir Harry Johnston states categorically that wherever they touched East Africa they brought the orange tree, the lemon and the lime, the sugar-cane, chilli-peppers, maize, wheat, tobacco, the sweet potato, manioc, the small banana, pawpaws, the pineapple, and various leguminous plants. Perhaps, however, he gives too much credit to the Portuguese. It is recorded that Pharaoh Necho's Phœnician navigators, in their three years' voyage around Africa, put in at various harbours on the East coast, and remained ashore for fairly lengthy periods, during which time they planted wheat. It seems probable, also, that the Chinese traders who anticipated the Portuguese by centuries, in navigating the Indian Ocean, and in trading with the East African natives, brought with them some of the plant products of the East. And this is probably more certain still of the Arabs whom the Portuguese supplanted.

It is well to be able to record some redeeming feature of this first incursion of Europeans into East Africa. There is need of such positive achievement as an offset against the horrors perpetrated in the name of civilization and Christianity at various times during the four centuries which followed da Gama's discovery.

The view is commonly held by the local administrators that the African native, in his present

stage of development, lacks the historical sense: that he is oblivious of the past. - This state of mind cannot long continue. It no longer exists among those who have been in contact for any length of time with Europeans. Well for Europeans if they take time by the forelock and by wise administration during the next decade give signal proof of the beneficent character of their leadership. Otherwise, the grievous injuries inflicted upon past generations of African peoples, once they are realized by the natives generally, may arouse within them a fierceness of resentment which will make them intolerable of our continued presence. For Africa is dark with the foulest deeds perpetrated by the white man in greedy and hurried pursuit of wealth.

The black man has been torn from his home and familiar surroundings, and forced to labour in the mines, to sweat in the galleys or before the mast, to become a pack-beast of burden, to toil in the ports and on plantations, or transported to the Indies, America, Arabia, or the islands off the East and West African coasts, as an article of merchandise. There is no need here to recount the beastly details of this ghastly phase in the exploitation of the black man by the white and brown. Lugard, Johnston, Morel, and John Harris have dealt with them sufficiently to shake Europe from its complacent indifference to the sufferings inflicted upon the black races in the name of rapacity. And there is now a public conscience astir which makes most Englishmen at least the jealous guardians of their nation's honour.

For the first two centuries of their occupation the Portuguese concentrated upon the exploitation of the gold, and gold constituted the chief export from East Africa during this period. At the end of the seventeenth century, however, Portugal was

weakened in the Indian Ocean by the attacks of the Dutch and the English, and the Arabs, between whom and the Portuguese a bitter feud existed, took advantage of the favourable opportunity to oust their rivals from many of the ports they held. From this time Portuguese commerce declined, until at the beginning of the nineteenth century the slave trade was practically the only form of commerce practised in Portuguese East Africa. The slaves were shipped to the West Indies, America, and the islands off the West coast of Africa, a great impetus to the trade being given by its suppression in West Africa. It continued openly until 1836, and although disguised and its worst horrors mitigated, it has continued to the present day. In the year 1925 thousands of natives were shipped to plantations in San Thomé, the Portuguese island off the West coast, and there are persistent rumours that the Portuguese authorities permitted methods of recruitment to be adopted which are entirely reprehensible.

The Portuguese may claim they have had their special difficulties to contend with. In the Zulu invasions of 1830 and 1860, Lorenzo Marques, Inhambane, and Sena were taken from them temporarily. The later years of the nineteenth century were occupied in boundary disputes with the other European Powers. The internal disorders in Portugal itself, the consequent instability and poverty of the Home Government, and a native rebellion during the late war, have all contributed to the decline in prestige of the local administration, while at the same time to the weakness or preoccupations of the Home Government must be attributed the arbitrary use of power of local administrative officials.

Some idea of the unenterprising character of

Portuguese rule will be gathered from the fact that they appeared to be unaware of the importance of the Zambesi as a waterway until the advent of Livingstone. Although they were three and a half centuries in nominal control of the Zambesi Valley before Livingstone made his journey from the interior to the river mouth, they made little use of it as a means of communication, preferring to approach the gold mines in its valley from Quilimane by way of the Kwakwa River and an overland route. The ignorance or indifference of the Portuguese is the more remarkable inasmuch as Admiral Owen, early in the nineteenth century, proved the possibility of the use of the great river as a waterway for light draught vessels as far as Sena.

It is a matter of supreme regret that the Portuguese administration of its tropical African territories has not been modified in accordance with the principles enunciated in Articles 3 and 5 of the Mandate conferred by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers upon Great Britain to administer Tanganyika Territory. Article 3 makes the Mandatory Power "responsible for the peace, order, and good government of the territory," and for the promotion of "the material and moral well-being and the social progress of its inhabitants." Article 5 places upon the Mandatory Power the responsibility for "the emancipation of all slaves and for as speedy an elimination of domestic and other slavery as social conditions will allow"; the suppression of all forms of slave trade; the prohibition of "all forms of forced or compulsory labour, except for essential public works and services, and then only in return for adequate remuneration; and the protection of the natives from abuse and measures of fraud and force by the

careful supervision of labour contracts and the recruiting of labour."

Unfortunately the Portuguese authorities have continued to administer their territories in East Africa by their traditional methods, methods which are bound to continue to contribute to the moral and social degradation of natives and Europeans alike, and to retard the economic development of the country.

Great Britain's interest in East Africa began with Livingstone's first journey. A few years later, in 1858, the Home Government encouraged Livingstone to explore the Shiré Valley, as the result of which Lake Nyasa was reached. This expedition occupied five years of the great explorer's life. Later, in 1866, he penetrated farther into the interior, as far as Lakes Mweru and Bangweolu. As the indirect result of his journeys, British rule was established ultimately in what are now known as the Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia Protectorates. It is worth recording, for the enlightenment of those who regard European interference in Africa as an unmitigated evil, that this second journey of Livingstone was almost coincident with the overrunning of Shiré Valley and Nyasa region by the Yao and Angoni tribes, and but for the influence of the British missionaries who established mission stations at Blantyre and on Lake Nyasa, the members of these tribes would have either exterminated the indigenous populations or driven them to the coast into slavery. Many of the Yao and Angoni leaders were agents of the Arab slavers.

Before Livingstone left Bechuanaland on his explorations, the German missionaries, Ludwig Krapf and Johann Rebmann, had made some remarkable journeys into the interior farther north.

Rebmann sighted Kilimanjaro in 1848, Krapf discovered Mount Kenya a year or two later. Both brought back with them accounts of the great African lakes. This led the Royal Geographical Society to dispatch Burton and Speke on their expedition, as the outcome of which Burton mapped out the northern part of Tanganyika and Speke discovered the southern shores of Victoria Nyanza. Later, Speke and Grant were sent out by the Society to discover the sources of the Nile. They reached the northern end of Victoria Nyanza, and its outlet over the Ripon Falls, and after a short stay with Mtesa, the Kabaka of Buganda, of whom they gave an illuminating account, they journeyed north and travelled down the Nile to Egypt. On their journey they met Samuel Baker, who on leaving them, went south with his wife and discovered Albert Nyanza.

Livingstone's last great journey had aroused a great deal of interest in America, and about 1870 Stanley was sent out by the *New York Herald* to his relief. He reached Livingstone at Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika. Meantime the Geographical Society sent Cameron also to Livingstone's relief. Cameron set out from Zanzibar in 1873, and soon heard of Livingstone's death at Lake Bangweola whither he had gone after parting with Stanley. Cameron pushed on to Lake Tanganyika and to the Lualaba River, then struck south-westwards towards the West coast which he reached in 1875, thus earning the distinction of being the first Englishman to cross tropical Africa from coast to coast. Stanley set out again in 1875 and in two years accomplished one of the most remarkable journeys in the annals of exploration. He circumnavigated Victoria Nyanza and Tanganyika, and crossed the great divide into the Congo basin,



KABAKA, DAUDI CHIVA, AND COURT, KAMPALA, UGANDA.

identifying the Lualaba River with the Congo, the mouth of which he reached. Before he left Uganda he sent a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* appealing for missionaries to be sent to Mtesa's court, an appeal to which a ready response was made. Anglican missionaries were quickly followed by French Roman Catholics. Not to be outdone, and appreciating the influence of missionaries upon trade, Arab traders became missionaries for Mohammedanism. It is an ironic commentary on the conversion of Uganda that, for the twenty years which followed, 1879-1899, it was kept in turmoil by a succession of wars between adherents of the rival Christian factions, and between the followers of Christianity and Islam, wars which were based upon intrigues in the interests of French, English, and Arab traders.

These earlier explorers were followed by a host of others, among whom Joseph Thomson, the German explorer, Fischer and the indefatigable but notorious Karl Peters, were the outstanding figures. Thomson made us first acquainted with the remarkable Masai tribe; Fischer explored much of which is now Kenya colony, and described the principal characteristics of the Rift Valley; while Peters, whose intrepidity as an explorer was equalled by his zeal as an agent for the Fatherland, added greatly to our knowledge of Tanganyika and Kenya. The last named made a journey up the Tana River and thence to Uganda which was not only a triumph of exploration, but nearly resulted in Kenya and Uganda being added to Germany's already extensive territorial holding in East Africa. Mr. Gladstone was, in fact, only too willing to hand over to Germany the control of these territories and was only deflected from this purpose by the public indignation which Captain (now Sir Frederick)

Lugard, backed up by the Church Missionary Society, was able to arouse at home. What would have been the effect on Sudan and Egypt, and South Africa during the war, had Peters' ambition of a consolidated German East Africa from the Zambesi to the Sudan been realized, must be food for conjecture.

The scramble of the European Powers for territory in East Africa ended, none too soon for the peace of Europe, at a conference of the great Powers which resulted in the Treaty of Berlin, 1885. By this treaty all Eastern Africa was divided up between Great Britain, Germany, and Portugal. A later agreement made in 1900 between Great Britain and Germany defined their respective spheres of influence more clearly. It is interesting to note that Lord Salisbury ceded Heligoland to Germany in return for certain concessions made to us under this agreement.

Neither Power had an easy task in administering its territories for the next few years. It took Great Britain ten more years to establish peace in Uganda. It was not until 1906, and then only after a particularly brutal campaign against the Wangoni in the southern portion of their territory, that Germany persuaded the native populations within its sphere of influence that it was futile to resist the white man's interference. It is to the lasting credit of Germany and to its Colonial Secretary at the time, Herr Dernburg, that no attempt was made to condone the conduct of those whose methods of dealing with the natives had contributed to native risings. Their faults were not hushed up. The offenders were punished, and a new era of administration was inaugurated in person by Herr Dernburg which rapidly brought prosperity to German East Africa and put it ahead,

as regards development and trade, of British and Portuguese East African territories. Magnificent research stations were established for the investigation of human, animal, and plant diseases, and plant and animal breeding. An enlightened system of education was introduced under State control. Their new towns were admirably planned and not allowed to become plague centres. Railways were constructed from three coast ports inland, that from Dar-es-Salaam reaching Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika. Admirable topographical surveys preceded geological and economic surveys which the war interrupted before their completion. Their scholars made invaluable contributions to our knowledge of the languages and customs of the native races. The Germans brought to Africa, in fact, that thoroughness which characterizes their Home administration.

They discouraged white settlement, particularly after Herr Dernburg's visit to the territory, because they considered the plantation system more scientific for the exploitation of the tremendous natural resources of the territory, and the control of a syndicate easier to maintain than the control of a large and scattered community of individual settlers. Their system had its advantages, but it possessed certain defects which will be dealt with in a later chapter.

The British first established themselves in any numbers in Nyasaland, mainly as the result of the pioneer efforts of the Scotch missions on the lake and at Blantyre. The settlers are practically all domiciled in the Shiré Highlands districts, the mean elevation and climate of which are not unsuitable for Europeans. This early settlement by Scotch planters demonstrates the incurable habit of the British colonist for selecting most difficult and

inaccessible parts of the world for pioneer effort. It is not easy to understand why they did not select a district in the tropics equally favourable for the cultivation of coffee, the Kilimanjaro district, for example, and which possessed the not inconsiderable advantage of easy access to the seaboard and the prosperous port of Zanzibar. In Nyasaland they had to contend with the hostility of the Arabs and their native allies, the Yao and Angoni tribes, powerful and truculent peoples but lately arrived in the country themselves, and resentful of British interference with their power over the indigenous tribes. Moreover, the Portuguese authorities, through whose territories the settlers had to travel to reach their destination, were more inclined to hinder them than to assist them, as the Portuguese resented the intrusion of subjects of another Power into territory which they regarded as their own preserve.

However, the British established themselves securely, and their position was later consolidated by the infiltration of settlers from south of the Zambesi into the neighbouring territory of Northern Rhodesia over which the British South Africa Company assumed control, and in which the late Cecil Rhodes hoped to forge a further link in the chain of his dreams, the Cape to Cairo railway. There has been very little white settlement in Uganda. This is due partly to the fact that the districts most suitable for Europeans are restricted in area, and what there are lie in the centres of fairly dense native population. Other contributory factors were the troubled state of the country until 1900, the hostility and treachery of Mwanga, the King of Buganda, and Kaberega, the King of Bunyoro, the hesitation of the Home Government to define its policy, and the threat to its security

by the success of the Mahdi revolt in the neighbouring Sudan country. By the time Uganda was pacified the neighbouring territory, the East African Protectorate—now Kenya Colony—was too powerful a counter-attraction to settlers. The area suitable for white settlement was large, about 10,000 square miles in extent. The Uganda railway, constructed primarily for strategic purposes, for the construction of which Indian labourers were imported, ran through this highland plateau. The plateau was practically empty of natives. It was fertile and well-watered. The lands adjacent to the plateau were densely populated, which suggested there was a plentiful supply of native labour available. Above all, the Commissioner, Sir Charles Eliot, offered every inducement to farmers to settle there. He openly declared that "the interior of the Protectorate is a white man's country, and it is mere hypocrisy not to admit that white interests must be paramount, and the main object of our policy and legislation should be to found a white colony."

In pursuance of this policy he attempted to obtain funds from the British Treasury in order to make the necessary preparation for the reception of white farmers. This being refused on the grounds that there was no proof of the desire on the part of the whites to colonize the plateau, he sent an invitation to South African farmers to supply the necessary proofs. These were forthcoming in 1903 by the arrival of hundreds of prospective settlers in the Protectorate. To these early settlers considerable grants of land were made by the Commissioner, very much after the fashion of a conquering feudal overlord, although without the same inducements. There was no systematic inquiry into the natives' need for or rights in the

lands which he bestowed upon Europeans with such lavish prodigality. There appears to have been no preliminary survey by the local government of the land offered for occupation, and no attempt made to provide for the land needs of the dispossessed natives, which should have been done, however few were affected. It is not recorded that he considered either the possibility or the advisability of granting lands under conditions whereby there would be a guarantee that they would be developed by the grantees, the only mitigating circumstance which could be urged for such an act of alienation. He must have assumed, moreover, that those native tribes in the neighbouring lands who for their own reasons had preferred not to occupy the highlands in the past, would be willing to become acclimatized there for the privilege of working for white farmers.

Trouble between the settlers and the natives was inevitable. When it arose, the Foreign Secretary, Lord Lansdowne, whose department was then responsible for the administration of the Protectorate, in the interests of the natives decided that no more applications from Europeans for grants of land on a large scale would be received. At the same time, however, he considered himself pledged to make a large grant on exceptionally favourable terms to the East Africa Syndicate. Sir Charles Eliot refused to execute these instructions on the grounds that they differentiated unfairly between individual settlers and a syndicate, and resigned his post.

In 1908 there was a large influx of Boer farmers to the Uasin-Gishu plateau, and white settlement increased steadily from then onwards until the outbreak of war, and more rapidly after the Armistice. There are now more than 10,000

Europeans in Kenya Colony, rather more than half of these being settled on farms or plantations. *And they are there to stay. They are determined to make Kenya their permanent home and the home of their children and their children's children.* They say themselves, "We settlers of Kenya are not here to snatch quick wealth by mining gold or precious stones and then to quit . . . Kenya to us is not merely a place in which to make a living. This land of mountains, forests, brooks and lakes takes a singularly strong hold upon our affections. Our hearts are rooted in its soil. In it we have built our homes, and to us it is Home, to be defended at all costs."

This is the fact of the situation which has to be faced, and the one upon which all theories regarding the inter-relations of the black, white, and brown races in East Africa must be based. It concerns not only Kenya but all other East African territories where the soil is fertile and the climate is suitable. The apparent success of this experiment in white colonization of tropical Africa is already acting as a stimulus to white peoples to settle in the sparsely peopled highlands in Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, and Tanganyika.

But the presence of these small white communities in the midst of the native and Indian communities has already occasioned the greatest anxiety to our Imperial statesmen. Unquestionably their presence and their present dependence upon the blacks and Indians for all forms of manual labour constitutes a problem of the first magnitude. The solution of the problem depends mainly upon the clear definition of our functions as an Imperial race, upon our conception of our responsibilities to the world as a whole for the development of the natural resources of this vast territory, and our

conception of the function of the black and brown races in our schemes of development.

Above all it is essential for continuity in British policy that the misconception should no longer exist that it is impossible to be fair to members of our own race without being unfair to the native races. To be pro-native it is not necessary to be anti-white; and the converse holds. Englishmen have an inherent genius for adapting themselves and their ideals to circumstances. They are presented with abundant opportunities in East Africa for building up a new civilization in which black, white, and brown races will co-operate. Mistakes have been made, mistakes continue to be made. Abuses exist. But mistakes can be remedied, abuses can be swept away. The crude materialism of the last century must be replaced by the newer idealism which animates the finest spirits of our age.

CHAPTER III

THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLES

EAST AFRICA is a country which not only promises the patient materialist with a rich return for his labour in the agricultural field: it is a country to inspire the artist, and the poet, and to stir the imagination of the scientist. The fertility of its rich red and black virgin soil is patent to the casual observer. And its fertility is general, in striking contrast with the karroo and veldt regions of South Africa which we had traversed on our way, where Nature seems to be challenging man to overcome the disadvantages of intolerable heat, dust, and monotonous drought. Over the greater part of East Africa desert is almost entirely absent. The soil is kind. It seems to be urging man to develop its potentialities, to free it from the devastating domination of useless vegetation and the malignity of tsetse-fly, mosquito and tick.

Three of the territories visited, Uganda, Nyasaland, and Northern Rhodesia, are protectorates. Kenya has the status of a Crown colony, but includes a coast strip with the status of a Protectorate; and Tanganyika is a mandated territory. They comprise an area of approximately 1,000,000 square miles in extent and contain an indigenous population estimated at 12,000,000. Over an area roughly eleven times that of Great Britain, therefore, is distributed a population about one-fourth

that of this island. A comparison with India is also illuminating. British East Africa has an area more than half that of India but only one-thirtieth of its population.

The British East African Dependencies lie almost entirely between the meridians 28° and 42° E. and the parallels 4° N. and 16° S. They are therefore wholly within the tropics. They are bounded on the north by the Sudan and Abyssinia, and on the south by the Zambesi. On the east they are bounded by Italian Somaliland, the Indian Ocean, and Portuguese East Africa; on the west, by Angola and the Belgian Congo.

Several parallel mountain ranges running north and south rise in tiers from the coast. From the last of the tiers extend hundreds of miles westward great plateaux at elevations varying from 5,000 to 8,000 feet. The belt of country delimited by the first mountain range is low-lying, with a distinct coastal climate and vegetation. Between the first and second ranges of mountains, from 100 to 150 miles inland, lies a middle belt at an elevation between 1,000 and 1,500 feet, again with a climate and vegetation of its own. Beyond the second mountain range, which rises in places to great heights, are the high plateaux. On these or their mountain flanks rise the rivers of East Africa. All these rivers flow into the Indian Ocean, with the exception of the Nile. The climate on the high plateaux is very different from that of the other belts of tableland. The coastal belt is hot and humid and unhealthy. The middle belt has too low a rainfall to support a rich vegetation, and this accentuates the heat. The scrubby bush which it does support appears to favour the multiplication of tsetse-fly. But the highland plateaux have a high rainfall, their elevation ensures cool and even

cold nights, during two or three hours of the day only is the heat oppressive, and they are comparatively free from the mosquito and the tsetse-fly. They are traversed by the two arms of the Rift Valley, the remarkable feature caused by the meridional splitting of the earth's crust and the subsidence of two broad strips of tableland. The western arm contains the great lakes Nyasa, Tanganyika, Kivu, Edward and Albert, while the eastern arm, the Great Rift, runs from Portuguese East Africa northwards through Tanganyika, Kenya, Lake Rudolf to the Red Sea and onwards to the Dead Sea and Jordan Valley. Out of the plateaux rise the Mlange mountains, the Livingstone mountains, and the lofty peaks Ruwenzori, Elgon, Meru, Kenya and Kilimanjaro. Ruwenzori was the only one we missed in our travels.

The wealth of scenic splendour and beauty of the plateaux baffle adequate description. A few miles south of Livingstone, in Northern Rhodesia, the mighty Zambesi pours its waters over the most marvellous falls in the world, in comparison with which the famous Niagara Falls pale into insignificance. New beauties meet the gaze every few minutes on a walk along the cliff overlooking the tumbling waters. Here, one sees a broad sheet of black waters forming a perfect background to the iridescence of the spray surging up from the depths beneath: there, the tumultuous rush of the rock-broken waters of the Devil's Cataract. Withal there is the luxuriant growth and rich hues of tropical vegetation, harbouring monkeys who spring from branch to branch aloft and view each visitor with a quaint mixture of interest and alarm.

At Zomba, in Nyasaland, looking out on fresh green lawns surrounded by palms and blooming shrubs, we saw in the far distance the lofty peaks

of the Mlange plateau and the silver streak of Lake Shirwa, while in the background rises Zomba Mountain with its bubbling, tumbling streams, pinewoods and heather-clad slopes. Lake Nyasa is another memory. Its waters are bounded by crystalline cliffs which glisten and quiver in the heat of the midday sun, while on its surface are dotted the frail dug-out canoes of the local fishers. Different is the disastrously beautiful sight of hills and plains ablaze with innumerable forest and grass fires at night. Nero may have fiddled, inspired by Rome burning, but he was at least interested in the proceedings. Our modern administrators, on the other hand, appear to be completely indifferent to the wholesale fiery destruction of forest, and the consequent impoverishment of the soil and the progressive desiccation of the country.

Memorable too is the setting of the Animal Research Station at Mpapwa. The station is encircled by hills of considerable height, out of which peep here and there chalet-like mission stations, while the grassy slopes are studded with herds of cattle. On leaving Tabora early one morning we were regaled with a magnificent feast of colour. The sun had not yet had time to haze the colours of the morn, and the khaki shades of the landscape formed a perfect foil to the varied and vivid hues of the clothing of a seemingly endless procession of natives completing the last stage of their journey towards the market place. From our vantage point we could cover a wide extent of country with the eye, and in whichever direction we looked we were given the same impression that a vast pilgrimage was focussed on Tabora. Victoria Nyanza did not strike our imagination. It is vast, it contains picturesque islets, and the ports of Mwanza and Bukoba are attractively sited, but



VICTORIA NILE FROM RIPON FALLS, UGANDA.

it possesses no great claim to beauty—at least, not on the south, the west and the north. We saw none of the grander sights of Uganda—Ruwenzori or Karamoja. Kampala, the seat of the native government of Buganda, with its encircling hills, is neither strikingly beautiful nor impressive. Entebbe, the capital, is pleasing to the eye, but its gardens are none too happy attempts to reproduce the art of the Italian landscape gardener.

The road from Entebbe to Kampala, however, is consistently beautiful. Forest, hill, and lake, by day a never-ending procession of graceful native women, by night thousands of tiny hut fires, combine to make this twenty-five miles of road the most picturesque over which I have ever driven.

The Ripon Falls at Jinja, over which Victoria Nyanza pours its surplus waters into the Nile, are insignificant only in comparison with the Victoria Falls. From them a wonderful view is obtained of the Victoria Nile, with its turbulent boulder-broken course and strikingly contrasted banks, on the left a forest-clad slope, on the right a high cliff of rich brown earth.

The Kenya Highlands are the fulfilment of most of our dreams of beauty. It is a garden of enchantment over a vast expanse of 10,000 square miles. From it arise in a wonderful slope the mighty Elgon and the pinnacled and mightier Kenya Mountain. Through it runs the cleft of the Rift Valley, its sides still clearly defined though beautified by virgin forests and other wondrous vegetation of the tropics, its many volcanic cones and craters modified through the geological ages which have elapsed since the earth's crust cracked and let this strip subside for a thousand feet or more. The views which are obtained from any point of the escarpment are magnificent, reminiscent

of the Austrian Tyrol in the height of summer, but far more beautiful.

Every day of travel in this marvellous country brought forth its eye feast. Whether looking out from a homestead, built eyrie-wise on the escarpment at Londiani, from the cliff edge overlooking the cornfields of Will Evans in the Rongai Valley, from the Harveys' high home by Lake Naivasha, from which we looked down on tiny volcanic cones flushing red under the setting sun, from the Senior Commissioner's residence at Nyeri towards the foothills of Kenya Mountain, or from the railway as it traces its high way through forests, hills, and plateaux, the emotion is the same. You forget all other considerations and feel exultant that this country has become another home for Englishmen. And you appreciate the passionate attachment which they feel for their newly acquired abode.

Then the return journey to Tanganyika by way of the vast wilderness of the Masai reserve, where great herds of cattle appear to be centres around which roam vaster herds of zebra, eland, and other wild animals in amazing variety, reaching snow-streaked Meru as it was empurpling in the setting sun, is a delightful memory which time can neither diminish nor efface. The snow-capped majesty of Kilimanjaro was seen in less favoured circumstances. Distance in this case did not lend enchantment. But a day later we were privileged to ascend the dizzily bending track leading to the Amani Institute, from the balcony of which we looked upon the terraced fairyland created by that wizard in tropical plantations, Professor Zimmerman, and to the ocean afar through the opening between the foothills of the Usumbara Range.

The three southern territories and part of Kenya have a rainy season lasting approximately from

November to April, and a dry season for the other months of the year. Uganda enjoys a fairly evenly distributed rainfall, while the Kenya Highland area has two rainy seasons, short rains in November, and long rains in April and May. Parts of Uganda and Kenya approximate to desert, but with these exceptions the climatic conditions and the soil render the countries eminently suitable for agricultural pursuits.

Some striking estimates of the potential productivity of the country have been made by Dr. H. L. Schantz of the United States Department of Agriculture, who made a rapid survey of the territories in 1923.* According to him more than three-fourths of the total area administered by the British in East Africa is capable of crop production, while that part which is incapable of producing crops is grazing land suitable for cattle, sheep and goats. He estimates that only one-fourth of Kenya is suitable for crop production, but only one-fifth of the neighbouring territory of Tanganyika—nearly twice its size—is unsuitable. Nearly the whole of the land of Uganda, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, all of which are parts of the great inland plateaux, is capable of crop production.

There are no great natural hindrances to communication between the five territories, and to this extent they may be regarded as a geographical unit. They are practically isolated by desert and marsh on the north. Until comparatively recent times the density of the vegetation and the physical characteristics of the Congo regions on the west and the Angola and Bechuanaland deserts effectually separated Eastern and Western Central Africa. On the south, if part of Portuguese East Africa be included, the Zambesi, because of its great width

and its mosquito-ridden basin, hampers communications sufficiently to be regarded as a line of demarcation between Central and South Africa.

Those of us whose logic demands that political boundaries should follow clearly marked physical features must regret that the geographical unit, East Africa, as defined by the marsh and desert region on the north, the ocean on the east, the broad and changeable Zambesi on the south, and the western branch of the great Rift Valley on the west, is not all under one administration. That it is not is due to a variety of causes which need not be enlarged upon here. Suffice it to say that when scrambling for territory, most of which is unmapped, or when the victors in war haggle over the division of spoils, very little regard is paid to the unities. Consequently, Portugal controls the outlet from Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia by its occupation of the area between the Rovuma and Zambesi; the Home Government, in taking over from the Chartered Company the administrative control of the latter's territories north of the Zambesi, tacitly accepted the old boundaries as inviolate; and Belgium intrudes across the natural line of demarcation, the Rift Valley, into the Wanyamwezi country. More serious still, however, from the point of view of Great Britain, is the fixing of the boundary between the Southern Sudan and Uganda. The former is under Foreign Office, the latter under Colonial Office, administration.

The boundary between the Southern Sudan and Uganda runs from Lake Rudolf to Nimule on the Bahr-el-Jebel. Part of the boundary lies through a desert region, but the Nile district between Rejaf and Lake Albert is fairly densely populated by more or less homogeneous tribes. The district north and south of the boundary-line



KIRO, HIGHEST PEAK OF KILIMANJARO.

in the Nile area belongs to the same climatic zone. The natives on both sides of the boundary produce their crops in the same way, i.e., they depend upon rainfall and natural irrigation, and not upon artificial irrigation as practised farther north. It may be held that in principle there is no difference between Colonial Office and Foreign Office administration. In actual fact, however, there is much practical difference. And differences in methods and administration, particularly if practised by representatives of the same ruling power, are not unlikely to cause some wonderment among the less subtle peoples of the Nile. There is, however, a graver objection to divided control of this area, and that is its effect on the campaign against human, animal and plant diseases in tropical Africa.

A glance at the map of Northern Rhodesia will show clearly how simple it would be to divide this one administrative area into two. It will be seen moreover, from its railway linkages, that the north-western portion of the territory could be quite conveniently consolidated with Southern Rhodesia, with which country it has much in common. Like most of the Chartered Company's concessions, it has been considered for years mainly from the point of view of its mineral wealth. White settlement there has been encouraged mainly with the idea of ensuring food supplies to the mining districts. North-Eastern Rhodesia, however, either from the unavailability or inaccessibility of whatever minerals may be there, has been more or less neglected for many years. No attempt until quite recently has been made to link it up with the western part of the territory. The quickest way from Fort Jameson in the eastern province to Livingstone, the capital, is by way of Zomba (in Nyasaland), Beira (in Portuguese East Africa), and

Salisbury and Bulawayo (in Southern Rhodesia). This is the journey which has to be undertaken by the Fort Jameson representative on the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council.

There are very important differences also in the type of products. In the western half karroo conditions prevail to a great extent; in other words, you have a livestock and grain-producing country of some importance. Attempts are being made to introduce crops like cotton, following upon the successful attempt to grow cotton in Transkei; but the results so far have not been such as to warrant any great confidence in its future success. In the eastern province, however, there appears to be a great future for such crops as cotton, rice, tobacco, tea, and coffee. Already the exports of tobacco are considerable. In this respect the eastern province is more naturally allied with Nyasaland; furthermore, its climate is in all respects similar, and it attracts the same type of agricultural settler.

The present boundary between Nyasaland and North-Western Rhodesia disregards tribal boundaries in the districts through which it runs, thus it will be realized that the arbitrary delimitation of a boundary by drawing a line on a map at a fixed distance from some natural and well-defined feature—in this case the western shore of Lake Nyasa—is calculated to do irremediable injury to native interests, if we are to accept the theory that a sudden break with tribal tradition and tribal authority is a bad thing for the natives themselves.

From the point of view of Great Britain, therefore, we should quite simply hand over the western part of Northern Rhodesia to Southern Rhodesia, with which it is linked tribally and economically. From the same point of view, the eastern part forms a natural unit with Nyasaland. While the eastern

part is controlled from Livingstone there is always a danger of its interests being sacrificed to those of the comparatively small white-settled area and mining districts in the vicinity of the Rhodesian railway line. This is fraught with grave possibilities in the future. If, for example, the mining industry in the western part becomes more and more important, it will make greater and greater demands for native labour; this labour will have to be brought from a distance, and the white settlers of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland will be among the first to object to the recruitment of native labourers in the districts from which they draw their own supplies, particularly as it is incontestably true that a change from pastoral or agricultural life to work in a mine has an appalling effect upon the native, and is largely responsible for the spread of pulmonary diseases.

When considering the territory occupied by Portugal and Belgium within what I have called the natural boundaries of East Africa, we are faced with a problem which is capable of no such easy solution as we have prescribed in the other cases. World opinion, once aroused, may result in Portugal relinquishing her African possessions. The case of Belgium is different. Following upon the war in East Africa, Belgium made claim to a considerable portion of the populous district surrounding the southern part of Victoria Nyanza. It wished, in fact, to include in the Belgian Congo a large part of the Wanyamwezi country between the Central Tanganyika Railway and the lake. Its claims were afterwards met by the League of Nations Mandates Commission by giving it a mandate which included the populous and fertile districts of Ruanda and Urundi, the eastern boundary of which runs along the Kagera River

from the point where it turns due southwards. One can sympathize with Belgium's desire to add to its colonial population in this way. Nevertheless, the Belgian administration of its territories differs markedly from British administration both in principle and in practice. If the natives in British territory are dissatisfied with British administration, they might migrate to Belgian territory with the greatest of ease, and vice versa. Such migrations lead inevitably to friction between the administrative authorities. In the years to come I foresee the greatest difficulties arising in this part of East Africa, because the natural boundaries between places have not been adhered to for political purposes. In other words, the limits of the Belgian Congo are extraordinarily well defined geographically and anthropologically by the western boundary of Lake Tanganyika and the continuation of the escarpment to the west of the chain of Lakes Kivu, Edward, and Albert. One would have imagined that Belgium would have preferred to have concentrated her energies to the west of the Rift Valley, and to have used the mineral wealth in the Kilo, Moto, and Katanga mines to develop the railway and river system towards the Atlantic seaboard. However, she probably regards it as no inconsiderable gain attached to her geographical intrusion to be in control of one of the most densely populated districts in Africa, the tribes of which are among the best workers in the tropics.

The only well-defined lines of demarcation between any of the existing five territories is the natural boundary which divides Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika from Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. This boundary is formed by the Livingstone Mountains and Lake Nyasa itself. The Livingstone Mountains are really the upturned

edges of the Rift divide, which rises at some points to a height of over 10,000 feet. It might be imagined that Lake Nyasa would provide an easy means of communication between the territories bounding its eastern and western shores. This, however, is not the case. There are few ports on the lake owing to the steepness of its sides, which render communication with the interior extremely difficult. The same might be said of Lake Tanganyika. It is difficult of access, and the population round its mountainous shores is extremely sparse. The largest lake in East Africa, however, Victoria Nyanza, which covers an area greater than that of Ireland, is surrounded by the most densely populated area in the tropics. Practically all the exports and imports of Uganda, and a considerable proportion of the exports from the Bukoba and Mwanza districts of Tanganyika, cross its waters. But Victoria Nyanza is not a Rift Valley lake. It is in the hollow of the basin between the western and eastern branches of the Rift. Its shores are alluvial, it is comparatively shallow, and dotted on its waters are a number of islands which formerly maintained a very dense population.

It seems a thousand pities that the area surrounding Victoria Nyanza is not under one administration. One can quite understand Germany wishing to have an outlet on the lake, but once the German part of the lake was put under British control it seems rather absurd that the boundaries between Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika were not adjusted so as to bring about this desirable result. Here again, however, the difficulty to be faced is the desire on the part of white settlers in the Arusha district of Tanganyika, the Kenya Highlands, and the higher lands in Uganda to be administratively associated with a

source of black labour supply. It was this which led the Uganda Government to hand over the Kavirondo and Nandi reserves to Kenya after the latter had become recognized as a white-settled area. Just as Victoria Nyanza is a link between these three territories, so at the same time they are not divided by any natural boundaries, unless one excepts the Usumbara range over part of the Kenya-Tanganyika boundary as being a natural barrier. For the rest, however, it follows an absolutely straight line for hundreds of miles, a straight line which divides up tribes and breaks tribal authority in several places.

The boundary between Kenya and Uganda is for the most part a logical line of demarcation between the two territories. Unfortunately, it becomes illogical at the very portion where the demands of logic are most insistent. This portion lies between Mount Elgon and Victoria Nyanza. The district through which it runs is densely populated, and in the main by the same Nilotic tribes. It is difficult also to prevent the natives of Uganda and Kenya from comparing notes on the different treatment they get on either side of this boundary, and the different degree of encouragement they receive from the two administrations in growing crops for export.

This question of boundaries I consider is the most important in connection with the inter-relations of the five East African territories. When in process of time the waterways and the road and railway systems are developed, it will be found that the present divisions are arbitrary, and that the territories form one country peopled for the most part by homogeneous races and economically interdependent, their problems being common problems requiring for their solution a strong central

authority. If there is any barrier between the five territories it is that which is created by the Livingstone Mountain area, but there is every indication that even this so-called barrier will, once it is developed, as I hope it will be, by an increasing number of white settlers, form a natural link rather than a natural boundary.

With the exception of the Nilotic and Hamitic tribes which speak tongues of Sudanic origin, the peoples of these territories speak languages of Bantu origin. The Bantu languages are rich in vocabulary, and possess a logical grammatical structure which facilitates the assimilation of new words and expressions. Thus they provide for a wide range and a nice discrimination in the expression of ideas. But in spite of the common origin the number of tongues is bewildering, over thirty distinct and for the most part mutually unintelligible varieties being in use in Northern Rhodesia alone. Nevertheless, the importance of the common grammatical structure of these diverse tongues cannot be over-estimated. An African Chaucer may yet arise who will bring to East Africa unity and mutual understanding of speech on the firm foundation of literary grandeur and beauty.

Too much significance should not be attached to the common origin of the various tribal languages. It cannot be too strongly urged that such a common origin for speech is not synonymous with common racial origin. History abundantly illustrates the ease with which a foreign tongue can be imposed on a people, provided it is richer in expression and otherwise fulfils more requirements than that which it supersedes. The marked differences in the physical characteristics exhibited by the peoples inhabiting East Africa are some indication of the successive waves of migration which have swept

over the continent. There still exist there in isolated communities the three distinct negro types: the short-legged, prominent-jawed, long-headed, hairy, splay-toed and dark-skinned pygmies; the short-statured, round-headed, yellow-skinned bushmen with almost hairless bodies; and the long-legged, ebony-coloured Nilotic who spread over Africa in successive waves from the north in prehistoric times, and were probably its first human inhabitants.¹

These waves of migration took place at a period estimated at more than 50,000 years ago. Africa's earliest colonists were later isolated by the formation of the Sahara, Libyan, and Arabian deserts, and were thus left for many thousands of years to specialize in stagnation. Their conterminous existence with the modern superior types of native is thus accounted for. It is not difficult also to account for the subsequent deterioration of every succeeding migratory race which penetrated beyond the desert and marsh divide.

The earliest migrations of Caucasian or white invaders of Africa are believed to have dated from 10,000 years ago. They swept over East Africa by two routes, the first by way of the Lower Nile Valley, through the sudd of the Upper Nile to the dense forest region around the Central Lakes, or through Abyssinia and Galaland; the second and easier route from Arabia across to Abyssinia or Somaliland and thence by the Rift Valley to Kenya, Tanganyika and beyond, or westwards to Elgon.

The routes thus blazed by these early Caucasian adventurers have been followed more or less

¹ General Smuts, in the course of a remarkable address, has recently (1925) suggested that Africa was the cradle of civilization, but as he based this upon the Wegener hypothesis of continental drift, which Lake seems to have satisfactorily shown to be false, it need not be considered as a serious challenge to accepted beliefs.

continuously since, in addition to the sea-routes which brought the early Mediterranean and Eastern merchants and gold seekers to the coasts.

From the fusion of the early Caucasian invaders who settled in the neighbourhood of Albert Nyanza and the indigenous negroes, probably arose the vigorous Bantu tribe, a tribe which about 2,000 years ago commenced to spread their conquests over the whole of East and South Africa, and were continuing their work of subjugation until checked by the British in the second half of the last century.

Dividing the Rift Valley from the fertile coastal strip in Kenya and Tanganyika is a remarkable open steppe-land none too well-watered, but for the most part admirably adapted to cattle-raising. Occupying this country are the Masai and kindred tribes such as the Wandecobbo and Maquafi, pastoralists by pursuit. It is believed they first entered the country about 6,000 years ago. Most authorities now seem to agree that they are Nilotic peoples. Their facial characteristics, fashions and tribal customs afford evidence on this point.

Until the European nations took over the administration of the interior of East Africa these peoples were the terror of their neighbours, frequently raiding them and carrying off their cattle and their women and ruthlessly slaughtering the men. They are a powerful tribe, capable of great physical endurance, warlike, brutal and proud. Unintentionally, however, they have in the past performed two useful functions. In the first place, they literally forced agriculture upon their near neighbours who found a certain immunity from their depredations by keeping no cattle. And to some extent they formed a bulwark for the peoples in the vicinity of Victoria Nyanza against the ravages

of the worst period of the Arab slave trade in the nineteenth century.

They are superb herdsmen and as a tribe are extremely rich in cattle, though like most African pastoralists, they consider quantity of stock of far greater importance than quality. By tradition they are aristocratic, considering themselves superior to the peoples of neighbouring tribes. This superiority takes the form nowadays of a repugnance to perform the tasks to which their "inferiors" apply themselves. They appear to consider all forms of labour, except herding and tending cattle, beneath their dignity. They are intensely conservative, dogged in their adherence to tradition and old custom, and extraordinarily narrow in outlook.

Physically there are far greater differences between the various tribes inhabiting East Central Africa than between the peoples of Europe. In the Kavirondo province of Kenya alone, in spite of the inevitable fusion which has occurred in the course of centuries, two physical types are easily distinguishable, differentiated locally by the appellations Nilotic Kavirondo and Bantu Kavirondo, the former being much darker-skinned and taller than the latter. The Masai and the Nandi tribes of Kenya again are markedly dissimilar from their near neighbours, the Kikuyu and Kavirondo. In Uganda every variation between the pygmy tribes of the Ruwenzori district and the uniformly tall Teso and Lango natives occupying the northern part of the territory are to be found. In Nyasaland the same marked differences are noticeable even to the casual observer. The ugly, misshapen, Anyanja peoples form a striking contrast to the fine-looking Yao and Angoni tribes who invaded their country from the south in the second half of the last century. The natives of Tanganyika afford

similar striking contrasts, the Wanyamwezi and the Masai tribes, for example, differing markedly in physical appearance, customs, and traditional occupations.

The influence of Egyptian or Gala adventurers is here and there to be seen at the present day in the Bahima, Ruhinda, and Batutsi aristocracies of the regions about Albert and Victoria Nyanza. The present King of Buganda, for example, Daudi Chwa, is the thirty-sixth monarch in a direct line of descent from his Hima ancestors. This takes the dynasty back to the fourteenth century.

The dietary differences between the peoples are interesting. The staple food of many tribes is the banana; some subsist on a diet of milk and blood fresh drawn from their cattle, while other tribes subsist chiefly on maize. Incidentally the dietary habits of the various tribes have a direct bearing upon their qualities of leadership, dominance, and capacity for sustained effort in work. This is a matter which has only recently engaged the attention of the various administrations. It is one which will repay the fullest investigation, as there is little doubt now that many of the difficulties experienced by settlers and by the various Government works departments in connection with native labour can be attributed to food deficiencies.

Although for the most part the natives are pagans, this term covers a multitude of different religions and semi-religious observances. But there is no semblance of a creed to integrate their diverse religions and beliefs. They have produced no literature of their own. They have built no permanent cities. They have made no roads. Their frail canoes are singularly unfitted to navigate their lakes or their broad and mighty rivers or to protect them against onslaughts of hippopotami.

They have never attempted to embark on the ocean expanses. They appear, in fact, to be totally lacking in initiative enterprise or creative ability. Such arts as have been brought to them by alien races rapidly disappear with the removal of external influences. Those they have brought themselves have declined. Can this be attributed to race, or is it due to climate and the other conditions of existence?

There is a vast field for investigation, not only in matters purely utilitarian, but in matters which will enable us to approach a nearer understanding of the mental processes of the African peoples. The habit of sweeping generalizations which Darwinism encouraged has led to many hasty conclusions being arrived at regarding these diverse races and tribes, which will bear no closer scrutiny than some of the generalizations regarding the origin of the English-speaking peoples.

CHAPTER IV

EAST AFRICA'S RESOURCES

Nor least among the difficulties of arriving at an adequate appreciation of the potential resources of the territories visited is the almost entire absence of reliable quantitative and qualitative information. In England we are accustomed to accurate information based upon carefully compiled surveys of the varied resources of our country. In East Africa we quickly came to the conclusion that only scanty and unreliable information regarding density and distribution of population, births and deaths, length of life, agricultural returns, distribution of soils, density and distribution of cattle, and other domestic animals, climate and distribution of rainfall, mineral resources, water-power, forest resources, internal trade, existing and potential overseas markets, conditions of labour and the like, is available. Much of the information given was based upon casual incomplete surveys, even if upon any attempt at survey at all.

Obviously it would be unreasonable to expect a standard of accuracy in East African records which would bear favourable comparison with the standards at home as regards most of these things. But it is not unfair to expect our local governors to realize the necessity of collecting such information, or to expect them to urge its importance upon the Colonial Office. Properly presented, the case for augmented staffs to enable this work to be

carried out would be unanswerable. It may be true that the Colonial Office, regardful of H.M. Treasury, scrutinizes carefully each fresh demand for financial assistance in a spirit of opposition. The officials of the Colonial Office may not be possessed of sufficient imagination to appreciate the need for expenditure for development purposes. But it is the obvious duty of colonial governors to try to overcome opposition, and to kindle the spark of imagination. If they fail with the official hierarchy at home, there is always a possibility of success with politicians of all parties and the interested section of the public. It has been done before. The tendency to attribute defects in administration to the opposition of the Colonial Office to all schemes of reform involving fresh expenditure can be overdone. As J. H. Oldham has said, we assume too often that an undesirable state of affairs is unalterable. "There is enough laziness and cowardice in most of us to make us secretly welcome any plausible excuse for leaving things as they are."

Were it not for the prevailing ignorance and apathy at home concerning our imperial tropical possessions, we might ere this have evolved a type of colonial governor combining the indefinable quality of personality with knowledge, understanding, and the capacity for bringing these essential characteristics to bear upon the problems of development. Unfortunately, we have had too many governors drawn from a class educated in a tradition which renders them impervious to progressive ideas, deplorably lacking in initiative, though socially desirable, prepared to wait for pressure from home to introduce necessary reforms and do what is otherwise needful for sound progress. There have been too few of the Raffles

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and Coryndon type, with a grasp of the realities of government, with a sense of the need for justifying our possession of our territories and with the courage to put their ideas into effect in the teeth of opposition.

It is somewhat humiliating to find that the only comprehensive survey of the agricultural resources of East Africa has been made as the result of a hurried visit paid by Dr. Schantz of the United States Department of Agriculture to East Africa in 1923. It is from him that we have derived most of our accessible knowledge of the climate, soils, potential cultivable and pastoral areas, the timber resources and the productive crop capacities of the various parts of the territories. It is not pretended by Dr. Schantz that his survey is by any means complete or meticulously accurate in detail; it is merely an attempt to survey broadly the potential agricultural resources of East Africa in the hope that more detailed and accurate surveys will be made by the various agricultural departments. Some of his estimates, however, are sufficiently striking to provide food for the imagination of our statesmen at home. As a nation we are largely dependent upon the cotton-producing areas of the United States of America, and these areas are becoming less and less capable, through artificial restrictions and disease, of supplying the world needs in cotton. We have realized this for some years past, and in consequence we have fostered cotton development in East Africa, but so far East African cotton scarcely has any effect upon world prices of raw cotton, so relatively insignificant is the quantity produced. Dr. Schantz makes a conservative estimate of the cotton-producing land in East Africa, including parts of Portuguese East Africa, at 90 million acres. The present

area under cotton cultivation in the United States is about one-third of this, that is 34 million acres. He adds that if we combine the area suitable to cool climate crops with the warm climate crops the area physically available for crops (in East Africa) is about equal to that in the United States.

But apart from the crop-producing area there is an immense area which is at present practically unoccupied which is suitable for sheep and cattle-rearing. In fact, from the tables compiled by Dr. Schantz, there is no land under British administration in East Africa which could be classed as desert. The variety of crops which East Africa is capable of producing is almost illimitable, for it embraces all tropical, subtropical, and temperate crops. It is not unreasonable to look forward to this area becoming the greatest agricultural centre in the world, furnishing from its excess, food for industrial Europe and America. Many of these products are already finding their way into our markets. Cotton is at present the most important product, but we are marketing increasing quantities of sisal, maize, coffee, ground-nuts, simsim, cloves, copra, and tobacco. Other crops which could be expected to find their way into the world's markets shortly are rice, tea, sugar, cinchona, flax, and a variety of tropical fruits. With the demand also for heavy lubricating oils it is conceivable that fairly large areas will be devoted to the production of castor oil. The castor oil plant grows abundantly in many parts of East Africa and is already used a great deal by the natives themselves. With any tendency to a shortage of petrol, a demand may be created for power alcohol manufactured from a variety of cereals: cassava, sugar cane, and bananas. Already, in fact, the high cost of petrol in East

Africa has led to the erection of experimental plants to produce alcohol from these products.

On the pastoral side there is scope for great development. In addition to the possibilities outlined in Chapter V, we can hope in a few years for the development of an enormous sheep-rearing industry, adding greatly to the world supply of wool. The bacon and dairying industry are still in their earliest stages of development. What constitutes now one of the minor curses of the country, the excessive multiplication of goats, might suitably be turned to good account by an effort towards establishing a tinned or dried milk industry, while it is not inconceivable that a healthy industry might spring up in connection with goat hides and skins.

It cannot be over-emphasized that East Africa is an agricultural country, and the surest and safest form of development of the territory will be in this direction. The depth of rich soil in many parts of the territory is amazing, indicating that with improved agricultural methods there would be little need for artificial stimulants to be applied for the purpose of crop production, even if in the course of the next few years a scientific rotation of crops is not introduced. But assuming that in course of time the soil will show signs of exhaustion, there are inexhaustible sources of water-power which could be utilized for the production of nitrogen. Moreover, once the mineral resources of the country become better surveyed, it is not inconceivable that phosphate fields will be found to supply the other essential fertilizers, particularly for such crops as tobacco. Incidentally one would have assumed that with the present high cost of phosphates for the tobacco plantations of Nyasa and Northern Rhodesia, some energetic steps would

have been taken to have discovered phosphates ere this.

But this is not surprising, for so far no really energetic steps have been taken to make any systematic surveys of the mineral resources of the territories. Within the past year or two, it is true, some attention has been given to the petroliferous rocks in Uganda, the coal deposits in the Sumbu area and the bauxite fields in Southern Nyasaland. The Germans, while they were responsible for the administration of Tanganyika, had done a considerable amount of survey work, and on the basis of their mineralogical surveys gold was already being mined in Sekenke in the north central part of the territory, in Mwanza, and prospectors were already working on the alluvial gold deposits in the Lupa River area. Tin in the Kigarra area, coal in the Ufipa district, mica in various parts of the territory, and asbestos in the Morogoro and Malindi areas, copper near Mpapwa had also been discovered, although, with the exception of mica, none of these minerals has been exploited. In fact, in spite of the known mineral possibilities of Tanganyika Territory, prospecting was prohibited until June, 1921, owing to delays in the formulation of a mining ordinance. It was not until 1924 that crushing recommenced on the Sekenke gold reef. It is worthy of mention in connection with this reef that the plant which was established by the Germans at a cost of £150,000, approximately, was sold by the custodian of ex-enemy properties to a Swiss for £5,500. This sum included 3,000 acres of land together with the mineral rights and three dwelling-houses.

As might have been expected, Northern Rhodesia, which was first acquired for its mineral possibilities, has done more—though this does not amount to

much—than the other territories to develop its mineral resources. There are lead and zinc mines at Broken Hill, and there are valuable copper deposits in the neighbourhood of Bwana Mkubwa. There has been no development of the mining industry in Kenya Colony. So far we have only the haziest idea of the mineral wealth of East Africa. It is now generally recognized that casual prospecting is wasteful alike of time and money and that all effective work or prospecting for minerals should be based upon systematic geological surveys, but, with the exception of Nyasaland which had one geologist, and Uganda which had two, no other government had command of the services of a geologist in 1924. The Government of Tanganyika has since engaged the services of a geological staff. Over thirty years ago Professor J. W. Gregory made a survey of the Rift Valley area. Ten years later this was followed up by a geological survey of the region along the highland portion of the Uganda railway. Inspired by these efforts, the Kenya Colony Government later spent a good deal of money on geological apparatus, but up to the present it has not engaged the services of a geologist to use it. There is still no geologist in Northern Rhodesia. Were this neglect of the geological surveys due to the settled policy of the governments concerned to keep the territory free from mining prospectors with a view to preventing the mining industry from retarding the development of its agricultural resources, there might be some justification for it, but this is not the case. It is merely part of the general neglect of those services which might reasonably be expected to promote the development of the country.

Although East Africa was a not unimportant seat of hostilities in the Great War, there is still no

general topographical survey of the territories which could be relied upon as accurately presenting their principal physical features. Neither does there appear to be any general appreciation of the need for such a survey in spite of the fact that it must be the basis of any systematic geological survey, that it would prove invaluable when the railway departments or the Public Works Department were considering the construction of new routes, and that it would be of the greatest assistance in many activities of the Agricultural Department. In fact, it is difficult to conceive how any general economic survey which would represent adequately the varying resources of the territory could be made without such a preliminary survey. There is a beautiful and simple eloquence in an accurate map. It will often enable fairly correct predictions to be made with regard to the distribution of alluvial soils. Moreover, it facilitates the survey of the water resources of a territory. Certain of the sources of water-power are well known: they are too evident to be disregarded by the most casual observer. They include the Victoria Falls with almost illimitable power, the Ripon Falls, which some years ago inspired Mr. Winston Churchill to some enraptured prose on the benefits of State socialism, the amazing Kalombo Falls in Tanganyika with a waterfall between 1,000 and 1,600 feet, and the beautiful Thompson and Thika Falls in Kenya. But the distribution of springs and wells is not quite so simple a matter, and yet they are all-important in the development of an agricultural country. We should do well as a nation to emulate the thoroughness of the Germans in this regard. It is true there has been criticism of some of their topographical surveys on the ground of their inaccuracy, but there is no questioning the accuracy of their survey

of the area between Lake Nyasa and Lake Tanganyika.

So far we have made no attempt to accumulate any knowledge with regard to the great lake or marine fisheries. Yet they are considerable. The late Sir Robert Coryndon brought this matter to the attention of the Colonial Office in a dispatch dealing with the general administration of the Victoria Nyanza region. He urged that an immediate inquiry should be made into the fisheries resources of the great lakes, such an inquiry to include the classification of fish species, their fitness for human consumption, the determination of their spawning grounds, and their migration. It is hardly realized in this country what store the natives in the vicinity of the great lakes place upon fish as an article of diet. At one time there was a thriving fishing industry on Victoria Nyanza in the hands of the inhabitants of the islands which stud its waters, but this industry was destroyed early in the century by Sir Hesketh Bell, the Governor of Uganda, adopting the drastic method of evacuating the populations of the islands to the mainland to protect them against any further epidemics of sleeping sickness.

But any general survey of the economic resources of the territory should be accompanied by an entomological, botanical, and zoological survey. Until we have recorded more accurate information regarding the distribution of the tsetse-fly, classified into species, their habitats, the conditions favouring their multiplication, their sources of infection, their feeding habits and their infection hosts, we shall not be in a position to deal with them effectively and free the greater proportion of East African territory from their malign domination.

It is high time also that the malaria districts in

the territory were determined as a preliminary to a determined campaign of extermination, and, while a survey of the insects and parasites which directly affect the health of man and cattle is urgently necessary, so also should there be more systematic scientific research into the insects and fungoid diseases which affect plant life. On the botanical side, while we have a fair general knowledge of the better known plants, we have so far attempted very little in the way of research of its lesser known flora. Some of the indigenous plants might eventually be utilized economically.

For the past few years a healthy interest has been taken in the forest resources of the territories. Although they cover but a lamentably small portion of the land area, the maximum being 2.12 per cent. in Uganda, they are of considerable value, many of the forest timbers vying with the ornamental timbers of Guiana. There seems little doubt that much of East Africa was once covered by forests, but the methods of cultivation of the black races, involving the destruction of wooded areas by fire, firstly for clearing and secondly for the added though transitory enrichment of the soil resulting from the burning, has in the course of centuries reduced this asset to its present small dimensions, and contributed to the impoverishment and desiccation of the soil. Forest burning is particularly disastrous in its effects on fertility of mountainous and hilly country. The destruction of forest vegetation in a country with a well-marked dry season, a characteristic of the climate of East Africa, results in the surface soil getting so hardened by the sun that it is unable to absorb anything approaching the same quantity of moisture that can be taken in by the more open and porous soil in a well-timbered country. Rain falling on bare and

open land rushes off the surface to the nearest watercourse, carrying with it the soluble riches of the surface soil, while on a wooded hillside the impetus of a downpour of rain is checked both by the crowns of the trees and the undergrowth, and most of it percolates to the depth of soil. Dr. Dixey, the Nyasaland geologist, mentioned the further effect produced by the burning of forests. The roots of the trees rapidly decay, and in deep soil any rain which falls, being unarrested by the root formation, percolates to such a depth that it is inaccessible to the roots of most of the crops which would otherwise be raised.

Wooded areas have another useful effect in increasing the relative humidity of the atmosphere in their neighbourhood, due to transpiration from the leaves of the trees. The mist and dew which are caused by high relative humidity are of the greatest importance to plant growth in localities with a meagre rainfall.

Among the most valuable timbers of East Africa are the Mvule, or East African teak, which is found extensively in parts of Uganda and Tanganyika; the pencil-cedar which covers extensive areas in Kenya and Tanganyika and may, if proper regenerative measures are taken in Nyasa and Northern Rhodesia, thrive in those colonies also; the camphor tree, possessing exceptional powers of resistance against white-ants, beetles, and other enemies of forests; the podocarpus, or yellow-deal, which is remarkably free from knots and is invaluable for building purposes; and the Muhugu, a strong timber also impervious to the attacks of white-ants and boring beetles, and thus useful for building purposes, for telegraph poles, railway sleepers, wooden piers, and ebony. In Kenya and Tanganyika, in the mountain districts, there

are extensive bamboo belts at altitudes between 8,000 and 10,000 feet, and on the mud flats of the deltas and the creeks there are invaluable mangrove swamps. There is a possibility that the bamboo will soon be utilized for paper-making, while there is already a considerable export trade in mangrove poles and tannin from mangrove bark. Each of the territories except Northern Rhodesia has a Forestry Department which is doing its best to survey the forest resources, to conserve timber, and to carry out a programme of reforestation, always under difficulties owing to the indiscriminate felling by the blacks and white settlers, burning by the blacks and accidental forest fires, and the demands for wood-fuel by the railway departments. In Kenya we were informed that valuable cedar trees had been cut down for this purpose.

Considerable knowledge has been accumulated of the fauna of the territory, due mainly to the fact that for many years past this territory has been one of the most favoured haunts of the big game hunter. It is only with the recent years, however, that any serious attempt has been made to determine the migratory habits and routes followed by the various wild animals. The importance of such an inquiry cannot be overestimated.

Until recently it was generally assumed in East Africa that the African elephant differed from the Asiatic variety in that it was untamable. This assumption has been proved false by the success of an experiment to utilize their energy carried out by the Belgians in the Congo, although its falsity had—if any thought had been given to the matter—been proved already by the presence of tamed African elephants in many zoological gardens, where they had been trained to carry children and to obey their keepers quite as well as

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those from India. Their utilization in British territory in Africa would not only greatly assist certain undertakings as in India, but it would also remove the danger of the species being wiped out, for suitable areas would be reserved for them if they were found to possess a commercial value. But as a writer in *The Times* has remarked, "if any serious attempt is made to use African elephants on a large scale, the first step will be to transport to Africa Indian, Burmese, or Siamese natives of the elephant caste."

An interesting experiment, which it is surprising has not been energetically followed up, was made recently to use the eland for transport purposes. The eland abounds in vast herds in East Africa. It is easily tamable. Unlike the elephant it can be bred easily in captivity. It is hardy. Above all, it is not susceptible to nagana disease carried by the tsetse-fly and would be invaluable therefore for the transport of goods through tsetse-fly districts where oxen cannot be used. In this as in most other matters connected with the development of the resources of the territory, we have displayed no initiative.

CHAPTER V

THE TASK OF DEVELOPMENT

THERE are many people in Great Britain who are of opinion that Great Britain's acquisition of territory has been overdone. But they are in a minority. The great majority of our people, although comparatively ignorant of the magnitude of the tasks which confront us in our overseas possessions, contemplate the red patches on the map of the world with no little degree of satisfaction and pride. And this feeling was probably greater when we joined in the scramble for territory in Africa than it is at the present time. We cannot, therefore, blame those of our countrymen, who, by accident or design, and aided by the sea-power at our command, added to our tropical possessions in the second half of the last century.

Whatever views we may hold regarding the capitalist system, much as some of us find its defects so great that we desire its overthrow or its modification, the fact remains that it is the system which still obtains in all civilized countries. Obviously we should be wrong to condemn those of our traders and financiers who had the prescience to realize the dependence of the capitalist system upon our increasing command of the sources of supply of raw materials and the development and extension of overseas markets. They had more vision than the statesmen who believed in the system without understanding it, and they were

more successful than their foreign rivals in persuading the State to enable them to acquire new fields for their enterprise.

Having assisted them in their schemes so far, however, the nation has the right to be severely critical of their use of their opportunities, and to demand that they shall develop the resources of the country, not destroy them in pursuit of large and quickly made profits. And it must demand that its colonial governors and administrators safeguard the black communities against the evils arising from the rapid introduction of the capitalist system. Perhaps it is unreasonable to expect carefully chosen nominees of the leading capitalist State to realize that its introduction in any form is inimical to the social development of the peoples or the economic resources of the country. But we have the right to demand that the pursuit of private profit shall conform as nearly as possible to the rough standards prevailing at home, and that the abuses regarding the treatment of labourers stamped out in England shall not be re-introduced in Africa. As regards the development of the resources of the country, we can legitimately demand proof of the oft-repeated assertion by the leaders of capitalist enterprise in East Africa, that their system is more efficient than the communal system it is rapidly replacing.

The nation's official representatives in our dominions must be expected to exercise their powers with a strict regard to the undertakings into which Great Britain entered with the other Great Powers in 1885, when we made a solemn covenant at Berlin to regulate "the conditions most favourable to trade and development and the means of furthering the moral and material well-being of the native populations in certain regions of Africa."

It might be urged on behalf of the representatives of other Great Powers, that they accepted this great responsibility with little idea of the magnitude of the task which confronted their countrymen. Great Britain has no such excuse. We had a wealth of experience in administration of backward races in various parts of Africa alone. Our representatives were in a position to appreciate the trusteeship implied in the terms of the covenant.

Our record in East Africa is not one which the nation can regard with any degree of complacency. When we acquired these territories we were the wealthiest community in the world. Our command of the sea was unchallenged. • Our technical skill was unrivalled. Our scientific achievements in plant-breeding and plant-nutrition were exciting the envy and admiration of agriculturists throughout the civilized world. Our pedigree stock, the qualities of which were based upon two centuries of patient experimentation, were eagerly sought for by all stock-raising communities. We had begun to appreciate the fact that our education system, poor as it was, was a tangible commercial asset if nothing more, and we were realizing the need for stamping out diseases and the causes of disease.

In India we had brought the results of some of our successful experiments in technical and social services to bear upon the problems there awaiting solution. The Indian revenues were being increased by making that country more productive. The existing technical services were enlarged in scope and new services created, with the most beneficial results. In the East Indies and Straits Settlements, nearly a century before, Sir Stamford Raffles had demonstrated the importance of technical schools in any scheme of agricultural development.

But the Home Government of the time was in no mood to vote the necessary expenditure for the efficient discharge of its responsibilities in East Africa. The ignorance of our statesmen regarding the territory was astounding. One characterized it as a land of fetid marsh and stony desert, inhabited by a few monkeys. The new territories were regarded as an embarrassment, and years of hesitation and procrastination followed their acquisition. The expedient of transferring the sovereignty of British East Africa—now Kenya and Uganda—to a chartered company was tried and failed. Sovereign rights were granted the British South Africa Company over Northern Rhodesia, rights which have only recently been transferred to the British Government in return for a vast sum of British taxpayers' money. Huge concessions were granted the same company in North Nyasa.

It is true that we stamped out the overseas trade in slaves; we practically eliminated inter-tribal warfare; we provided the necessary military forces to protect our traders and missionaries; and we established administrative centres for the disposal of even-handed justice. It cannot be said, however, that the blacks regard our achievements in these directions with the same feelings as we do. Doubtless all except those who were not agents of slave-traders are glad to be free from the attentions of the slave-raider. But the abolition of inter-tribal warfare is not regarded by all the black tribes as an advantage. To some it has removed a legitimate form of excitement. To most of them who were forced to take sides in the recent war it savours of hypocrisy. And our courts of justice are apt to be considered by the blacks as tedious and ineffective, and not always impartial. But from the outset we expected the cost of the forces

of law and order to be borne by the inhabitants of the territories themselves. The principal function of our administrative officers was, and in many cases still is, tax collection. And tax collecting from native communities whose poverty, judged from European standards is extreme, to the majority of whom money had no meaning, must have been neither a dignified nor satisfying preoccupation of our administrative officers. Where it is collected through tribal chiefs, the chiefs wonder why they receive so little of the revenue collected, the local administrative officer so much, particularly when there is little tangible return to them in the way of agricultural, veterinary, and medical services. One Kavirondo chief put this point to us very plainly.

Even in the task of tax collection the administrative officers were handicapped by the absence of means of communication. To get to Nyasaland involved a long steamer journey up the Zambesi and the Shiré tributary. Then followed a long march to the capital or other administrative centre. Horses or cattle could not be used for transport owing to the tsetse-fly. The journey from Mombasa to Uganda was still more arduous, since the whole distance to Victoria Nyanza, about 700 miles, had to be covered on foot. And the difficulties confronting the administrative officers serving the British South Africa Company, in reaching the western province of Northern Rhodesia, were almost insuperable. Trade with the interior was largely carried out by caravans of head-porters, thousands of whom were employed. In every territory thousands of these porters perished annually from disease contracted *en route*, and not only was the death-roll appallingly high, but disease was spread from village to village along the line of march.

The decision taken just before the commencement of this century to facilitate trade and administration by building railways through the Protectorates was therefore an essential and epoch-making step in the development of East Africa. The Uganda railway connecting Mombasa with Kisumu or Victoria Nyanza, for the construction of which thousands of Indian labourers were imported, was commenced in 1896 and completed in 1901. This railway not only made access to the Kenya Highlands easy, but provided Uganda with a much needed outlet for its goods, since steamers and dhows on Victoria Nyanza were able to carry on a trade between the lake ports of that territory and the railhead at Kisumu.

Shortly after, the Rhodesia Railways Company, in which the British South Africa Company had a controlling interest, completed the railway from Bulawayo, across the magnificent Zambesi bridge spanning the Victoria Falls, and northwards to the Belgian Congo. In 1908 a railway was completed connecting Blantyre, the principal town of Nyasaland, with Port Herald on the Shiré River, from which access to the sea by river steamers was not difficult then. The Central African Railway from Port Herald to Chindio on the left bank of the Zambesi, partly in Nyasaland and partly in Portuguese territory, was opened for traffic in 1915. Later, under a guarantee by the Nyasa Government, a railway was constructed from Muraca, opposite Chindio on the Zambesi, to the coast at Beira. Meantime, the German Government had voted the necessary credits for the construction of 1,000 miles of railways in their East African territory—now Tanganyika. The principal railway, that connecting Lake Tanganyika to Dar-es-Salaam, is 780 miles in length, while that from the

port of Tanga to Moshi, the collecting centre for the coffee plantations in the Kilimanjaro and Arusha districts, is 220 miles in length.

It is obvious that railways alone cannot effectively open up a country. Railways must be fed, and the obvious feeders are roads. Yet neither Germany nor Great Britain gave much attention to the development of road systems for the territories they controlled, with the result that development took place mainly in the coastal areas, or in the immediate vicinity of the railways, or around Victoria Nyanza. But there is some justification for the tardy development of road systems. The countries through which the railways run are, in the main, sparsely populated, and they run through tsetse-fly districts. Even if roads had been made in the "fly" areas, ox-wagons or pack-oxen could not run over them, and motor-transport was yet in its infancy. The annual cost for their upkeep would be an intolerable burden. Metalled roads in tropical Africa must be constructed to withstand torrential rain and great daily extremes of temperature, particularly on the higher plateaux. Earth roads are impassable in wet weather, and costly to maintain in the dry season if used by heavy vehicles. For both types of road, bridges and culverts have to be constructed, and these, owing to the phenomenal rise of streams and rivers in the rainy seasons, represent considerable outlay on construction and maintenance. The maintenance of either type of road involves the employment of large numbers of native labourers, and makes serious demands upon an already inadequate labour supply.

In one territory only are there many good roads. Uganda owes its road system to the wisdom of its native rulers in days before the European entered

the country. They had a stable form of government, and a system of forced tribal labour for essential communal services. Their country is densely populated in the neighbourhood of Victoria Nyanza. Road-making materials are abundant. It was therefore not difficult to develop a road-tradition. The present excellent road system of Uganda is due mainly to this tradition.

With the development of motor-transport, however, it is surprising that a whole-hearted effort was not made to supply the other territories with certain essential roads. It is true that a railway is the most economical means of communication. But railways cannot run everywhere. Feeding roads, some other means of feeding the railways must be found. There is strong hope that the roadless-tractor will supply the need. The great advantage of this type of vehicle is its capacity to travel over unprepared surfaces. It is still in the experimental stage, but already much is claimed for it. Until this method of traction becomes general it is inevitable that many of the trade routes will be kept open by head-porters unless the eland is used for transport purposes. Nevertheless, there are some districts where roads could and should be made, and where the cost for their upkeep and the demands upon labour would not be excessive. It reflects little credit upon the authorities that so little has been done to develop road transport. The numbers of head-porters along some of the routes we travelled amazed us. We were informed that thousands of head-porters are still constantly engaged on the route from Arusha to Moshi in Tanganyika, and as far as we were able to judge, there seemed no reason why the existing rough road should not be made available for heavy traffic throughout the year. A one-ton lorry not only can

carry about forty times the average load of a head-porter, but it can carry this load five times as far daily.

One fact struck me particularly throughout our tour. The rivers, with the exception of the Zambesi, were never mentioned in connection with transport. And the Zambesi itself was not considered as a waterway, but as a hindrance to communication. The eastern part of Northern Rhodesia, which has no good roads, has the great Luangwa tributary of the Zambesi running through the heart of the territory, and judging from the map, within comparatively easy distance of Fife, Mpika, and Serenje, three of its principal towns. It may not be practical to use it as a trade route, but it seems more probable that its possibility as such has not yet even been considered. The same observations applies to the Kafue River running through the western districts of the same Protectorate.

Very little attention appears to have been given to the possibilities of the development of lake transport. Even Victoria Nyanza is wretchedly served in this respect. There is congestion at all the lake ports, the existing piers and wharves being quite inadequate for the trade needs of the dense populations which surround it. There is little traffic on any of the other lakes.

The advantages of water-transport are so obvious that it would be reasonable to assume that every effort would be made to develop such services. If there were railways to develop the country it might be possible to account for the indifference to waterways. Since there are not, the only conclusion to be arrived at is that imagination does not run riot in East Africa.

Considerable sums of money are voted annually

by the local governments for the maintenance of postal and telegraph communications. They are not only quite inadequate to the needs of communication within each territory, but deplorably deficient as regards inter-colonial communication. There are certainly difficulties in the way of maintaining an overhead telegraph system. Land lines are interrupted by game and by the fondness exhibited for such easily accessible metal by the blacks, some of the metal being used to ornament their women-folk, and a great deal for working into spear-heads, knives, and hoes. The poles are destroyed by white-ants. Even so, the telegraph routes are few. To announce our probable time of arrival we sent a telegram from Mwanza to Bukoba, both places in Tanganyika, the one only a few hours' steamer journey across Victoria Nyanza from the other. The telegram arrived two days after we had left Bukoba. It had to be sent via Tabora, Dar-es-Salaam, Mombasa, Nairobi, and Kampala.

Considering the cost and difficulty of maintaining land lines, as well as the needs of communicating with ships approaching harbour, it is surprising that nothing has been done to develop wireless stations. There is no wireless station at the important port of Dar-es-Salaam, the seat of Government of Tanganyika. There are no British wireless stations—or there were none at the time of our visit—in any of the five territories except Kenya. There is, however, a Belgian station in Tanganyika at Kigoma. When we inquired why, we were informed that atmospheric conditions in East Africa rendered wireless communication impracticable, that it had been tried during the war and had been a failure. It is hard to believe that the failure during the war was due to atmospherics. If it were so, why has the Belgian Government, in the same

continent, in the same latitudes, erected a network of forty-two wireless stations and why had the Germans wireless stations—destroyed during the war—at Mwanza and Bukoba?

It behoves the local governments to adopt this obvious and comparatively simple means of communication. It would greatly facilitate the task of administration and development and would be cheaper than the extension of the existing inadequate land telegraph system.

Our record in respect to the development of transport in East Africa is a poor one. But it is brilliant in comparison with our efforts to develop its natural resources. Our efforts to date to establish the essential services directed towards this end have been without drive or design. The education of the blacks, upon which all other services must ultimately depend, has been left entirely to the missions, a few of which have dealt with the problem fairly efficiently, but the majority of which are not equipped for the task. We are only just starting to train the blacks to co-operate with us in medical and sanitary work and the agricultural, veterinary, forestry, and transport services. In consequence, taking the territories as a whole, the population is either stationary or diminishing, and our interference with their lives has so far increased the number of diseases which afflict them and made them more susceptible to them all.

Diseases among cattle and other domestic stock are increasing and native stock is deteriorating rapidly. Native agriculture over the greater part of the territories is still in much the same state as we found it. It is true that large numbers of natives in certain areas are growing cotton under European supervision, and maize and ground-nuts

and coffee, three other native-grown crops, are being exported in ever-increasing quantities. But there has been practically no progress in the methods of cultivation practised by the natives. The destruction of forests continues. In the neighbourhood of railways their destruction has been accelerated by the demand for wood-fuel. Coal is not yet used in any quantity on any railway except that in Northern Rhodesia, which draws its supplies from the Wankie coalfield. Only in the European settled areas has any attempt been made to utilize the available water-power. What native arts and crafts existed before the advent of Europeans either languish or have declined.

The intelligent co-operation of the natives is not only the prime essential in the prevention and cure of the diseases which afflict them, but also those which afflict their cattle. In many of the pastoral tribes cattle are held in high esteem, higher esteem than are the people themselves. The care bestowed upon them is worthy of better direction. It is common to see a sick cow, dripping blood and mucus from nostrils and bowel, and closely attended by flies, being cared for in the sleeping quarters of its owner. The native would resent what he might consider arbitrary interference with his customary methods of tending cattle. He bitterly resents their slaughter by direction of veterinary officers. He doubts the efficacy of "dipping"; he is impatient of veterinary "cordons" surrounding infested districts; he mistrusts, sometimes not without good reason, the preventive effects of inoculation. He knows and cares nothing about segregation of male and female stock and its effect on the quality of breed. In spite of his accumulated experience of epidemics among his cattle, he appears to be totally ignorant of the causes of cattle disease, and in

consequence cannot appreciate the necessity for most of the orders issued by the veterinary department through the local administration for preventing its spreading. He is almost entirely unaware of any other method of animal nutrition except open pastures and "salt-licks." And nothing has been done to enlighten him. It is obvious that until the level of intelligence of the blacks is raised generally, the various veterinary ordinances will be regarded with suspicion and hostility, to be evaded if possible, rarely to be conformed to loyally. Practically all the time of the veterinary staffs has to be devoted to dealing with epidemic and endemic cattle disease. There is very little left for animal breeding, animal pathology, and animal husbandry.

The deterioration of native stock is due partly to the cessation of inter-tribal warfare which counteracted in-breeding, partly to restrictions on tribal migrations, and in no small measure to our land encroachments which have excluded the natives and their cattle from the districts where their "salt-licks" are situated. East coast fever and other cattle diseases are attributed by the natives to our occupation. Practically nothing has been done to develop a native cattle industry or to foster a native dairying industry and no instruction has been given in the preparation of hides for market.

A few years ago the late Sir Robert Coryndon, then Governor of Uganda, advised the appointment of an officer as Veterinary Adviser to the Governments of Uganda, Tanganyika, and Kenya. Under the chairmanship of this most able veterinary adviser a Pan-African Veterinary Conference was held at Nairobi in Kenya Colony in August, 1923. Conspicuous among the papers read to that assembly was that of Major Paul Tissie

(Chef du Laboratoire Vétérinaire, Antananarive, Madagascar), who outlined the work done by the French authorities in Madagascar since 1912 to foster a native animal industry. By the erection of freezing and canning factories and the improvement in methods of feeding, a thriving export trade had been promoted in frozen and canned meat (pigs and cattle), hides and skins, suet, lard, olein and stearine. A start had already been made to develop a trade in meat extracts. In the discussion which followed Major Tissie's address, the chairman pointed out that within a zone 200 miles on each side of the Uganda railway and the Moshi-Tanga railway he estimated there were nearly as many cattle as in Madagascar, and he suggested that the example of France in developing this extremely profitable trade in Madagascar should be copied by the British in their territories. But very little has yet been done in this direction in connection with native herds, although a small dairying and bacon industry has been started by the European settlers in the Kenya Highlands. Yet nothing could be better calculated to develop a new spirit among those magnificent herdsmen, the Masai, who own about a million head of cattle, than the introduction of the methods successfully applied by the French in their island colony. If in addition the British authorities opened schools in the Masai reserve for the instruction of the tribesmen in the construction of bullock-carts—and there are hundreds of Indian carpenters and mechanics who are available and could be employed for this task—the Masai reserves would no longer specialize in stagnation and continue to be regarded as "human zoos," but would assume a position of great importance in the economics of East Africa. No part of East Africa is better suited for the creation of stock-

farms where breeding experiments on a satisfactorily large scale could be carried out, and no part of East Africa has been more neglected. No industry in Africa is capable of such rapid development as the animal industry, but hitherto the local governments have not been afflicted with the necessary imagination to appreciate its economic and social possibilities, in spite of the persistent efforts of the directors of the various veterinary departments to impress its needs upon them. As the Chief Veterinary Officer in Tanganyika stated to us in a memorandum :

“ The chief value of the livestock in the country is to the native owner and cannot be over-appreciated in terms of export. Moreover, it is impossible to over-estimate the extent to which the health, welfare, and child-birth of the population depend on the meat and milk of the flocks and herds. Added to this there is the undoubted influence which the domesticated animals of men exert in the tsetse-fly problems by trampling down the bush, and grazing and keeping clear the open plains. Livestock represent more to the native than mere money. His flocks are not only his banking account. They also feed his wives and children, while the sale of his surplus provides the wherewithal to meet his liabilities and taxes. The very fact that two-thirds of the best agricultural land in the territory lies idle because of the tsetse-fly infestation and prevents the keeping of cattle, lends added testimony to the importance of livestock. It is believed that while cotton, sisal, ground-nuts, and other agricultural produce may bulk larger in revenue returns, and blue-books, nevertheless no industry is more deserving of whole-hearted support than Animal Husbandry.”

Instruction in animal husbandry must not only include animal-breeding, the prevention and cure of disease, dairying, the preparation of hides for market, the housing of cattle, but also the rudiments of animal nutrition, the importance of salt and soil minerals, and alternative cattle-foods such as clovers, oil-cakes made from oil-seeds and molasses.

It is clearly the duty of the Government to develop agriculture throughout East Africa. Europe, America, and Asia are already in need of the products of our million square miles of East African soil, most of which is abundantly fertile, so fertile that it is a common expression "if you plant a walking-stick it will strike roots and grow." The eyes of the civilized world are directed towards this portion of the earth's surface, and other countries will hold us responsible for its proper development—and rightly so. Our discharge of our responsibilities will be judged by our performance relative to that of other European countries possessing territory in tropical Africa and other parts of the tropics. Our efforts on the mainland so far have been concentrated on the encouragement of natives to produce crops, mainly cotton, maize, and ground-nuts, for export, and the provision of the necessary services for the production and disposal of the crops. Uganda and Tanganyika have already given an indication of the wisdom of the policy. The Government of Kenya, until the late Sir Robert Coryndon brought about a change in outlook, discouraged native production of exportable crops for fear of shortage of labour in the white-settled areas and the coast plantations.

To this policy of discouragement must be attributed the events which resulted in the destruction of the export trade in grain from the port of

Malindi. This grain was produced by the Giriama tribe, whose treatment constitutes one of the greatest blots on our administration in Kenya. Even now, the policy of the Government of Kenya regarding native production is too greatly influenced by the white settlers, and in consequence is lacking drive and determination. In the Kitui district of the Ukamba province where there are 110,000 natives, the only assistance received from the Agricultural Department in ten years has been the issue of a few bags of seed. And in the Kavirondo district, over much of which the soil and climatic conditions are the same as those in the part of Uganda over the border where a great amount of land is under cotton, the attempts of the Kenya Agricultural Department were described to us thus by the cotton manager of the British East Africa Corporation :

“ The contrast in passing from the well-planted, evenly-spaced, single plants in Uganda, to the haphazard planting over the border (Kavirondo) with many strands growing up together, is most marked, and it is hoped that a real effort will be made in future to give better instruction and much more personal supervision to cotton-planting and cultivation.”

- But our performance in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland is worse. In Northern Rhodesia there is practically no native production for export, and nothing has been done by the Government to encourage native agriculture. It is only fair to state that the Imperial Government has been responsible for its administration for a few years only. In the western part the main interest is mining, and native stock and native-grown crops

find a market in the mining districts along the railway. In the eastern part, absence of communications and distance from the coast are in themselves factors militating against native production for export. And so obsessed is the local government by the inherent difficulties of the task of stimulating native production, that it appears to be content to do nothing to overcome them. The sooner this eastern and essentially native province of Northern Rhodesia is made one administrative area with Nyasaland, and the sooner the Shiré Highlands Railway is extended northwards to tap the resources of Southern Nyasa and the eastern province of Northern Rhodesia, and a railway is built from Dodoma in Tanganyika across the Livingstone mountains into the northern parts of these territories, the quicker will both these territories join with the other regions of tropical Africa in serving world needs.

Nyasaland was the first East African territory in which any number of Europeans settled. It was the first for which we accepted responsibility. It was favoured from the outset by quite exceptional types of missionaries, whose pioneer work is a model for the greater efforts of governments. Its people, particularly the Yao and Angoni tribes, possess intelligence much above the average of other East African peoples. The high average fertility of its soil and the favourable elements of climate are an assurance of productivity. But to quote the report of the Phelps-Stokes Commissioner, "Nyasaland, with greater possibilities than any African colony of equal size, is lowest in output and the poorest colony in Africa."

Both the Phelps-Stokes Commissioners and ourselves were convinced that the principal cause for this condition is the absence of adequate internal

transportation and a satisfactory exit to the sea. We had practical proof of the difficulties of travel both by road and railway. We arrived at Muraca on the south bank of the Zambesi the second week in September, and found the river so low that the shallow-draught ferry steamer could not get across and we had to be taken part of the way in a small motor-boat. We noticed that the barges experienced great difficulty, if laden, in negotiating the shallows. This condition obtains from September to January, but in that month the river commences to rise and in April the river is so high that both Muraca and Chindio, on the north bank, the two railway termini, are submerged. As regards internal communications there is a good metalled road from Limbe, the railhead, to Zomba, the capital. North of Zomba only earth-roads exist, and they are, in common with all earth-roads in tropical Africa, impassable in the wet seasons.

Nevertheless, the backwardness of the country cannot be attributed to transport difficulties alone. It is true that the present cost of transport would prohibit the export of maize at prices which would repay the native producer for his labour, but this does not hold as regards cotton or tobacco, both of which the native can and does grow. As in Kenya, the fault lies with the Government, which has done practically nothing to encourage native production, and for the same reason. The staff of the Agricultural Department is quite inadequate to the needs of the community, and practically nothing has been done to supplement the European staff by training the natives in agriculture, and fitting them for the task of supervision. Thus we are wasting a valuable asset. Just as in Kenya the Mazeras crop experimental station on the coast was closed down on grounds of economy, so in Nyasaland,

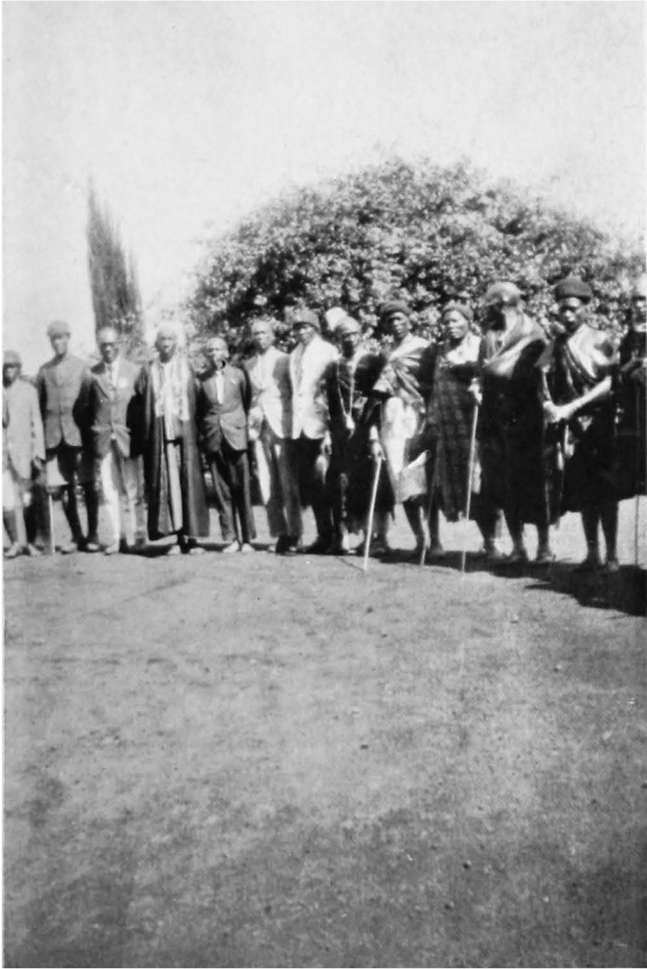
an "economy" committee, the echo of our Geddes Committee at home, closed down the experimental farm. It was intended that this farm should serve the dual purpose, carrying out plant-breeding and cattle-breeding experiments and providing instructions for the native agriculturists. As in England, the so-called "economies" which were effected were those most calculated to make the existing depression worse, to retard or prevent recovery and not to accelerate it.

This is not all. The results obtained in Uganda and Tanganyika, as compared with other territories, are testimony to the effect that native production is largely dependent on native security in the possession of land. Insecurity of tenure is a power deterrent against native production, and nowhere in East Africa is this insecurity of native tenure greater than in Nyasaland. There are no native "rights" in land over the whole of the Protectorate. But the Livingstone-Bruce and British Central Africa Company's certificated freehold concessions extend over half the best and most accessible land in Nyasa, viz., the Shiré Highlands district. As these companies develop their holdings, so they evict the natives from their villages, unless they are prepared to work for the miserable wages offered them by the evictors.

Fortunately there is an indication that the new spirit which is being inculcated into our public administration in Great Britain is having an effect upon the spirit of our administration in our overseas territories. An attempt is being made to retrieve the errors of the past. Administrators and many white settlers are realizing that unconditional grants of enormous tracts of freehold land to syndicates and individuals are obstacles in the path of development. A tax on undeveloped land, conceived in

the spirit of the proposed graduated levy on capital, would probably gain many adherents in East Africa. And there is a welcome indication that more attention is being given to scientific research, although the local governments have not yet sufficiently realized that the task of development depends for its success upon scientific inquiry intensively carried out over a wide field. There is probably no part of the British Empire which provides such a wide field of inquiry or which would so abundantly repay the expense of scientific investigation. Hitherto the scientific services have been starved for funds. The Colonial Office has yet to appreciate the true function of the research worker. It has regarded scientific research with benevolent tolerance, as a luxury to be dispensed with in time of financial stringency. Occasionally, as in the case of the appalling outbreak of sleeping-sickness in Uganda early in the century, it has realized that a problem exists which needs systematic investigation and has given financial support to commissions of inquiry. But, generally speaking, either too much has been expected of science, or too little. Either the scientific worker has been expected in a year or two to atone for centuries of neglect, or has been appointed by sceptical officials in deference to public opinion to examine a problem which has become acute—for example, the destruction of coffee-plantations by leaf-mould.

The discharge of our responsibilities may be summed up thus. We can take credit for suppressing the slave-trade, for ending inter-tribal warfare—except on a colossal scale during the great war—for putting a stop to the worst excesses of witchcraft, and for dispensing even-handed justice among the natives. We and the Germans have provided 3,000 miles of railway, we have added a little to



KIKUYU CHIEFS AT NYERI, KENYA, SAYING FAREWELL TO AUTHOR.

the facilities of lake transport—though in general we have neglected the waterways—and we have made a few roads. We can also take credit for the phenomenal development of the clove industry in Zanzibar and Pemba. We have made a satisfactory beginning to our encouragement of native production for export in Uganda and Tanganyika.

But private capitalistic enterprise has failed, and failed in spite of its being bolstered up in every conceivable way by H.M. Treasury and the local administrators. The economic backwardness of these territories is, as Lord Milner once said, “a discredit alike to our generosity and to our intelligence.” We have only touched the fringe of the population problem. We have neglected historical and anthropological research. The provision for research into plant and animal breeding, nutrition and diseases, is miserably inadequate. Native domestic stock is deteriorating, native methods of agriculture show no marked improvement, and native agriculture is not more progressive as the result of our occupation. The tsetse-fly menace to the health of human beings and cattle is greater now than when we entered the country. We have replaced the native system of land tenure by our own pernicious freehold land system. We have given large freehold rights in land to some chiefs in Uganda to the detriment of the majority of the natives. We have given or assisted Europeans to obtain enormous tracts of land for practically nothing, and we have produced a feeling of insecurity as regards native rights in land in every territory under our control. We have huddled peoples, pastoral and agricultural in tradition, in towns without any proper provision for their needs in housing, and with no attempt at town-planning. We have made ordinances which they do not

understand, and persuaded them into contractual liabilities of which they are ignorant, the violation of either of which renders them liable to punishment under a penal code which again they do not understand. In this, as in other matters, we have displayed a callous disregard for the natives which is directly contrary to our professions of guardianship. Above all, we have not provided the great majority of them with the only sure means of understanding, education, the one inestimable boon which no nation is in a better position to confer upon them than Great Britain, and the one upon which the future development of the country depends absolutely.

CHAPTER VI

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND ITS NEGLECT

UNDER the ægis of the Colonial Office millions of pounds have recently been spent on an Empire Exhibition at Wembley, and hundreds of thousands of our people have wandered in disorder and dusty or muddy discomfort through its tawdry misrepresentations of our Imperial possessions. Money could be found for this transitory tawdriness, but the Imperial Institute, conceived and built in a mood of enthusiasm, and intended to fulfil the all-important tasks of collection, examination, co-ordination, and distribution of information regarding the Empire's natural resources, to carry out scientific research essential for their development, and to act as a clearing-house for the interchange of ideas, has been persistently starved for funds. What a priceless asset this could have been and still could become if properly supported and its activities closely associated with those of the great teaching and research institutions, particularly the Imperial College of Science which surrounds it!

And while each of the East African territories was encouraged to spend much on the Wembley Exhibition, the world-famous Amani Research Institute in Tanganyika was being allowed to fall into desuetude for want of less than £20,000 a year. By neglecting to maintain this institution in a state of efficiency, the local governments and the

Imperial Government alike have given further evidence of appalling lack of appreciation of the function of scientific research in development. It is true that Lord Milner and his successors in the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies made efforts to save Amani from ruin. Lord Milner persuaded the Imperial Parliament to put a sum of £100,000 at the disposal of the Colonial Research Committee for the support of Amani and other research institutions. But the Committee on National Expenditure, over which Sir Eric Geddes presided, whittled down this sum to a paltry £2,000 a year. So the Amani Institute, which vied with the Dutch Research Station at Buitenzorg in Java and the British Plant Research Institute at Pusa in India, which had for years, under the direction of Professor Zimmerman, supplied new and improved varieties of economic plants to the territory, and the countries of the world with contributions to their knowledge of tropical plants, soils, insects, and parasites, has been left to the depredations of the white-ant. When Mr. Ormsby-Gore and I visited it, we walked through the untenanted living quarters, its unused library, its museum, its laboratories where costly apparatus was rusting and deteriorating, its plantations which, in spite of years of neglect, retained a semblance of their former grandeur, and at every step we took we raged the more at the incredible folly and blindness of those directly and indirectly responsible for the waste of an Imperial asset.

Unfortunately, it is no isolated instance of our neglect of our opportunities. Within the same territory is a veterinary research station, situated at Mpapwa, an hour's journey from the Central Tanganyika railway, where one man has to bear the burden and responsibility of the investigation of

animal diseases and the preparation of sera for inoculations. When he is "on leave" the work of investigation ceases. Yet, it possesses great natural advantages for the conduct of the work, and with proper encouragement could exercise a tremendous influence in the pastoral life of the communities of the five territories. At Dar-es-Salaam is the medical research laboratory founded by Robert Koch, the discoverer of the bacillus of tuberculosis. Here again we put an intolerable strain upon the energy and enthusiasm of the two members of the staff, supporting their efforts grudgingly. They have no chemical laboratory for research or for the preparation of drugs. Yet their work is of paramount importance in relation to the increase and efficiency of the black populations. It is due to the work recently done at this laboratory that an efficient and inexpensive bismuth substitute for neo-salvarsan has been prepared for the treatment of yaws, one of the greatest scourges of the black peoples.

Lastly, we have only just re-established the geological survey in Tanganyika.

Our comparative neglect of these research institutions in Tanganyika is a monumental example of our indifference to world opinion. When Great Britain accepted a mandate for German East Africa it must have realized that our work of administration would be compared with that of Germany, and that no effort therefore should be spared to excel in those very activities of which Germany was justly proud. For thirty years our statesmen and administrators have been recognizing and praising the scientific work done by Germans in connection with botanical, medical, veterinary, and geological research, and the German institutions which we took over with the territory were among the finest

of their kind in the tropics, and had already contributed largely to the development of East Africa. In neglecting them we have provided Dr. von Schnee, ex-Governor of German East Africa, and other German colonial administrators, with a basis for bitter and scornful criticism of our administration to which in this regard there is no reasonable defence. It would be mere hypocrisy to say we could not afford to maintain research efficiently. Our Colonial Office, almost immediately on the assumption of responsibility for the territory, authorized an expenditure exceeding £60,000 for a palatial residence at Dar-es-Salaam for the Governor, Sir Horace Byatt, and our post-war complement of administrative officials is greatly in excess of those previously employed by Germany in the present colony and the populous and extensive districts of Ruanda and Urundi ceded to Belgium. It may be urged that our attitude towards the scientific services in the newly acquired territory was in harmony with our policy in the territories for which we had all the time been responsible. None of these territories cared for or hoped much from research. Science was a frill, the workers a curious and interesting group of people full of impractical ideas, or having ideas which would cost too much to put into effect, or again a disappointment when they could not supply an immediate remedy against a disease which had already ravaged a part of a plantation and was threatening to complete the work of destruction. Yet, in the face of discouragement and at times actual opposition, much excellent work has been done by the small band of research workers attracted to the country by the variety of its problems.

Reference has been made already to the

imperative need for combating the tsetse-fly menace to tropical Africa. It constitutes an essentially African problem; only one species of the fly has been identified in any other continent and that in the Arabian hinterland. Nearly two-thirds of the potentially fertile areas of Tanganyika are under its domination. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are almost equally unfortunate, while it is an ever-present source of anxiety to the Uganda and Kenya Governments. In every British territory in East Africa it is increasing and the area of desolation is spreading with disastrous effects upon their economic development. Various remedies have been suggested. It was ascertained that the various species of wild animals, while apparently immune from nagana, or tsetse-fly disease, were the hosts of the parasites, the trypanosomes, with which the fly caused the disease among domestic stock, the trypanosomes being injected by the fly's proboscis, an amazingly efficient incisor. Hence Dr. Yorke and other investigators recommended the destruction of game in the fly-areas, a recommendation which met with fierce opposition from those who view with dismay the further destruction of the fauna of the territory. Moreover, it has yet to be proved that the remedy would be efficacious, as there is every possibility that the fly would find alternative hosts. The method which has found warm supporters is that advocated by Dr. Shircore, the Principal Medical Officer of Tanganyika, and Mr. Swynnerton, who is now in charge of the work of reclamation of the fly-areas in the same territory. From their observations of the breeding conditions and habits of the tsetse, they have arrived at the conclusion that it can be exterminated by the careful isolation of a fly-area,

carried out by the cutting and burning of a wide circumscribing belt of thicket, followed up by the thorough burning out of the thicket area thus isolated. The "fly" is thus driven into what constitute traps and can there be suitably dealt with. If this method is to be completely effective, however, it is essential to prevent the country returning to thicket, so that every step is taken to persuade the blacks to cultivate and to bring their cattle to the burned-out area without delay. They are encouraged to do this by the provision of ploughs which enable the area of cultivation to be much greater than it could be by use of the digging-stick and hoe. A flourishing ploughing school has been started in the Shinyanga district, and Mr. Swynnerton has been able to secure the hearty co-operation of Sultan Makweia, one of the outstanding personalities among the chiefs whom we met in the country.

Some of the work of the entomologists in the various territories is not only of immense importance in its practical applications to the problems of disease, but also of intrinsic scientific interest. Dr. Lamborn, the medical entomologist in Nyasaland, has bred in the laboratory large numbers of a parasite which is destructive of the puparia of the tsetse-fly. They are bred on the common blow-fly, and it is the intention to turn the blow-fly parasite carriers adrift into a tsetse-fly area in order to encompass the destruction of the pest. A further method, based on the same principle, has been suggested by Mr. Hawtreay, a Kenya settler, as the result of some observations he made in South America. He noticed, while in that country, that wasps destroyed a particular species of fly which closely resembles the tsetse, and advocates the introduction of the wasp to Africa

for experimental purposes. A similar attempt to obtain biological control of a pest is being carried out by Mr. Anderson of the Kenya Agricultural Department, in connection with plant pests. The mealy-bug is responsible for considerable havoc among the *arabica* coffee plantations. It has been found that the Californian ladybird destroys the adult mealy-bug, and more recently it has been determined that a certain Sicilian parasite destroys the same pest in the embryo stage. By the introduction of the ladybird and the parasite it is hoped to exterminate the mealy-bug.

In this connection the following example of credulity will give some idea of the attitude of some European planters towards scientific work. A coffee planter troubled by mealy-bug disease called in a specialist from the Agricultural Department. The specialist was unable immediately to cope with the trouble. The planter thereupon, at the suggestion of his black "fundi," called in a local medicine man who cast a juju over the plantation. We were informed that the juju man was successful in ridding the plantation of the mealy-bug.

Other work which is of no little importance is that of Dr. Lamborn in connection with tick-borne disease and malaria. In the course of his investigation of nagana (tsetse-fly disease in cattle) certain experiments suggested the probability that ticks are an alternative carrier to tsetse-fly in the transmission of the disease. This further suggests the possibility of the transmission by ticks of the trypanosoma which causes sleeping sickness.

There is another field of work, however, apart from work on plant, human, and animal disease which comes within the scope of the entomologists. Mr. Hargreaves, at Kampala, is assisting in the establishment of the silk industry in Uganda, and

Mr. Anderson is engaged in the same task in Kenya. In both colonies the mulberry tree flourishes and the silk obtained from the cocoons is of very fine quality. In addition, there is a possibility of developing the Anaphe silk industry which was encouraged before the war by German traders. This silk is obtained from multiple cocoons which are found in a curious fibrous growth habiting the Katasamite tree. The importance of establishing such industries cannot be over-estimated. It would assist greatly in the development of village industries and contribute to the maintenance of a happy and contented peasantry. Lastly, upon the entomologists falls the burden of devising the methods by which to combat the various species of boll-worm, one of the major curses of cotton-growers. Yet neither Nyasaland nor Northern Rhodesia have yet engaged the services of an entomologist in their agricultural departments.

There is tremendous scope for the agricultural botanist in every territory. Much work needs doing on plant-breeding, the introduction of foreign tropical plants, the production of immune varieties of crops, of long-staple cottons, in hybridization of wheat, maize and rice, in acclimatization, plant selection and nutrition, methods of cultivation and fertilization, as well as the technical study of indigenous plants, their possibilities for paper-making, for dyeing, for medicinal herbs, and as fibres. The production of a cactus without knife-edged, needle-spiked leaves in place of the present variety from which sisal is obtained, would greatly facilitate the expansion of the sisal-hemp industry, as the work of cutting the present leaves by the bare-footed, bare-legged blacks is not attractive. The almost bewildering variety of the problems which could and should be dealt with by the

economic botanist, and their tremendous economic importance, coupled with the fact that only Uganda among the five territories maintains its own plant-breeding and plant research stations; although Kenya has engaged the services of a plant-breeding expert, is further evidence of the lack of appreciation of the need for research in agricultural development. It is true that there are agricultural experts maintained by every colony, but their energies are mainly devoted to inspection of crops and the prevention of disease, and not utilized for research.

Our knowledge of the soils of East Africa is surprisingly scanty. Now, thanks to the work done by Keen and others at Rothamsted, and the simple instruments which they have invented for the determination of the physical characteristics of the soil, there is no excuse for ignorance. A soil survey is urgently required and should be carried out forthwith by competent soil chemists and physicists. It is now recognized that many fungoid diseases of plants are due to growing of crops on unsuitable soils. Needless trouble and waste could be saved if reliable information on this point were available. It is realized also, thanks to the work of Orr, that mineral deficiencies in the soil are responsible for animal debility and disease. Much valuable work could be done also in connection with soil-aeration, according to Howard, the most potent factor in crop-production. Coupled with this is the need for drainage maps. Large areas of land in Tanganyika which we passed through lie derelict through water-logging, and this in turn is due to our ignorance of the natural drainage system. Water-logging leads to the destruction of the nitrates of the soil. The work of Clouston on the laterite soils of the Central Provinces of India led to immense areas being put

under cultivation. This could be followed up with advantage in every part of East Africa.

Northern Rhodesia is the only colony which has no forestry department, but even the staffs of the other forestry services devote practically the whole of their time to forest surveys, to the superintendence of cutting, and classification of timbers and shrubs, reafforestation, and very little to the introduction of new varieties or to the scientific examination of those which exist. Professor Troup of Oxford visited Kenya and Uganda in 1921 to carry out an investigation into their forest resources and later presented invaluable and suggestive reports to the Colonial Office. Practically nothing has been done to follow up the suggestions he made or to put his recommendations into effect.

Our record in connection with animal research is equally disappointing. Since the war, stock-farms intended for animal-breeding purposes have been closed down in Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, and Kenya. Tanganyika does not possess an animal-breeding station, neither does Uganda. It is true much attention has been given in Tanganyika and Kenya to animal pathology, and reference has already been made to the surprising amount of work which has been done by the small staffs available for this purpose in preparing sera for inoculation against disease and the investigation of animal diseases. But animal-breeding cannot be left to public-spirited, wealthy landowners and stock-holders like Lord Delamere. It is the function of Government to carry out this work for the benefit of the blacks and the European stock-holders as a whole, and for this purpose to equip and maintain Government stock-farms.

The function of the geologist is not infrequently

confused with that of the mining prospector. While it is true that the survey of the mineral resources of a territory falls within the scope of the geological department, and as such economizes effort on the part of the prospector, this is but one aspect of its work. It can render invaluable aid in connection with water-conservation and supply, oil-fields, the survey of lime and other fertilizers, and local building materials. The value of the department to the Railway and Public Works Departments cannot be over-estimated. In addition, there are the cultural aspects of the geologist's work to be taken into consideration, and these are not without significance in a study of the peoples of a country. It may appear far-fetched to relate the study of sun-spots by a geologist to the economic development of a territory. Yet Dr. Dixey, the head of the Geological Survey in Nyasaland, by virtue of a study of the relation between the variations of the rise of Lake Nyasa with the cyclic variation in sun-spots was able to predict accurately the recent floods which have occurred in the district of Lake Pamalombe, south of Lake Nyasa. These floods were caused by the rise in the level of the great lake, and Dr. Dixey had stated that this rise was to be expected in the year 1926. In turn the breaking of the waters of Lake Nyasa through the natural dam of vegetation which had accumulated while the annual rise of the lake was small, may make the canalization of the Upper Shiré River a practical possibility and thus facilitate communication to the Zambesi by water.

Evident utility is the characteristic of the above outline of experimental research. Less obvious in its utilitarian value, but of the most momentous importance, is the study of the peoples we govern. It is a study to which we have hitherto attached

far too little significance. Our general assumption in the past has been that our civilization is the best that has been evolved or could be evolved, our social order and economic system the most fitting and most perfect, and that we should therefore raise the different coloured peoples for whom we have assumed responsibility to our own dizzy heights. That assumption has been responsible for endless friction in India, and has led Mr. H. G. Wells to the conclusion that we should disentangle ourselves from everything Indian because "we are different from these dusky peoples, we do not work with them easily; we hamper them and they hamper us intolerably." But we have time to change our attitude in Africa before a similar position arises. We talk glibly of the benefits conferred upon "primitive" communities by making them Christians and by bringing them into contact with the trashy commodities of Birmingham or the newly industrialized East, unconscious of the positive harm we may be doing to their habits of industry by the destruction of their own traditional occupations.

But as the late W. H. R. Rivers pointed out, the banning of pagan ceremonies which form the whole life and centre of a village community, and the destruction of their crafts by the supply of cheap substitutes for their laboriously made articles, destroys everything interesting and vital in a native's life. As a result, the natives lose hold on life and, in spite of the efforts of missionaries and medical staffs to cure and prevent disease, there is an initial tendency towards depopulation following the impact of Western civilization. This tendency has not yet been checked in tropical Africa. The more backward the tribes, the more rapidly they die out in contact with the white man. In

a recently published book, "The Vanishing Tribes of Kenya," written by one of the keenest observers among East African administrators, Major G. St. J. Orde-Browne, attention is also drawn to the complete breakdown of tribal unity.

Fortunately, the attention which has been given to this fundamental problem by Gustave Lebon, De Saussure, Clifford and Rivers, is arresting in its course the Westernization of the African, and our policy is changing. We are now attempting to encourage the Africans to develop a form of civilization of their own, by enabling them to develop their own language and preserve all that is sound in their own organization; their culture, their traditional arts and crafts, and ceremonial observances. This must be based on a scientific study of the black races. Those whom we appoint as administrators in tropical Africa should be trained in a school of anthropology to apply the results of the research work which has already been done. The success of our government is absolutely dependent, not only on the provision of the research and technical services already enumerated, but also upon the degree of understanding which our administrative officers bring to bear upon their task. The work of Orde-Browne on the Kenya tribes and the Yaos and the Angoni in Tanganyika, of Dundas on the Wachagga, of Hollis on the Masai and Nandi, and of Driberg on the Teso and Lango, is invaluable and indicates what could be accomplished by all administrative officers in the service of the various governments of Africa if they were given the necessary encouragement and were properly guided by experienced investigators in our university schools of anthropological study.

This is not the place to deal with the purely cultural aspects of scientific research for which

Africa provides an unrivalled field. Suffice it to say that when East Africa is further developed, when its European population has grown from 20,000 to hundreds of thousands, as it will inevitably, when it has founded its own universities, it will join in the task of revealing the secrets of the dimmest past, favoured by the fact that the "fossils" of other continents have their living contemporaries among the peoples, animals, reptiles, and plants of Africa. "Its little Bushmen are unique; its little pygmy population that hide in the tropical and sub-tropical parts are the representatives of the long-vanished human past." There is enormous scope in Africa for cultural research, as the recent discoveries of the Broken Hill and Taungs skulls have shown. "Practical" men, the men of "presence" have had their day. Science must be our guide to action and those best qualified to deal with an essentially scientific problem in development, whether peoples or natural forces are involved, must be placed in a position to direct our enterprise. Long ago Leonardo da Vinci expressed this same view: "Those who are infatuated by practice without science are like the navigator who sails a ship without help and compass; he never knows with certainty whither he goes." Scientific research must be organized in East Africa, and this research co-ordinated with research in every part of our Empire as well as that of other nations. The Schuster Committee recommended that a review should be made of the activities and functions of all the bodies which are already at work in the field. Such a review would present no great difficulties. There is a Committee of Civil Research which could create, as it was intended to create, a special committee charged with the responsibility for developing a sound organization

of Imperial Research in order that there should be the greatest possible co-ordination of effort throughout the Empire. What is needed is a chain of research stations, linked with the universities and research institutions, exchanging results through the medium of a centrally established bureau, and exchanging research workers. Our greatness as an Imperial power will ultimately be based upon our achievements in this field. Our claim to guide the destinies of so large a proportion of the world's peoples will rest upon the application of the work of our research workers to develop the vast potential resources within our dominions for the material advantage of every people, and upon the type of new civilizations we are able to assist in building upon the sure foundations of their knowledge.

CHAPTER VII

THE POPULATION PROBLEM

It is clear that any general survey of the natural resources of the territory, the systematic exploration by specialists of soil fertility, timber, minerals, water-power, fisheries, and the like, must be related to the distribution, density, and potential increase in population. East Africa is sparsely peopled, taking the area as a whole. And its population is practically stationary. Its density of population per square mile is 12. That of British Malaya in approximately the same latitudes is 62 and is increasing rapidly, 25 per cent. increase having been recorded in the decade 1911-1921. That of India is about 180. That of Java, in the Dutch East Indies, is 700, greater than that of Great Britain in spite of the fact that the inhabitants of Java are mainly engaged in agriculture.

There are remarkable variations in density. Uganda, which has a density of roughly 30 inhabitants to the square mile, has the bulk of its population concentrated about the western and northern shores of Victoria Nyanza. A large proportion of the natives of Kenya are found on the lands adjacent to the eastern shores; and nearly half of the population of Tanganyika, which has an average density of 12 throughout the territory, is concentrated about its southern shores in the districts of Mwanza, Tabora, and Bukoba. Nyasaland, the greater part of which is bounded on one

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side by Lake Nyasa, has a density of 30, while the adjacent territory of Northern Rhodesia in spite of its mighty waterways, supports only $3\frac{1}{2}$ people to the square mile. Yet it is in the vicinity of the great lakes that there is the greatest amount of sleeping sickness. From this it would appear that the malarial mosquito, which is most prevalent in the river valleys, is more deadly in its effects upon population than the tsetse-fly. It is possible, of course, that the situation of the great lakes relative to the coast, their distance inland, the difficulty of access to them across the East Rift Valley, with the consequent protection afforded against the Arab slave raiders, may partly account for the concentration of population around the lakes. But if this were the whole cause it is difficult to account for the relatively low density of Northern Rhodesia—still more inaccessible to the Arabs—compared with that of Nyasaland.

The density of population in some agricultural districts is too great for the maintenance of a decent standard of living, even for the African native, particularly on the basis of their present methods of agriculture. The Bunyoro district of North Kavirondo in the Victoria Nyanza region of Kenya has to support 1,100 natives per square mile. Over the whole area known as the Kikuyu reserve the population density is 117, but if cultivable land only is taken into account the density works out at twice this figure. These two districts are adjacent to the Kenya highlands where the majority of the whites are settled, and where 2,000 white families occupy 7,000 square miles of land. This may appear excessive to their needs, particularly if reference is made to the returns of the Agricultural Department, which gives the effective acreage under cultivation by the Europeans as less than 550 square miles.

The figures quoted may appear to bear out the allegations made that the Europeans have driven out large numbers of the natives from their lands. It is therefore imperative to state that the greater part of the area now occupied by the white settlers was "practically empty of people" in 1900. The native tribes have apparently preferred to confine themselves to the lower lying lands, possibly because in so doing they escaped the unwelcome attentions of the nomadic Masai and Nandi pastoralists. For the same reason, fear of attack by strong tribes, the Wachagga concentrated on crop production on the slopes of Kilimanjaro in Tanganyika, the Bagishu on the western slopes of Elgon above the Siroko valley in Uganda, and many of the indigenous Anyanja fled for safety from the invading Angoni and Yaos to eke out an existence from the scanty soils and lake fish on the confined beaches at the base of the precipitous cliffs bounding the northern waters of Lake Nyasa.

Reference has been made in a previous chapter to the surprising fact that the river valleys are sparsely peopled. The principal rivers flowing into the Indian Ocean, the mighty Zambesi with its great territories, the Luangwa and Kafue, the Rovuma, the Lukuledi, the Rufigi, the Ruvu, the Pangani, the Voi, the Sabaki, and the Tana, bear comparison with the Ganges, the Mahandi, the Godaveri, the Kistna, and the Kaveri of India, flowing in the same direction. Many of the African rivers have extensive deltaic regions. The soils of the regions through which they flow are as fertile as those of India. The rainfall, without being abundant, is sufficient for crop production. Yet there is a striking difference between the two river systems with respect to density of population. The river valleys of India are among the most densely

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populated areas in the world. This difference cannot be attributed entirely to the greater prevalence of malaria, hookworm and yaws in Africa. Hookworm and yaws are just as prevalent and responsible for as great disability in India as in Africa.

The difference might be accounted for by chance circumstance, the greater isolation of Africa for a period of thousands of years, the comparative insignificance of migratory movements from the north and from Asia. It might be due to the slave trade; or it might be due to the differences in religions, customs and habits; or to the absence of tribal cohesion under princely rule. But more probably the principal reason is the primitive character of the tribes; their customs, habits, and forms of religion are all the outcome of retarded development of the mind. Their long submission to some form of bondage exercised by the Arabs and Persians, and later the early white colonists, coupled with the almost entire absence of any attempts to improve their mental outlook, have kept them in much the same state of existence as they were found. India was left in no such isolation. Invasion after invasion within historical times alone, coupled with fairly rigid codes of morality, the influence of which has been felt since the time of Buddha, have contributed to raising the standard of mentality of the population, given them some command over natural forces, greater adaptability to their environment, and has assisted the steady growth of population towards the optimum density.

The extremely low density of population among primitive peoples such as those of Africa is not surprising. Thirty-four thousand of the Masai tribe inhabiting Kenya have allocated to them

roughly 17,600 square miles, but as Professor Carr-Saunders remarks in his book on population, a density of two per square mile for pastoral peoples is not inordinately low, and among the crop-producing primitive peoples a density of four per square mile is fairly common. When we consider that the average density over the whole 9,500 square miles of the Nyanza reserve in Kenya is 100, that the greater part of this area lacks water or the soil is unsuitable for cultivation, and that in the Kikuyu province a population of 700,000 is maintained on 3,000 square miles of arable land, the remaining 3,000 square miles being unsuitable for crop production, we are driven to the conclusion that native cultivation must have reached a very high standard of efficiency. It is true that their methods are crude judged from the European standpoint. It is true also that many a native farm resembles a chaotic and jumbled patchwork of varying crops as untidy in appearance as some of the neglected allotments in our great cities at home, but the outstanding fact remains that they can maintain themselves in food and even put some away in the communal store against the contingency of famine. Our agricultural officers in East Africa would do well to make a careful study of native methods of agriculture before they arrogantly assume that the methods of the European are far superior to those of the African. Unfortunately this is the assumption generally made, and much that is valuable in native crop raising has probably before this been lost. On this subject Dr. Schantz of the United States Department of Agriculture has many interesting things to say, and it is he who pleads strongly for a careful study of native methods, for which he expresses no little admiration.

There are some districts in Tanganyika where it

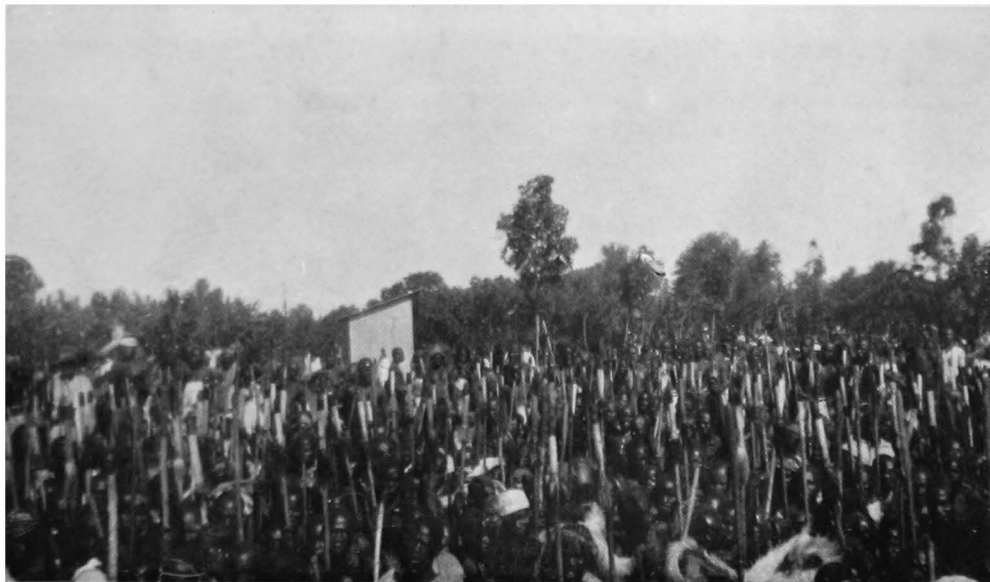
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is extremely difficult to account for the absence of people. In our travels we passed from Dar-es-Salaam along the Southern Tanganyika railway through the comparatively well-populated area as far as Dodoma. Beyond Dodoma there is an immense belt of depopulated country. It is not difficult to account for the absence of living creatures in this belt now, because the area is wholly dominated by the tsetse-fly, and as the neighbouring tribes are mainly pastoral they will not inhabit an area which would be fatal to their cattle. The question arises, however, why is the district dominated by the fly? Why was it ever evacuated by its native inhabitants, for evacuated it has been.

It appears not improbable that the area is deserted because of the sometime activities of the Arab slave traders and their agents. At the height of the Arab slave trade the slave routes from the interior, i.e., from the districts surrounding the three great lakes, converged on Tabora which is now like an oasis in a region of desolation, and from thence followed approximately the present line of the railway to the coast, the route being picturesquely marked by mango trees which were planted by the Arabs. It is likely, therefore, that the natives wandered as far as they could away from these routes to escape from the unwelcome attentions of the Arabs. In doing so, what was cultivated or pastoral country became covered with the low scrub which is a feature of all the sparsely populated regions in East Africa, and became the haunt of the tsetse-fly. This, of course, is mere presumption on my part. Nevertheless, it seems curious to account for the advance of the tsetse-fly in any other manner, for the soil in the belt concerned is as fertile as that of the surrounding districts where fairly large populations are supported.

The advent of the Europeans and the building of the railway have not so far counteracted the effects of the Arabs. Rather the effect has been enhanced. Nowadays and for the past twenty-five or thirty years the interior has been scoured by the agents of European planters for native labour, and this native labour is mainly wanted for the coastal regions. It is only quite recently that any serious attempts have been made to develop the parts of the country remote from the coasts and the lakes, but the development of the interior is now greatly retarded by the absence of peoples. It is to be feared that something of the same kind will happen in Uganda unless energetic steps are taken to push the Uganda railway through north-west from Tororo to the navigable Nile to provide an outlet for the produce of the natives of the interior. At the present time more and more natives are being brought from the West Nile and the Teso and Lango areas to work on the cotton, rubber and coffee plantations in the Eastern Province and Buganda, within a belt extending fifty miles from the lake shore of Victoria Nyanza, as the cost of transport of crops for more than fifty miles from a port or railhead makes their production unprofitable.

This migration of natives to the congested districts about Victoria Nyanza is one of the most serious problems facing the Uganda administration. It is breaking down tribal life; it is spreading disease among tribes which have hitherto been comparatively free from it; and it is increasing prostitution both in the districts from which they come and the districts to which they migrate. Much the same circumstances are arising in Northern Rhodesia, particularly the western part of it, as in the absence of any form of encouragement of the native producer, the native is finding it increasingly difficult to find the money to pay his hut tax without going outside the country.



A GATHERING (*Baraza*) OF NATIVES TO MEET THE COMMISSIONER AT SERRERE, UGANDA.

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Attracted by the comparatively high wages paid in the mining districts, and by the freedom from tribal discipline, large numbers of natives from Northern Rhodesia go by the convenient railway to the mines of the Belgian Congo or of Southern Rhodesia; many of the natives in the eastern part do likewise, and for the same reason find their way to the mines at Broken Hill and Bwana Mkubwa or farther north to the Katanga mines in the Belgian Congo. Many of them never return. We were informed that not the least attraction of the Belgian-Congo mines for the blacks is the absence of racial discrimination.

The poverty of the natives of Nyasaland has already been described. The wages in Nyasaland are lower than in any other territory in East Africa. Accordingly large numbers of natives find their way into Tanganyika where the wages offered are considerably higher. In fact, the incidence of the hut tax throughout East Africa, particularly in those parts where transport and marketing facilities for native crops are practically non-existent, is having the effect of forcing large numbers of blacks into districts more favourably situated with regard to transport to work for wages on European estates or for Indian traders and ginners, or in the various Government services. This, of course, results in a breakdown of tribal control. Many of our administrators in Africa regard the breakdown of tribal authority as an evil. I cannot share this view. In the old days tribal authority among peoples in a communal state probably had much to commend it. I am inclined to think, however, that any attempt to perpetuate the system under our supreme authority will merely retard the development of freer institutions. Already in Kenya there is a tendency among the natives to form institutions which are more inherently progressive than those of the neighbouring

territory of Uganda where the Kabakas and the Saza chiefs are in reality feudal monarchs and feudal overlords with all their privileges and none of their responsibilities.

The peopling of East Africa is one of the most urgent necessities of our time. Unpeopled, it is a menace to the whole of the African continent owing to the multiplication of pestilential insects in untenanted parts. Cultivation and pasturage are the only certain remedies against the insects. Unfortunately the factors operating against the natural fecundity of the black races are powerful enough at present to effect a reduction in their numbers. And while it is true that this condition will be remedied if we adopt the measures which common sense and humanity dictate, the time factor has to be taken into consideration, and it behoves us to survey other possibilities of increasing the area of East African soil under cultivation.

An obvious method would be to encourage the migration of the blacks from congested areas to the unoccupied parts. For example, the congestion in Kavirondo could be relieved by putting land at the disposal of the Kikuyu and Kavirondo tribes in the Tana and the Sabaki river valleys, or following up an extensive clearing of the Tanganyika "fly" areas with their assistance, settling them there. The Wachagga tribes might also be persuaded to become domiciled in different parts of Tanganyika by similar means. With the proper inducements, no greater difficulty should be encountered in this task of reclamation than in persuading the blacks to migrate to the coastal districts to work on plantations or as labourers in the towns, docks, or on public works.

We were informed by British traders in Mombasa that the Tana River Basin could become as produc-

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tive as the Nile Valley, if only there were the people there to develop its potential resources. Unfortunately the total population of this potentially rich agricultural valley numbers at present only 14,000.

It is interesting to note that the Dutch authorities in Java have, since 1904, been trying the experiment of moving people from the densely populated districts of that island to other islands, with surprisingly good results on the growth of population in the latter, although without any appreciable effect on the density of the districts which supplied the colonists. But it is of greater interest to know that due to the encouragement and assistance given by the Agricultural Department to crop production the population of what are known as the "outer districts" in Dutch East Indies has grown from 7,375,000 in 1905 to 13,871,000 in 1920, an increase of approximately 90 per cent., while the population of over-populated Java increased in the same period from 30,000,000 to 34,500,000.

It is true that proposals to do anything of the kind in East Africa would be strenuously resisted by those European landowners, settlers, and planters who regard the congested areas as the most favourable recruiting centres for the labourers they require, but the economic development and reclamation of the soil of the territories must be paramount considerations in determining our policy, not the selfish demands of a comparatively few members of our race who are embarrassed by what they have grasped of the land exceeding their proportion, or beyond their capacity to develop. They would be forced then to utilize labour efficiently and to utilize all the resources of mechanical invention as applied to agricultural development.

There is another way of peopling East Africa, one, however, which would probably meet with fierce

opposition from the European communities both there and in the Union of South Africa. The leaders of the Indian peoples regard East Africa as the obvious land to which India's surplus population should migrate. From time immemorial the Indian has been a figure in African life. Generally he has assumed the rôle of trader, but since the beginning of this century increasing numbers of Indians have found their way into the skilled trades, and others have been employed in the local civil services and commercial houses. Until three or four years ago practically the whole of the skilled and semi-skilled labour in the Uganda railway workshops at Nairobi and along the line was Indian. And it is only within recent years that the immigration regulations of East Africa have followed those in force in Natal and the rest of the Union in restricting the number of Indian immigrants by means of an educational test and evidence of means. The tightening up of the regulations is the direct outcome of the agitation for equality of status for Indians in all parts of the British Empire. The Kenya colonists, outnumbered by the Indian population by five to two, regard such an equality as a menace to their position as the dominant race. They are probably right in assuming that a common electoral roll would result in the elected representatives on the Legislative Council being predominantly Indian. Unquestionably it would mean a great influx of Indians to all parts of tropical Africa, and they would not be content to remain practically landless as they are at present. In Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya, the Indian deputations which met us complained of their disabilities, as compared with Europeans, in respect to the acquisition of land. They contend that their interest in East Africa dates from long before its discovery, by Europe, that they can claim priority

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over us in settlement, and also, a large share of whatever development there has been of its agricultural resources. Not even their fiercest opponents deny their further claim that it is the Indian trader who has practically created a monopoly in direct trading with the blacks, and has thus been a most important factor in the economic development of the country. They emphasize the similarity of the climatic conditions in India and Africa, and the proved capacity of the Indian to produce a variety of food crops and fibres under these conditions. Certain provinces of India, conveniently situated geographically in relation to East Africa, are inconveniently over-populated by an agricultural peasantry who would be an asset to any district in Africa in which they were permitted to settle. The potentially rich cultivable parts of tropical Africa, at present lying fallow for want of inhabitants, are suitable districts for Indian agricultural settlement. An Indian deputation which met us at Mbale in Uganda proposed that Indian cultivators should be brought over to put the large swampy region in the Kioga region under rice. At present the region is a menace to the surrounding country. The denial of access to districts eminently suitable for Indian settlement adds to the bitterness of feeling between India and Great Britain.

The fact has to be faced, however, that in their opposition to Indian settlement in East Africa, the Europeans domiciled there are backed up by Europeans in every other part of Africa, that Australia and Canada would support them in principle, and the white people of the United States of America are sympathetic to their anti-Asiatic bias. The difficulties of the situation are evident and will only be cleared away when all economic and social causes for racial antagonisms have sunk into oblivion.

But if Indians are to be prevented from assisting us in developing the agricultural resources of tropical Africa, it is clear that alternative means must be found, and that a bolder and more enlightened policy must be the basis of our enterprise. We must not only assist the blacks to make better use of their land, but we must develop those services which will militate against human and animal diseases, and undertake the necessary research work which will enable us to understand more fully the causes of a declining population and to take the necessary steps to remove them.

In the past few years a great deal of knowledge has been accumulated regarding the effect of the customs of primitive peoples on the birth-rate and infant mortality rate, customs which probably owe their origin to the need for keeping the population as low as was compatible with the maintenance of life for the tribes. The extent of limitation of population among backward peoples evidently depends upon the potential productivity of the soil, the skill of the cultivators, and the skill of the pastoralists. In East Africa, as in many other parts of the world inhabited by peoples isolated for centuries from the great centres of civilization, infanticide, abortion, premature intercourse, and restriction of intercourse are extensively practised and militate against natural fecundity, even though the need for limitation of families may no longer exist.

An infant born with a noticeable physical deformity or abnormality—for example, an infant born with teeth—is liable to destruction. The same fate befalls the unfortunate child that cuts the upper teeth first. Twins are regarded with great disfavour and one or both may be condemned to death by exposure. This last custom is evidently due to the hardship entailed on the mother. The women have a great

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part to play in producing the food crops for the family, and their task is sufficiently difficult with only one infant to nourish while engaged on the shamba. To try to stop the practice the Nyasaland Government recently decided to exempt the father of twins from hut-tax for one year, and this has had the desired effect in many cases. If a mother dies in child-birth it is not uncommon for the infant to be buried with her.

The practice of abortion appears to be common throughout the territory and certainly existed before the coming of the white man, from whom much detailed knowledge of it is withheld. The secrets are the property of the old women. Various mechanical methods are used as well as a variety of abortifacient drugs. The practice has an appalling effect in some districts. The Provincial Administrator at Nyeri attributed the progressive sterility of the tribes in the Meru district of Kenya to the practice. In that district sexual intercourse is common before marriage, but it is considered a disgrace for a woman to give birth to a child out of wedlock.

Most serious in its effects on population is the tendency for the lowering of the age at which the elders of a tribe permit sexual intercourse. This is probably due to the fact that the authority of the chiefs has diminished as the result of the checks it has been felt necessary to put upon such powers as they possessed by the British authorities. The tendency to precocity in Kenya, which is deplored by the best elements among the natives, may possibly be checked now that hut-tax becomes payable as soon as a boy is initiated.

One effect of our indiscriminate interference with native customs, due to the assumption that our standards are capable of universal application

irrespective of tribal traditions and local circumstances, has been to break up the ceremonial and religious life of the people without supplying a substitute. This, in turn, has had the effect of producing a loss of interest in life, a weakening of the natural desire to prolong the life of a race. Some missionaries have much to learn regarding the benefits arising from adaptation of pagan customs and ceremonies to Christian observances. Certain dances have been prohibited in some districts owing to their sexual character, but nothing has been substituted for them. Life for the uneducated black becomes intolerably dull. It was not thus that Christendom was made a power.

The insistence upon monogamy by the Christian missionaries, however well-intentioned, may have been attended by harmful effects. Where polygamy is common the responsibilities of domestic duties and the cultivation of the fields to produce foodstuffs for a family can be shared. We were informed again and again that the first wife of a black was often only too eager for her husband to take another wife in order to ease her own burdens. Monogamy has intensified the practice of abortion and increased the practice of infanticide, as it has likewise increased concubinage and prostitution.

It has already been suggested that the mosquito is more deadly in its effects on population than the tsetse-fly. It is not only responsible for general debility of the peoples under its malign influence, rendering them easily susceptible to epidemic diseases other than malaria, but to it can be attributed a great amount of unprovoked abortion and still-births. The alarming spread of venereal disease is also having the same effect. In the province of Bunyoro in Uganda a medical officer informed me that the proportion of still-births was

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four out of ten, and of the remaining six a large number died within their first year. In one district we were informed that only one child in six survived to the age of five years.

Large numbers of babies die through the ignorance of their mothers. Malnutrition is probably the most prevalent cause. In districts where there are few or no cattle or goats the mothers either keep the babies at the breast for two or three years, or from the first few days feed their offspring on a coarse gruel, or food which their mothers chew for them, often with deadly effect. Many small children are burned or scalded to death through being left unattended in the hut of their parents. Many die from exposure to the sun while their mothers are working in the fields, for small children are usually either strapped on their mothers' backs or dumped on the ground near the mother's work.

On various occasions when I witnessed native dances I found, however many hours the dances had been in progress, and however late the hour, that nearly every other woman participating had a baby strapped on her back. This can hardly be good for the unfortunate infants, although possibly no more harmful than the practice of ignorant parents in England who take very small children to cinema theatres in the evening.

Plague centres are scattered over the whole territory, and although great efforts are being made by medical and sanitary officers in the larger centres to cope with the problem, the mortality rate is still very high. Some idea of the magnitude of the task will be gathered from the statement made to us by Dr. Van Someren at the lake port of Jinja in Uganda. As the result of a campaign against plague rats in this district, two million were exterminated in a year, but the rat population per hut

had been reduced only from fifteen to fourteen. There are other difficulties. The blacks do not understand the relation between rats and plague epidemics. Dr. Van Someren informed us that when first a reward was offered for rat-tails, the blacks were cutting off the tails of the rats they captured in the hope that the tails would grow again and be a steady source of easily won revenue. Moreover, certain varieties of rat are edible, and are bred by the blacks for food.

Obviously the most effective remedy against rats is to be found in improved housing conditions and improvements in food storage accommodation. The roof of every old native hut harbours a colony of rats. Periodic re-roofing is a costly business; fumigation is either too expensive or ineffective, and is resented by the blacks. The growth of towns, the absence of any powers for compulsory acquisition of sites for housing at prices which would prevent the creation of congested districts, the want of foresight of the authorities in not providing accommodation and sanitation in black areas, the lack of appreciation of the essential unsuitability of the normal type of native hut as a permanent dwelling-place, have all contributed to the creation of a problem far more serious than our housing problem in England. Our countrymen who rule in East Africa seem incapable of appreciating the need for preventing a repetition of the conditions which were created in the worst days of land speculation at home.

We heard many arguments against providing improved dwelling-houses for black labourers in towns and on certain large estates. They were reminiscent of the arguments used by reactionaries at home against slum-clearance. One manager of a large sisal plantation, who had had two serious deadly epidemics on his estate within a few years,

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informed us that it would be useless to provide permanent wood, brick, or concrete huts, as no black would live in a hut where a death had occurred. The idea that it would be possible to prevent death occurring in a hut if there were proper medical inspection of the hut-dwellers apparently had not occurred to him. And we were informed that the blacks cannot appreciate decent surroundings; that they prefer the squalor of a hut constructed from rusty remnants of corrugated iron, old biscuit tins—relics of the war—and remnants of sacking, without any light or ventilation except that coming through the holes in the tin or the entrance hole. I was surprised that we were not told that the blacks hated German rule because the German East African Government paid strict attention to the elementary principles of town-planning and shelter, and wondered why Dr. Scott, the Medical Officer of Health at Dar-es-Salaam, who has improved vastly upon German thoroughness in this regard, was not the most hated instead of the most respected figure in that capital. The fact remains that the labourers of Dar-es-Salaam are properly housed while thousands of labourers in Nairobi and Mombasa are either houseless or herded in quarters which are loathsome to regard. In urging the Government of Kenya to make provision for housing the black population of Mombasa, Mr. Jameson, the town-planning expert consulted by the Kenya Government, says:

“If in the schools of environment and example and precept we foolishly neglect the future of these races, we shall live to regret it. They must not be left at the mercy of the private landlord whose virtues, though they may be many, do not include as a rule the virtue of low rental and clean living conditions.”

In connection with the problem of housing of the blacks, it must be realized that we have interfered largely with the traditional shifting cultivation of the black races. Their huts were constructed to last for the few years a village site was occupied. Once the soil showed signs of exhaustion, they removed to a clean site and usually demolished the huts on the old one. Now their freedom of movement is restricted, now that villages tend to become permanent, we must assist them to make dwellings suited to these new conditions. It is imperative that we apply the knowledge gained from our disastrous experiences of the past to the problem confronting us of preventing disease in the tropics. There is no time to be lost. The black population are more debilitated now than before we interfered with them. They are the prey to all the old diseases which afflicted them, and in addition to many others which are the result of our interference. In spite of the efforts of our understaffed colonial medical services to combat disease, the black population is not increasing; in many districts it is diminishing. The most energetic steps must be taken to train the blacks themselves to assist us in our campaign on their behalf.

There are three distinct groups of disease. To the first belong those which are peculiar to the individual and which are of comparatively slight importance to the race or tribe, but which make the greatest demands on the medical staffs and the community for their treatment. To the second group belong cases of acute epidemic and endemic disease, sleeping sickness, plague, influenza, malaria and the like. In the third group are the transmissible diseases, for example, venereal disease and yaws. For the second and third groups standard methods and treatment can be formulated. Their

diagnosis is not difficult, and their treatment can be carried out by fairly intelligent well-trained blacks, the supply of whom ultimately rests with the provision of more and better schools.

And we cannot rest content with providing training centres for boys only. If we are to raise the standard of civilization of the black races we must provide facilities for training girls, for some of whom there is tremendous scope in the medical services. Incidentally, it is a great pity that more Englishwomen are not attracted to the colonial medical services. They are urgently required. The efforts now being made in Uganda to train young black women in pre-natal and post-natal maternity work must be supplemented by similar work in every territory. In Uganda the work has been carried on for some time by Mrs. Cook, of the Church Missionary Society, at the Lady Coryndon Maternity Training School at Namirembe, by the Reverend Mother D. Kevin and Dr. Conolly at the Mill Hill Society Mission at Nsambya, and by Dr. Webb at the Government hospital at Mulago. It is amazing what has been done and how self-reliant these young girls become. We saw some of them at work in maternity centres in outlying districts, and were struck by their efficient assumption of responsibility. We also saw several girls performing intramuscular injections against yaws at hospitals and noted the expedition of the operation and the thoroughness with which they keep their records. The initiative taken by the Christian missions in training women for this work redounds to their lasting credit. It is an achievement of the first magnitude with tremendous significance upon the future of the black populations in East Africa.

Only a very small proportion of the native population comes within the sphere of influence of

the existing medical services. In Tanganyika, which devotes about one-fifteenth of the revenues to the medical services, less than one-twenty-fifth of the natives are within reach of medical attention. One-twelfth of the revenue of Northern Rhodesia is allocated to the medical services, but no native hospitals are maintained by the Government, and those attached to the missions are quite inadequate to the needs even of the localities in which they are situated. Uganda spends more than one-tenth of its income on medical services: at Mulago it has now the finest native hospital in East Africa, as well-equipped and staffed as any similar institution at home. Both the Church Missionary Society and the Mill Hill Catholic Mission established native hospitals on spacious lines, and medical training schools for native women and men, and gave the necessary lead to Government—provoked the Government into action, one might say. Even so, there are large districts in Uganda where no medical provision is made for the native tribes. Kenya is not far behind Uganda in the provision of medical services, the director of which is approaching the problems of human disease and debility with commendable thoroughness and enthusiasm. The European settlers realize, from the point of view of self-interest alone, the need for an improved medical service, and do not begrudge it. There are a few poorly equipped and inadequately staffed Government hospitals for natives in Nyasaland, in addition to the hospitals attached to the missions. In addition, mainly because of the excellent training afforded at the Scottish mission at Blantyre, there are seventy dispensaries scattered over the territory in charge of native dispensers. Some of the native dispensers leave Nyasaland for the better material inducements offered in neighbouring



SAYING GOOD-BYE AT SERRERE, UGANDA.

territories. We met one of them at Kahama, in Tanganyika, rejoicing in the name of Macgregor, carrying out his duties in an exemplary manner, inspiring confidence in natives and the local administrative officers alike. But even where the natives are within reach of medical attention, some of it is of such a nature that it is doubtful if it is not worse than none at all. Some of the native hospitals we visited were such as to discourage natives with any sense of decency from remaining in them. At Bukoba, in one of the most populous districts of Tanganyika, there was a so-called hospital in charge of an Indian sub-assistant surgeon. The accommodation consisted of a number of dark, badly-ventilated huts with only a single entrance, containing three or four times the proper number of patients. Some of the patients had beds, but the greater number slept on the floor. Men, women, and children were huddled together, suffering from every kind of disease. Some were provided with blankets, but many had none. On entry a noisome stench offended the nostrils. The Indian, himself only partially qualified, was carrying on without adequate assistance. He was responsible for major and minor operations, and had to superintend dressings.

This was the worst case that came under our observation, but since this hospital was attached to an administrative centre in a fairly accessible position, we were left with the impression that there might be others much worse. Not that the surgeon in charge could be blamed. His responsibilities were far too great. He had no control over the number of patients sent to him from the dispensaries in his area, and had to make use of what accommodation was provided. Neither could the medical officer under whose general supervision he was

placed be held responsible. He, too, was the victim of circumstances, responsible for the medical care of three-quarters of a million natives, responsible for major and minor operations at a native and European hospital at Mwanza, a centre a day removed from Bukoba, and the general supervision of native dispensaries and smaller hospitals at sub-stations scattered over hundreds of square miles of territory without adequate means of communication or transport.

It must be realized also that we have created the demand for medical attention. Rightly, we have broken the power of the witch-doctors or tribal medicine-men over the natives, partly by suppressing them and partly by proving their fallibility or the superiority of the white medicine-man. To the ignorant and superstitious native the white man's dispensary must appear far more mysterious and magical than the black man's crude magic. But the task of filling the need created is stupendous and will take years to accomplish, and then only with the co-operation of the natives themselves. It is not surprising therefore that human disease has increased since our occupation, and not diminished. Due to our demands for labour in mines, or on high plateaux, pulmonary diseases are markedly on the increase, and due also to our ignorant interference with the native agriculturist, and the demands upon natives to perform tasks unsuitable to them on their existing diet, debility diseases due to malnutrition are increasing.

Many of the diseases which afflict the natives can be attributed to ignorance of their causes. Hook-worm, malaria, plague, dysentery, spirillum fever, and diseases due to malnutrition could all be practically stamped out in a generation if a large

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proportion of the population were under the influence of an enlightened system of education, with personal hygiene, sanitation, and dietetics among the principal subjects of the school curriculum. Every medical officer we met in East Africa impressed this view upon us. And the importance of education in developing a social consciousness among the natives as regards venereal disease, the effects of which constitute one of the gravest problems facing the local governments, cannot be exaggerated. The present cost of curative treatment, even among those within reach of it, is enormous. It is obvious that prevention must depend upon an attitude of mind, assiduously cultivated.

CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATION

THE world into which the blacks of the interior of East Africa, after being comparatively isolated from the rest of the world and from the other continents for thousands of years, have suddenly been plunged, must be far stranger to them than it would be to an Englishman who had fallen asleep in 1820 and awaked in 1920. Because the black is incapable of immediately adjusting himself to the system by which he is so suddenly and almost catastrophically confronted, it has been the habit of Europeans in the country to regard the black races as a whole as thousands of years behind the white races in intelligence. Not only that, but because of their attitude towards these newer institutions with which they have come in contact, it has been assumed by the Westerner, who has borne the brunt of creating the modern economic system and social order, and who in the process has built huge ant-heaps of cities and made himself more and more dependable upon overseas countries for his supplies of food and raw materials, that it is perfectly legitimate to exploit the backward races, and that it would be absurd to make the attempt to develop their intelligence in order that they might develop their own civilization. The general assumption is, in fact, that the average black is far less innately intelligent than the average white. It is further

assumed that the blacks lack the capacity for leadership. The same justification for the perpetuation of a privileged class has been urged by the products of our "class" system of education in England. The wish is father to the thought. There are many Europeans in tropical Africa who are definitely afraid that the spread of knowledge among the black peoples will result in their own loss of power, and they will decry every attempt which is made to spread knowledge among the blacks by means of an efficiently organized education system, just as representatives of the same class cry out against the education of the masses in England. But, as we have pointed out, upon the development of an education system throughout the whole of the territories must ultimately depend their intensive development. The best defence against sudden contact with a foreign ideology is the development of the intelligence of the blacks. Without new ideas in the place of his old ones or without a critical appreciation of the changes which have been wrought about him, without a desire to fit in with the new system which confronts him or to mould a new system in a manner which will befit his special environment, the black will languish and continue in a state of semi-subjection not far removed from the slavery which formerly existed among those tribes who were unfortunate enough to come within the sphere of influence of the Arabs or the Portuguese. It is not enough to Christianize the blacks; it is not enough to make them Mohammedans. What has been the effect of nearly four centuries of alternate Portuguese and Arab domination? The Hon. Chas. Dundas tells us: "Some ruins, traces of Persian language, a number of Arab words adopted for convenience or effect, and of the 200 years of Portuguese rule and religious teaching,

not a trace." The African has proved himself through many centuries extraordinarily tenacious of his own ideology. Our task is to study that and develop it and mould it, not to destroy it.

It is generally accepted now by the local governments that the fundamental basis of all sane and lasting development of the territories is the education of the black. Steps are being taken to establish schools and training centres for teachers in every protectorate. Perhaps it is as well from many points of view that the move in this direction has been late in starting. Nothing could have been worse than to have introduced the so-called education system from which England suffered until about the beginning of this century. Nothing could have been less suited to African conditions and nothing could have been more calculated to produce the very worst type of educated black. Some of the results of the partial introduction of the English system can be found at the present time. The majority of the mission schools in East Africa have been starved for funds, and they have been comparatively badly equipped and badly staffed. Even in their training centres there are men who have no conception of the true function of education, and certainly no knowledge of the surprising progress which has been made in educational theory and practice in England during the last twenty years. The blacks attending schools taught by teachers trained only in the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic, cannot be expected to acquire more than a smattering of knowledge which has no application to their village life and can only be put to account in the large towns where white men congregate, or in the service of the Government. Dr. Jesse Jones, the leader of the Phelps-Stokes mission to Africa, has said of the missionary

system of education: "Some thought of education as the mere imparting of information, or at least as the development of the mind, without relation to the moral and spiritual life. Others have thought of education as necessary chiefly to enable the natives to read the Bible, and to understand the spirit of Christianity. This group has been content with the education in books. With many the chief object has been the occupation of the field, with little or no provision for the cultivation of the character of the people."

The realization has only recently dawned that "education is the deliberate adjustment of a growing human being to its environment," and it is hoped that the education of the blacks in Africa will be inspired by this ideal. It is true that critics of a system based upon such an ideal will claim that the provision of education which will include instruction in all forms of human activity, which will fit the blacks to serve the European elements the better, is entirely materialistic, subversive in aim, and calculated to make the blacks hewers of wood and drawers of water for their white masters. This is not the intention of those who framed the memorandum "on the Education of the Native Peoples of Tropical Africa." Rather it is the deliberate intention to create master craftsmen, independent agriculturists, expert pastoralists, the basis of their co-operation with the whites being freewill. The intention is to create a new interest of the blacks in those activities which have for thousands of years been the mainstay of the black peoples; to enable them by means of new knowledge not only to produce better, but also to appreciate the materials they handle, the instruments they use, the processes and beauties of nature: to find fuller expression for their ideas,

to take a greater share in the development of social institutions: and to acquire the necessary mental capacity for governing their appetites, lusts, and passions; and to inculcate the craving for a nobler order of existence, the keynote of which shall be service to the community.

Furthermore, it is hoped that they will build up an African civilization, not a poor imitation of Western civilization; and that their leaders shall be men versed in the history of their peoples, their folklore, customs, and traditions, with a capacity to understand the cultural movements of the many nations of the world and a desire to emulate the best that is in them, with no contempt for their own peoples but every desire to become the integrating forces in welding together the diverse peoples of Africa with their diverse tongues.

Africa needs African dreamers of dreams, African music-makers. It is upon these that worlds are created, civilizations are built, not upon sordid materialism, the lust for gain or power. And Africa, which probably witnessed the birth of understanding man, which was the seat of a mighty civilization when our white ancestors were crude and inefficient hunters, can and must awake from its long and enfeebling sleep and enrich the world in the enthusiasm of its reawakening. The white man can share the glory of the triumph if he be the catalyst in producing the result.

Our concern, therefore, should be to provide education for all and not to be content with educating the few. The knowledge of the few is despotism: the knowledge of the many is liberty, and the strength of our belief in democracy will be judged by the whole-hearted enthusiasm with which we apply ourselves to the task of creating in tropical Africa a race of individuals who are capable of



BOYS AT ARCHDEACON MATHER'S MISSION, NABUMALI, UGANDA

personal self-government in little as well as self-government in big. The cause for universal education is based upon the shaping of the individual's capabilities in conformity with the finer contributions of world culture. No greater mistake could be made than to imagine that a widespread liberal education for the predominant mass of a race will make people unwilling to do much of the world's work which, however disagreeable it may be, must be carried on. The more liberal the education, the more realization there is of the duties and responsibilities of citizenship and the appreciation of the need to bear the common burdens of humanity. Dr. Johnson was once asked whether the establishment of a school on a friend's estate would not tend to make the people less industrious. "No, sir," said Johnson, "while learning to read and write is a distinction, the few who have that distinction may be the less inclined to work; but when everybody learns to write and read it is no longer a distinction. A man who has a laced waistcoat is too fine a man to work; but if everybody had laced waistcoats we should have people working in laced waistcoats." There could be no more ample justification for Dr. Johnson's platitude than the present condition of affairs in Africa. The majority of the natives who have been "educated" regard themselves as a privileged class and despise those of their fellows who have not received the same advantages.

As a class they are out of touch with their own people, and unless they find an outlet for the smatterings of formal instruction they have received, they rapidly become unemployables and no small proportion of the gaol population in East Africa consists of this class. The task which Imperial Britain has set herself is stupendous, but

it must be performed. If an attempt is made to build up a system of education in Africa upon the English model with its elaborate and extensive bureaucracy, the cost will be prodigious. In Kenya, for example, it is estimated that the education in the Government schools of every black costs more than £10 a year, nearly as much as the cost of educating a child in London in spite of the fact that the pay of the black teachers in Kenya is extraordinarily small. In the Union of South Africa, on the other hand, the estimated cost a year of a black child is £2. The difference in cost is due to a difference in policy. In South Africa the education of the black is left largely to the missions which are assisted out of State funds. Probably the cost of teaching a child in a mission school in Kenya is not as much as that small figure.

A way must be found to deal with education in much the same spirit as the missions, but more efficiently. There is no apparent reason why the Christian missions should have the monopoly of workers imbued with missionary zeal. The cause of education should be in itself a call to the finest spirits among our own countrymen and among the blacks to engage in its service. The field for missionary effort need not be confined to members of Christian denominations. Service to the community can be glorified into an ideal, irrespective of creed. Too often the Christian missionary's zeal has led the African to despise his own people and their beliefs, although his notions of Christianity are blurred and he has failed to realize that it is anything more than the religion of the dominant class. He glorifies the European, imitates his dress, his manners, his speech, and his vices. In fact, acute observers of Africans state that they are more apt to assimilate our vices than our virtues.

It is obvious that conversion to Christianity need not have the effect of deracializing the African, if properly imparted, but, to quote Dundas again, "if so imparted that the only stable element in the African's nature is shaken to its foundations the result can only be a nonentity or a vicious imitation." The African must be taught to be true to whatever ideals he possessed, to understand his customs and traditions and his country, and not to be contemptuous of the traditions of his race, including his religions. For even those religions, with their sacrifices, taboos, rites and ceremonies, were based upon discipline and restraint, however much their later practice may have divested them of such intent.

Where the central education department can best serve the interests of the community is in the provision of books and the paraphernalia of education to facilitate the task of instruction. Far too little attention has been given to this matter. There is still acute conflict of opinion regarding the medium of instruction. Some hold that we can best serve the African by providing him with the English language as his vehicle for thought and the medium through which he can best be made acquainted with the cultures of other races and natural phenomena. Mr. H. G. Wells has stated emphatically that the most precious gift we can present to the backward races is the English language. By this they can enter into our heritage, the heritage which is built up upon the best of their African civilizations and all those which have arisen since. Opposed to this school of thought are those who fear that our language is an expression of our civilization, inseparable from it, and that by making it a vehicle of the exchange of the African's ideas and the fount of his cultural inspiration we shall sub-

merge the African and create the black European. Furthermore, they are afraid of the effect of African form of expression upon our language itself; they point to the appalling effect of the introduction of the English language among the coast blacks of West Africa and among the semi-educated Chinese. They feel that pidgin English is an affront to our culture.

But we should not allow our judgment to be warped by the deplorable results of introducing the English language in a haphazard manner among certain of the African peoples. The fact is that neither their teachers nor themselves were ever given any proper instruction in the language. Where the instruction is properly given the results exceed expectations. The African has a natural gift for languages: he has no physical disability to overcome in pronouncing our words. Among the American negroes are some of the finest English orators. We met many Africans in our travels who had an amazing command of our language. The experience of the French in tropical Africa has been equally fortunate. Pure French is spoken and written by a large number of blacks in French tropical possessions.

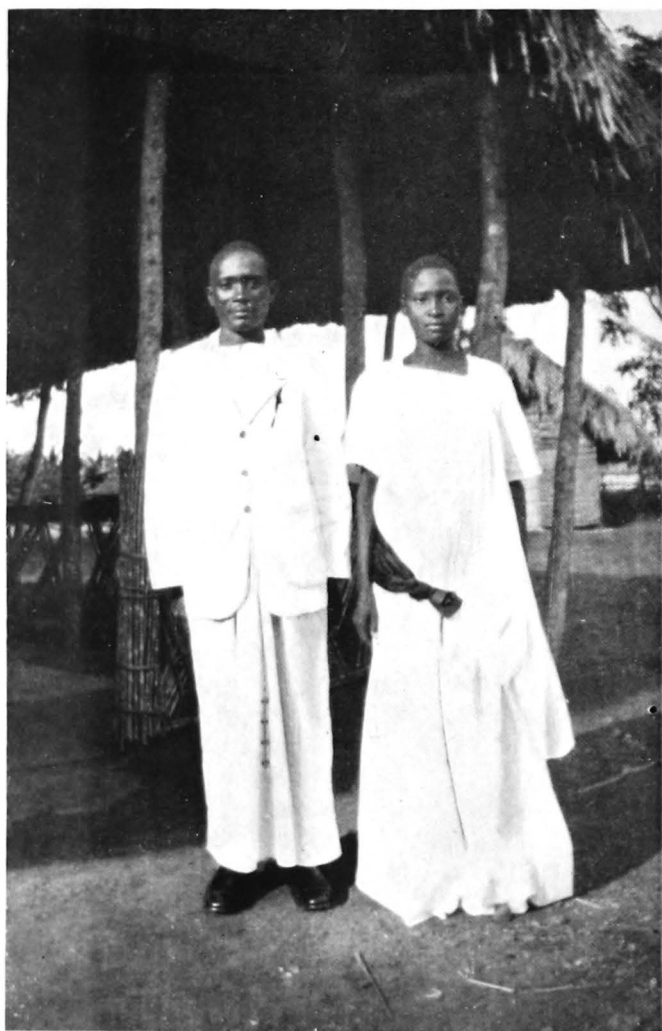
What is the alternative to a European language as a vehicle of instruction? Is it to be that strange mixture of Bantu and Arabic known as Swahili, the language which, rich though it is in relation to the concrete, is deficient in relation to abstract ideas: in other words, a language for the materialist, but not one which will enable a people to find a soul? Luganda, the language of the Baganda peoples, or Chinyanga, the language of a large number of peoples in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, suffer from the same fundamental defect. Possibly the solution is in the direction of bi-lingualism.

Swahili, Luganda and Chinyanga are already the languages of commerce in East Africa in its different parts. Already in Tanganyika territory Swahili is the medium of instruction in the State schools and a number of mission schools. Excellent text-books and class-books have been prepared in it, but it would take centuries for this or any other African language to become the language of philosophy, poetry, and ideals, the three essentials in the evolution of a nation.

In considering the preparation of class-books and text-books in English, however, the utmost care must be taken to ensure that the language bears upon the life and the environment of the peoples for whom they are intended. Mr. Ormsby-Gore, who recently returned from a further tour of West Africa, was struck by the absurd character of the reading books which are in general use in the schools there. They are the reading books that English children would use, dealing with common-places of English country life. The African child is expected to form conceptions of trees, meadows, hedge-rows, sparrows, snow and ice, which he has never seen and is never likely to see, no counterpart of which exists in Africa. In this respect we have not exercised the same care as the French. The French books in use in their West African schools have been prepared with meticulous care by a committee of experts, whose primary object has been that the language of the books is based upon the familiar things of African life, not upon those of Europe. Of some of their reading books Major Vischer, the Secretary of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa, has said that they "are remarkable for their adaptation to local African surroundings and the native mentality and for the

way in which the pupil is gradually introduced to French life and thought, and the relation between the African colonies and France."

There is an inevitable tendency to deal with education as with any other problem of development—through the medium of an expensive bureaucracy created for the specific purpose of expanding the school system. Unfortunately, at the present time in each of the protectorates there is a rapidly growing administration service for education but very few schools to administer. Hence the excessive cost incurred in training the natives in Kenya. In defence of this bureaucracy it is urged that the natives must be protected by a sound inspection system against the multitude of bush schools which are springing up in every village in response to the demand of the blacks for some sort of education which will lift them above their present station. The East African protectorates seem doomed apparently to fashion their systems upon those of Great Britain, and do not realize, particularly in regard to education, that in England at least there is a growing tendency to reduce inspection and to pay more attention to the intellectual equipment and training of teachers. By this means it is hoped to inspire them with sufficient enthusiasm for their task to justify their being left free to work out their own educational ideas without undue interference from "authoritative" persons who possess little knowledge of the actual conditions under which their work is carried out. It is suggested before the system of administration and inspection generally has become too stereotyped that an attempt should be made to assimilate some of the newer ideas which are gradually replacing those based upon the "payment by results" system introduced by Arnold Forster in the seventies.



WALEGO, A GOMBOLOLA CHIEF, AND HIS WIFE, UGANDA.

So far the education of girls and women has been entirely neglected by the Governments. A few girls are being educated by the missions, but not in sufficient numbers to form a sufficient nucleus of women for the health and education services which are urgently required. We may have been unfortunate, but we can recall meeting only one African woman whose standard of education could be compared with that of the better-educated men. Even the wives of the principal black dignitaries in East Africa appear never to have been under the influence of an educational body. This is a disaster for East Africa, and is recognized as such by some of the wiser among the black peoples themselves. Formal education of girls has not only not kept pace even among the intelligentsia with that of the boys—it has scarcely been considered. Yet it is probably true, as Lord Dalhousie has said, “that a larger proportionate impulse is given to the advancement of a people by the education of its women than by that of the men.” Disease and mortality due to lack of all knowledge of health conditions and the necessity for the upbringing of children in clean and healthy surroundings, all point to the urgent need of education in the domestic virtues. It is the women of Africa who will have to change the existing conditions, and they must be equipped for their task.

Prince Joseph, one of the princes of Buganda, spoke feelingly on this subject. He regarded it as one of the prime functions of Government and missions to provide an education for women which would enable them to become the intellectual equals of the men and not merely the mothers of their children. There is a real desire now among the educated blacks for companionship in marriage. Nothing could be more calculated to break down the

practice of polygamy among the tribes than the growth of this spirit of companionship. If it is considered desirable to break down the conservative instincts of the blacks, their resistance to change, their conformity to outworn customs and ritualistic observances, it can only be accomplished with the assistance of the women and not in spite of them. It must not be imagined, of course, that all the blacks we met were loud in claiming equality of opportunity for their womenfolk. At Kapsabet in Kenya where we met the Nandi chiefs at a baraza, one of the greatest causes of complaint of a chief was that one of his daughters, in common with several girls of the tribe, had refused to leave the mission where she was being educated to submit to the initiation ceremony. The refusal of the girls was naturally encouraged by the head of the mission. We were told that this had infuriated the young men of the tribe, who threatened violence if the girls were not released. The chief complained bitterly that the girls were being spoilt for marriage and their parents thus deprived of the dowry which they had counted upon when the girls married.

The great need of the territories is the development of the health services, and it is quite clear that without the assistance of a large number of properly educated women workers they cannot properly be developed. A tremendous impetus would be given to the education of girls if only there was an outstanding personality among the native women. One may yet arise. It occurred to us in going through the Mill Hill Society Mission at Nsambya in Uganda, that the Reverend Mother Kevin's influence was calculated to produce leaders of women. When it is considered what the woman, Raden Adjeng Kartini, has effected in the Dutch East Indies in a comparatively short time, we can

hope shortly for a dawn of a new era for women in our tropical African possessions.

At the education conference held in Tanganyika Territory in 1925, under the chairmanship of the very able Director of Education, Mr. Rivers-Smith, this matter was very carefully considered. One of the difficulties which presented itself was the possibility that a husband would be content to live on the earnings of his wife if she were employed as a health worker under the Government, and it was considered desirable, therefore, that as a preliminary step at least, the health workers should be drawn from among the female teachers in the schools or the wives of male teachers. It was also considered imperative that training in the schools in mothercraft should be begun as soon as girls could reasonably profit by the instruction. It was considered desirable also that girls should be trained in agriculture and handicrafts, both based upon the products of the district in which the school was situated.

As regards educational training of boys it has already been pointed out that generally it has erred either on the side of making it too bookish or too entirely utilitarian. The experiment initiated by Mr. W. B. Mumford at the boys' school at Bukoba, in Tanganyika Territory, is therefore of the greatest importance. It is particularly interesting to me since, as an occasional member of the staff of London Day Training College, I played a small part in the preparation of Mr. Mumford for the colonial education service and met him unexpectedly at Bukoba when his experiment was just bearing fruit. Mr. Mumford came to the conclusion that our failures in connection with the education of the peoples for whom we have accepted trusteeship in various parts of the world, had been due to our

failure in citizenship training. Our moral training in the schools did not prepare the scholar to fit in with the particular community to which he belonged. We had attempted to superimpose our conventional European ideals upon those of the natives whom we were training. The African cannot absorb or make part of himself any code of life of which he has not an embryonic idea in his mind. Accordingly, our moral training of the African should be developed from the general customs and beliefs of the country, in order to do which, the European teachers and education officers must first understand them. The more easily comprehended concepts of tribalism must be the basis for the more complex concept of world-citizenship, and that of self-protection in the service of humanity. The school must be the centre of the life of the village or of the larger area which it serves, just as the school at Bamako, the administrative headquarters of the Sudan Française has, according to Major Vischer, become the centre of the communal life. In the native town which has gradually grown up round the original French fort—now an open square, round which stand the local club, a zoological and botanical garden—all the roads have been laid out and the trees planted by the headmaster and his native pupils. Pupils from the local schools carry on a constant inspection of the native compounds and assist in the upkeep and the irrigation of the large pépinière or garden in which every tree, fruit, and vegetable imaginable are grown. In fact, the pupils of all these schools, besides their class instruction, receive the best training in community life.

Mr. Mumford has apparently gone a stage further at Bukoba. The school of which he was in charge consisted of about a hundred boarders drawn from eight tribes. The boys were ultimately divided

into four groups of about twenty-five, each of which selected its own "chief." With this organization he attempted to make the school self-governing. He called together the "chiefs" and consulted them on administrative problems; they formed an executive council and passed their own rules and regulations. They allotted to each of the tribes in turn a day on duty when they were responsible for all the manual work around the school, such as washing dishes, cleaning, sweeping, cutting grass, etc. They instituted and governed the school courts of justice and appointed one of their members to preside as judge for a week at a time. This court sat every day at noon and heard all disputes. Inter-tribal games and competitions of all kinds were started. The tribal organization was also applied to handicraft and skilled industry training. One tribe "specialized" in agriculture, running the market-garden and the school shamba, and experimented in comparing European and native methods. Another "specialized" in animal husbandry, planted new foodstuffs, maize, clover, etc.; experimented on a small herd of cattle comparing milk production, etc. A third tribe "specialized" in handicrafts, making mats, etc. The intention was to change the tribes' duties each year so that each had the opportunity of gaining all-round knowledge. The change which came over the spirit of the school when this system was introduced was remarkable and immediate. The strong tribal spirit inherent in each boy was fanned into flame by this new organization. An appreciation of tribal unity and loyalty became apparent, and imperceptibly this spread to the realization of the honour and unity of the school. The whole scheme was a practical demonstration of citizenship which it was hoped would give them a glimpse of the ideal

of world citizenship and the necessity of loyalty of the individual to the community as a whole. It will be recognized that Mr. Mumford has taken for his basis what is known as the Dalton plan in England, to which he has added not a few of the precepts of the scout movement.

The experiment initiated by Mr. Mumford anticipated much that was said in the memorandum on Education Policy published by the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the advice of the Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa in 1925. In this memorandum the principle was enunciated that "education should be adapted to the mentality aptitudes, occupations, and traditions of the various peoples conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to change circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution." This may appear platitudinous, but it is nevertheless necessary to state it in view of the misconception existing even in the minds of some of those responsible for the education of the various races in Africa, regarding the mission of the educator. In the same memorandum the Advisory Committee state that, apart from its direct utilitarian aim, the importance could not be over-emphasized of "training of the people in the management of their own affairs and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service."

Very different is the spirit which exists at the Church Missionary Society School at Buddu in Uganda, unless a remarkable change has come over the character of the institution since we visited it. This school is known as the Eton of Uganda, and to it are sent the sons of the wealthy chiefs professing the Protestant faith. There we were

struck by the inordinate number of rules and regulations, most of them prefixed by "don't." The school is divided into houses after the English model, but the scholars themselves who are ultimately to rule the peoples of their country are given very little opportunity of inculcating the habit of responsibility. It is time that the doctrine of "Obey that you may be obeyed," which has for centuries been the fetish of military leaders, was replaced by "Assume responsibility for small things in order that you may the better assume responsibility for the larger affairs of life," which may be taken as the keynote of all-round modern educational training.

The task of the governments in East Africa in establishing their educational systems is greatly facilitated by the attitude of the natives. Every section of the population is clamouring for some sort of education and prepared to make sacrifices in order to obtain it. It is true that the motives underlying the desire differ greatly. Many of those who are clamouring for education want it because they hope that learning to read, to write, and to calculate will relieve them of their responsibilities for manual toil and enable them to win that respect from their illiterate elders which such arts inspire. Brooke Washington tells the story in his book, "Up from Slavery," of the old darkie who stopped his work in the cotton-field and looking up to heaven said, "O Lawd, dis cotton am so grassy, de work am so hard, and de sun is so hot, dat dis darkie am called to preach." Not a few of the natives who are trained in the mission schools appear to be inspired by this idea. So far the education that has been given them does not appear to have increased their affection for their home life. But this was not the underlying motive inspiring the

eloquent plea made to us by Sultan Makweia who addressed us at a baraza at Shinyanga in Tanganyika Territory. This chief, who has already been referred to as one of the outstanding personalities of East Africa, said to us, "You are doing much to increase the material prosperity of my people. You are making them healthy by giving them doctors, but what are you doing for their souls? They are not cattle, and I ask you to pay attention to their spiritual needs, and give them schools where their souls may develop."

Similar sentiments were voiced by many other native chiefs in the course of addresses delivered to us in every territory, and the spontaneous applause which usually accompanied the plea for increased educational facilities for their peoples indicated the common desire on the part of the peoples themselves to be more enlightened. Moreover, many of them are prepared to pay for such services, and there is little doubt that if any of the governments asked for additional funds from the native communities for the building and maintenance of schools, they would be forthcoming. Some chiefs actually expressed their willingness to supply the buildings and pay for teachers if they could be provided. Notwithstanding that, in East Africa the proportion of the revenue raised from native sources devoted to the education services is less than one-fifteenth. This is in marked contrast to the proportion devoted to the education of the natives from the native revenues of South Africa; there, one-third of the revenue is allotted to native education.

No better indication could be given of the desire of the natives for formal instruction in what are assumed to be the marks of the civilized being than

the fact that European settlers and large employers informed us that the greatest incentive to natives to leave their reserves and work for Europeans was the provision of a school where the natives could be taught the elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

The problem of native education in East Africa, however, is not so much one of money as one of native teachers. The supply of native teachers is remarkably deficient and what teachers there are are not always very good, many of them being capable only of instructing their pupils in smatterings of the three "R's." Every effort therefore must be made to establish training centres not only for training new entrants to the teaching profession, but also to give further instruction to the imperfectly educated and imperfectly trained instructors who are already at work in most schools and bush schools. With the assistance of the Carnegie Fund a training establishment for "jeanes" teachers (or itinerating advisers to the teachers), whose function will be to spread their methods and their ideas among teachers already at work in the native schools, has been started. This is a very important step and could be followed up by similar institutions in every protectorate, and, as I have already said, the Government cannot afford to ignore the missions in building up its education service. However poor the mission schools may be, they can, with proper assistance and guidance, be made efficient enough to make their products satisfactory. The task is too great for Government alone, and each of the governments must make the best use of the various voluntary bodies already at work. Moreover, it must be realized that for every pound spent on education more than the corresponding amount will be saved on other services. For example, in 1925

Tanganyika estimated to spend roughly ten times as much on its military forces, police, and prisons, as it did on its education services. Expenditure on these services relative to education is less in Tanganyika than in any other territory except Kenya. It is noticeable that Kenya, which contains the greatest number of European settlers, is showing more interest in the education of the native and spending more on it than any other territory. This is mainly because the settlers realize that even a partially educated native is a more efficient worker than one who has never been under the discipline of an educational institution. Wherever we went the heads of the various departmental services stated that unless education became more general their services would be starved for native assistants. They at least realize that education is the most powerful lever for the emancipation of the African from ignorance, superstition, vice, and disease, and that it is the natives themselves who have to supply most of their own needs as regards the medical, sanitary, agricultural, veterinary, and transport services. All-European services would be so costly as to constitute an insupportable burden of taxation on the natives themselves. Even the present medical services, which are altogether inadequate to the needs of the natives they serve, cost the territories about one-tenth of their revenue.

The staffs needed for the training of teachers must needs be recruited largely from Great Britain, and it is essential that the utmost care be taken in selecting them for so grave an undertaking. They are going to a country which is devoted mainly to agriculture, a country which in a few years will be one of the most important sources of supply of world needs in food and raw materials. In addition,

therefore, to a liberal education at one of our universities, a training in the technique of the science of education and a course of study in the art of education, it is important that they should have received some preliminary training in agriculture, including the ancillary crafts. This course, as well as one in anthropological method, should be taken after candidates for the service had been selected. Too much emphasis cannot be laid on the post-graduate course in "education." Hitherto, neither the governments of the Crown Colonies nor the Colonial Office have considered it necessary or even desirable that directors of education or their deputies should be professionally qualified. The education services still suffer from the amateur efforts of men who believe that any well-intentioned person can become an educator.

In education much depends upon the practitioner's knowledge of educational efforts of the past, of the experiments that have been made and the results achieved and of the methods which have won universal acceptance. Enthusiasm cannot replace lack of skill in educational matters any more than in medicine. No government would consider the possibility of appointing an untrained man to direct the medical services, although less harm would be done to the community. The mental processes of African children do not differ from those of English children, although their environment is altogether different. It is folly to make a man director of education because he possesses a knowledge of the latter while lacking the technique to deal with the former. Precious time is lost while he is floundering towards a system. Lacking authority, he is bound to be the prey of every other amateur theorist in education. And while the

amateur directs, the professionally-qualified, self-respecting educator will not be attracted to the service in the Crown Colonies.

The problem of educating the other sections of the population, European, Indian, and Arab, has also to be considered. Each of these communities demand separate schools for members of their race, and in certain cases they have been provided. Kenya has a number of Government schools for all these sections, in addition to a number of mission and privately owned schools for white children. Three of the other four territories so far have made no provision for the education of the European children. The Government schools for European children in Kenya are badly equipped, inadequately staffed and quite content to work to a syllabus which bears no relation to the educational needs of the country. They are merely training children to pass examinations and the subjects in which they are being trained have been chosen to save expenditure on equipment. Boys, if they were given any instruction in science at all, were given it from text-books. There were no science laboratories. The girls were given no instruction in housewifery or domestic science. No instruction in hygiene, the supreme need of the tropics, was attempted with either sex. A few untidy-looking books of the sloppy sentimental type did service as a school library for general reading. At a school in an agricultural district, attended by children whose fathers are mainly agriculturists, none of the elements of agricultural science were taught. No provision was made for training the children in woodwork or metalwork. The schools reminded me of those which were out of date in England when I was a schoolboy. Certainly no attempt was being made to enable the children to adjust themselves

deliberately to their environment, the true purpose of education.

In Northern Rhodesia the same condition of affairs existed, so we were informed by the officer who was just to be appointed as head of the education service. The schools' curricula were based on the Cape matriculation examination, purely literary in character. Practically no science was being taught, and as in Kenya, the schools were aiming at producing the maximum number of human parrots. For children living among native races, knowledge of at least one native language would be of the greatest assistance to them, and remove one of the most difficult obstacles to the mutual understanding and respect between blacks and whites. The fact that no instruction is provided in native languages in the European schools is eloquent testimony to the inadequacy of the existing schemes of instruction.

In marked contrast with our failure to provide adequate educational facilities for the European children in any of the territories is the spirited effort being made by the Uganda Government to train the natives of Uganda for professional life. Makerere College, which was opened a few years ago, is destined to become the native university of East Africa. At that institution it is intended to provide the necessary further training to the brighter pupils of the missions and Government schools to enable them to occupy professional and higher technical posts in Government service. It is a well-built institution, it has modern and well-equipped laboratories and it is intended that it shall be adequately staffed by first-rate European and native instructors. There are excellent manual training centres attached to the college where some thoroughly sound work was being

turned out by the youths who were intended to occupy superior posts in the Public Works Department. Instruction was being given in tropical hygiene of a very practical character. The idea of a native university is a very sound one. Until the prejudice against the blacks dies down at European universities it would be far better to provide the necessary facilities for higher education in the country of their birth. Even if there were no prejudice to be overcome, it is a moot point whether it is not more desirable to provide them with the necessary educational environment in their own country to enable them to lead in the struggle for the spiritual development of their own people, than to run the risk of their becoming divorced from their own peoples by too intimate contact with our Western life and manners.

The Colonial Office would be well advised to appoint an advisory committee on the education of European children in tropical Africa. Otherwise we may within a few years be faced with a grave problem, that inherent in the political ascendancy of an ignorant white minority over a comparatively well-educated black majority.

CHAPTER IX

GETTING THE BLACK TO WORK

THE rapid economic development of East Africa has made demands upon the blacks for services which it is not easy for them to satisfy. The building of railways and roads, docks and warehouses, administrative buildings and the like, the increase in the area under native-grown crops, such as cotton, have all contributed to the shortage of labour for European settlers. It is the individuals of this class, most of whom were attracted to the country by the promise of "an abundant supply of cheap labour," an abominable incentive, who feel the shortage most acutely and are loudest in their complaints against the administration for its inability or unwillingness to satisfy their needs. It must be emphasized that the so-called "colonist" in tropical Africa relies entirely upon the blacks for manual labour, the theory being that the white man cannot toil under a tropical sun. Obviously the shortage of available labour is felt most acutely in Kenya where there are the greatest number of white settlers, and it is in this colony that complaints are loudest and that the local administration has gone farthest in the direction of meeting such complainings by introducing methods of "persuasion" which do not differ greatly from compulsion.

It is significant, however, that other non-native sections of the communities do not experience any

great difficulty in satisfying their demands for labour. Indian sugar-planters and cotton-ginners appear to have no trouble in getting blacks to work for them; the Arab plantations in the coastal regions and the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba are well supplied with labourers, both permanent and casual; European, Indian, Arab, and Persian middlemen made no complaints to us of labour shortage, the only exception being a few European cotton-ginners in Uganda who could not keep their ginneries working throughout the year. As regards the public services, we were informed that while it is sometimes imperative to requisition black labourers from local chiefs for work on the construction and maintenance of railways and roads, no difficulty is found in obtaining more than enough black recruits for the semi-skilled and skilled work in the railway workshops for the telegraph system, etc. There is no apparent shortage of labour at the large ports.

Possibly the blacks who are prepared to leave their villages prefer the gregarious existence in towns to the comparative isolation of farm life, particularly the small farm. The big farmers and plantation-owners seem able to attract all the labour they need. Possibly the blacks are not so well paid or so well treated by the small farmers. Again, they may like to work for the "big noise." Maybe certain forms of labour are more attractive than others. Work on a sugar plantation or in a large sugar refinery appears to appeal to the natives more than work on a sisal or rubber plantation. And no form of agricultural labour is as attractive as work in a store, an office or some form of mechanical occupation, not entirely because these classes of work are better paid, but presumably because the blacks are doing something which is

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different from their fellows left behind in their village surroundings.

We were not satisfied that there is any great reluctance on the part of the natives to leave their villages or reserves to work for the white man. On the contrary, leaving their home surroundings seems to possess the charm of an adventure. Many of them are unfeignedly glad to be free—at least for a time—of the restraints exercised by their elders and chiefs. This is borne out by their greater willingness to go to work for a white man at a considerable distance from their homes rather than accept work nearer to them. We were informed that the long journey is the modern equivalent for the former adventure of tribal warfare. In spite of the hardships and difficulties attendant upon the journey for labour, the blacks willingly embark upon the enterprise every year. Major St. Orde-Browne, the Labour Commissioner in Tanganyika, states that this is the astonishing fact in connection with the labour supply for that territory. Even where there is any apparent reluctance it is an aftermath of the war. During the war, tribal chiefs had to satisfy the requisitions for carriers and other ancillary forces to the military made by the European combatants, and a large measure of compulsion was exercised. After a fairly long period of compulsion the return to voluntarism is not rapid, and is not always understood. In a valuable report on Labour in Tanganyika published in 1926, it is stated that on the cessation of hostilities the native, with something of the feelings of the freed slave, returned dazed to his village and was content to remain there occupied with his concerns. There seemed to be a general feeling that an order must be issued before anyone need go to work.

Moreover, it is not sufficiently realized by English critics of English settlers and administrators that compulsion of natives by natives still exists. The Governor of Northern Rhodesia, at the time of our visit, informed us that Yeta, the paramount chief of the Barotse native reserve, was entitled by custom to compel each native to work for him twelve days a year, a system open to the greatest abuse and not distinguishable from slavery. This Sir Herbert Stanley proposed to abolish in return for a compensatory yearly allowance to the chief of £2,500. In many parts of Uganda the same time-honoured right of the chiefs to compel their tribesmen to work for them exists, in this case one month in every year. There it has been mitigated by permitting the tribesmen to pay a tax to their chief in lieu of labour. At Mwanza in Tanganyika territory, the representatives of the local Indian Association complained that "the programme of the present Government to foster principles of liberty among the natives is, to say the least of it, designed without political or economic foresight. While it has been theoretically laid down that the native should have his own free will to work for others, practically he is being enslaved in his own native land under his own Sultans for whom he has to work under forcible compulsion without any hope for consideration." I quote from their memorandum. The Indians wanted a return of the German system whereby they alleged they obtained labour for their requirements under a requisition system.

But the present degree of compulsion in any of the territories is mild in comparison with the conditions which prevailed almost generally before English and Germans assumed responsibility for their administration. Apart altogether from the

slave-trade, by which natives were torn from their surroundings and transported to various tropical parts of other countries, there was another and even more extensive form of slavery. Whole tribes were held in subjection by stronger tribes. The Masai and Nandi are stated to have exacted heavy tribute from the unfortunate tribes within their reach. The virile Angoni and Yaos subjected the indigenous Anyanja and other weak tribes to a pitiless tyranny in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.

The problem the whites have to solve is obviously no simple one. The sudden substitution of slavery by freedom seldom benefits the first generation of freed men. Slavery has recently been abolished in the island of Mafia, off the coast of Tanganyika. But the ex-slaves are lethargic in their freedom, and it has been found necessary to attract labourers from the mainland to do much of the work which was done formerly by slaves, many of whom are literally dying of starvation. The same effect, so we were informed, was produced in the neighbourhood of the port of Lamu, in the Kenya Protectorate. At one time Lamu was the centre of a considerable dhow coasting trade in grain, and this has practically disappeared. It is attributed in part to the sudden divorce of masters and retainers, consequent upon the abolition of slavery. The ex-slaves, given nothing but their freedom, and their former masters given only their land and a small monetary compensation which they lacked the intelligence to use as wages for labour, both degenerated rapidly. The ex-slaves, in fact, practically died out. A human being accustomed to slavery, when freed, seems to have lost all incentive to work. It was said to us that many of the problems of the British administrators in East Africa are inherent in the transference of the

point of incentive from the native's posterior to his interior. Fortunately, this does not include every incentive. Hunger is slower to take effect than the whip, and it is more deadly. We cannot, as a great Imperial nation, countenance the use of either. They are equally brutal and brutalizing. Our trusteeship involves every member of our race, and it is our collective duty to explore the possibilities of such incentives to work which will give it dignity and through it develop in the native races a different outlook on life and their responsibilities to themselves, their kin, and the world.

In the case of ex-slaves and what are known as the coastal natives, those for long free from the restraining forces of tribal discipline, it is our duty to attempt to re-establish that excellent feature of compact tribal life, responsibility to the community of which they are a part. There is every justification for placing definite social obligations upon individuals, whatever the colour of their skin. The objection to any form of compulsion is not one of ethics; it is the effect upon the mind, the tendency it has to undermine individual sense of responsibility and initiative. The calling up of every adult male of a tribe without exception to perform a social service is no more objectionable than the indirect compulsion which is involved in the compliance with an ordinance enacted for the protection of the community against the negligence of an individual. It is surely better to call upon each member of a tribe to take his share of the work of digging a drain than to punish him for the neglect of a cesspit, and better to have him help in making an aqueduct for a communal water-supply than to punish him for the neglect of a well.

In our report on East Africa we cite a case of

compulsion of this latter kind which came to our notice. Under an ordinance the natives of Uganda can be called upon to work for a limited period on road-making and maintenance. We saw natives at work on a new metalled road, eight miles of which had been constructed in twenty-seven days at a cost of about £300 a mile. The road was urgently needed for the transport of native-grown cotton. All fit males, irrespective of rank, living within five miles of the road, had been called up, and possibly because they appreciated the effect of the improvement of transport facilities upon the price of their crops, they were performing their allotted tasks, not merely willingly, but obviously with genuine enthusiasm.

Shortly before we arrived in Tanganyika, Sultan Makweia, of the Shinyanga district, had mobilized the adults of his tribe for a campaign against the tsetse-fly. Each man and woman had their allotted task. Some were forging and sharpening knives for cutting the thickets, some were strewing dried grass over clumps of undergrowth, others acted as torch-bearers. Within a few days many square miles of territory were cleared of fly. A few weeks later the land was being reclaimed with the plough.

One objection to this form of obligatory labour is that it is inequitable. The chiefs, who are also large landowners, benefit considerably from the labour of their tribesmen. Yet they pay precisely the same tax to the British administrator as the meanest of their followers. Another is, that it provides the British planter with an argument for the same degree of compulsion being exercised by the British Government for his benefit, more particularly as he believes that his exploitation of black labour is not only less irksome than that of

a black landowner, but more beneficial to the labourers.

A strong argument in favour of compelling the local natives in Uganda to make their own roads—it must be remembered that they are paid for their labour, out of the country's revenue—is that it obviates bringing labourers from districts remote from the lake ports to work on them. There are grave disadvantages attached to this latter course in the country's present stage of development, economic as well as social. It has the effect of breaking up social and family life in the remote areas. It accelerates the depopulation of the country. It keeps large numbers of males away from their homes for long periods. It facilitates the introduction and spread of disease, mainly venereal, on their return. It has the general effect of retarding the development of these geographically less-favourably situated districts. It places heavier burdens than ever upon the women.

It is curious how the desire to introduce some legal form of compulsion to force the blacks to work for them persists among some members of the white and brown elements in the population. Many of our own countrymen overlook the fact that our right to administer East Africa was based fundamentally on the abolition of slavery in any form. Compulsion cannot be defended because it was formerly the rule among the native peoples, or because it still exists in various forms in native areas. The whites claim intellectual superiority over the blacks, to be more enlightened. They must perforce adopt enlightened methods for obtaining labour which are consonant with those prevailing among Western nations. They are not ignorant people incapable of understanding the evils which arise in any servile State. They have only to look to Portuguese

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East Africa for an example of the effect which compulsory labour produces upon the compelled and the compelling. For their own sakes, even if they have no regard for our Imperial honour, they must obtain willing black labour; or do the necessary work themselves, or leave the country. The remedy for labour shortage is with them. It is their business to make labour for Europeans more attractive than labour in the reserves. They cannot fall back on the argument that they were induced by the Home Government to go to the country and that it is the bounden duty of the local government to find workers for them. As we said in our report, under no circumstances could the British administration tolerate in any form the principle of compulsory labour for private profit, be the employer native or non-native.

This does not imply that the governments should not assist the non-natives in their efforts to obtain labour. It would be better for the natives if the local governments did take charge of the whole matter, rather than leave it in its present haphazard state. One of their first duties would be to make a careful survey of the population with a view to ascertaining the availability, quality, and suitability of labour for non-native enterprises, and the needs of government.

It is obviously the function of Government to protect the interests of the labourers; to protect their wives and families; to prevent undue pressure being brought to bear upon natives by their chiefs to force them to go to work for particular powerful landowners and planters; to facilitate their journey to and from employment; to safeguard them from contracting disease, from hunger and exposure during the journey; to protect them against unscrupulous employers; to frame regulations for

their proper housing, proper feeding and medical care, on European estates and in the townships; and as far as possible to insist upon labour being properly utilized. Almost more important, it is a duty of Government to discourage the progressive migration of labourers from healthy and potentially productive inland areas to unhealthy congested coastal districts. From the point of view of the health of the natives it would be better to encourage them to migrate to the healthy plateaux in European occupation. The conditions in the highland areas are such that, if the natives were properly housed, clothed, and fed, they should gain immeasurably in virility.

In the last two or three years the various East African governments have been paying much attention to the subject of native labour supply, recruitment, and treatment. There is a surplus rather than a shortage of natives wishing to work for Europeans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, but a shortage in Tanganyika, Uganda, and Kenya. The highest wages for unskilled farm labourers are paid in the clove plantations in Zanzibar, where the rate is 30s. a month. This rate attracts large numbers of labourers from the mainland, a point not sufficiently appreciated by Europeans in the highland plateaux. The lowest wages are paid in Nyasaland, where native labourers can be found to work on farms and plantations for 4s. 6d. to 6s. a month. In Northern Rhodesia farm labourers are paid 10s. a month; in Tanganyika 15s. to 20s. without food; in Uganda 12s. to 15s. with food; and in Kenya 8s. to 12s. with food. The wages of dock labourers at Mombasa were about 60s. a month, which illustrates the disparity between the rates paid to agricultural labourers and unskilled workers in other occupations. Some skilled native workers

in Kenya receive as much as £9 monthly. The European planters who complain of shortage of labour on their estates should ponder over these figures. Let them, instead of clamouring for the Government to "discipline the reserves" to force labour out, clamour for an agricultural bank, for reductions in the import duties on agricultural machinery, for taxes on the sale of undeveloped land, all of which would improve the financial position of most of the settlers, and thus enable them to offer better wages and improved conditions of labour to their workers. Let them consider the ease with which the Christian missions obtain all the labour they require and study the reasons why. High pay is certainly not one of them. Why does Major St. Orde-Browne state in his report on Tanganyika Labour Conditions:

"plantations are to be found where there is hardly any shortage of labour although no recruiting is resorted to, and in some cases these are next to properties where perpetual trouble is experienced"?

Why were we informed that the same condition of affairs prevails in Kenya and Uganda? It seems abundantly clear that the natives have developed their own intelligence service in this matter, and they are in a position to choose their employers. The settler who writes to the *East African Standard* advocating a liberal use of the whip on his employees to convince them of the superiority of the white man must not be surprised if he is put on a "black list" and boycotted. To quote Major Orde-Browne again on Tanganyika, which is indicative of the position in each colony:

"The crux of the labour position lies in the fact

that the demand is, and is likely to remain, in excess of the supply; while proper organization and greater economy in use may be expected to do much to improve the present situation, the almost universal tendency for enterprises to expand to the limit of their labour supply will ensure the prompt absorption of all labour offering, apart from the creation of new fields of employment. This fact in itself is sufficient to compel employers to give full consideration to the needs and idiosyncrasies of their native workpeople; while the African has no trade union, he has an even more potent weapon in his power to boycott an unpopular estate, which he does readily and effectually. Of this employers are becoming aware, and a steady improvement in conditions is the result."

The enlightened and experienced settlers discovered these facts long ago. And they can have a considerable influence over their less enlightened fellows. More than one instance was quoted to us of settlers being "persuaded" to leave the country for the country's good because of their harsh or scoundrelly treatment of their labourers.

It has already been said that the Christian missions have very little difficulty in obtaining all the workers they need, and it must be emphasized that much of the work which is done for the missions is done voluntarily. In nearly every mission centre we visited, there are natives of all ages from about fourteen upwards, busily engaged in the various tasks connected with the preparation of the materials for the construction of buildings of various kinds—schools and dormitories for themselves, dwelling accommodation for the missionaries, hospital wards, industrial workshops and, if one is not already built, a church; and on the land sur-

rounding the missions there is usually a thriving farm well supplied with willing agriculturists. Most of the larger mission centres, in fact, are similar in function to the mediæval monasteries of Europe; it is about them and about their places of worship that the better elements in the population gather themselves. In time there is little doubt that many of the churches that have been erected in East Africa will become the centres of thriving and prosperous communities. Some of the workmanship is remarkable in character and design. For a church is more than a mere symbol of religion; it is more than a place of worship; it is an example of willing service in the cause of beauty; it can be an inspiration to every worker within its sphere of influence—probably it was intended as such. It has the added advantage that it represents work not perfunctorily performed for a price, but is usually the finest expression of the art of the community through whose efforts it is fashioned. One of the dangers inherent in the secularization of education is that the need for beautiful buildings may be overlooked, particularly buildings which are the common property of the community and in everyday use by the community. Even if a town hall or a fine municipal building be a perfect example of modern art, it is difficult to arouse the same quality of appreciation of such buildings as for those which are the centre of the religious life of the community. Religion may be the opiate of the people in the minds of their oppressors, but it has inspired some of the finest works of the builder, the sculptor, the artificer in metals, the painter, the musician, and the poet, and as such can never cease to be, whatever its form, the expression of the optimism inherent in the human race.

The attractiveness of the missions in Africa,

however, cannot be attributed entirely to the inspiring motive of religion: the native forsakes paganism for Christianity or for Mohammedanism because conversion to one or the other raises his status. In the first place, the new religion he embraces is the religion of the ruling classes, classes which have proved themselves more powerful and with a higher ostensible standard of material wealth than the pagan chiefs by whom he is governed. In the second place, it is from the missions that he can obtain the education which will enable him to raise his own status appreciably, to lift him, if he desires it, out of his environment, and in any case to entitle him to the respect of his less educated fellows. Other useful functions are discharged by the missions. They introduce among the natives improved agricultural methods which enable the natives to improve immeasurably the quality of their crops and the quality of their domestic stock. They not only make them better husbandmen in the sense of better agriculturists and better pastoralists, but better able to deal with the Indian or European trader who acts as middleman. The missions have been a most useful agency for the introduction of new crops: we were informed that the parent plants of the whole of the *arabica* coffee plantations in East Africa were introduced by the Roman Catholic Mission at Loretto in Nairobi.

It is those ranchers, farmers, and planters who approximate most nearly to the missions in all these things who have the least difficulty in obtaining labour sufficient for their needs. Among the farming community, it is those who have the ability to administer to the medical requirements of the natives, who know how to feed them properly, who take an interest in native sports and have the initiative to introduce other games to them, both for

the hours of daylight and for the hours of darkness, who have the sense to provide them with other forms of amusement, who know something about their pagan festivals and rites and deal with them with understanding born of this knowledge, who supply their natives with the necessary time and materials and expert instruction for house-building, who pay attention to the educational needs and desires of the children of the labourers—in other words, who take that interest in their labour without which there can be no personal loyalty—who have the least difficulty in obtaining labour.

This does not mean that the farmer who expects least from his labourers is the one to whom labourers will migrate. Just as those in England or any other country, labourers in East Africa realize that there is more satisfaction in serving an efficient master efficiently than a slack master inefficiently.

The Governments of Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika, the territories where there is a shortage of labour, are now giving a considerable amount of attention to the question of the methods by which labour can be obtained and by which greater efficiency can be secured. Special officers have been appointed to make inquiries regarding the available supply of labour and its distribution, methods of recruitment, the care of labour and its efficient use. It is high time such an inquiry was made. Methods of recruitment are haphazard and operate usually somewhat unfairly against a newcomer. Generally speaking, moreover, if the recruiter wishes to be successful he has to obtain the assistance of the tribal chiefs in persuading labourers to migrate from the native reserves. In this case, the labourers whom he obtains are usually the least efficient labourers of the tribes, because they are those which are most susceptible to the tribal

influence of the chiefs. The more powerful and intelligent members of the tribe, knowing that they are protected by the administration against compulsion and appreciating the value of the inducements offered to them to work outside the reserves, would not need to be recruited by the professional recruiter—if they intended to leave the reserves they would leave them in any case to work for Europeans. There were very strong hints dropped to us that the professional recruiter has to resort to devious methods to obtain the assistance of the chiefs in helping him to obtain labour for the farmers, railway contractors, or whoever may have enlisted his services. Upon the activities of these professional recruiters and the methods they adopt to induce labourers to leave their homes, there is a good deal of conflict of opinion. Any such method of obtaining labour is open to abuse, and since it would be possible for the Government itself to supply this essential service, it seems preferable that the matter should be left to the Government and a commission charged when the services of the Government were requisitioned. It was forcibly impressed upon us in various quarters that the good employer is his own recruiter of labour. His reputation travels far through the country, and when he is in need of labour he is usually able to satisfy his need quickly.

The most common complaint made against the natives in East Africa is that they are slack.

As regards slackness, there seems abundant evidence to show that slackness is due to insufficient feeding, poor health, want of medical care, bad housing, and not infrequently to the improper use of the labour itself. Furthermore it can be urged that many Europeans do not use what labour there is efficiently. We witnessed what can only be

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described as a disgraceful waste of man-power in nearly every centre we visited. Reference has already been made to the chronic waste of labour involved in the system of head portage; thousands of natives being engaged solely in the task of carrying loads long distances because no efficient alternative means of transport have been provided. Most of the docks have still to be modernized; goods are handled far too many times in the warehouses, on the wharves, and on the transport vessels themselves. Many of the farmers still allow their farm workers to use antiquated agricultural implements in order to save the initial outlay for agricultural machinery. Tremendous improvements could be effected by the use of more up-to-date agricultural machinery and better laying-out of plantations. The Labour Commissioner for Tanganyika in his report states that "While some plantations are equipped with appliances which economize handwork to a fairly satisfactory degree, others present glaring examples of avoidable waste. It is possible to see half a dozen natives armed with primitive sticks set to grub up stumps for which they will spend a day, when two trained men with a jack could do the work in an hour. The issue of ill-adapted, uneven, or blunt implements is also frequently to be observed. Elsewhere old-fashioned machinery entails laborious handwork where some modern equipment would set free three-quarters of the personnel required. Ill-planned factories with inconveniently placed machines double or treble the work of handling, while inadequate or wrongly placed lighting and water supply are also responsible for inefficiency."

In view of this indictment which, within our own experience is true, not only for Tanganyika, but for every colony where labour is employed, it is

somewhat presumptuous on the part of the European planters to assert that the native is a more efficient instrument of production when working for white men than he is when working in a reserve, and that he must necessarily profit by the contact with the superior brains of the white man. It is true that there are a number of white planters whose treatment and control of labour leaves nothing to be desired, but it is probably not an exaggeration to say that the majority of European planters in the tropics, whether they are in British colonies or those belonging to other European powers, have little conception of how to accept the responsibility for the employment of black labourers. In respect of feeding, clothing, and housing, and the apportionment of tasks, the introduction of routine systems which will eliminate wasted effort, they lag very far behind the military authorities. There is still a tremendous field for experiment in connection with mechanical rather than hand-picking of various crops, and it is noteworthy that, following upon a suggestion made to a leading planter in Tanganyika, he has devised a mechanical clove-picker which not only saves three-quarters of the labour on a clove plantation, but it does the work much more thoroughly than if it were done by hand. There seems no obvious reason why a mechanical coffee-picker should not be devised. We came across a particularly glaring example of how labour is wasted on a sisal plantation in Nyasaland. Before the sisal leaves reached the decorticator (the machine which strips the fibre from the heavy cactus-like pulpy leaf), the leaves were handled three times. They were carried on the shoulders of the labourers instead of being put on small hand trucks and taken to the feeding-belt direct, as in the best organized sisal factories. After the fibre

was extracted and washed, men were carrying a few strands to the drying and bleaching lines, inconveniently situated with regard to the decorticating machine, instead of the fibres being slung over a light pole which could have been carried on the shoulders of two men and at least ten times the amount of fibre carried thus. The baling-press was not driven by machinery although there was an abundant supply of water-power, but was worked by relays of four labourers turning a handle at no little risk to themselves when the bale had reached a high stage of compression. The manager of this particular factory, when asked why certain obvious improvements had not been introduced, said that they would involve a certain amount of capital expenditure, which his firm did not feel justified in incurring because of the cheapness of labour in the district. This very cheapness of labour is the curse of East Africa, as it has always been the curse among the Western nations. It leads to the waste and the misuse of man-power, it retards the introduction of machinery and mechanical devices generally. It is a reflection upon the capitalist system as a whole that it is rarely any technical improvements are effected unless they are forced upon employers or industrial corporations by the successful demand of the workers for higher wages.

It must not be imagined that private employers are the only offenders in regard to the waste of labour. Generally speaking, the Government departments and Government contractors are just as bad, if not worse. In most colonies we visited complaints were made by local planters' associations of the waste of labour by the local administrations, particularly the waste in the directorates of public works. We ourselves saw a few examples of this waste. The most primitive implements for road

construction and repair were used in practically every part of East Africa; stones and earth were carried considerable distances in small baskets; it was rarely that a cart was employed for the purpose. Stones were nearly always broken by hand instead of a crushing-machine. The official ferry at Terinje in Uganda, which is only one of the many ferries through the swampy Lake Kiogwa, was propelled for about a mile and a half by polemen, about sixteen or twenty of them being employed on one ferry, whereas two men at most would have been required to have managed the ferry if it had been constructed on modern lines. Moreover, the time of the journey could have been diminished considerably. One of the most remarkable sights was afforded by a gang of grass-cutters in Jinja, the cotton port on Victoria Nyanza. The instrument used for grass-cutting was the rather blunt and heavy native knife. We did not see a single lawn mower at work. It was reported to us by local planters there that the natives employed by the Government for this service completed their allotted task even with this primitive instrument before eleven in the morning, and afterwards went to work for the private employers. An enormous amount of time is wasted by labourers journeying to and from work, firstly, by the hundreds of miles which labourers are brought to undertake service of any kind on plantations or at the ports, and secondly, the daily distances which many of them travel when they are working in townships. Not only is there a considerable amount of time wasted on the journey, but many of the labourers recruited are so badly cared for *en route* that a considerable number contract diseases or are half-starved by the time they reach their destination, and are unfit for any arduous work. It is stated that a large proportion

of sickness on plantations that is attributed to inadequate rations comes rather from the privations of the journey to the plantations than from the diet provided thereon.

I hold to the opinion that it is the duty of Government to undertake the recruitment of labour. Only under some form of Government labour exchanges will labour be recruited with due regard for the communities from which the labourers are obtained. Only the Government can set the necessary machinery into operation which will facilitate the transfer of natives from their homes to their destination for work, with adequate safeguards for the labourers and their families. Only the Government can organize the necessary rest-camps for labourers *en route*, supply them with the necessary food, supply them with the necessary medical attention, with the necessary transport facilities and protect them against the harpies and sharpers who infest the labour routes—not to prey so much upon the outgoing labourer as the labourer returning to his home at a distance with his six months' wages on his person. Government supervision is also needed to see labourers are chosen with due regard to the climatic and dietary conditions in their places of destination and their homes. Again, if the Government undertook this duty of recruitment they could then lay down a standard dietary scale to suit the particular requirements of labourers recruited from different parts of the country. They could demand that the labourers should be provided with proper shelter; they could demand a proper scale of wages; they could enact that on large estates the employers should provide schools and medical attention for their labourers and their families; and the Government would be placed in a better position to

estimate the requirements of the planters and the available supply of labour. They could eliminate some of the existing abuses, one of the greatest of which is that which enables a large and well-known employer to have on his books sometimes two or three times the number of labourers that he can employ. We found very few planters who did not agree that the recruitment of labour by the Government would be more equitable in distributing the labourers over all forms of plantations. Under the present haphazard method some planters get more labour than they require, while others get no labourers at all. Most of those favouring Government assistance in the matter expressed themselves as quite prepared to conform with any regulations with regard to the treatment of their labourers and periodic inspection by the Government of their plantations.

It is true that the governments concerned have still much to learn in connection with the treatment of labour, and it must be emphasized that Government departments could profit much by the experiments of some of the more enlightened employers of labour. The best dietary scale which we were shown in East Africa was that of a large sisal planter in Kenya Colony. The diet was a liberal one and was based upon the planter's experience that a liberal and varied diet was not only the best incentive to work, but that it maintained the natives in a state of efficiency. He noted, for example, that when meat was introduced two or three times a week into the diet of the natives, the number of labourers suffering from running ulcers and other painful afflictions, due to diet deficiencies, almost entirely disappeared, so that the average number of working days of his labourers was considerably increased.

For the most part, however, employers of labour throughout East Africa diet their natives according to the formula of "two pounds of posho and half an ounce of salt" a day. Yet the same employers, if questioned by a visitor to the country regarding the proper diet for a European, would say at once that the best way to keep fit in the tropics is to live well—and living well means living better than the average European in his home surroundings. Undoubtedly they have erred in ignorance; they have noted that the staple food of the natives in their reserves is posho, and they have made the altogether unjustifiable assumption that posho is all that the natives require. It is true that posho or banana, which is the common diet of native labourers in Kenya and Uganda, gives a feeling of fullness after eating, and that the natives themselves are comparatively satisfied with it, but the fact remains that maize or banana diet will neither keep the native free from disease nor enable him to do a satisfactory day's work. And it is not true that the native lives exclusively on such a diet in his home surroundings. In any native reserve it will be noted that a large variety of bean crops is grown, and around Victoria Nyanza, the most densely populated area of East Africa, the native invariably supplements the vegetarian diet by fish, or even by the addition of such delicacies as edible rat or flying ants. As an indication of the general desire among the natives for meat as an article of diet, it should be mentioned that a considerable number of natives die yearly from the effects of digging up and eating diseased carcasses which have been buried. It is a notorious fact also that the most powerful peoples in Africa are those who derive the greater part of their diet from cattle; the most powerful of all, the Masai, live wholly

upon a mixture of milk and blood fresh drawn from the neck of the ox.

The deficiency of the average diet was amply illustrated during the construction of the Uasin-Gishu section of the Uganda railway, for which a British company of contractors was responsible. This section of the railway runs from the Nakuru, at 6,070 feet, through broken, hilly, and thickly-wooded country to an altitude of 9,000 feet and then dropping to the Uasin-Gishu plateau, Eldoret, 6,678 feet, and Turbo, 5,926 feet. At the higher altitudes the nights are extremely cold and the rainfall heavy, while during the greater part of the year very heavy cold showers occur. The rations issued for the natives were laid down as follows:

Mealy meal, 2 lb. daily.

Choroko (a small bean), 1 lb. weekly.

Dried fish, 1 ration weekly.

The Principal Medical Officer of Kenya, commenting upon the treatment of labour on these constructional works in his report for the year 1922, stated that the number of deaths which occurred during the year 1922 amounted to 436, which worked out at 46 per 1,000, and this he attributes largely to the deficiency of the diet. The chief cause of mortality was pneumonia and he says "it is possible, though actual deficiency diseases were rare, that a proportion of the labour was on the verge of these and that in consequence the general bodily resistance of the natives to disease was diminished. It is interesting to note that a sub-contractor, who had supplemented his rations by meat issues, only had one death up to the end of July among a large number of labourers."

A large amount of the disease and general debility of the labourers can be attributed to diet



WEST NILE (*Uganda*) NATIVES WORKING ON ROADS IN BUGANDA PROVINCE.

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deficiencies. Dr. Gilks, the Principal Medical Officer of Kenya, decided to have an intensive study made of the subject. At his instigation a number of experiments were carried out in connection with the construction of the Thika-Nyeri railway for which the Kenya Government made itself directly responsible. The number of deaths among the natives in $8\frac{1}{2}$ months was 60 and the average number of labourers employed was 5,200, giving an average yearly mortality of 1.4 per cent., slightly less than the ascertained average death-rate of the adult males throughout the territory. The comparatively small death-rate was attributed to better dieting, housing, clothing, and the provision of adequate sanitary and medical services. The remarkable improvement effected led Dr. Gilks to send one of his officers to carry out further investigations in the Union of South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Belgian Congo. The officer appointed first spent some time in consulting the experts on dietetics in various schools of tropical medicine in England and the bio-chemists of the bio-chemical laboratory at Cambridge, from whom he obtained valuable information regarding the calorific values of the various articles of native diet.

The various governments in Africa which have given attention to this question of diet have arrived empirically at very much the same conclusion as the scientific experts engaged in the laboratories at home. Maize, they assert, is a starvation diet, being notoriously deficient in protein. In a series of articles written for the *East African Standard* by a medical officer, he points out that the natives' requirements in protein, carbo-hydrates, fat, salts, water, and vitamins, are essentially the same as those of labourers in any part of the world, provided their work has to be performed under much

the same conditions. There is no reason to suppose that a native's physiological structure is different from a white man's. The idea of giving meat as a reward to a strong labourer, while it supports the divine dictum that "to him that hath shall be given," is physiologically unjustifiable. Meat is an essential article of diet for those who have to do arduous physical toil; the man who needs meat most is not the robust man but the weaker one. Those employers who give meat as a reward for work done are behaving as sensibly as a chauffeur who would only supply petrol to a tank of a motor-car if it would run a few miles beforehand. In Kenya, he says, on nearly all farms and on many estates, the labourers get insufficient food and are badly housed. They have to do far heavier work than they have been accustomed to in their reserves, consequently they get to dislike working for the white man, and the white man gets to think badly of their labour. What is called pampering the native in Kenya is considered sound business in other parts of Africa. There they have come to the conclusion from bitter experience that the only way to get labour is to attract it, to make it happy and make it willing to come to work, and to treat it so well when it gets there as to make it perfectly prepared to come again. Labour for Europeans should be made so attractive that there will be an end to the demands on the part of employers for forcing labour out of the reserves: the only sensible thing to do is to coax labour out. He points out that the de Beers Company in Kimberley never have to recruit labour—labour goes and sits at their gates because of the very high standard of living which prevails in the diamond fields. The labourers there are housed under conditions which preserve their self-respect; they are well-fed, well-clothed, well-

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washed, and are provided with adequate medical treatment and attractive places of recreation. In our journey south from Livingstone we were able to stop for a short time at the Wankie Colliery in Southern Rhodesia, where we found that the natives were happy and contented for the same reason as prevails in the diamond mines.

This matter of diet, housing, and medical treatment to which constant reference is made in these pages is at the crux of the whole problem of labour in East Africa. They are emphatically not matters which can be left to the individual employers of labour in the present stage of the mental development of the native races. Every employer must be forced to supply adequate food for his labourers, and it cannot be too strongly urged that no farmer or planter should be allowed to pay wages out of which the labourer has to purchase his own food. For the natives cannot be expected to know what they should eat in the way of foodstuffs, what will maintain them in health and efficiency for work. If they are left to themselves to provide for their own food requirements they will inevitably starve themselves or resort to stealing to obtain supplements to the inadequate rations which may be provided. The Kenya Government, in giving special consideration to this problem, and Dr. Gilks, its Principal Medical Officer of Health, by the fearlessness of his criticism of the existing rationing scales, are performing alike an inestimable service to those employers who have in the past erred through ignorance, and to the British Empire as a whole.

CHAPTER X

THE COLOUR PROBLEM

THE problem which will eventually reach an acute stage in East Africa is the determination of the relative functions of its white, brown, and black peoples in the development of its sources and the control of its destinies. Up to the present the blacks have acquiesced in the assumption of leadership by the whites. They have exhibited a docility, sometimes under extreme provocation, which is based either on fear or on the benignity of our rule in comparison with that to which they were formerly accustomed. But the brown peoples, whose immigration we accelerated and whose acquaintance with Europeans is not so slight, display neither fear nor docility, and even dispute our right to govern the country without their co-operation on terms of equality.

The immediate problem therefore is created by the presence and the attitude of the Asiatic population, a people which considers its ancient civilization in many respects superior to the European variety and its intellectual standard no lower. Their attitude towards the black races differs little from that of the average European, consequently they claim the same right to possession of African soil and to exploit its riches. Were the black a cynic, he might resolve the problem into a contest between the brown and the white peoples for the exclusive right to exploit the blacks.

For centuries this was a monopoly of the Arabs, Persians, and, to a lesser extent, the Indians. Europeans wrested the right to govern from the Arabs, followed this up by capturing the greater share of the trade with the blacks, and later, by emancipating the slaves on Arab estates, gradually established their position as the largest employers of black labour, to obtain which they substituted economic pressure exerted by taxation for the cruder method of compulsion.

In turn, the right of Europeans to enjoy their privileges is being challenged by the Indians, first enabled to establish themselves in any number in the interior by the construction of the Uganda railway upon which they were engaged in various capacities, and the protection afforded them by European administration. Now they are firmly established, they outnumber the whites considerably; large numbers of them are employed by the governments in the medical and technical services; they still provide most of the labour in the skilled occupations and many are serving as clerks in the local administrations and commercial houses. They enjoy a virtual monopoly of the retail trade in Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, and their wholesale houses have built up a thriving and important commerce with India and the Far East. Many of them are extremely wealthy, and their commercial undertakings are backed by the Indian financial houses. They are British subjects, and as such are demanding the equality of status in our colonies that they would enjoy in Great Britain itself.

The problem is less acute in Uganda and Tanganyika than in Kenya. In Uganda and Tanganyika the unofficial members of the Legislative Council are nominated by the Governor.

They are not elected. In Kenya, in conformity with British democratic ideals, the British elect their own representatives to the unofficial seats on the Legislative Council, but in spite of the fact that British Indians outnumber the Europeans in the proportion of five to two, and in spite of the fact that Indians and Europeans pay the same direct tax, the Indians are given the right to elect only a small proportion of the total number of members of council. In thus differentiating on grounds of colour between British subjects, the local governments, with the acquiescence of the Imperial Parliament, are following the South African precedent.

Such discrimination may not appear to be logical, but we have to consider if there is any justification for it. In the first place, wherever there is a fairly numerous white settled population in any part of the world there is a growing antagonism to Asiatic immigration. The greater the number of immigrants and the more successful they are in the new country, the deeper becomes this feeling of hostility. The whites are fearful of the lowering of their standard of living. They find that they cannot compete with the members of another race whose capacity for producing and distributing commodities is as great, but whose standard of living, judged from a material standpoint, is immeasurably lower. "The Indian can live on the smell of an oil-rag," was a phrase we heard repeatedly in our travels. But so far there are few whites in Kenya or Uganda who wish to compete with the Asiatics in the skilled and semi-skilled occupations or in petty-trading. The majority of the whites in those colonies not in Government service belong to the settler and "big" trader classes; they are mostly employers. Nevertheless, they feel the competition of the Indians,

for the trading operations of the latter are well organized and they have direct contact with the blacks in the "native" areas. More than that, the success of the Asiatic petty-traders in dealing with native production, their buying and selling and bartering, provide the blacks with the means to raise their hut-tax and provide themselves with the commodities they need, without working for the whites. They need not leave their reserves, and in the absence of compulsion they can only be persuaded to do so by the offer of higher and higher wages, or other substantial inducements. It is probable that this is the main reason for white antagonism to the Indians in Kenya and Uganda, the racial question being merely the stalking-horse of the economic interests involved. If it were simply a matter of racial prejudice it would extend to the Arabs, but it is noticeable that the relations between the Arab leaders and the leaders of the whites are marked by extreme cordiality.

Part of the prejudice can be traced to the Swaraj movement in India. The whites in Africa contend that the British have brought about the re-birth of Indian civilization, enriched it with their knowledge, fashioned it by the gift of its institutions. In return the Indians wish to be free from our continued interference. Why should not the British, who have pacified Africa, made it possible for Indians to obtain their present substantial footing in the country, now exercise the right to restrict their further immigration and prevent their undue interference in the affairs of a British colony?

There is no doubt that their presence in East Africa as in other parts of the continent constitutes a problem of the first magnitude. It has already brought the Indian Government into conflict with the Imperial Government. It has been a fruitful

source of none too friendly discussion at the Imperial Conferences held in London since the war. It led Mr. Srinavasev Sastri, India's representative, speaking at the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1921, to suggest that Indians were worse treated in the mandated territory of Tanganyika—for which the League accepted trusteeship—than they were under the Germans, a challenge to the moral authority of the League itself. Yet, if the fundamental cause of the antagonism is the conflict of economic interests inherent in the lower standard of living of the Indians as a whole, the solution lies rather in India than in Africa. Emphatically it is no solution to enable the Indian craftsman, mechanic, and trader to undermine the comparatively high standard of the white. It is not to be found in supplanting every white professional worker, technician, or clerk by cheaper Indians, or by assisting the Indian trader to create a monopoly of petty-trading and so close an avenue of opportunity for advancement to the rising blacks. Already the blacks are displaying hostility to the Indian trader and usually, if quite unfairly, attribute everything which goes wrong in commerce, for example, the fall in the price of cotton, to his machinations.

But whatever the basis of white antagonism to the Indian in East Africa, the question of race has to be considered. The British have assumed responsibility for the development of the races and potential resources of East Africa. How is that responsibility to be shared with a people who, notwithstanding the capacity they have shown for assimilating Western ideas and practices, have for two centuries been dominated by the white race, and have yet to prove their capacity to govern themselves in accordance with Western democratic

ideals. With all their shortcomings, the Western European peoples do implicitly believe in democratic government. Even the whites in South Africa are striving to introduce electoral reforms which will enable the Government of South Africa to approximate to a democratically constituted body. The present oligarchy of the whites makes the whites themselves uncomfortable. But they are not prepared to relinquish the leadership of the other races without a struggle, and certainly not prepared to be led by the other races.

On the other hand, the Eastern peoples show no aversion to despotic forms of government, whether the despot be a Czar, or prince, or prophet. They are used to caste, and used to pre-determination of function in society. Even the Russians, with a strong element of Teutons in their midst, after having tasted democratic rule, have acquiesced in the complete return to autocratic rule, more repressive in form and spirit than the one from which they could have escaped, had they possessed the will to do so, in 1917.

Can the Indian's conception of life ever be reconciled with that of the white races? This is a question which needs to be answered in the affirmative before there is the faintest hope of the two races working together harmoniously for the development of the backward blacks. No theory of common descent from Aryan stock will obscure the present marked differences between the white and brown races.

I am forced, somewhat reluctantly I admit, to the conclusion that the whites must accept full responsibility for the government of the peoples of East Africa, and that any attempt to share it with the brown races will be disastrous in its consequences upon black and white races. One privileged class

is enough burden for any race of mankind to bear. A common electoral roll for the white and brown races would be unfair to the black. Even the communal franchise in Kenya which secures representation by Indians for Indians on the Legislative Council, while the "natives" are represented by whites, is discriminating unfairly against the black peoples. The solution to the problem cannot be found in a hurry. It may be best to consider "natives," Indians, Arabs, and Europeans as communities, with some measure of self-government, but controlled by an executive body itself controlled by the Imperial Parliament. British East Africa is not South Africa. The conditions in the white-settled areas of East Africa may one day approximate to those in South Africa, but that day is not yet. East Africa cannot absorb any great number more whites of the "employing" class. And the grant of complete self-government to such a small community would be manifestly unfair to the blacks.

In some respects the mutual antagonisms of Europeans and Indians have reacted favourably upon the status of the blacks. For some years now every encouragement has been given the blacks to replace the Indians in the skilled and unskilled trades, in the various technical services of the governments, and in the clerical services. As yet there is no feeling among Europeans in East Africa, with the exception of part of Northern Rhodesia, to exclude the blacks from any occupation demanding manual dexterity. They are offered every inducement to become engine-drivers, stokers, telegraphists, coach-builders, fitters, and blacksmiths in the service of the railways. There are now more applicants for this work than there are jobs. Large numbers are entering the building

trades, and the printing trade, and the various sections of the furnishing trade. In spite of the fact that many of them suffer from the initial handicap that they have never come under the influence of an educational institution, they are showing marked aptitude for these varied trades and are rapidly becoming amenable to the routine of a regular vocation.

To assist the process, the Kenya Government has established a number of industrial training centres for the training of African artisans, made grants to missions for the maintenance of technical departments, and made provision for training courses in the following Government departments: railways, public works, health, agriculture, post and telegraphs; and given encouragement to farmers, commercial and industrial firms to co-operate in the training of natives. Already there are a large number of trained native telegraphists in the railway services, and blacksmiths, mechanical engineers, porters, and cleaners are being absorbed rapidly in the same department. The Public Works Department has already absorbed a number of carpenters, masons, and bricklayers, which have been trained by their own officers. In practically all these departments the pupils are paid a sum sufficient to attract them and keep them in comfort besides being given a ration of food and a uniform.

There are three motives behind the training of the African artisans. Possibly the principal motive is to oust the Indian from the skilled trades and thus can be said to be mainly political; the second, to obtain cheap labour; and the third is to assist the African native to take his rightful place in the economic development of the country. We were informed while we were in Kenya by the General Manager of the Uganda Railway that considerable

economies had been effected by the replacing of Indian artisans by Africans who received much lower wages. In non-Government employment the Indian house-painters in Nairobi receive from 200s. to 240s. per month: the native painter's wage for the same work would be 50s. to 70s. a month. We were not informed what wages would be paid to African engine-drivers, or to African stationmasters, booking-clerks, and so on, but it is fairly certain that the native would not receive much more than one-third to one-half of the wages which are at present being paid to the Asiatics. The wages of Asiatic engine-drivers, for example, vary from £360 to £500 a year. That the intention underlying the training of native artisans is to obtain cheaper labour is obvious from a memorandum which was submitted to us on the training of native artisans, in spite of the obscurity of its language:

“ To include the Asiatic in our economic situation is to include an element whose chief aim is to draw excessive wages and spend the savings from them outside Kenya. The handicap under which the European is undoubtedly suffering from the middle-mafi who is so deliberately debarring the native from obtaining work in the various posts by occupying them himself and by inflating wage values, should be considered and remedied.”

There is little doubt that the policy of training the blacks to follow the skilled and semi-skilled occupations in Kenya has the support of at least four of the East African governments. It is in consonance with the avowed ideals of the British Empire that neither colour, creed nor race shall debar any man by merit from reaching the highest stations in life. It is obvious, however, that the

blacks are only to be allowed to fill the highest posts to which their intellectual attainments and skill entitle them in consideration of their acceptance of a very much lower standard of wages than would be paid to Asiatics or Europeans. Even so, the low wages which obtain in the ranks of the artisans are very much higher than those which obtain on the agricultural estates and plantations. The settlers of Kenya, in pursuance of the political aim of restricting the employment of Indians by the introduction of black artisans, are actually restricting the supply of black labour for their own needs. This in turn will have the effect of forcing up the wages of the agriculturists. Initially, therefore, the creation of a large number of openings for the blacks in occupations other than agriculture will be to their advantage. Incidentally, it will have the effect of improving the white's standards of agriculture, for to meet rising wage costs he will have to employ mechanical tractors and other mechanical appliances.

The immediate effect, however, upon the Indian skilled workmen will be to lower their wages and their standard of living, or to force them into other employment; many of them have already been forced to take up petty trading. Within the next two or three generations, however, Kenya will be faced with the same problem as at present faces the Union of South Africa. There will be white, brown, and black artisans in competition, each with their own differentiated standards of living. The creation of a white colony, therefore, in Kenya, brings in its wake the possibility of the degeneracy of the whites in contact with the workers of different colours and lower standards of living. The arrangement by which Europeans fill the higher posts in the economic hierarchy, while all the lower are manned by Indians or Africans, will result inevitably in the

growth of a large "poor white" class unless the numbers of whites are restricted by legal enactment—a very difficult thing to do. In South Africa there is now a large and menacing poor white class unable to make a living on the land and too proud to do Kaffir's work, who have sunk into a condition of deplorable inefficiency with a standard of civilization below that of the better class natives. It is the presence of this poor white class which is responsible for the intensity of colour prejudice in the Union, and is responsible for the Colour Bar Bill which, by seeking to exclude the blacks from skilled trades, is an affront to our elementary ideas of justice.

Just before we reached Capetown in 1924 a Conference had been held by the Trade Unions on Unemployment, particularly unemployment among the whites. The delegates seemed convinced that the white races in South Africa were doomed to virtual extinction by the operation of economic laws. By the year 1941 there will be, it is estimated, nearly seven times as many non-Europeans in South Africa as Europeans. The ability of the non-Europeans to compete with the whites in all occupations, skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled, is increasing; and they are prepared to work for much lower wages. The Conference therefore proposed that to preserve the white races of South Africa and ensure their safe development it was essential that the native should be eliminated from all skilled occupations and any other occupations which provide suitable employment for the whites. The Conference ruled also that by means of "agricultural education rather than scholastic" natives must be encouraged to stay on the land; and the delegates agreed that more territories must be reserved for them to which the non-Europeans living under

foreign conditions in the town could be sent, and in which they could develop on their own lines without entering into competition with the whites.

Obviously such a policy is doomed to failure from the outset. It will be resisted by a large proportion of the whites, particularly the farmer element, and it will be resisted by the leaders of capitalistic enterprise; it will be resisted by the non-Europeans, who, in addition to their numerical power, will have the weapon of justice in their hands. No mere assertion of white superiority will suffice. The superiority must be real and apparent. Instead of attempting to put into operation a negative policy of retardation of the development of the non-Europeans, every means should be adopted for their advancement in the scale of civilization. At the same time the whites have to raise their own standard of efficiency and to force the Government to adopt measures to that end. The education system must be improved; every white child must, at all costs, be brought within its scope. South Africa, like every other part of Africa, is as yet in an undeveloped state. Credit facilities must be made available for the exploitation of its natural resources. Millions of acres could be put under cultivation by well-conceived and properly executed irrigation schemes: the stock-raising industry is as yet in its earliest stages of development; the mineral wealth of Africa is not confined to its gold and its diamond fields; it has yet to give its attention to its fisheries; there is tremendous scope for schemes of reafforestation. By these means and by the development of its cotton areas, the cultivation of high-price crops, such as tobacco and fruits, it can provide abundant opportunities for its white population. But if the white race is to survive it must be the pioneer of

new enterprises and methods of production; it cannot be content to do as the natives do, and no better. Survival depends upon the fitness to lead, not upon the power to hamper the activities of others.

And segregation of the blacks is not a solution, even if it were a practical proposition. According to certain realists in South Africa and Rhodesia the possible solution lies rather in encouraging the natives into white areas, "where, sooner or later, they degenerate and die" owing to the easier assimilation of the white man's vices than his other attributes, a somewhat unpleasant commentary upon our civilization. Moreover, it is not only the whites in close contact with the brown and black peoples who are affected by their competition. It has become a world problem. In these days of rapid transport and communications, fluidity of capital, and mass production by means of modern machinery, the white workers in various parts of the world are finding their position assailed by coloured workers with lower standards of living and no protective organizations. The cotton operative in Lancashire has to face the fierce competition of the poorly paid Indian worker, who is prepared to work nearly twice as long for about one-third of his wages. The jute workers of Dundee are in a similar position in regard to the jute mills of Calcutta. The standard of living of the industrial workers of Western Europe is being lowered by competition of the hard-working, wretchedly-paid and badly-organized workers of Central Europe and the Far East.

It has to be recognized that in general the native races of Africa acquiesce in a very much lower standard of living than most of the peoples of the world. It is not by raising the material standard

of living of the few that we can raise the standard of living of the vast mass of the peoples populating that continent; and until their general standard of living is much higher, there are apparently sound grounds for having the work of Africa done by the African natives at comparatively low wages provided that this does not mean huge profits for someone else. It is somewhat unfair to place the burden of a high-waged class recruited from overseas upon these people. They, after all, have to provide the necessary revenue for the development of their country.

The problem inherent in the standard of living has two aspects, each of which bristles with difficulties. In the first place, it is the duty of governments, as an implication of their trusteeship, to prevent the individual employer and the large capitalist from unfairly exploiting cheap labour. In the second place, it is the duty of those peoples with a high standard of civilization and living to prevent themselves being exploited by coloured labourers prepared to accept very much lower remuneration based upon their very much lower standards of living.

The principle of our trusteeship to "peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous condition of the modern world" is explicitly stated in Articles 22 and 23 of the League of Nations Covenant: the British nation has fully accepted the responsibilities, and, in fact, was largely responsible for their being undertaken. If "the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization" in the mandated territories of Africa, the trust must embrace all peoples under British administration in Africa. It may be, as many a settler will say, that the British are not in Africa merely for the benefit of their health: they

are there to exploit its natural resources for their own profit, believing that in so doing they are adding to the comfort and security of the British peoples at home whom they supply with the products of African soil. And like most employers at home, they will obtain their labour as cheaply as possible and use all means in their power to keep wages low. It is necessary for the British at home to understand the outlook of their fellows overseas, confronted with peoples who have just emerged from a tremendous isolation. The majority of the British settlers in Africa regard the blacks as children and regard themselves very much in the light of patriarchs or feudal overlords.

Lord Delamere, the pioneer of white colonization in Kenya and leader of the white unofficial members of the Kenya Legislative Council, in a speech delivered at a Conference of unofficial white communities of East Africa, held at the Victoria Falls in September, 1926, stated this outlook very frankly:

“ It will be a failure if any attempt is made to interpret the dual policy as one which attempts to place the Bantu on a social or political equality with our own people. The whole chance of success depends on recognition by local governments that the natives are centuries behind in development. . . . The essence of success of the dual policy is that the native should look on our colonists who are making their living from land or industry as an ever-present standard at which to aim. . . . As a corollary to this our people in Africa must be kept on a separate plane. . . . The civilized race has to protect its weaker members from lowering the standard if it is to raise the standard of anyone else. It has only been called the colour bar in the

past for convenience; it is a hiatus between the different standards of civilization."

He continued :

" I am not going deeply into the question of an economic bar. It is based on a perfectly rational desire to protect a civilized standard of living from an economic competitor on a lower grade in life. . . . When natives have gone through the first stages of learning during which they are helpers, and have become competitors in some way in areas inhabited by our people, they require areas where they can exercise their trade without a bar to further progress."

There was not a word in the whole speech as reported concerned with the necessity for giving the native the necessary education to enable him to conform with the higher standard of living of the whites—the only ultimate solution and not an impracticable one if financial policy is scientifically directed towards that end. Political equality is to be denied the natives in contact with the whites, however much the natives may have advanced in contact with Western civilization. Social equality need not be stressed. It is impossible to define and impossible of realization in any community. Equality in respect of the laws and constitution is the goal, and this is evidently to be denied the natives if Lord Delamere and his colleagues have their way. It is useless to cavil at the Prussianism of the former régime in what is now Tanganyika Territory if the British in neighbouring territories attempt to deal with the natives in the spirit they allege characterized German administration; that is, to turn the African into a reproduction of a European agricultural serf; to allow him to develop,

but only along approved lines; to assist him to become an efficient instrument of production for the benefit of the white man; and to obey immediately an order to leave his family and shamba to work for the white man for a wage which has been fixed for him without consulting him. When Lord Delamere speaks of the Africans being centuries behind the white man in development, he should remember that education and environment can traverse centuries of time in a generation. Lord Delamere knows South Africa. He knows that among the Bantus in the Union there are many men of culture, character, and ability. Presumably he has heard of Mr. Rubesana, the black member for Tembuland, a constituency with both white and black voters on the electoral roll. No one denies the eligibility of Mr. Rubesana to represent the interests of black and white on this Provincial Council. Would Lord Delamere deny the marked capacity of many of the Saza chiefs of Uganda to govern their peoples and to develop their huge estates?

It must be realized also that the black is not so devoid of intelligence that he is blind to the obvious limitations of the white man. He needs no unusual powers of observation to note that the white man has the same susceptibility to disease, to the lusts of the flesh, the same inclination to laziness. He finds that the white man cannot toil in the open under a tropical sun; that the white soldier cannot endure the same rigours as the black, that he can shoot no straighter, that he is equally vulnerable to bullets and more susceptible to pain, and that he is just as liable to panic. The war in East Africa spread this knowledge fairly generally among the natives, just as it spread a knowledge of our lethal weapons, for which the natives have more respect than the people

who introduced them. We assert that our civilization is higher than theirs, and they in turn look to the horrors into which we plunged them during the war, a war in which tens of thousands of them were destroyed as well as their crops and their homes, but of which they did not even remotely understand the cause.

The better the native is educated the less he is inclined to acquiesce in his position of political and economic subserviency. He wants equality of opportunity. He wants the same freedom from restrictions as the white man. He wants the same security of possession of his land, the same liberty to grow whatever crops he likes, the same opportunity to experiment. He wants the same freedom to make mistakes. Only by that freedom did the white race become great. He knows that somewhere in Africa there is an autonomous black community. He is not concerned with its prosperity or the efficiency of its administration relative to the neighbouring States under white tutelage. To him it is a goal at which to aim, particularly as he is denied the privilege of co-operating with the white in the supreme government of other parts.

Unquestionably we have stirred the black races into new life. At present this is manifested in a desire to acquire our arts of living, to share our culture. There is no general movement against our rule. But there are symptoms of unrest. There have been small risings in Nyasaland and Kenya. There has been trouble in Northern Rhodesia, where leaders of the Watch-Tower movement have, it is alleged, caused serious disorganization of native life in the Fife and Abercorn districts by preaching passive resistance to Government, not dissimilar from the non-co-operation campaign of Mr. Ghandi in India.

Opinions differ regarding the character of the Watch-Tower movement, possibly because it differs according to the views of its various leaders. It avows its basis as Christianity; its aim, the fulfilment of the Christian ethic in every department of life. It was introduced into Northern Rhodesia by native preachers from the mining centres south of the Zambesi. They held revivalist gatherings, baptized their comrades in "Jordan"—every river was a Jordan—taught them that true religion was being withheld from them by the European missionaries, that their conversion freed them from all obligations to their immediate tribal chiefs and headmen. Every convert was adjured to become a preacher. The vitality of the movement is attributed partly to its emotionalism, and partly to the ease with which the convert attained a standing in contrast with the slowness of his attainment of full membership of the Church through the missions. This was the description of the movement given to us in Livingstone. In Nyasaland, on the other hand, a very different account was given us. The leaders and adherents of the movement were said to be stricter in their religious observances than most members of the missions—some of the best missions in Africa are in Nyasaland—they set a high moral and ethical standard; they preached and practised monogamy and were strict in matters of sex. The movement aimed at the regeneration of the black man and was not subversive of government.

There are other signs of the growing political consciousness of the natives. In the Kavirondo Province of Kenya—one of the most densely populated areas in East Africa—a political association, known as the Young Kavirondo Association, was started in 1921. It caused great anxiety to the Provincial Commissioner when it was first started,

so we were informed. As a counterblast to this movement, Archdeacon Owen, head of the Masseno Mission, started a Kavirondo Native Welfare and Taxpayers' Association in 1923. This association, by encouraging the natives to develop co-operative trading and production, by doing educational work in connection with hygiene and sanitation, and by providing an outlet for the grievances of natives, has had a restraining influence upon purely political propaganda for the time being. In Uganda the only visible token of discontent was in connection with the land, not land taken by the British for their own occupation, but land given to certain of the Saza chiefs under the Uganda agreement of 1900. An association, called the Butaka Association, has been formed, whose function it is to obtain a remedy for their grievances. Curiously enough, the repercussion of this movement may have the effect of introducing an element of discord between the British administration and the Buganda chiefs. If the matter is ultimately settled by giving the Butaka claimants their clan lands, it will be at the expense of the native chiefs, some of whom are a little restive under our tutelage and overlordship. It must be remembered that a fairly complete system of government on semi-feudal lines has been in existence over a great part of Uganda for hundreds of years.

Wherever we went in East Africa we were made conscious of the increasing desire of the natives to be represented by members of their own race on all councils where their interests were affected, and to have the right of choice of these representatives. They are not satisfied to have them chosen for them by the British. Yet instinctively, if not consciously, the white man feels that to give them the right of choice would be a tacit recognition of equality and would precipitate race conflict. In "Black and

White in South-East Africa," Maurice Evans has stated the general attitude of the white man in contact with the black. "He admits the mental and moral superiority of some black men to many whites, but feels in his heart of hearts that they are fundamentally different, that they can never amalgamate, that every additional point of contact brings nearer the inevitable contest, and without attempting to find an alternative, he places insurmountable barriers in the way. Cruel to the black man, and harmful to the white is the present position; fraught with evil to the white man, for he is taking up a position he cannot justify; he is doing violence to his conscience, he is evading instead of facing a difficult position." Even the majority of earnest Christians "Consciously or subconsciously, feel with the average man that race cannot be eliminated, that behind the nominal equality of the individual lies the inequality of race. It is not a question of colour, it lies deeper; and whether we be regarded as simply varieties of the same species or our differences are accounted specific or generic matters little, they lie at the root of our being."

When the question of immigration of Asiatics into Australia, New Zealand and Canada was raised at the Imperial Conference in 1923, the Prime Ministers of these three dominions denied that the basis of their objection to Asiatic immigration was racial. They said it was based entirely upon economic necessity; the labouring whites would resist to the utmost the introduction of any foreign element into the population which might tend to wrest from them the advantages of a comparatively high standard of living which they had fought for and won.

This denial of racial and colour prejudice is not very convincing, however. It is perfectly true,

doubtless, as a matter of common observation, that children below a certain age have neither of these prejudices, and this lends colour to the suggestion that they are acquired rather than instinctive. It is equally true that those English children in contact with the blacks from the earliest years develop a social prejudice sooner than other children, which may be due to environment but may be due to earlier excitation of instinct in this matter. It has yet to be proved that these prejudices are not instinctive or that they are based solely on economic grounds. And it may be that they are defensible on social grounds. Many an Englishman will say that he can take a pleasure in the society of a yellow, brown or black man, provided that they have common cultural interests, but the idea of such a man marrying one of his daughters would be repugnant. It is true that the same degree of prejudice does not exist among the southern European races: there are historical reasons for that.

Whether this prejudice will ever die down among English peoples must be for some time a matter of speculation: it exists now and has to be taken into account in considering the relations between peoples of different colour and race. Much has been written on the subject. Some writers hold to the theory that miscegenation is sound. Others are strongly opposed to this theory, contending that the people of mixed race are generally at a lower intellectual level than that of the average member of the superior race, a deterioration which is not compensated for by any general improvement in their physical characteristics. It is asserted also that miscegenation leads ultimately to sterilization. On this, as on other aspects of the problem, there is insufficient evidence available upon which to arrive at any satisfactory conclusions. It is true that it might be possible to

arrive at a scientifically accurate judgment upon the physical characteristics of different races, for in this matter we might find a standard of measurement capable of general application. But the estimation of mental characteristics is in a different category. The whites themselves have no generally accepted standard of measurement. Their psychologists are still unable to supply satisfactory tests of inborn mentality to replace the crudities of their examination systems. And even if they did reach the stage where general agreement was found among whites regarding the reliability of the tests, it does not follow that they could be applied to people of markedly dissimilar inherited and environmental characteristics.

But putting aside questions of superiority or inferiority, there is no doubt about the differences between races. If we regard the subject of race from this standpoint alone, and if we assume that the contribution of the white races to civilization, to progressive mastery over natural forces, to culture in the broadest sense of the term, is due to certain inborn qualities, and has a certain unique value, it is our duty to preserve it. If the experts are right, there is a danger that the inborn qualities of different races might deteriorate through miscegenation. Racial purity, therefore, would appear to be desirable for the white races which have such great achievements behind them.

Nevertheless, it is obviously desirable that the subject of miscegenation among human beings should receive as much attention as, or more than, the crossings of other species. It would be a scientific study of the greatest importance. The average white man finds that he cannot perform tasks involving much physical exertion as well in the tropics as he can in temperate zones. It is

asserted by competent medical authorities that the rarified atmosphere of African tropical plateaux, together with the peculiar quality of the sun's rays in those regions, produce a state of high nervous tension among the whites, children being especially affected. It is stated also that the climate is the main contributory factor in determining the relatively low birth-rate among the whites. On the other hand, the African native is capable of great physical exertion in his own country, and, as Professor Fleure has pointed out, this is due to certain physical characteristics.

There has been miscegenation: there is a large "coloured" population in the Cape Provinces: the Portuguese have been in the tropics in East Africa for centuries and there are a large number of people of mixed descent in their territories. There are also many people of mixed race in the French and Belgian territories of tropical Africa. It would be decidedly interesting if these people of mixed racial descent could be studied carefully, and their several capacities compared with those of people of pure racial stock. There is no doubt that the people of mixed origin do achieve a marked degree of ascendancy over the natives: there is little doubt that they display marked antagonism to Europeans, not difficult to understand since they are regarded as socially inferior to the whites, and even less desirable members of the community than the blacks, because of their greater intractability. They may yet constitute a grave problem in the tropics.

CHAPTER XI

THE WHITE SETTLER

Most white peoples take it for granted that the black and brown peoples can quickly become acclimatized to temperate parts of the world, even if they have come direct from the tropics. But few regard the converse proposition, the acclimatization of the whites in the tropics, as so simple a process. The idea of the creation of a white colony, a permanent home for white peoples, in tropical Africa, strikes the imagination of the average "white" as preposterously absurd. The popular conception of Central Africa is that it is intolerably hot, part jungle, part fetid swamp, part arid desert, where pestilential insects breed and multiply, disseminating every conceivable kind of disease, a veritable white man's grave. It is generally believed that only those peoples who have, through centuries of specialization, evolved certain physical peculiarities such as thick black skins, curly woolly hair, broad flat noses with distended nostrils, and by a process of natural selection acquired immunity from tropical diseases, can exist in the tropics with any degree of comfort, and perform any task necessitating much physical exertion.

It would be absurd to state that the popular conception is wholly wrong. Rather is it out of date. For many years the mortality rate among white

traders and officials in tropical Africa was sufficiently high to justify its unpleasant reputation. The fact that a large percentage of the deaths which occurred were due to the prevailing ignorance of the causal factors of disease is still apt to be overlooked in considering the problem. And it is not surprising that former ideas persist. Comparatively few white men have any acquaintance with the country. Most of our knowledge of conditions must of necessity be culled from the writings of the great explorers, big-game hunters, missionaries, and officials, or an occasional distinguished visitor with a flair for journalism. And in reading their literary efforts it is the "purple patches" which take the greatest hold on the imagination. They, after all, are concerned more with the unusual than the commonplace. And we are more susceptible to the sufferings of the traveller in strange lands than the sufferings, no less trying, of those among whom we live. We can be thrilled by reading an account of a hair-breadth escape from a charging elephant, rhinoceros or bounding lion, while we should be annoyed by an account in a daily newspaper of a narrow escape from a familiar juggernaut of our highways. We are, in fact, more impressed by the casual dangers of white men abroad than dangers which are commonplace at home; inclined to take far more notice of a disastrous epidemic of sleeping sickness among the natives of Uganda than an equally bad outbreak of influenza in our own country; probably more appalled by the number of African victims of industrialism than the number of victims of our industrial system here.

Had I not stayed for a while at Entebbe, the capital of Uganda, and had I, with some justification I hope, taken the account of Mr. Winston Churchill as a guide to the prevailing conditions, I

should have regarded the British officials there as candidates for the crown of martyrdom. In "My African Journey" he describes the place thus: "Behind its glittering mask Entebbe wears a sinister aspect . . . every white man seems to feel a sense of indefinable oppression. A cut will not heal: a scratch festers. In the third year of residence even a small wound becomes a running sore. One day a man feels perfectly well: the next, for no apparent cause, he is prostrate with malaria of a peculiarly persistent kind, turning often in the third or fourth attack to blackwater fever. In the small European community at Entebbe there have been quite recently two suicides. Whether, as I have suggested in East Africa, it be the altitude, or the downward ray of the Equatorial sun, or the insects, or some more subtle cause, there seems to be a solemn veto placed upon the white man's permanent residence in these beautiful abodes." Having spent a few weeks at Entebbe and the neighbourhood I can only say that either Entebbe must have changed entirely or this description is highly coloured.

Equally picturesque passages can be taken from most of the earlier accounts of East Africa. Is it to be wondered at that our impressions of the country are unreal? But upon them are founded dogmatic beliefs in the unsuitability of the country as a white man's home? We disregard the ameliorating influence of altitude upon climate. We generalize from the particular over a country ten times the size of our own. We do not pause to inquire whether the daily extremes of temperature common to all highland plateaux in the tropics; or the character of the vegetation, give to these areas a comparative immunity against tsetse-flies, mosquitoes and ticks. We think its only

products are those we know we cannot produce in our own countries: rubber, coffee, cocoa, spices, sugar-cane, maize, oil-nuts and seeds. We do not associate the tropics with cattle and dairy produce, wheat and flax. We read accounts of specially designed motor-cars making journeys through the heart of Africa and occasionally see a photograph of a car on a rough track or negotiating a difficult bit of country, but we have no imaginative appetite for our own commonplaces of life out there.

Even while in the country it is the unfamiliar that we note: the familiar we are apt to overlook. I remember when Mr. Mayer, the proprietor of the *East African Standard*, sent us some photographs taken from his premises of the Armistice Day commemoration ceremony at the Nairobi cenotaph, which we attended in 1924, suddenly realizing that the scene was essentially English, except for the black peoples among the assembled multitudes and the headgear of the whites. The buildings were similar in all respects to those of any important thoroughfare at home; the streets wider than those of our capitals, it is true, but the variety and appearance of the shops the same. It was raining at the time and hundreds of umbrellas were in the picture, while behind the crowds the streets were lined with motor-cars. Yet Nairobi is well within 2 degrees of the Equator. In Mombasa, on the coast, on parallel 4 degrees South, it is possible to drive through a part of the suburbs and imagine you are in a town in the South of France. And while indulging in a swim from a villa on the shore of the harbour I recollected that my last swim in tepid water was from just such a villa on the shores of Lake Onega within 5 degrees of the Arctic circle. Had pine trees been growing near the shore at Mombasa

instead of palms the illusion would have been complete.

For my own part I can only say that I had utterly failed to visualize the realities of East Africa. I assume, though I may be wrong, that the majority of my countrymen, even a majority of those who have taken an interest in the country without actually visiting it, have just the same difficulty. Before reaching Africa I had read a number of volumes by recognized authorities and descriptive writers. I had had the advantage of discussing its problems with a number of men with first-hand knowledge, and of listening to and reading various Parliamentary Debates on the subject matter of our inquiry. In addition, I have always been particularly interested in regional geographical studies and had as my mentor eminent geographers. Yet my impressions were wholly inadequate even if they were not entirely false to fact. Most of our knowledge of other parts of the world is culled from school text-books. The cheaper newspapers and other periodicals in circulation among the masses in Great Britain rarely deal thoroughly with geographical or anthropological facts. Too much information has to be crowded into too small a compass, and the public, so we are informed, demands a page or two devoted to horse-racing and other forms of sport. It wants to be amused, entertained, excited — not instructed. Even the official organ of the Labour Party, the leaders of which should realize, even if they do not, that the realization of their ideals depends upon a progressive improvement of our educational system, devotes an inordinate amount of space in pandering to the worst of vices, betting, and practically none to science and education. It is imperative, therefore, that the text-books in schools should be written

by those with first-hand knowledge of the conditions of the countries dealt with; in other words they should be compilations by authorities, and not compilations from their works. And above all, the cinematograph must supplement instruction by written and spoken word. No school worthy the name should be without such an adjunct, and the supply of educational films should be the duty of a department of the Board of Education and not left to the vagaries of commercial film companies. So far, however, we have taken care to select our Ministers of Education from those without the vision or courage to effect educational reforms, men more concerned with the machinery of administration than the essentials in education, incapable of adapting to the needs of the schools the many triumphs of modern applied science and utterly unaware of the wealth of material at their disposal.

Travelling through East Africa we were informed again and again by officials that the climate was such that long spells of "leave" in England were essential for the maintenance of their physical health. This is doubtless true of some stations, but I doubt if it is generally true. And it is not the view of numbers of members of the unofficial classes. Obviously, the impressions formed during a hurried tour of the five territories, undertaken under the best possible conditions at the best season of the year, with every precaution taken against our experiencing any discomfort, may be too favourable. On the other hand, as members of the Commission we had a particularly exacting programme. I doubt if Mr. Ormsby-Gore and I averaged more than six hours in bed out of the twenty-four during the whole period we were actually in Africa, and our waking hours were fully occupied. Yet, such was the effect of the climate, I have rarely felt so fit

or so wideawake, in spite of the heat of the mid-day hours. This was particularly noticeable in Kenya Colony. There we were worked harder than in any other territory during the day, while nearly every evening there was a large or small function which lasted well into the small hours of the day following. Yet, with the dawn bed never "pulled" as it often does at home.

It may be that high altitudes have an effect on the nervous system, as certain authorities in the country assert, but, judging from my own experience, I should say that the effect was altogether beneficial. However, the contrary view is held. The Chief Secretary of Northern Rhodesia, Mr. Goode, who has had much experience of the country, expressed his opinion that high altitudes in the tropics have a disastrous effect on the nervous system of white children, that the second generation born in the country show a loss of virility although their parents may be among the best in the colony. The opinion of Dr. May, the Principal Medical Officer in the same colony, is quite different. He told us that he found nothing wrong with the second generation of whites, that he found nothing wrong with their nervous system, that, in fact, they compared favourably with white children in other areas considered more suitable for colonization. It is true he added that no dogmatic statement regarding the effect of the tropics on the physical and mental condition of the whites could be made until a fourth generation were in existence. On the other hand, Mr. Goode's opinion is reinforced by that of Dr. Shircore, the Principal Medical Officer in Tanganyika, who went further by stating emphatically that no part of Africa was suitable as a permanent home for the whites. He considers that the whole fibre of the

white changes by residence in the country, and has noticed a lack of concentration among white children after an early age. Whenever we discussed this problem with local authorities we found the same widely divergent opinions held, just as divergent opinions are held at home on the relative powers of concentration of pre-war and post-war children. As regards physique, judging from external appearances, the white children we met in the highlands in the tropics seem particularly fine specimens of humanity; and as far as I could judge, the children in the European schools we visited vary no more in powers of concentration than children in schools in England. It is true that the standard of intellectual attainment of the children in the European schools is relatively much lower than the standard reached by children of parents in similar circumstances—or had I better say of the same class—in the schools in our home towns, but this is rather the fault of those operating the educational machine than due to any intellectual inferiority of the children. After all, it is comforting to be able to attribute to the effect of climate the faults due to unsound methods of education. In this matter the Colonial Office is largely to blame however. The selection of staffs for the colonial education services is largely in its hands, and the Director of Education in Kenya, where there are the largest number of schools for European children—there are none in some of the colonies—informed me, when I complained of the quality of science-instruction in his schools, that in response to his request to the Colonial Office for a teacher qualified in science he was sent a graduate in theology.

Nevertheless, it has to be recognized that contact with people at a generally lower stage of intellectual

development and inherently smaller mental capacity must inevitably have a bad effect on Europeans, children or adults, and this doubtless was what Dr. Shircore had in mind when he stated that no part of Africa was a white man's country. The "feeling" or consciousness of superiority can scarcely be considered a mental tonic. We learn little from those whom we despise unless it be their vices. Everyday environment is of the utmost importance as an educative influence, and if white children are brought up among the different-thinking and slower-thinking blacks their progress will be retarded, not in the earlier stages, be it admitted, as there appears to be a consensus of opinion among "European observers in Africa that negro pupils in their earlier years are equal to white children in schoolwork, but that at puberty their progress is arrested and they fall behind."¹ It is true that Mr. Fraser, formerly Principal of Trinity College, Kandy, and now Principal of Prince of Wales College, Achimota, is convinced that the arrest which occurs among Africans can be successfully overcome by the application of suitable educational methods, but his experience of schoolboy mentality is largely confined to the East and Africa, and in all probability his comparisons would be based upon the white child in a strange racial and climatic environment and the black child—the picked black child moreover—in contact with white tutors and white children.

But although there is a difference of opinion regarding the effect of bringing up white children in the highlands of tropical Africa, everyone with whom we discussed the matter was convinced that it would be disastrous to attempt to bring them up

¹ J. H. Oldham: "Christianity and the Race Problem."

in the low-lying parts of the country. White adults cannot remain long in these regions without appreciable loss of energy and ability, due to climate alone, leaving out of account contact with the black races. The converse holds regarding the blacks. They appear to gain in racial vigour by becoming acclimatized in more temperate parts of the world. The descendants of the Bantus who migrated to South Africa, when they came north of the Zambesi, easily overwhelmed the members of their own race who had remained in the tropics. In the intelligence tests carried out by the United States military authorities during the war it was found that the northern negroes showed marked mental superiority over those from the south. This difference was supposed to be explained by the assumption that only the more intelligent of the southern negroes migrate to the north: but it seems fair to assume that it is due, partly at least, to the influence of a more vigorous environment. It is a pity that no attempt was made to differentiate between the southern and northern whites, although one can quite appreciate the reasons against it.

British settlement in East Africa is on the whole too small and of too recent a growth for any conclusions to be drawn regarding its permanent success from the point of view of the white. That it will tend to raise the standard of material requirements of the blacks is inevitable, that it will also raise the standard of intellectual attainment and technical skill of the blacks and raise the blacks generally in accordance with our accepted scale of civilization is also to my mind unquestionable, and the greater the proportion of whites to blacks, the more rapidly the blacks will improve according to our standards. As we stated in our report: "We should indeed be taking a pessimistic view of our

own race if we assumed that the natives did not profit by association with the white settlers (*I might have added traders*). We must not condemn Englishmen for their belief in their own ideals of civilization, and in the soundness of the 'contact' theory in spreading those ideals." The comparison frequently made between the production and exports of West Africa and East Africa in an attempt to prove that the presence of the white settler in Africa is disadvantageous to the material prosperity of the natives and the country, is entirely unfair. To attribute the backwardness of East Africa to the presence of about 3,000 European farmers and plantation-holders—there are less than 20,000 Europeans of all classes, officials, missionaries, traders, and farmers, in the six territories comprising East Africa including their dependents—among an indigenous population of 12,000,000, is straining our credulity too far. To suggest that the Kenya Land Ordinance which has been interpreted by the judges as vesting all rights in land, save the freehold rights of European landowners, in the Crown, is preventing the natives from making the best use of the land which they occupy—particularly as the vast majority of the blacks have never heard of the Ordinance and have been in undisturbed possession of their shambas as long as we have been in the country, far more secure than before we entered in—is obviously absurd.

The British in East Africa cannot be held responsible for inter-tribal warfare, for the presence of pestilential insects carrying malaria, sleeping sickness, plague, spirillum fever, for the intestinal parasites which abound in native bathing-places or are acquired through eating raw or diseased meat, for the introduction of venereal diseases, leprosy, and a host of other tropical diseases which take

steady toll of the population, or for the practice of infanticide and abortion. Neither are they to blame for the centuries of warfare between the Portuguese and the Arabs, with its inevitable effects upon their respective negro allies, for the still more disastrous effects of the intensive period of the slave-trade following upon its suppression in other parts of Africa, for the depredations of the Masai tribe on their weaker neighbours, for the destructive onslaught of the Zulu tribes, the Yao and the Angoni, on the Anyanja, Katanga, Tumbuku, and Tonga peoples in Nyasaland and Tanganyika, nor for East Africa being involved in the Great War which resulted in an appalling loss of native lives, destruction of property, and dislocation of tribal life and trade generally. Then again, the natives of East Africa live in scattered villages. There are no large native towns which are a feature of the West. Most of the tribes prefer to raise cattle than to raise crops, the pastoralist being regarded as a superior being to the cultivator. Cultivation, in the eyes of the stronger tribes, is an occupation fit only for women and slaves. Above all, the principal products which form the bulk of the exports from West Africa, cocoa, palm oil and kernels, rubber, and gold, in which a large trade has been carried on for many years and for which there is a world demand, form practically no part of the exports of East Africa. Even if cocoa and the oil-palm grew wild in East Africa, which they do not, that country would be at a disadvantage in comparison with the West coast owing to the better position of the latter to the world's greatest markets. The West coast has the further advantage of a dense coast population, whereas the greatest density of population of East Africa is, as already stated, in the interior, hundreds of miles from the sea-

board. The rivers flowing into the Atlantic have for many years been navigated by steamers, but on the east only the Zambesi as far as its Shiré tributary has attracted such craft. Those who condemn the influence of the whites in the East would do well to remember that the material prosperity of the West, which they hold up as an example, is due to white enterprise.

But it is to be hoped that we, as a nation, will not measure our influence upon the natives merely in terms of material prosperity and security of life. Too much store can be set upon purely utilitarian standards. Side by side with the influences at work tending to raise the African's material standard of living are influences bearing upon their cultural and æsthetic standards. They are learning our language and sharing our literature, no mean asset in the shaping of a soul. They are beginning to understand our ideals, to appreciate our sentiments, and thereby to regard their womenfolk and their sick and aged from somewhat different viewpoints. I wonder if there were ever a flower-garden, a deliberately cultivated decorative hedge in East Africa before the white man took up residence in the country. This thought occurred to me on leaving Captain Maxstead's homestead near Jinja in Uganda. For he has a most beautiful garden, and in its immediate vicinity we passed by many natives' cottages set off by trim gardens with flowering plants, and even the cottages modelled after the fashion of the "bwana's" house—a sincere form of flattery.

With reason, the missionary societies in Africa are proud of their churches, particularly those at Blantyre in Nyasaland, and the cathedrals of the White Fathers, the Mill Hill Mission, and the Church Missionary Society, wonderfully and

appropriately sited on three of the hills overlooking Kampala, the native capital of Buganda. They have been built by the natives from materials manufactured or fashioned by them, the interiors decorated by the natives by beautiful, if not typically African wood-work, and must inevitably have, a profound æsthetic influence upon the natives. And if a church, to the building of which they have contributed, is to exert an influence upon their taste and conception of the beautiful, why should not a similar effect be produced by the homesteads of settlers which they have also assisted to build? After all, the natives are not insensible to the white man's conception of a home, and will not necessarily remain content with their primitive huts.

But we have to consider not only what effect the white man's residence in tropical Africa is having or is likely to have upon the African, but what effect it will have upon the white. If there were complete segregation of the races the problem would resolve itself into a consideration of the effect upon the whites of a tropical climate at altitudes between 5,000 and 8,000 feet. But the problem becomes more complicated by the presence of the blacks, and the dependence of the white settlers upon black labour. Biologists now are agreed that homogeneity of race is essential for progress, defined by Professor Julian Huxley, "by the advances man makes in his conquest of nature and in the discipline of himself—in the control of external forces and in the art of living." This, the same authority states, can only be achieved fully if there is a coherent population; a population in which there are no alien types or unabsorbed masses of people, and no large proportion of disharmonic combinations. Obviously where black and white are mutually interdependent and living in close proximity, there is every

probability of miscegenation. This is proved by the presence of a large coloured population in South Africa, in the West Indies, the United States, and a mixed population in the Latin colonies of Africa.

It is difficult to prove that racial deterioration of the white, that is to say, loss of racial vigour measured in terms of energy, determination, cooperativeness, and initiative, results from contact with the blacks, but it is interesting to note that a tropical country like Queensland, where 850,000 whites perform all the ordinary tasks connected with production and distribution, has a much higher revenue from taxation than the Union of South Africa with a better climate, with approximately twice the number of white inhabitants, and in addition, 9,000,000 blacks. Yet we need not go outside East Africa itself for examples of racial deterioration. It cannot be suggested that the descendants of the Arabs in East Africa could stand comparison with the Arabs in their own country. We are probably right in assuming that their loss of racial virility, their lack of initiative, is due rather to the unchecked use of power over the more backward Africans than to the effect of climate and disease. And what is most marked among the Arabs is also noticeable among the Portuguese. Both these peoples depended for their existence for centuries upon slave labour. Once direct slavery was abolished their prosperity declined. The rapid decline and deterioration of the Masai is also worth consideration. The members of this tribe are descended from some of the most virile peoples that ever swept southwards into East Africa. They have been the "bullies" of this country ever since they entered in. They have lived on their neighbours for centuries. What has become of their

superiority now? As a tribe they appeared to me definitely below the standard, mentally and even physically, of those tribes over whom they formerly tyrannized.

Such examples may strike British settlers in East Africa as irrelevant. Nevertheless I incline to the view that they are applicable to their own case. They reject the idea, or at least their vocal representatives do, that the highlands can ever support a white population wholly dependent upon its own exertions. They would prophesy ruin to the country if complete segregation of races were decided upon. They are unwilling to face the fact that white labour is entirely responsible for the relatively high productivity of Queensland where the climatic conditions are worse, far worse, than in their highlands: that the wages paid white unskilled labourers there are fantastically high in comparison with the wages paid to the skilled African or Asiatic. Too many of the settlers of East Africa brought their small capital to the country with the idea of taking advantage of the cheapest labour in the world. This was the main attraction. Added to it was the impression that the black man would be content, ignorantly content, to allow the white man to found a white community upon his physical exertions, a privileged white community moreover, a community which is loud in its demands for freedom from grandmotherly control by the Colonial Office but louder still in its demands for the restriction of the freedom of choice of the natives to work when they will, where they will, and for whom they will—subject to their fulfilling the ordinary obligation of citizens in respect of taxation—a community, in other words, which regards “forced labour” as the ideal, a feudal community which demands all the privileges but is unwilling to accept any of the

responsibilities inherent in feudalism. Our modern barons of East Africa who seek to justify their position on the ground that the black man is centuries behind the white man in intelligence might do well to consider that the system they would defend is one which was condemned and scrapped at least a century ago in the country where most of them were born. A privileged community has no survival value.

To my mind permanent white occupation of the highlands of tropical Africa is only possible and desirable if built upon the basis of the freest co-operation between the colonists and the natives. The whites must develop an entirely different mentality as regards the native, and cease to cant about the advantages accruing to the natives if forced or officially "encouraged" to work for the whites. The majority of the white settlers did not go to East Africa with the idea of "uplifting" the natives or from any stern sense of duty. They thought neither of the benefits which might accrue to the natives nor of the ultimate effect they might produce in bringing the country of their adoption in more intimate association with the economic system of the advanced peoples of the world. They went there because the country offered a number of attractions, not least of which was the grant of free or very cheap land of amazing fertility, coupled with a docile native population, so that what capital they possessed would go further and fare better than in most other parts of the globe. They have taken up the "white man's burden" accidentally, not deliberately. That burden is to inculcate among those within their ken all that is best in our civilization while preserving all that is best in the natives' conception of the relations between man and man, man and beast, and man and Nature. The task is

one demanding the exercise of no little altruism, but to Englishmen there should be no better incentive.

The advantages which the white man possesses over others have been gained for him by the stalwarts of the race who thought freedom worth fighting for and dying for, freedom from the exactions of petty tyrants, freedom of choice of environment and occupation, freedom of mind. The spirit of freedom has been strengthened throughout all time by persecution. The white settler in Africa, if he has eyes to see and a mind to think, can observe the effect of countless centuries of petty tyranny and ignorance and superstition on its peoples. And he can observe the astounding awakening of its peoples under the guidance of those who put the welfare of the blacks before their own personal advantage. We shall be judged by the sum of discontent we have awakened among the backward peoples, not discontent with us, but divine discontent with a static existence. It is this discontent which leads men to the heights, urges them over uncharted oceans, through "Darkest Continents," spurs them to discover the means by which Nature's forces shall be harnessed to the service of man, to undertake and achieve the seemingly impossible, and lastly to the greatest triumph of all, the conquest of the darkest and innermost recesses of the soul. If we believe in freedom can we tolerate even a semblance of slavery? It is not black labourers for whom life has been made intolerable in their reserves by external pressure whom the white settler needs, but those who find life narrow, restricted and intolerable in the light of knowledge brought to them by the returned traveller or the books of the village school. If anything is to be made compulsory in East Africa let

it be education : this will remove the need for any other form.

It is true that the day of compulsory education is far off, and it is equally true that the requirements of the white settlers for native labourers are in excess of the willing supply. Some of the reasons for this state of affairs have been given in a previous chapter. Others might be mentioned. In Kenya, particularly, the majority of the white settlers have too little available capital. The standard of living of the settlers is probably inordinately high in comparison with standards prevailing in the Dominions, and the cost of living is higher also. The interest demanded by the banks for accommodation is extortionately high, that demanded by private lenders much higher still. If they had the capital or could borrow money at reasonable rates from the lenders, they could develop more of their holdings, and the overhead charge of running their farms would be proportionately less per acre : consequently they would be in a better position to offer higher wages and more attractive conditions of service. Instead of clamouring for cheaper money, and for a graduated income tax, which, if imposed, would facilitate a reduction of import duties and thereby reduce their cost of living, they join in the clamour for forcing labour out of the reserves. They are an easily led community. No better example of this could be afforded than the following resolution forwarded recently to the Governor by the Associated Chamber of Commerce of Mombasa, upon which there are a number, if not a majority, of representatives of the trading interests :

“ This Association draws the attention of the (Kenya) Government to the absolute necessity for the immediate establishment of the Colony's in-

dustries on sound foundations as regards the labour supply."

Such a resolution can only mean that the Government is to adopt such measures as will force a sufficient number of natives to work for Europeans. It also illustrates the stupidity of the traders as distinct from the farmers. For the traders' interests are obviously bound up with the volume of exports and imports, and the greater the number of persons among whom the profits arising from productive work is shared, the greater will be the amount spent on the necessities and small luxuries of life.

In 1925 and again in October, 1926, the suggestion was made by certain Kenya settlers that indentured labourers should be obtained from Portuguese East Africa. How these labourers are obtained for export by the Portuguese authorities they did not pause to inquire. But fairly authenticated statements have reached England that the Portuguese, or their agents, are again engaged in some of the old-time horrors associated with the *corvée*, bringing natives in chain-gangs from the undeveloped parts of their territory for "indentured service" in other Portuguese colonies or elsewhere. Is it upon such a basis citizens of our Empire wish to found a white community?

Not once, but many times, settlers in East Africa complained to us of the slow process of the law in dealing with natives guilty of minor offences and desertion. And many of them said that they were faced with the alternative of leaving the guilty unpunished or punishing them themselves, either by deductions from their pay or by flogging. It was usually from these men that the suggestion came for the appointment of unofficial magistrates.

The inference was obvious. Another common complaint was that the natives in the reserves lived on the labour of their womenfolk and were themselves thoroughly idle. But are there no idle whites in East Africa? And do the white settlers never employ native women on their shambas, and children, too? I am afraid that I cannot differentiate between the privileged white who employs native women and children and reaps the benefit of their labour and the native, who, by virtue of his privileged position in the tribal system, reaps the benefit of the labour of his wives and children. I defend neither class. If there are to be no idle blacks in East Africa there must be no idle or unproductive whites. If it be a sin for the black man to withhold his labour from a white farmer or trader, if there be acute labour shortage, no inducements should be offered to "sportsmen" from abroad to indulge in big-game hunting expeditions, for one such expedition makes relatively disproportionate demands for native labour. The trouble is that too many white men in East Africa are the slaves of oft-repeated catch-phrases, and rarely prone to consider their logical implications. They coin slogans at a rate which would make Mr. A. J. Cook envious. And slogans merely crystallize wishes; they destroy thought.

This is the real trouble. If a little study were given to the labour problem they would find in the statistics published by the Agricultural Department that more labour has been made available for Europeans since that department inaugurated the late Sir Robert Coryndon's policy of stimulating production in the reserves. In the three years following 1921 the number of labourers employed on European farms increased by fifty per cent. Such a result might have been anticipated, but there

are still many settlers who obstinately refuse to face the facts. Wherever white men depend on black labour they seem obsessed with the idea that the native who is given every inducement to become industrious in his own location will not come out to work for European employers under a system of fair wages and decent treatment. But at best it cannot be expected that more than half the total male population between the ages of fifteen and forty will leave the reserves, and it is an awkward fact that this would limit the maximum supply of native labourers for all purposes in Kenya to 200,000. Nearly three-quarters of this total has been reached.

What is the solution of this problem? The importation of labourers from India is ruled out by the settlers. And the suggestion that advantage should be taken of the unhappy position in Portuguese East Africa to bring indentured labour from that colony does not win unanimous support, mainly because, in the words of Mr. McLennan Wilson at the Kenya Convention of Associations meeting in October, 1926, "they would get higher wages than the local boys and that made him afraid." The supply of Bagishu labourers from Uganda has been practically stopped owing to the need for their services on the extensions of the Uganda Railway system in Uganda. Tanganyika discourages the idea of natives leaving that territory for work in Kenya—it has its own labour problem and wishes to extend the area under native cultivation. Only two obvious solutions remain: the concentration of Europeans on those industries which make the least demands upon labour or alternatively, the introduction into Kenya of white agricultural workers. Both these alternatives the Governor, Sir Edward Grigg, had in mind in an address to the Kenya

Convention of Associations in October, 1926. He stated that the central aim of the colony should be settlement, and still more settlement, and "settlement will be rapid, efficient, and successful in proportion as it concentrates upon those industries which are least affected by the vagaries of the native labour supply. . . . Along right lines the labour supply is sufficient for great development. . . . There are forms of primary industry in some ways the surest and most profitable, in which native labour is not an important factor at all."

He did well to remind his hearers that the three great Dominions which have practically no native labour supply, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, have been built up on the four primary industries, stock-raising, dairy-farming, wool production and grain. In forty years Canada has become one of the greatest wheat-growing areas of the world. Through its plant-breeding stations, which have been successful in breeding varieties of wheat which ripen in time to be harvested before the winter sets in, the wheat areas are being extended farther and farther towards the frozen north. Progress in the other Dominions has been equally rapid. Queensland and New South Wales are overcoming their difficulties in connection with cattle-raising—large flocks and herds having been recently transported across a semi-desert belt which divides the Blue Mountain pastures from those of the interior. And as regards climate the tropical highlands apparently enjoy great advantages over the British who have settled and are working in Canada with its seasonal extremes of climate and Queensland with its tropical moist heat. Twenty years ago Kanaka labour was withdrawn from the Queensland sugar plantations in conformity with the "White Australia" policy. It was then prophesied

that the sugar plantations would fail. Nothing of the kind has happened, and to-day white labourers at high wages are engaged in cane-cutting.

It could hardly be expected that coffee-planters or tea-growers would receive this pronouncement with enthusiasm. Their labour requirements are roughly one man per acre, and coffee represents not only the most valuable crop in the colony, but the fortunate owners of coffee-plantations in full bearing can realize very large prices for the sale of their estates and four or five times the price for the undeveloped portions of their holdings which they would obtain for land which was under maize or wheat. Naturally they are all in favour of the importation of indentured labour, some going even as far as to include the Asiatic. The *East African Standard*, in a leading article, probably voiced the views of many settlers in expressing the opinion "if the Government endeavours through a selection of crops to reduce labour demand for a breathing space of time outside the reserves, it is surely also the duty of Government to insist inside the reserves upon the cultivation of crops which do not call for much labour."

There is no doubt about the wisdom of the policy of the Governor in this matter. Coffee, tobacco, and sisal, three of the principal plantation crops of East Africa, make enormous demands on the labour supply. Every season a considerable proportion of the coffee remains unpicked. Too much hand-picking is involved in all three. Moreover, they are crops which could, like cotton, be produced by the natives under the supervision of the white officers of the local agricultural departments assisted by specially trained native assistants, and brought to central factories managed by the local govern-

ments or by private enterprise. It is true that there might be a temporary deterioration in the quality of these products, but there is no reason to suppose that it would be lasting. The results which have been achieved by native cotton-growers in the various territories, and the progress which has been made in coffee-growing in Uganda and Tanganyika are sufficiently encouraging to justify the experiment being tried. It is true that we were not impressed by one or two native-run coffee-plantations in Tanganyika, but we were comparing them with some of the best European plantations. I have since been informed that the standard of cultivation of coffee on native shambas in Tanganyika, and their freedom from pests, compares in these respects most favourably with European plantations.

As might be expected, Kenya coffee-planters are consumed with anxiety lest the natives should not only be permitted but actually encouraged to grow coffee on their own shambas in the reserves. We met representatives of "The Coffee-Planters' Union of Kenya" at Nairobi, where they presented us with a memorandum, as it was thought "the East African Commission may desire to know why natives are encouraged to grow coffee in neighbouring countries and not in Kenya." They contended that the natives had not expressed a general desire to grow coffee, that they had not sufficient capital or land per capita to do so, and that even if they had both, they lacked the capacity. They pointed out also that more than half the Europeans in Kenya were engaged in coffee-growing, the area under coffee was 60,000 acres, the capital invested £3,000,000 (nearly all British), that the value of their exports in 1924 was over £500,000, and that this brought about a corresponding demand for British machinery and other necessities. They

expressed the fear that the reputation which Kenya coffee had built up on the London market for reliability as regards grading and quality would be adversely affected if natives were permitted to enter the market. They feared that the experiment of permitting the natives of Tanganyika to grow *arabica* coffee was fraught with danger to the whole industry in East Africa: this variety is peculiarly susceptible to diseases which are only controllable by the closest collaboration of all planters and Government experts: if the natives were allowed to cultivate small scattered plots the detection and control of disease would be far more difficult; the disaster which overtook the Ceylon coffee industry might be repeated in Africa. These were the main arguments raised, but in addition it was pointed out that if natives grew coffee there would be a great amount of theft of berries from European estates. This is borne out, it must be confessed, by the experience of coffee-planters in Uganda and Tanganyika. It is obviously most difficult to detect.

But as I pointed out to the coffee-planters at this interview, they had left out their main objections to native production. They objected to the native production of coffee, or for that matter of any other high-priced crop, because they believed that this would increase the prosperity of the natives in the reserves and adversely affect the supply of native labourers for Europeans; they would certainly demand higher wages. I reminded them that one of the main arguments brought forward by all classes of settlers for the encouragement of natives to leave the reserves to work for Europeans was that they received instruction in methods of cultivation. They took these methods back to the reserves and applied them, thereby immeasurably improving the standard of cultivation in the reserves. But coffee,

as they informed us, is a highly specialized branch of agriculture, and it was obvious that the incentive for natives to take up work on a coffee-plantation to learn better methods was lacking while they were prohibited from growing coffee themselves. Whether the lands in native occupation in Kenya are suitable for coffee-cultivation is another matter. There is no question of the natives' ability to produce coffee: they are producing it in neighbouring territories: there is no greater danger of disease spreading on a native shamba where the coffee-plot is only a small portion of the whole than there is on a large coffee estate, and not so great a danger as on a large estate which is in bearing but starved for labour. It appears to be true that there is as yet no great demand for permission to grow coffee, but the mere fact that it is prohibited is calculated to stimulate the demand. In any case it adds to the list of native grievances.

Kenya settlers and prospective settlers would do well, therefore, to guard against all eventualities, and the best safeguard against the future is concentration upon those industries which they can conduct largely through their own efforts, those which call for the minimum amount of native labour. And the existing coffee-planters need not despair. Probably most of them, according to the statistics presented to us by the Agricultural Departments, have far more land than they can expect to develop within the next thirty or forty years. Instead of adding to their own difficulties by trying to sell this land to new settlers—a profitable business, it is true—let them rent it to the natives with their families and encourage the natives to grow coffee. They can do the pulping and fermenting and drying and grading for the natives and incidentally derive the not inconsiderable advantage of having at hand a

reservoir of labour. In other words, let them act in much the same capacity as regards native-grown coffee as the European or Indian ginner acts in regard to native-grown cotton.

But if our aim is to build up a real white colony, in the tropics, and not a white aristocracy which might be overthrown and destroyed by the first outburst of antagonism of a united and racially-conscious black people—the soil is being prepared by other races even now and events move quickly in our modern world—then let us turn to those activities in which the white race is pre-eminent.

The highlands in the tropics offer special advantages to the stock-raiser, dairy-farmer, wool-breeder and grower of grains. There are excellent perennial pastures spread over thousands of square miles, thinly populated. It is said that some of the pastures are deficient in essential minerals, but this is a matter which could probably be put right without much difficulty. It is receiving the attention of research workers in animal nutrition. There is, moreover, a superabundant supply of native stock which could be rapidly improved by crossings with imported varieties. As regards grain-production, the country possesses many advantages over Canada. Two crops can be raised yearly. There is no great variation of climate throughout the year. The rainfall is abundant. Suitable methods of cultivation will obviate the need for crop-rotation or artificial manuring for many years to come. In some parts, the Uasin-Gishu and Trans-Nzoia plateaux and the Rongai valley in Kenya, there is a depth of thirty to forty feet of rich virgin loam, amazingly fertile and well-watered. And on the plateaux in Tanganyika and Nyasaland there are wide stretches of country just as fertile, just as free

from tsetse and mosquitoes, just as promising for the production of the temperate and sub-tropical crops, and for cattle-raising.

At Lord Delamere's house at Kabete, I met Mr. Galton-Fenzi, who had just returned from a motor-ing trip—a pioneer effort—through the Masai reserve and the south-western highlands of Tanganyika. Like Mr. Winston Churchill, I had already experienced a sensation of land-hunger in travelling through the Kenya highlands—the desire to live and farm amid amazingly beautiful surroundings, to experiment with every conceivable variety of useful and ornamental plant—but the desire to settle in East Africa was almost hardened into resolution when I listened to Mr. Galton-Fenzi's description of the country around Tukuyu. Forest-land alternates with flower-covered meadows; masses of wild Canterbury bells, tulips, irises, and lilies carpet the ground; wild alpine strawberries fruit luxuriantly; the garden of the Political Officer in charge of the district is over a mile square and full of practically every kind of English fruit and flower; on a clear day Lake Nyasa can be seen in the middle distance, on the left the Livingstone Mountains, which rise sheer out of the lake to a height of 4,000 feet, and on the right the Rhodesian Mountains. The whole district is wonderfully fertile, coffee, wheat, maize and cotton growing side by side, and domestic livestock flourish. There are thousands of square miles of this kind of country in the six territories—at elevations ranging from 5,000 to 8,000 feet, and very few native inhabitants. Here are lands apparently where all our wants could be satisfied—great though they be in comparison with those of the African—where the climate is not merely bearable but positively invigorating. Why should we not make them our own, why not plant

our own people, our careful husbandmen, with their civilization, on this almost continuous lofty plateau-region along the backbone of the African continent to give us a lasting hold on some of the world's richest soils? Had Africa remained undisturbed, from without, what would have been the ultimate fate of its wondrous forests and its soil? Year by year its Bantu inhabitants would have shifted their villages, "burning out" from whence they came and whither they went, encroaching steadily on the timbered hillsides, leaving behind them a desolation which would quickly revert to mangy scrub and harbour the ubiquitous pestilences, tsetse-fly and tick: year by year hillside streams would have disappeared and the rainfall percolated through the soil to irrecoverable depths, or depths at least from which it could only have been recovered by well-boring. How long would it have taken, in fact, for the heart of tropical Africa to have become a desolation of barren hillsides and parched and desiccated plains? We can only conjecture. The process is now being arrested. We are there to reverse it.

And have the white peoples no rights in Africa? Those people whose remote forbears left the comfortable cradle of civilization for northern climes and have mastered their environment, wresting from reluctant soils their life-supporting products, and going from triumph to triumph in their control of Nature's forces, who have now brought to the Africans, these children of the easy path, the hard-won knowledge by means of which they can battle with the very dangers which threaten to destroy them—must they leave to these degenerate or retarded products of the universal human stocks the task of developing some of the world's most promising resources? Do the people

of Great Britain contemplate leaving the fertile highland plateaux of East Africa, whose area is at least twice that of our island home, to the crudities of African agriculture? Do they realize that these plateaux are practically empty of people, that the total population of the whole million square miles of land in East Africa is not twice that of the twenty square miles we call London; and do they feel it is fair to herd generation after generation of our workers in sunless tenements and squalid slums while so much of this sunlit, beautiful country to which they might be transferred is lying derelict, or at best supporting a few nomads with their interbred herds of poor cattle and their skinny goats? Are they content to leave these lands to be developed by blacks under the guidance of white officials and missionaries and exploited by a handful of petty capitalists rather than make them the home of our own peoples, self-reliant, self-supporting, bound to us by the twin ties of race and common ideals? In England alone we have more than a million unemployed—unproductive units of population—costing the country at the very least £50,000,000 a year for their gradual demoralization. For a tenth of this sum probably five thousand British families could be comfortably settled yearly in new surroundings, on a fertile soil, and within a very short period of time be in a position to create a demand for our home manufactures and increase the world's supplies of foodstuffs and raw materials. True, it would be an experiment, but upon such experiments depends our greatness as a nation. And why should it fail? We maintained a large white army in East Africa in less congenial surroundings during the war; it should be less difficult to plant there an army of Empire builders in peace. As far as I can see, there is everything to be gained

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economically, politically, and strategically by transferring the willing adventurers of our own country to African soil, not to exploit the black peoples but to develop the country's resources by means of their own work, their own ingenuity and inventiveness. .

CHAPTER XII

CONDITIONS OF WHITE SETTLEMENT

Two conflicting views are held regarding European control of the tropical regions of Africa. The leaders of the one school hold to the theory that the acid test of our government is the preservation of the land of tropical Africa for its black peoples; those of the other school, if they were frank, would express views diametrically opposite, namely, that the whites, by virtue of their superior powers, are entitled to all the land they can take and to call on the natives to work it for them. The exponents of both schools of thought are prepared to base the soundness of their conceptions upon the economic results of their application. The first argue that where natives' rights in land are most respected, the more industrious they are, and the greater their productive output: the second attempt to prove that the productivity of areas in white occupation, where the natives work under white supervision, is far greater than that of corresponding areas in the native reserves.

The advocates of the "land for the Africans" policy do not suggest leaving the Africans to work out their own salvation. They appreciate the necessity of developing the resources of Africa for the benefit of the world as a whole, and they consider that these resources will be best developed under the guidance of Europeans. The Europeans must accept that responsibility even if they have

no corresponding rights. Through the efforts of Europeans the African races have been drawn into the vortex of white economic expansion and there is no escape for them. They must be assisted to develop their agriculture on a sound progressive system, and to develop their native arts and crafts. They must be educated "in order to be able to take their place, both economically and politically, as free men in the conditions which Western civilization has imposed upon Africa." We cannot withdraw from the country. If we did, wrote the late E. D. Morel, the African natives "would become the prey of international freebooters far more numerous and infinitely more powerful than the adventurers who fought for supremacy in the slave trade up and down the West Coast of Africa, ravaged the Carnatic and pillaged the Americas. Such a withdrawal would deprive these races of their only present safeguard—public opinion." We have to stay to repair our past mistakes, to compensate for the ravages of the age of hideous materialism from which England itself is only just emerging. It is the task of Europeans to improve the means of transport and communication in Africa, to maintain departments of agriculture, forestry, mining, public health, and education. We must establish the essential research services for the control of human, animal, and plant diseases, and the improvement of native health and efficiency, the improvement of domestic stocks, and the introduction of new varieties of plants and the better utilization of existing plant resources. Schools must be multiplied, the establishment of African universities and other higher educational institutions for the well-being, self-respect and intellectual advancement of the African peoples should be our aim.

This is the ethical conception at the basis of the material advancement of Africa and the African peoples. In theory it is unexceptionable; it is in the strictest accord with the terms of the Berlin Conference which was a prelude to the scramble for Central Africa, and an elaboration of "the principle of trusteeship for the natives" enunciated by the Allied and Associated Powers after the Armistice when mandates were given to the victors in the late war for the territories formerly administered by Germany. In Africa, the British, French, and Belgians contracted "to work continuously for the training and education of the Africans towards a higher intellectual, moral, and economic level." Tacit recognition is given to the function of the advanced peoples in developing the native peoples and the resources of their lands; but it is clear that they must not be landowners. Africa, says Morel, "does not require the European company promoter, and planter, nor European land laws and social customs. These persons and institutions may be thrust upon tropical Africa and maintained there under duress, but while they will assuredly curse the African, Europe will not in the long run benefit from having insisted upon implanting them in his country." The phenomenal development of West Africa, Morel attributes to the fact that "the native has been left in possession of his land and has been regarded and treated as a trader, cultivator and producer in his own right." He wishes to see the same policy made effective in East Africa. The acid test of trusteeship, he states, is the preservation of the land of Africa for its peoples, the obvious implication being that the white man should have no rights in land.

Unfortunately, perhaps, for his theory, the white



NANDI NATIVES, KAPSABET.

man in East Africa already has rights in land and he is unlikely voluntarily to relinquish those rights while they are enjoyed by any other section of the white race in any other part of Africa. The whites of Kenya look towards South Africa and find there a large white population, many of the members of which are large landowners in areas if anything less suitable for colonization than the highland plateaux of the East. Morel realized that the policy he prescribed for tropical Africa could not be applied for South Africa. He was prepared to admit "for colonizable South Africa" that "the 'reserve' system is intelligible" and is best calculated to ensure the welfare of the native population: but what he considered good for South Africa he describes as vicious for East, since he says the white man cannot himself colonize the tropical regions, the assumption being that the white farmer in South Africa is not dependent upon black labour.

But the problem confronting the governments of South Africa differs only in degree from that confronting East Africa. It is inherent in "land-hunger." Native "reserves" have been created in South Africa. But the whites of South Africa are certainly not satisfied with the present situation. They resent the powers exercised by the native chiefs over vast tracts like Bechuanaland. Already the Hertzog government has indicated that it is dissatisfied with the status of this Protectorate. It wishes it to be included in the Union, presumably in order that the powers of the paramount chief may be curtailed. Nothing could persuade the Union government that the material progress of Bechuanaland or the mental growth of its peoples bear comparison with the corresponding results in the Union. The attitude of the South African whites towards the natives will have to be considerably

modified if the "reserve" system is to remain inviolate. They will respect the "reserves" only so long as they do not covet the land, only so long as they have room for expansion elsewhere.

As for the whites in East Africa, they believe and contend that they can colonize the highlands, they see very little difference between their form of colonization and that of the South African colonists, and they will continue to agitate for greater allocations of land for white occupation. As a correspondent to *The Times* stated in a recent article on native policy, "the process of colonizing these highland areas will certainly go on. The recent decision to open fresh areas in Tanganyika to white settlement is simply the recognition of forces that are irresistible." The whites in Africa will never be satisfied until they have succeeded in forcing the local governments and the Crown to alienate a broad continuous belt of highlands from the Kerio to the Zambesi to link up the scattered islands of white settlement in Kenya, Tanganyika and Northern Rhodesia. In their opinion their settlement in these white islands is anything but an "ephemeral enterprise" as characterized by Morel, and their occupation they consider is amply justified not only by the material results they have produced, measured by the growing volume and value of exports from the white areas, but also by the beneficial results produced on the economic productivity and mentality of the natives, both within and without the reserves.

Dispossession of the natives' land there has been. They could not, even if they wished, deny that. But they would argue, firstly, that there are vast areas adjacent to those of which relatively few natives have been deprived where the natives can acquire land, secondly, that much of the fertile land

in the "reserves" is lying idle and, thirdly, that the productivity of the land in European occupation has greatly increased, new crops have been introduced, and better breeds of domestic stock are being raised. They consider therefore that they are fulfilling the obligations resting upon the controlling Power of developing the abounding wealth of the tropical regions for the benefit of mankind.

They contend that the conditions of the African peasant in his "reserves" are far worse, judged from every standpoint, than the conditions on European farms. Mr. O'Shea, an elected member of the Kenya Legislative Council, in a recent manifesto to his constituents, stated that the exports from the native reserves were "produced by slave labour and that if the same labour conditions prevailed on European farms as prevail in the reserves, the (British) Labour Party's African policy would include our extinction by poison gas within twenty-four hours of their getting into Power." He contends that the natives of Uganda were rushed by their trustees (the British administrators) into producing cheap cotton for the benefit of Lancashire, and shamefully exploited in the process by the native landlords and others interested in the cotton crop. This is probably an exaggeration stimulated by the fear that cotton-growing might become equally popular in Kenya and thus further restrict the supply of labour for the Europeans and indirectly affect land values. Mr. O'Shea is a land agent. Nevertheless, the charge is not altogether without foundation. Cotton-growing has been "boomed" among the native communities in Uganda and Tanganyika, and in Uganda a very active government propaganda campaign was directed to this end: the Governor himself in 1923 and 1924 exhorted the native chiefs to put more

land under cotton and the chiefs interpreted this as a command and acted accordingly. There seems little doubt that many of them resorted to compulsion: and not a few of them, because of their freehold titles in land (conferred by Sir Harry Johnston under the Uganda agreement) and the lien this gave them on the labour of native peasants on their estates, have amassed considerable wealth by the exploitation of this labour.

There is also a danger that the peasants, in their desire to make money quickly, will put all their holding under cotton and neglect to raise food crops. While we were in Uganda there was a certain feeling of uneasiness in this respect, and the local administrative officers were doing their best to insist upon the natives making their food crops their first concern. There is always the danger of famine, even in Uganda, and there is always the possibility of trouble when natives, whose prosperity is bound up with the price of the one crop they produce, find the market has suddenly collapsed. In 1923, for example, cotton prices were high owing to the comparative failure of the cotton crop in America. The Uganda peasantry therefore were stimulated to put more and more of their land under cotton, many of the natives in Buganda and the Eastern Provinces actually hiring labour from the West Nile to assist them in production. In 1925 there was a record crop in America and cotton prices fell extraordinarily. For two or three times the area under cotton and two or three times the crop, the natives of Uganda got the same return as in 1924.

Mr. O'Shea's condemnation of the Uganda system is in reality a condemnation of the system he upholds in Kenya, for the exploitation of black by black in Uganda can be attributed to the intro-

duction of the European system of land-holding and consequent breakdown of the traditional native system. It is fairly obvious that under the almost general system of shifting cultivation among the blacks, freehold rights in land as we understand them in Europe, would be impossible. Individual occupational rights was a feature of all the agricultural and the semi-pastoral tribes, but there was no such thing as a hereditary title in a particular tract of land. The cultivator possessed an occupational right to the land he actually cultivated: he was entitled to the benefit of his improvements subject to the performance of certain social and political obligations. He could be expelled from his holding for dereliction of duty to the tribe or clan to which he belonged. Buying and selling of land before the advent of Europeans was unknown. At the death of a native his land reverted to the community. The "slavery" to which Mr. O'Shea refers is due to the superimposition of his ideas of land tenure upon a system of holding which gave the tribal chiefs authority over the individual holders. It vests with the freehold landowner the rights of a tribal chief in perpetuity, and what is more disastrous, it allows the freehold landowner to amass wealth for himself instead of wealth for the community of which he is the head. The situation in Uganda is, in fact, exactly parallel to the situation in Kenya and, to a lesser extent, Nyasaland and Tanganyika. The British Government has permitted or actually encouraged the creation of a feudal aristocracy with all their rights and privileges and none of their responsibilities. And just as the growth of the factory system in Great Britain was accelerated by the enclosure of common lands and the replacing of tillage by pasture, so the tendency towards the general application of the

plantation system to tropical Africa is assisted by the multiplication of the landless, due to the concentration of land power in the hands of the few. Fortunately, as I have stated already, the disease is not past remedy. Twenty-five years is not long enough to establish a freehold land tradition among the native peoples, and if the black landowners of Uganda were sufficiently compensated for rights they should never have been given and the six or seven thousand black small freeholders also compensated, the boundaries of the land inalienably set aside for the natives be well-defined, and the whole of the land vested in native councils or Trust Boards for native lands in which all native land would be vested under life tenancies, subject to its proper utilization, and compensation given for improvements effected by the land-holder—a way out of the present situation would be found.

To vest the land in perpetuity in any tribe would be difficult in these modern days. Inevitably tribal discipline has broken down over the greater part of the area within the sphere of European influence. The tribal chiefs no longer derive their authority so much from their peoples as from the Government. For the greater part of Tanganyika and most of the coastal areas there were, at the time of the partition of East Africa, very few tribes which chose their own chiefs or if they did choose them, with any real authority. The Arabs, for their own purposes, had instituted the Akida system, the Akidas having practically all authority over tribes with whom they had been given authority. Under our suzerainty a tribal chief no longer has to possess the qualities which commended him in former times. He no longer has to be an able leader in warfare or an able administrator or law-giver. His function nowadays is largely to work with and

usually under the direction of the white administrators. His capacity for co-operation with the whites is probably accounted for by us of greater account than his capacity for leadership and the protection of his tribe. Any attempt on our part to resuscitate or bolster up the authority of the tribal chiefs would, to my mind, be a mistaken policy. On the other hand, any endeavour which may be made to build up representative native councils with fairly large powers would be beneficial to the peoples and enable them to exercise a greater and greater measure of local autonomy as time goes on.

It is to my mind absolutely essential that land commissions be set up in each territory in East Africa and that the first duty they should undertake should be that of making a complete survey of the land of the several territories. They would need the assistance of ordnance survey departments and census departments. They should know what land is available and what are its possibilities. They should make accurate estimates of the land required for the present and future requirements of the native peoples—future requirements being based not so much upon the present rate of increase or rate of decrease in the population of East Africa as upon the normal rate of increase of the native peoples of South Africa who have now largely recovered from the catastrophic impact of Western civilization upon their own. They should examine carefully the possibilities of inter-colonization; that is to say, the practicability of internal migrations of native peoples in order to reclaim the derelict parts of the territories. They should determine which parts of the country are suitable from every standpoint for white settlement and should set bounds—and very definite bounds—to such areas, so that

there would be no possibility of a repetition of the land scandals in Nyasaland and Kenya whereby huge tracts of territory had been handed over to concessionaires without considering in the least the rights of the native population, or where small tracts of country have been carved off from what were formerly considered to be native reserves, and handed to Europeans without the foreknowledge or consent of the Colonial Office. The treatment of the Nandi reserve in Kenya is a case in point. By a strange perversion of all elementary conceptions of justice and equity, and most certainly by a violation of the principles announced by the powers at the Berlin Conference forty-five years ago and reiterated since, all natives hold their land at the will of the Crown, and the only persons in East Africa who have an inalienable right to their possessions in land, with the exception of the Uganda freeholders, are Europeans, Indians, and a few Arabs.

I feel certain that the introduction of the freehold system of land-holding has been a disastrous failure and that persistence in the system would be a great mistake. I advocate, therefore, a different system more in accordance with the natives' former conceptions of tribal holdings. The grant of freehold rights to Europeans in East Africa has been demonstrably unsound. Land speculation in whatever country it exists is evil in its effects, and unquestionably freehold rights in land lead to the worst forms of speculation. I am of opinion that it would be in the best interests of the majority of the white settlers if freehold titles in all land were abolished and replaced by a leasehold system with adequate safeguards for the leaseholder.

It was pointed out to us in every territory we visited that very short leases would be likely to

lead to soil exhaustion. The shortest lease which a settler would regard as attractive would be ninety-nine years. When there is a mixture of leasehold and freehold land systems, the freeholder is obviously in an advantageous position—the banks consider his security better and are much more willing to lend money on a freehold estate than they are on a leasehold. But the leasehold system which I suggest for East Africa need not necessarily be the same as the system in Great Britain. The leaseholder should be guaranteed compensation for any improvements which he effects, and if this were the case, possibly many of his difficulties would disappear. On the other hand, neither leaseholder nor freeholder, in my opinion, is entitled to the increment value attached to his land which accrues from irrigation works carried out at the expense of the general community or the proximity of an estate to a newly constructed railroad or motor road. The increment value in such cases is out of all proportion to the common taxes which the owner might be called upon to pay. In Kenya, for example, the only direct tax paid by Europeans is at present 30s. yearly, about three times the tax levied on a native whose wages, if he were working for a European all the year round, would not total more than about £8 or £10. Indirect taxation also falls more heavily upon the natives than upon the Europeans. I have been consistently supporting an intensive railway programme for East Africa, and agree with Mr. Ormsby-Gore that the railways are so necessary that they should be provided for out of a loan guaranteed by the British Government and advanced to the East African governments free of interest for a period of years; but the East African white settlers should try to appreciate the fact that the burden of taxation upon

Great Britain is enormous—it works out in fact to an average of £100 per family per year. In addition to this, there is the burden of local taxation which can be estimated at between one-third and one-half of State taxation. It is high time the settlers in Kenya shouldered at least a part of the heavy burden of taxation which falls upon the people through whose sacrifice they have been able to borrow money for the improvement of their holdings without being called upon to pay any interest for a term of years. All the East African governments should ensure in future that leases should not be for more than ninety-nine years, that the terms on which leases are held should be reviewed every ten or fifteen years, and steps should be taken to prevent speculation in land values by making it a condition of the grant of a lease that the government can, in the event of a leaseholder wishing to part with his lease, have the option to repurchase at the original price plus an allowance for beneficial occupation.

Furthermore, to accelerate the development of the land held by Europeans—syndicates or private individuals—it is essential that a form of graduated land tax and a development tax be instituted. It was pointed out to us in two of the territories that little had been done by most of the large concessionaires to develop their holdings: they obtained them for next to nothing and are content, apparently, to wait until the construction of a railway or trunk road through, or in the vicinity of their concessions, increases its value. The position in Nyasaland in this respect is far worse than in Kenya; in fact, it constitutes a scandal. A scheme for a graduated land-tax was suggested to us which seemed eminently practicable. An estate of 500 acres should be free: for estates above that size a



A NANDI BRAVE, KAPSABET, KENYA.

tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per acre should be imposed, rising $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per acre for every additional 500 acres. But in addition it is imperative, as my colleague, Mr. Linfield, suggested, that a development tax should be imposed on all estates, large and small, freehold, and leasehold. Such a tax would prevent land lying idle and have the immediate effect of stimulating its sale. Motoring along the road from Kapsabet in the Nandi native "reserve" towards Eldoret, the centre of the Uasin-Gishu plateau, we were struck by the enormous stretches of undeveloped land in the "white" alienated area, all of it seemingly amazingly fertile. Yet within a few miles of these enormous undeveloped estates there are ex-soldier-settlers whose holdings are too small for their needs, while in the adjacent Nandi reserve there is a shortage of grazing land. Yet it was towards the Nandi reserve that the soldier-settlers looked for additional lands and not one suggested that the undeveloped land owned by Europeans should be expropriated by the Government to meet their needs.

I am not unaware of the difficulties inherent in any such scheme; if settlers are granted land on such terms they will consider that they have been defrauded unless a sufficient supply of labour is forthcoming for land development. As a body they will object to paying taxes on the undeveloped portions of their estates if they can prove that the available labour supply is deficient. Again, they may object to the Colonial Office imposing conditions upon land-holders which the British Government cannot impose upon its freeholders or leaseholders at home. Nevertheless, the attempt which is being made in Tanganyika to impose these terms upon the settlers in the southern highlands should be persisted in. The experiment is certainly

very worth while, and would go far towards removing some of the prejudices against white settlers which exist in this country. In his volume on "Politics and the Land" recently produced, Mr. C. Dampier Whetham points out that the tenant farmers of Great Britain are perfectly content to remain tenants and they have shown no general desire to become their own landlords. Moreover, he states that they are more successful in their undertakings than the smallholders. There is no reason to despair, therefore, of the probable success of a system of land-holding in East Africa which is a near approximation to the one which works successfully at home.

It is not only the freehold titles of the white settlers that must be examined, but also those of the missionary bodies. In Uganda, for example, certain missions have freehold rights and apparently all the rights of the local chiefs to levy taxes upon the natives on their estates. The missions unquestionably are doing most useful work in the native reserves, but there is no justification for their holding freehold titles to land while such titles are denied to the native communities in the midst of which they are situated.

What the settlers in East Africa do badly need is an agricultural bank, a bank which will provide money for improvements for plant and machinery and advance money on growing crops at reasonable rates of interest. Ten or twelve per cent. interest is the rate usually demanded by the local banks of the small settlers in East Africa and is altogether unreasonable. It not only puts them at distinct disadvantage in comparison with the large land-owners and plantation syndicates, who can generally raise money in or borrow money direct from England or even from the local banks at about half

the rate, but also has the effect of preventing them from paying decent wages to their labourers. It would be interesting to verify the truth of the statement which has recently been made that of the £3,500,000 loan granted by the Imperial Government in 1923 for the Uganda railway, only £270,000 had been expended up to March, 1925. Nearly £1,250,000 of this money was left on short call in London, i.e., it was lent to various financial interests who were naturally lending it out at a higher rate: £610,760 was with the National Bank of India, Nairobi, and £100,000 was with the Standard Bank of South Africa, Nairobi. Presumably this money in the hands of these banks was being lent for various purposes to settlers and merchants in East Africa for which they were paying anything from seven to twelve per cent. In other words, the banks were using public moneys, obtained at a low rate of interest from the British taxpayer, to reap a considerable harvest abroad. If this be true it is obvious that the utmost precautions will have to be taken to prevent history repeating itself in the case of the new £10,000,000 loan, and it is not unreasonable to suggest that if the facts are as stated, the banks should be asked to make restitution.

Some of the most hostile critics of the settler in East Africa are the administrative officers and the missionaries. I have already pointed out that the latter have been granted extraordinary privileges in the native reserves. They obtain an abundant supply of labour and a good deal of it is unpaid. Many of them produce crops for export and building materials for sale among natives and settlers. As regards the former class, the administrators, it is not suggested that they are overpaid: on the contrary their responsibilities are enormous in comparison with the salaries they receive, but they

are sure of a return for their labour, as a general rule they are comfortably housed, and under the terms of service they are guaranteed six months in England out of every three years' service. After twenty years' service they are entitled to fairly liberal pensions. Specialist officers are in much the same position. Unquestionably the white element in East Africa, and possibly in every other Crown Colony, tend to group themselves into two opposing camps—the missionaries and administrators in one, and the settlers and traders in the other. Nowadays, whatever he may have been in the past, the average missionary is essentially a man with a career: so is the administrator. As a general rule both missionaries and administrators are university trained men who have chosen their careers, either because they feel that it is their vocation, or because they wish to taste adventure with all its comforts but none of its risks. Many of them are very superior persons, and the powers conferred upon them, particularly in the case of the administrators, are calculated to increase their self-esteem to the point of self-importance. The missionaries are likewise, by virtue of their privileged position, apt to become too conscious of their rôle and not infrequently Pecksniffian in their attitude towards the godless settlers. Where they function as traders—and many of them do—the fact that the greater part of their profits are devoted to the upkeep or extension of their missions and their work persuades them that their trading is different from that of the ordinary man; that even if they produce crops for export—and many of them do—and not a small proportion of such crops are produced by underpaid or voluntary workers, they still feel entitled to regard themselves as in an entirely different category from the settler-farmer, even though the

settler-farmer undertakes to perform many of the functions of the missions, that is to say, to provide schools and medical treatment for the natives in their employ and, what is just as important, give them a better practical training than could possibly be provided by the missionaries. The causes of antagonism, however, probably lie deeper. The existence of a strong unofficial element, particularly if it is led by virile personalities of the type of Lord Delamere, is a challenge to the overlordship of the official classes. If there were no settlers there would be very little criticism of officialdom; there would be no free press; any progress they made would be dependent entirely upon their own initiative, and there would be very little external pressure exerted upon them to bring about those improvements in the organization of the communities which are so essential for its progressive development. They would be able to make their authoritative demands upon chiefs for the services of tribesmen to assist them in their travels and in other ways, without the uncomfortable feeling that the privileges of forced labour which they enjoy—and for which provision is made in the Mandates clauses of the Covenant of the League of Nations—must be condemned if they are demanded by the settler elements for productive purposes. The most ardent advocate of forced labour that we met in Kenya was an ex-administrative officer who had forsaken the administration for management of a plantation, and it is notorious that one of the most eloquent writers on the evils of the settler system was himself, before he retired from the East African service, a believer in the principle of forced labour—provided it was not forced labour for the unofficial whites. Cant and humbug are not the prerogatives of one section of the white community.

For a system of administration as complete and comprehensive as that described by the Labour Party in their African Policy report, an enormous number of administrative and specialist officers would be required and this would place an intolerable burden on the natives in the form of additional taxation. It would be well if we recognized that the average settler can, with proper inducements, assist greatly in the task of raising the Africans. Mr. Heaton Nicholls, the representative of Zululand in the Union Parliament of South Africa, in an address given to the Empire Parliamentary Association in London in December, 1925, stressed this point of view. He stated that "South Africa has learnt by actual experience through the years that the best missionary amongst the natives is a resident civilization. The training of the African native towards a higher intellectual, moral, and economic life can only be done by European example. It is not in the native reserve that the spirit of progress can be born. No administrative act, no amount of missionary enterprise can change the deep-rooted habits and customs of the natives." The missionaries can do little more than touch the surface of native life. The itinerant official can do still less. "In the practical school of experience," he added, "working under the eye of the civilized settler as an apprentice works under the eye of a journeyman, the native will obtain that working knowledge of civilized life and economic production which, transplanted to the native reserves, will cause their rapid development. It is thus that the most advanced natives in Africa, the natives of the Transkei, have acquired their knowledge of agriculture and developed their reserves. Agricultural colleges at best serve to instruct a mere chosen few of the population, and the experience gained in such

institutions needs to be supplemented by the practical experience only to be gained in economic production."

Whatever his defects, the average settler does come into very intimate contact with the blacks who work for him, and because of this intimate contact in their work, the black and white are bound to come to a degree of understanding which could never be approached, except in very rare instances, by the administrative officer, whose responsibilities are such, whose administrative net spread so wide, that it is impossible for him—even if he wishes—to establish any strong bond of sympathy between himself and the natives who surround him. The Kenya Missionary Council, representing all the Protestant missionary societies of Kenya, emphasized this point of view in a memorandum which they presented to us :

"We would like to state in this connection that we consider that Administrative Officers in the native reserves are in the majority of cases over-worked. This reacts unfavourably in many directions. Many matters requiring their personal attention are inevitably neglected, there is little intimate contact with the people such as would help to encourage feelings of friendly confidence between the governed and the governing, the officers have no time to acquire the local vernaculars, and, as the result of the pressure under which they are obliged to work, the accompanying nerve strain tends to produce impatience, irritability, and, in some cases, a lack of ordinary courtesy in dealing with the people, and this militates against mutual understanding and good feeling."

It is futile to declaim against the white occupa-

tion of the highlands of East Africa. The white settlers we saw, as I have already stated, regard it as their permanent home. They were encouraged there by successive Secretaries of State. They can neither be driven out nor starved out by any European power. It is just as well to face the fact that they must be regarded as a permanent factor in the life of the country. The bitter criticism of certain disgruntled retired East African civil servants is not calculated to do the slightest good to the native peoples whose welfare they profess to have so deeply at heart. Rather it has a contrary effect. The Kenya Missionary Council, which cannot be accused of any bias in favour of the white settler, expressed to us the view "that the Europeans having settled in the country, have their part to play in it and they are a *factor for good in the advancement of the African peoples*. There will always be those among the tribes who prefer to leave their reserves and settle down on European farms, and others who desire for a period of time at least to work as labourers on farms. They recognize the gains that have come to the African through British rule and the benefits that have accrued to them through the presence in their midst of a clever, vigorous, and honourable people." They represented to us that "the settlers of Kenya are as fine a type of the Britisher in all his good qualities as is to be found anywhere, and that they are in general sensible of the trusteeship which is also theirs for the well-being of the African."

Our stay in the country was unquestionably brief; we were in Kenya only a month, but in that month we had the advantage of coming in fairly close contact with all types of settlers. They expressed themselves perfectly freely to us: there were many

things they wanted granted which we regarded and still regard as being impracticable politics. For example, they want self-government, the same control over their own destinies and those of the native peoples as that possessed by the relatively small number of white people in Southern Rhodesia, and this demand of theirs has lately figured most prominently in the speeches of the elected members of the Legislative Council. It was, in fact, the first plank in the platform of the elected members in the recent elections. They consider that a system of unpaid settler magistrates would be just as efficacious and just as likely to maintain law and order, and dispense even-handed justice as the present system where these responsibilities are not infrequently entrusted to a junior officer without the slightest knowledge of the language of the people with whom he is dealing.

It is just as well to state clearly what the white settler understands by self-government. At a meeting of the Kenya Chamber of Conventions which took place just before the meeting of the Legislative Council in 1926 the following resolution was passed unanimously without discussion :

“That this convention submits to Government that the economic, political, and social growth of this colony has reached a point which justifies the grant of such a measure of self-government as will enable its affairs to be guided by those persons who are familiar with its conditions and are ultimately responsible for its future.”

and later this was crystallized in the manifesto of certain members of the Legislative Council when seeking re-election. They included Lord Delamere, Lord Francis Scott, Mr. H. E. Schwartz, and Mr. O'Shea. The first plank in their platform was :

“To press by any constitutional means for a European elected majority over all parties in the Legislative Council.”

In other words, about 10,000 whites settled in the midst of over 2,000,000 natives, outnumbered by nearly three to one by the Indian immigrants, contributing in proportion to their incomes a very small fraction of the total taxation—each white, in fact, paying only the same direct tax as each Indian and only three times the direct tax of each native—wishes to assume responsibility for the control and development of the native peoples and the control and development of the colony generally. The claim is fantastic. The colony is heavily in debt to the Imperial Government, and its indebtedness is being increased. The tremendous developments which have taken place in Kenya during the last few years have been made possible by the grant of loans free of interest for a period of years. The Imperial Government bore the cost of the defence of Kenya against the Germans during the war, and if the cost of the East African campaign or that part of it which concerned the Kenya settlers were added to its indebtedness, the burden would be crushing. No hint was given to us that the Kenya settlers wished to shoulder this or any other additional burden. They have consistently fought against any proposal for an income tax; one was imposed a few years ago but the whole burden fell upon the official classes: the settlers were able to prove that owing to the world trade depression they were making no profits. If they had self-government of the type they suggest, all money needed for harbour improvements, extension of railways, construction and improvement of roads, and social services, would fall most heavily upon the native

population, for it is fairly certain that the settlers would elect those representatives who were prepared to put the disproportionate share of the burden of taxation upon the natives.

There is no basis for belief that there is a greater amount of disinterestedness among the white settlers of Kenya than there is among the electors of Great Britain. Any political party, even in Great Britain, would be hard put to it to prove that it based its appeal to the electorate upon principles. Bribery is a far more seductive weapon than principles. In the industrial centres the bribery takes the form of the promise of increased benefits for the unemployed, increased out-relief from Boards of Guardians. In the better class residential constituencies it takes the form of promises of reduced income taxes and local taxation. The appeal to the rural elector differs only in form: one party dangles protective duties on imported agricultural produce before the electors; another promises to free the land from the incubus of the landowner; another promises to establish a minimum wage. Whatever is promised is at the expense of the elector as a whole. It no longer involves any personal sacrifice on the part of the candidate himself.

After the fullest consideration of this question of so-called self-government in Kenya we came to the conclusion that the introduction of the electoral system in that colony was premature. The influence of the unofficial element in the Legislative Council is greater than the circumstances warrant. Until the late Sir Robert Coryndon was appointed Governor a succession of weak governors had bartered away the rights of the native and the Indian population. The representation of the native interests on the Legislative Council

was reduced to a farce. It is still ludicrously inept.

If the principle of self-government is to be made operative in the East African territories, it must be self-government all round, that is to say, self-government for the whites, self-government for the Indians, self-government for the Arab communities, and above all, self-government for the natives. The capacity for self-government of the whites, the Indians, and the Arabs is not denied: there is some doubt about the capacity of the blacks. It is pointed out that the black peoples are not yet sufficiently educated to exercise the franchise, as we understand it, with any degree of intelligence. That is why I have stressed the imperative need for the development of the education services in the native reserves. It might be worth while taking the risk of giving the natives a far greater share in the responsibility of governing the country. Responsibility is a great teacher. If the native peoples felt that their representatives were sharing the responsibility for the government of the country with the other races, wounds would be healed, understanding would result, and foyal co-operation of the various races would be a reality. I doubt the wisdom of any attempt which might be made to have one form of government for the indigenous peoples and different forms for the other races. The western system has been introduced in part: unless it is made general it can easily degenerate into an instrument of oppression.

We said in our report that the settlers "aspired to build up in these highlands (of Kenya) a distinctive type of British civilization which is neither of South African nor of West African character. The ideal expressed by them to us is based on a more complete inter-relation and co-operation between

the European and the African than exists in either the south or the west of the continent." None of us who believe implicitly in the possibilities of the highlands of East Africa as a future home for European peoples can desire the white settlers to follow the lead of South Africa. Those of us who regard the purity of the white race as an ideal worth striving for cannot view with any equanimity of mind the recent franchise proposals of General Hertzog. If his proposals were put into effect the people of mixed race would have full electoral rights and the black races practically none. A premium is therefore put upon miscegenation. Very much the same effect is produced by the South African whites' attitude towards the natives in the industrial field. Nowhere in Nyasaland, Tanganyika, or Kenya, has the South African policy in this respect been followed. On the contrary the settlers realize that it is in their best interests that the natives should be trained to attain the highest degree of skill, whatever the trade. Where they have followed South African policy closely as in their registration system, they have been unfortunate. It has been described by Dr. Leys thus :

"During the war an act was passed that locked the shackles of the new slavery on all. This Registration Act registers in a central bureau the name, age, village, thumb-print, etc., of every native together with his personal and industrial history as given by all his past employers."

I quote Dr. Leys because he was one of those who, in 1912, advised the Labour Commission in Kenya that such a system of registration of natives was necessary in connection with the labour supply. He did so in the following words :

"The chief characteristics of the legislation necessary" include "a minimum standard of housing and feeding" and "efficient identification. The present method of taking finger-prints is useless. A proper system (as is used by the police) would be cheap and easily worked by the persons who now waste time over the existing farce. . . . The registration forms provide no means whatever of identifying the men. The provisions for punishing desertion are practically a dead letter."

Dr. Leys in 1924 says :

"The (Registration) Act has been gloriously successful, fiendishly successful. Desertion from work is now punished so invariably and so heavily that it has become quite rare."

It is true that Dr. Leys stated that "A real freedom would at first diminish but afterwards increase the number of wage earners," but he must accept responsibility for having given the advice which was followed and which presumably was inspired by his reading of Mr. H. G. Wells, for the system in operation in Kenya is not unlike that described by this famous writer in his "Modern Utopia," with this difference, that Mr. Wells wished such a system to be of universal application while Dr. Leys was apparently prepared to advocate its application to the native section of the population only. There seems little doubt in my mind that not a little of the reluctance of the natives to leave the reserves to seek employment on European farms and in the townships is attributable to the Kipandi system of registration. It is true it introduced certain safeguards for the natives, but the advantages of the system are altogether outweighed

by its disadvantages. It is time it was abolished. It is costly, and to my mind entirely unnecessary.

The system of government I should advocate for Kenya would be based upon community self-government. The four communities would raise their own taxes and disburse them. They would contribute their quota to the general expenses of administration of the whole territory. The Legislative Council would consist of direct representatives of the four communities together with representatives of the Crown. The Crown would still reserve its right of veto on all legislative acts. Such a system of government might well be applied to each of the six East African territories and later, when the inter-communications and inter-relations between the territories have been improved by a comprehensive programme directed to the development of the railways, roads, airways, telegraph, and wireless communication, a centralized government might easily be established with an elected house of representatives and a senate. The British Empire can afford to make the experiment. If it were successful it might usher in the dawn of a new era by providing a model constitution for all those territories of the world which are peopled by different races in juxtaposition.

Mr. Amery, the present Colonial Secretary, made a great mistake when he dissolved the committee which was appointed during the lifetime of the previous government for the purpose of advising his predecessor in office on matters of East African policy. On that committee were gathered together men of all shades of political opinion and experts on practically every matter which is ever likely to arise in connection with East African affairs. The East African Board which has constituted itself the advisor to the Colonial Office on trade matters, is

quite an inadequate body, and is a poor substitute for the really authoritative body it succeeded. Much of the criticism levelled against the settlers and the administration in East Africa would have been stifled at birth had the critics had access to members of the old committee. The memorandum published by Mr. Charles Roden Buxton, "The Exploitation of the Black Races," would probably never have been written with its glaring misstatements of facts. The statements made by Dr. Norman Leys, would have been impartially examined and his many misstatements, exaggerations, and errors of fact corrected. Such a committee could have proffered valuable advice through the Secretary of State to the Legislative Councils in the various British tropical African territories and might have exercised a profound influence by virtue of their authority and impartiality in East African affairs. As it is, every person who has any complaint to make against our East African administration goes direct to H.M. Opposition, the members of which must usually have recourse to debate and questions in Parliament to obtain confirmation or refutation of their statements. The result is that the remarkable experiment in white colonization in the highlands of East Africa is regarded with the greatest suspicion and distrust by a growing number of people in this country. There are some people who refuse to believe that any kind of imperialism is calculated to produce anything but untold misery to the unfortunate peoples who are drawn into the vortex of world economics. They would welcome a crisis in Kenya; it would please them if open conflict between the blacks and the whites or the whites and the Indians broke out. It would please them also if the Kenya settlers decided to bring about the self-government they desire by a challenge to the

Home Government's authority. In their fierce opposition to the idea of imperialism they are quite prepared to sacrifice the black peoples, for this undoubtedly would be the logical result of their endeavours to stir up racial antagonisms or distrust and dislike of the Home Government. They are people who prefer the complete breakdown of the system to remedial and beneficial changes brought about by consent of all the parties concerned. Unless the white man in Africa is an administrator or missionary, he must necessarily be an exploiter. The system, so Dr. Leys informs us, makes him such. What they fail to realize is that the greater the number of white settlers that can be absorbed by the country, the more rapid will be the advance of the African. The greater the competition for labour, the more rapid will be the rise in wages of the native population. The greater the number of people with a high standard of living, the greater the stimulus will be to the natives to improve their own standards of life. The greater the number of well-educated peoples among them the greater and more insistent will be the demand for improved educational services. The improved standard of agriculture among the Europeans is but a preliminary to a vastly improved standard in the native reserves. It is my firm conviction that the natives in our East African territories are far better treated than in any other part of Africa—except, perhaps, in parts of British West Africa—and that within a few years, through their more intimate contact with the white peoples, they will have progressed far more rapidly than the native communities in the West.

There is another aspect of white settlement as contrasted with administration. The white settler gives us a firm hold on the territory and, provided

he shapes his course in accordance with the highest dictates of civilization and humanity, and regards himself as an empire missionary, there is no reason why there should not spring up a strong bond of sympathy between the whites and the blacks and the healthiest spirit of co-operation between the two races. Where we have left everything to the administrator, as in India, it cannot be pretended that this sympathy or this desire for co-operation exists. The administrator is apt to be regarded as parasitic, his virtues overlooked, his function in production discounted, but this attitude cannot be maintained towards white settlers conscious of their aim, progressive in their outlook, stimulating by their example the development of the land, and acting as a constant spur to governments to assist in the necessary tasks of development.

CHAPTER XIII

LORD DELAMERE

THE outstanding personality among the white settlers in East Africa is Lord Delamere. He cannot be ignored. Very little is written and very little said about white colonization in the tropics without some appraising or disparaging reference being made to his activities. He is variously described—depending upon the attitude of mind of the writer or speaker—as a landgrabber of the most voracious type, or the benefactor of the country which he has made his permanent residence for the last twenty-five years. Yet in spite of all that has been said and written, the picture of the man himself is singularly incomplete. Mr. Winston Churchill, in "My African Journey," written twenty years ago, just casually refers to Lord Delamere, whom he visited at Elmenteita. It is a pity that he did not exercise his powers of characterization to present to us at home one of his vivid personal impressions of his host, who even then was exerting a great influence on the policy of the local government. It is possible, however, that Mr. Churchill thought it would be superfluous to describe a man who resembled himself in so many ways; the type was too familiar to him to need explanation or comment. But so much importance is attached to his personality and

to his unceasing activities for the encouragement of European settlement that a fuller description of him based upon nearly a month in his company will not, I hope, be considered out of place.

Lord Delamere's success in life is a signal instance of what may be effected by a man who devotes his whole energies without reserve to one object: He is part Puck, part politician, part *poseur*, but the greater part patriot. He is below the average in stature, and this accentuates a certain 'impishness' in his behaviour; his everyday clothes and his hair are not like those of other men: neither are his activities. He never allows a night's enjoyment—and his capacity for enjoying the good things of this life is fairly great—to mar the following day's work. He is tireless in his pursuit of work, of play, and pleasure. Kenya, and to a lesser extent lately the neighbouring territory of Tanganyika, are to him a vast stage. He has all the appetite of the late Beerbohm Tree for occupying the centre of that stage and manipulating the limelight so that the central figure is always illuminated. His appearance is always an event. He delights in the unconventional at most times, but on occasions remembers that he is the third baron of his line. Like a lordly statesman in this country, he cannot abide his equals, but thrives best in the society of lesser men. A man of his many parts and activities really needs a secretary of outstanding intellectual ability, but he prefers his secretarial duties to be performed by one who has neither the knowledge, training, nor the capacity to form an independent judgment or opinion on any of the problems that beset his master. Even in this respect he gave me the impression that his choice of secretary was not without purpose. He disclaims subtlety, yet he

is the most subtle of men. He would prefer people to regard him as honest and even stupid than possessed of the guile of a diplomat. Yet it is due primarily to his skill as a diplomat and his keen judgment that he has obtained support for the experiment he started in white settlement. He gauged to a nicety the relative numerical and political strength of the opponents and supporters of the experiment—although the opponents were not confined to one political party—and by his personal ascendancy over successive governors has successfully carried it through its first stages. Outwardly he gives the impression of petulance and impatience at any opposition to his cherished schemes, but actually he is the most patient, persistent, and purposeful of men, qualities which have enabled him to gain an amazing ascendancy over the settlers. This ascendancy over the settlers of Kenya has been enjoyed long enough for him to expect all men—and women—to do his bidding, and do it promptly. He is their Moses. For twenty-five years he has been their guide. No Joshua has yet arisen to challenge his supreme authority.

His generosity is a byword. Several men in Kenya owe their fortunes to him. At the time of the stabilization of the rupee he found his overdraft at the bank—like those of everyone else in Kenya with overdrafts—increased by 50 per cent. in a night. Nevertheless, in that crisis, those who owed him money were dealt with in the most generous manner. He lightened their burdens for them, and it is not surprising that they regard him with a great deal of affection apart altogether from certain qualities he possesses which command devotion. He is a princely host as I can well testify from my own experience as his guest. His

guests will be installed in sumptuously appointed apartments while he himself will sleep in spartan simplicity in a converted stable barn alongside his manor house. The first evening of my stay at Kabete he inquired if I liked dancing. I said "Yes," whereupon he telephoned all over the countryside to invite his friends, after the fashion of a royal command, to a banquet and dance at the Muthaiga Club; and there was no more tireless or eager dancer present than Lord Delamere himself.

He loves power. No politician loves power for its own sake more than he does. He is probably sufficiently wealthy to be careless of money-making, but he loves the capacity to enrich others. Like Warwick he is ever hesitating between the desire to become a ruler of the country and the maker or mentor of its rulers. And he prefers the rulers to be easily ruled. His ideal governor is a puppet sailor or puppet soldier, a man for whom a course or line of policy can be determined, and once determined, obstinately pursued. Before the Europeans of Kenya were prematurely granted the franchise he was the head of the Colonists' Association. Once the franchise was granted and the unofficial members of the Legislative Council were elected by their fellows, he founded the Convention of Associations as an alternative stage to the Legislative Council, a stage which he could dominate by his personality, unfettered by the judicial calm of the Legislative Chamber. For some years, it is fairly true to state, he decided who were to represent the various constituencies on the Legislative Council. He still thinks of Kenya in terms of a self-governing colony: he hopes within a few years to have achieved this primary aim and eventually to get the other four

African territories—or the three of them where the conditions for white settlement are favourable—to follow in its wake. He may have aspirations—I believe he has—of becoming the first premier of a united East African dominion. He refuses to recognize the present mandatory form of government in Tanganyika as an obstacle in the path of his ambition. He fails to see that the form of government established there is more likely to be imposed on Kenya and the other territories than the Kenya form of constitution upon the rest of East Africa.

Following upon a suggestion we made in our report, a governors' conference was arranged shortly after Sir Edward Grigg was appointed Governor of Kenya Colony. Lord Delamere hastily improvised a conference of the unofficial white elements in the various territories, at which most of the problems which were likely to be considered by the governors later were discussed and policies formulated "for the guidance" of the Governors' Conference. The Tukuyu Conference, as it was called, was well staged, and he was the dominant figure. It was well attended by prominent settlers from each of the five territories. Every precaution was taken to ensure that due publicity was given to its proceedings. Even the *London Times* was persuaded that it was of sufficient importance to merit the appointment of a special correspondent.

He is not unmindful of the power of the press. While we were on the first part of our journey through Kenya we took exception to certain reports which appeared in the *East African Standard*, which contained garbled and incorrect accounts of what we had said to various groups of settlers or to natives at the various barazas we had attended,

or at various functions at which we were guests. On arrival at Nairobi Lord Delamere telephoned immediately to the proprietor of the *East African Standard* inviting him to luncheon, and in my presence complained of the inaccuracies of his printed reports. He complained also that the reports of all meetings in Kenya Colony were equally as bad, and on being told by the proprietor that to report such meetings fully was a costly business, made an immediate offer of £500 a year towards the expense of reporting the proceedings of the Legislative Council and the Chamber of Conventions fully. Incidentally he has thus performed no little service to hostile critics of Kenya, and they should be inordinately grateful to him for providing them with a weapon with which to beat the settler.

I have already referred to Lord Delamere's attitude towards Tanganyika. During our stay in Nairobi it was persistently rumoured that the Home Government, in pursuance of its pacification policy, seriously contemplated relinquishing its control of the neighbouring territory in favour of Germany. Almost coincidentally an obviously inspired report appeared in the *East African Standard* that the European settlers in the Arusha and Moshi districts were practically unanimously desirous of having the boundary of Kenya Colony adjusted so as to include their own districts. Before we left Nairobi, however, a disclaimer came from a section of the Moshi planters and later, when Mr. Ormsby-Gore and I visited Tanganyika, we found that while there were a certain number of planters in favour of the adjustment of the Kenya boundary, there was equally strong feeling against it. We were informed that Lord Delamere and his friends had been conducting very active propaganda in

favour of their idea for some time. He probably realizes now that the policy of lopping off bits of the neighbouring territory is unsound, and since the settlers of Tanganyika have recently been given representation on the Legislative Council of that territory, there would probably be no support forthcoming at all if the proposal were made again. But it is evident that he wishes to play some part in the affairs of the neighbouring territory. He may, by this time, have realized that Tanganyika bids fair to become the most important of the five East African territories, so he has established himself as a landowner in Tanganyika by buying up an ex-enemy freehold estate in the Tukuyu district.

His various meetings with the governors are directed towards one end, the increase in the area available for white settlement and consequently the increase in the number of white settlers. He has done his best to impress the Home Government and the Governor of Tanganyika with the potentialities of the Southern Highlands of Tanganyika as an area for white colonization. He has taken account in his calculations of the evident desire on the part of the Germans to resettle in East Africa, and has expressed the view that he would welcome an influx of the better type of German settler as distinct from the plantation syndicate. Once there is a large influx of white settlers into these Southern Highlands, Lord Delamere will commence to agitate for the immediate construction of a railway to link up Dodoma, through Iringa and Tukuyu, to Fife, in Northern Rhodesia. At the same time he is following the lead given by his brother-in-law, the late Mr. Berkeley Cole, in his attempts to extend the area of white settlement northwards from the

Rumuruti district towards Lake Rudolf. He considers this part of Kenya Colony is admirably suited for sheep farming on a large scale. It was a project for which Mr. Berkeley Cole waxed enthusiastic to me while I was in his company. Whatever views may be held regarding this project, it must be conceded that it is not altogether an ignoble ambition to wish to be the instrument by which a large number of Englishmen are enabled to live a fuller and more vivid existence among the less-advanced peoples, and thereby forge links in the chain of white settlement along the whole backbone of Africa, and complete and fulfil the long-cherished ambition of the late Cecil Rhodes. The conception is his, and however embarrassing it may be to the home and local governments, it is not lacking in inspiration.

But in spite of his dreams he is a parochial thinker. In spite of his desire to take a part in the affairs of each of the five territories, he rarely envisages their problems as inseparable from world problems. He has very little grasp of economic principles, and although his knowledge of certain native languages is far greater than that of most people in the country, he gives very little evidence of understanding the native mind. It may be that he prefers to regard the natives as fulfilling all his convenient preconceptions with regard to their place and function and rights in the country of their birth. Nevertheless, he seems to inspire the natives with a certain amount of faith in his good intentions. Unlike the critics of Kenya in England, they do not regard him as the source of all their misfortunes. He seems to have a particular affection for the Masai, yet he will speak contemptuously of that human and animal zoo in which they are reserved. He employs large numbers of them on his estates;

he realizes their incomparable qualities as herdsmen, but has the greatest contempt for them as husbandmen. • Generally speaking, his attitude towards the natives is one of pity. They must bow to the inevitability of European domination. It is impossible for them to withstand the land hunger of the advanced races. They must be led, and it is one of the hard facts of existence that they will be exploited by the less scrupulous among the whites. They must not be allowed to stand in the way of white expansion.

He is still at the height of his powers. • He has spent the past quarter of a century under Kenya's tropical sun, living "rough" for a good deal of that time, but it appears to have had little effect on his amazing vitality. In the initial stages of our journey from Kisumu to Nairobi he always seemed to be the first awake in the morning and the last to sleep, and every day he seemed to crowd in one and a half times as much as the rest of us. I remember arriving with him at Nakuru late one afternoon. We were entertained at dinner later, after which he adjourned to the local club, where my host for the night and I left him about 2 a.m. The following day he drove Mr. Linfield by the road leading to Thomson's Falls; it had been raining and the road became quite impossible for his Panther, so he set off in one direction while Messrs. Linfield and Buxton went off in another, to get ropes to bind round the tyres to give them a grip. (Incidentally, it was on this trip that Mr. Linfield met his lion—an experience he would have enjoyed much more had it befallen him opportunely before the 1924 General Election.) At the end of that day's journey Mr. Linfield retired to bed in the train, but Lord Delamere came through to Naivasha, where I had been meeting the settlers

as a body, and visiting farms in the neighbourhood of the Lake. He arrived in the middle of my speech at the dinner which followed the day's work. Then he spoke, his speech being in general disagreement with mine. This function was followed by a dance in which he joined, after which we adjourned to the house of the local Political Officer and talked until after three o'clock. Then we retired to bed in the train which awaited to take us to Nairobi. At 6.30 in the morning the train pulled up with a jerk and looking from my bunk, I saw Lord Delamere, fully dressed, wandering up and down the platform, apparently not in the least tired by the previous day's exertions. This is typical of the man. He probably does more travelling in the country now that his kinsman, Berkeley Cole, is dead, than any other European. Although he takes his native chauffeur with him he usually prefers to drive himself. His ubiquity is best illustrated by some of his more recent activities. He arranged the Tukuyu Conference in October, 1925, which involved a long and tiring journey by car from Nairobi to Tukuyu and back. A month or two later he was very busy in Nairobi in connection with the East African Governors' Conference. Scarcely had that conference dissolved than he set out for England, arriving here about the middle of 1926, spending most of his time on the affairs of East Africa. In the early part of September he was back in Livingstone, in Northern Rhodesia, taking the leading part in the further conference of unofficial representatives which he arranged at the Victoria Falls. In October he was again in Nairobi taking his usual very active part in the proceedings both of the Chamber of Conventions and the Legislative Council, practically no subject raised passing without his lengthy comments.

Two months later he was most actively engaged in the Kenya elections.

But there are signs of revolt against his authority. He is first and last a settler. He has very little sympathy with the absentee landlord and still less for the syndicated plantation system. He resolutely sets himself against any attempt to facilitate the introduction of more Indian labourers: he would be prepared to back any project for bringing black labourers from other parts of Africa, and probably sympathizes with the idea of settling Southern European families within the territory as a source of labour for the farmers. This would be in keeping with his white settlement schemes. But the shortage of labour is so acute that certain sections of the European population would be prepared to bring in numbers of any race provided they were cheap. At the last meeting of the Chamber of Conventions the virtues of the Chinese coolie were extolled for example. Hints were thrown out that the Chamber of Conventions was being dominated by those whose main interests in the colony were centred in those industries which required the minimum number of labourers, the hint evidently being intended for Lord Delamere and Lord Francis Scott, both of whom have had the wisdom to concentrate on stock-rearing, wheat and maize. Again, in pursuit of his aim of self-government for Kenya, Lord Delamere has recently pronounced against Kenya taking any share of the £10,000,000 loan for East African territories, free of interest, considering that such concessions to the colony will strengthen the hold of the Imperial Government. But if Kenya is to raise its own loans and to pay interest on them, taxes will necessarily have to be increased and a proportion of these will undoubtedly fall upon the Europeans,

including the traders. Naturally, enthusiasm for self-government at this price is not easily aroused. In recent years Lord Delamere has been sufficiently successful in his various undertakings to arouse the envy of less fortunate men, many of whom are inclined to attribute his success to his specially favoured position in the colony rather than to his personal qualities. However, it is doubtful whether in his lifetime he will be eclipsed. It is doubtful if anyone will ever be able to speak with the same authority on the country, based upon personal knowledge of its peoples, soils and potentialities.

Towards his home critics he displays a certain impatient contempt. He has been accused of "dummying," that is to say, obtaining grants for land by various underhand methods, paying up men of straw, obtaining grants in the names of relatives in England who were never likely to visit the country, and getting all the necessary powers from them as a means of increasing his personal holding. This accusation is made obliquely by Dr. Norman Leys in the first edition of his book "Kenya." He makes another charge. He suggests that Lord Delamere must be held mainly responsible for the alignment of the Nakuru-Eldoret extension of the Uasin-Gishu branch of the Uganda railway which runs parallel to the main line for fifty-five miles to obviate a steep ascent to the Mau summit from a near point. This he suggests was done because Lord Delamere wished the railway to run through his original 100,000 acre concession in the Rongai valley. The diagrams which he publishes in support of his allegations are characteristic misrepresentations of the facts. It is not my function to defend Lord Delamere against the charges brought by Dr. Leys:

he is quite capable of doing that for himself, but the charge regarding "dummying" was sufficiently grave and was repeated so often in Parliament and out by those who blindly followed in their partisanship the lead given by this disgruntled ex-official, that the Colonial Secretary felt bound to call for a report. The report clearly demonstrates that Lord Delamere was given considerable grants of land, and that in recent years he must have amassed a considerable fortune from the sale of parts of the estates he was granted. But one thing stands out very clearly: he has done more for the development of his land and been wiser and more far-sighted in his use of it than the majority of his fellows. Not only have the improvements that he has effected on his own holdings considerably enhanced the value of his own property, but they have enhanced the value of the land of adjacent owners. One need only examine the list of settlers who have acquired farms by purchase from him to realize that he has been very careful in his selection of his types. In the report recently issued by the Colonial Office dealing with his acquisition of land, the whole of his transactions are very carefully examined, and according to the present Governor of the Colony, Sir Edward Grigg, the calumnies made against him have been disposed of once for all. Of the original 100,000 acres through which the railway runs, less than 18,000 acres remain in the possession of the original owner; the remainder have been disposed of and were disposed of before the railway to which Dr. Leys also refers, was constructed. While I was in Kenya I inquired into the truth of the statement that Lord Delamere had influenced the Government and the General Manager of the Railway to construct the railway with that particular alignment. I was informed

that, so far from supporting the proposal, Lord Delamere had himself been against it, although he had finally given a somewhat reluctant consent, following upon a statement by the then General Manager of the Railways, Mr. Cooper, and the report of Colonel Hammond.

As I have said elsewhere, I consider that unconditional grants of freehold land are thoroughly bad in principle, but the original grant of 100,000 acres at Njoro was made to Lord Delamere twenty-five years ago: there were very few natives in the district, the land was considered valueless by the Governor, and evidently considered of very little value to anybody else, for the offer of 5,000 acre free farms to anyone who chose to take them between Nakuru and Victoria Nyanza was not accepted by anybody. I do hold, however, that land brings responsibilities, and there is very little doubt that Lord Delamere has shouldered them. I cannot do better than summarize some of the main points of the letter he addressed to the Governor of Kenya in June, 1925, in reply to the accusations made against him by Dr. Leys, and repeated by Lord Olivier in the House of Lords.

He originally applied for 100,000 acres of land for a sheep run. He bought 4,000 ewes locally and imported rams. After two years' trial he found that the Njoro district was unsuitable for sheep, so he bought the Elmenteita estate to which he transferred them. Njoro he then devoted to cattle-breeding, agriculture, and ostrich farming. He bought 1,500 head of cattle and imported pure bred cattle for crossing from England. After some time he found that it was impossible to rear, grade, or keep pure bred stock in that district because of East Coast fever for which at that time there was no prevention or cure in the country. Consequently

he removed the cattle also to Elmenteita where he continued their up-grading—a small asset to the country: Before the war 3,000 acres were under cultivation at Njoro, mostly wheat. He tried out a large number of varieties, only three or four of which were partially successful. Two varieties of Australian wheat were good yielders, and a wheat called Rietti, an Italian wheat, was rust resistant. The Australian wheats succumbed to rust after a year or two, and Rietti was uncertain because of its susceptibility to green fly. He continued to experiment, and eventually obtained a series of hybrids which are the basis of the wheats being milled to-day in the country. In addition, he planted thousands of acres of wattle and erected a factory for the disintegration of wattle bark. He started an ostrich farm, as many as 200 ostriches being farmed at one time. He introduced the ox-drawn plough after it was found that a traction engine was unsatisfactory. A thousand young bullocks were brought in Kavirondo, and after getting a lesson from a South African Dutchman in the breaking of the first three or four bullocks, he spent many months breaking the rest. The natives had to be trained to the work: they were unused to the plough, they were incapable of putting oxen to such use. All kinds of ploughs, mowers, reapers, and binders, strippers and harvesters, had to be tried out before satisfactory types were obtained. He started the first maize farm—Florida Farm in the Rongai Valley; forty acres of oranges were planted; a pipe line sixteen miles long, with thirty-nine different watering-places with tanks, was laid down to water that part of the property which was not watered by the rivers. He started saw-milling in partnership. He started the breeding of pigs and gave an impetus to horse-

breeding. He established the first flour mill in Kenya, the Unga mill, which is now the chief flour mill in the country. As regards the Njoro property, therefore, he can be said to have been the pioneer of practically all that is best in the country. When he took over the property it was wild African veldt: now it is a smiling, thriving centre of agriculture, and Florida Farm, with the farms around it, which were sold to the Evans Brothers, is now handling sixty and seventy thousand bags of maize a year. For the development of his Elmenteita estate he acquired rights of land in the watered areas in the Rift Valley settlement, but exchanged these for waterless areas in the neighbourhood of Elmenteita. He watered the Elmenteita estate by pipe lines from the neighbouring mountains; he completely fenced in the estate and erected tanks for watering stock wherever they were. There are thirty miles of water piping on the property with fifteen sets of tanks, mostly concrete, and in addition about seventy miles of fencing, houses, buildings, cattle dips, a sheep-dip, drafting yards, a wool shed, and over 120 boxes for horses and imported animals.

It will probably be agreed that this is no mean record of achievement for one man. What Lord Delamere omits to say in his statement is, that whenever the Government, in the name of economy, has taken a retrograde step in dispensing with the services of specialist officers (agricultural and veterinary) he has taken care that their labour shall be continued in his employ. The Government, during the lean years which followed the war, shut down their experimental farms for agriculture and stock-breeding. For the presence of up-graded stock throughout the colony Lord Delamere must be given a great deal of credit. He has imported

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pedigree bulls from England in face of repeated and costly have already indicated, he has first that the best way of over labour is to develop those in the least demands upon the It was alleged that he treated indulgently; there are a "squatters" on his estates, and this made to me by an official that they live on his estate without working for wages for at least 180 days per year. It was to put a stop to such "indulgence" that the Chief Native Commissioner formulated the "Squatters' Ordinance" of 1924 which Mr. Thomas refused to accept.

Much as I dislike his feudal and patriarchal conception of society, I must confess that I achieved a whole-hearted admiration for what he had accomplished, and for his very real and personal interest in his diverse undertakings. Possibly he has achieved much because of his political power in the country, but I wonder at times whether he would not have achieved more had he kept aloof from politics and devoted the whole of his energies to the development of the resources of the colony. As a politician he must compromise. If he leads and represents the settlers he must disguise or subordinate his own views where they are in conflict with those of his followers. This is a pity. His views on native tenant farmers, on the wages to be paid to natives, on the facilities which are essential for the improvement of native agriculture, are intrinsically sound, but he is led at times before the Chamber of Conventions and in the Legislative Council itself to express wholly reactionary views

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low hand, which he has devoted the best years of
his life. He has served the material interests of
the settlers well. He could now convince them if
he chose that their security and material prosperity
are indissolubly linked up with the security,
advancement, and prosperity of the native peoples
in the midst of whom they live, upon whom they
are so dependent. He has, it is said, been the
leader of many fashions among the Kenya settlers;
at one time every eccentricity in his attire was
imitated by his admirers: they even wore their hair
long after his fashion. Let him start a fashion
in idealism. He might bring about an entire
change in the relations between black and white.
He could make black and white co-operation a
reality—he could set himself no nobler task. The
truest patriot is he who is animated by all the finest
idealism of his race and loses no opportunity of
instilling those ideals into all those with whom he
is brought in contact.

CHAPTER XIV

THE NEW DOMINION

WHATEVER views we may hold upon the virtual annexation by Great Britain of Tanganyika Territory, there is little doubt in my mind that this event will react to the benefit of the native races in East Africa as a whole. Tanganyika happens to be particularly favourably situated geographically in relation to the other four territories. It is within easy access of them all. The Central Tanganyika railway, probably the best constructed railway in East Africa, already links up the eastern parts of the Belgian Congo with the Indian Ocean; the branch line northwards from Tabora is rapidly approaching completion to Mwanza, the southern port of Victoria Nyanza, which will establish easy communication between Uganda and the western and more populous parts of Kenya. If the railway which we proposed—although the alignment we proposed was unsuitable—is constructed without any further irritating and unnecessary delay, across the Livingstone Divide, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland will be within two or three days' journey of Kenya Colony or Uganda. If the Government of Tanganyika is wise, the capital will be removed from the comparatively unhealthy port of Dar-es-Salaam inland to some point on the plateau in the neighbourhood of Tabora. In this event a new capital is likely to be the seat of government of the

new British East African dominion. Apart altogether from its advantages as an accessible centre from other territories, it would possess the far greater advantages of being a centre in which a new line of policy for East Africa could be followed with far-reaching moral, social, and economic consequences.

For Tanganyika is comparatively unhampered by the mistakes which have been made in other territories. It is freer to work out a new policy than any other territory, and if the Government applies itself to the task of fulfilling the obligations placed upon it by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, ultimately it will be in a position to impose its enlightened policy upon the several constituent parts of East Africa. The essential importance of a unified native policy is becoming realized through all the territories into which white settlement has penetrated. In my address before the Royal Geographical Society in December, 1925, I pointed out that in native administration uniformity is one of the first conditions of success. The partitionment of Africa during the scramble of the powers in the latter half of the last century resulted in six or seven different policies being pursued in its various parts, not, it must be said, policies determined by the local conditions for which there would have been some justification, but policies determined largely by the attitude of the European nations towards their possessions. The result was the hopeless demoralization and confusion among native races caused by the divergent practices of adjoining white governments. Great Britain regarded its territories in the light of imperial estates upon which it hoped ultimately to settle large numbers of its people. Germany regarded the colonies as sources of raw materials,

and preferred the large plantation system operated by syndicates to intensive settlement. France, Belgium, and Portugal for years followed the policy of undiluted exploitation, the natives unfortunate enough to be brought within the sphere of their influence being treated, if anything, rather worse than under the Arab system of domestic slavery. The entry of Europeans into the country had the effect of disrupting tribal life and breaking down tribal customs. That was inevitable, and in some respects it was not altogether disadvantageous to the natives themselves.

But by the cession of Tanganyika to Great Britain an opportunity has been given us to bring unity to an enormous tract of territory over which there will be uniformity of practice regarding the rights of natives and the development of the lands, and the people. More than that, since Tanganyika is a mandated territory, Great Britain, the leading power in the world, has to submit to the Permanent Mandates Commission at Geneva yearly a report of its administration. Upon the Permanent Mandates Commission are representatives of the allied and associated powers, and in all probability, now that Germany has entered the League, it will also demand and be granted a seat on that Commission. It would be well that it should be so, for Germany, although at present denied the responsibility of the administration of any part of Africa, has had much experience in dealing with the native peoples. Germans have contributed greatly to our knowledge of diseases afflicting human beings, animals, and plants, to our knowledge of native languages, customs, arts and crafts, and also to our knowledge of the potential resources of the territories for which it was formerly responsible. Its representatives, therefore, can be expected to bring the knowledge

of their experts to bear upon their criticism of our administration. It must be expected that such criticism will be largely influenced by the desire to prove to the world that in many important features Germany administered her former colonies by methods in advance of those of the other powers interested in Africa. Such criticism will have the helpful effect of stimulating the British administration to greater and greater efforts, not for the sake of proving that German administration was faulty, but that the British nation, once it applies itself whole-heartedly to the problem of the development of the resources of the tropics, with the wealth of experience and knowledge which it has accumulated in all parts of its scattered and varied dominions, and with the wealth at its command, can do far better than any other European power. In "Empire and Commerce in Africa" Mr. Leonard Woolf puts this point of view: "Experience and temperament have made the rule of the British over non-adult races an example of everything that is best in modern Imperialism."

We are slowly realizing that we cannot afford to take our responsibilities for any part of our dominions lightly. No governor in East Africa can afford to be complacent. Each is conscious of the important and stimulating fact that his administration is under the vigilant scrutiny of certain enlightened sections of the community at home, and that such scrutiny is not confined to the officials of the Colonial Office. The members of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society are performing a useful function in endeavouring to safeguard the natives against unfair exploitation. They are usually very well informed and are sufficiently powerful in England to ensure that any abuse of our privileged position in East Africa is

brought to the notice of Parliament. They focus the attention of public opinion upon any faults in our administration, or any variation of our policy unfavourable to the native communities, from that laid down in unmistakable terms in Articles 22 and 23 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and reaffirmed more emphatically by the Duke of Devonshire, when Colonial Secretary, in his famous memorandum published in 1923, on "Indians in Kenya." It applies to the whole of our African possessions.

"His Majesty's Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if, and when, those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail. . . ."

"His Majesty's Government regard themselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the African population, and they are unable to delegate or share this trust, the object of which may be defined as the protection and advancement of the native races. It is not necessary to attempt to elaborate this position; the lines of development are as yet in certain directions undetermined, and many difficult problems arise which require time for their solution. But there can be no room for doubt that it is the mission of Great Britain to work continuously for the training and education of the Africans towards a higher intellectual, moral and economic level than that which they had reached when the Crown assumed . . . responsibility for the administration of this territory."

"As in the Uganda Protectorate, so in the Kenya Colony, the principle of trusteeship for the natives, no less than in the mandated territory of

Tanganyika, is unassailable. This paramount duty of trusteeship will continue, as in the past, to be carried out under the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the agents of the Imperial Government, and by them alone."

"... they are convinced that the existing system of government is in present circumstances best calculated to achieve the aims which they have in view, namely, the unfettered exercise of their trusteeship for the native races and the satisfaction of the legitimate aspirations of other communities resident in the Colony."

"Meanwhile, the administration of the Colony (Kenya) will follow the British traditions and principles which have been successful in other Colonies, and progress towards self-government must be left to take the lines which the passage of time and the growth of experience may indicate as being best for the country."

It is interesting that the point of view adumbrated in the above passages follows very closely the pronouncement of a distinguished German expert, Professor Rathgen, who wrote thus during the war regarding German Colonial policy:

"Not only is the native in need of guardianship, but he must be especially protected against exploitation, usury, and proletarianization, just as much as against disease and famine. It is, of course, in its own interest that a far-seeing colonial policy should treat the natives with care and consideration. The necessity for there being some higher authority, standing above the possible conflict of interests between the white and the native population, is the principal argument against the granting of absolute autonomy to the white population of colonies with a mixed population."

How very different is the conception of our duty and responsibility towards the native populations as outlined above from that which characterized our former attitude towards subject races. It will be remembered that the Liberal policy of reconciliation between the British and Dutch elements of the South African white population which led to the grant of self-government to the Union of South Africa was regarded with a certain smug satisfaction in most influential quarters in this country. It occurred to no one apparently to consider the rights of the native peoples. Their interests were not safeguarded in any way, and the whites of South Africa were left with an absolutely free hand to determine their own policy with regard to the indigenous peoples and the Indian immigrants.

By the circumstances attending its transfer to Great Britain, Tanganyika Territory is peculiarly and happily susceptible to enlightened opinion at home and in the Councils of the League of Nations. The natives of Tanganyika, therefore, have two very powerful safeguards, more powerful than if they were still under German rule, for that section of opinion in Germany interested in colonial expansion is still inclined to regard territorial rights in terms of domination. In the recently issued statement by the Government of Tanganyika, setting forth its considered policy on native administration, the greatest stress is placed upon the welfare of the native population. It is asserted that the economic interests of the white community are bound up with the native population, and the strongest safeguard of its own continued existence and prosperity is to be found in the advancement and contentment of the latter—a striking commentary, it might be added, on Mr. O'Shea's address to his constituents in Kenya when he

described the talk of trusteeship of the natives as being unadulterated hypocrisy.

“The native policy in the Tanganyika government,” states this document, “rests on four pillars. The first is the conviction that the foundation of suitable policy and native contentment is that the natives should be given a sense of security in regard to their land. . . . The second pillar of native administration in Tanganyika is the giving to the natives a recognized place in the body politic. The aim is to assure to Africans legitimate scope to their political interests and aspirations along lines congenial to their natural genius and traditional system, and so to enlist on the side of law, order, and good government, all responsible elements in native society. . . . Thirdly, the Tanganyika Government has committed itself to the carrying out of the dual policy in the economic development of the territory. . . . The Governor has made clear his unqualified opposition to any form of taxation designed to bring pressure on the natives to leave their district to work for others, in order to find means to pay the tax. He regards the coercion of labour by the pressure of direct taxation as little if at all removed from the coercion of labour by force, and force, if recourse is to be made to either measure, is the more honest course. . . . The fourth pillar in the native policy of Tanganyika is to assist in the building up of an industrious and contented peasantry by broadly conceived policy of social advancement directed to the improvement of health, and of agriculture and the spread of education.”

Taking this pronouncement of policy as its basis, the League of Nations is provided with a wonderful

opportunity to perform a great work for tropical Africa. As the late E. D. Morel said:

“It is the tropical regions of Africa which are susceptible to international treatment and decisions. Policy can there proceed, in the main, on simple and broad courses provided that foresight, sagacity, humanity, and some imagination and knowledge are present at the European end. Policy is not there entangled in the ramified complexities of racial relationships: it is comparatively simple. . . . There is still time to inaugurate and apply there the principles of an enlightened international statesmanship. And the birth of an international organism, or—if we put it no higher—the birth of a desire for an international organism which may eventuate into a true League of Nations, provides the opportunity.”

The Mandates Commission of the League should, in my opinion, make a bold attempt to apply the principle of trusteeship to which the Allied and Associated Powers have subscribed, to the whole of the parts of tropical Africa governed by the European powers, and not merely those territories which have been taken from our late enemies. In other words, the mandatory system should be extended to the whole of tropical Africa. Doubtless all the interested powers will strenuously oppose any attempt of the kind and they will be backed up in their opposition by the white settlers in the various territories. But Great Britain could give a lead and the peoples of Great Britain should, as a whole, make a determined effort to set an example to other interested European powers. With all its faults our administration is admittedly the most enlightened administration in Africa. We have set our faces against militariza-

tion of the native races in contradistinction with the French. Our statesmen have made weighty and honest pronouncements on the subject of forced labour, and they exercise their powers to counteract the shortsightedness of the settler populations. It is a thousand pities, therefore, that we should have objected to the form of questionnaire sent out by the Permanent Mandates Commission to the various mandatory powers. It is difficult to understand the objections raised by our Foreign Secretary, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, speaking in the name of Great Britain and for the Governments of the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, against the hearing of petitioners in exceptional cases.

“The theory,” he states, “that petitioners should have a means of making their grievances known is perfectly correct, but the Commission’s suggestion that a hearing should be given to the petitioners is, they submit, an incorrect and dangerous application of the theory. The view of H.M. Government is that there are the gravest objections to the grant of any form of audience by an Advisory Commission of the League to petitioners who either are themselves inhabitants of a territory administered by H.M. Government under mandate, or are petitioners on behalf of inhabitants of such territories.”

As the distinguished signatories to a letter which appeared in *The Times* of 6th December, 1926, remark:

• “It should be obvious that a uniform method of procedure must be adopted by the Mandates Commission towards all the Mandatory powers, and those who have nothing to conceal should be the

last to offer objection to the fullest inquiry, even if in particular instances it may appear to them superfluous."

In the face of this opposition, however, it would appear that the best course for the Mandates Commission to pursue would be to lay down a Charter of Native Rights and to do its best to get the consent of the interested powers to this charter. In doing this, obviously, the Mandates Commission would invoke the aid of the International Labour Office at Geneva. It is high time that the conditions of labour were considered for all the native peoples committed to the care of all European powers. I am not at all sure that the comfortable assumption made by the interested powers that the natives are incapable of presenting their own case is justified by the facts. Again and again we met natives who were quite capable of stating their grievances fairly and moderately. In spite of the diversity of tongues and of peoples in each of the territories they seem fairly well acquainted with conditions all round: their views, therefore, were not purely parochial. It occurred to me then, and time has not shaken my conviction, that it would be sound policy for the natives to have their own direct representation on the Mandates Commission of the League. I realize the objections that would be raised, the most serious of which will be that it would be difficult to find one or two native representatives who would enjoy the confidence of the whole of the peoples whose interests they represented. It may be an experiment which will fail, but it is certainly worth making.

While it is true that employers of British nationality in their various relations with other

racés have proved themselves more enlightened than members of other nations, it is still true to state that many of them impose conditions on their labourers which would not be tolerated in any civilized community. In tropical Africa, for example, it is common practice for the natives to sign a contract to work for six months or 180 days. One hundred and eighty days is demanded: there are no rest periods unless the native falls sick; they are expected to work every day in the week including Sunday, and usually from sunrise to sundown. It was brought to my notice that in ordering machinery for a sisal plantation in Tanganyika, a company wrote to the makers suggesting that a rebate on the price should be made because there would be no need to supply the usual safety devices. It is fairly obvious that a workmen's compensation ordinance is needed for workers on European plantations or in European factories in Africa. Then again, the housing of native employees presents a problem of the gravest importance. Many epidemics could have been saved by employers taking ordinary precautions to safeguard their native workers.

Within the past few months the Empire Marketing Board have been displaying on the hoardings in our principal cities posters which point out the advantages to the people of Great Britain by trading with other parts of the Empire. One of these posters has a headline: "WHAT EMPIRE LABOUR CONDITIONS MEAN TO YOU," and goes on:

"The Dominions share with Great Britain the ideal of securing and maintaining a high standard of living, and Labour conditions in the Empire are better than in comparable foreign countries.

"These conditions mean that food from Home

or the Dominions is better and more wholesome than food from any foreign country which employs sweated labour and tolerates insanitary conditions."

By buying British goods, we are informed, we shall help to maintain those ideals of fair wages and good working conditions on which the real prosperity of the British Commonwealth depends, and then, in bolder type, we are told that "HIGH WAGES MEAN HIGH PURCHASING POWER." It is true that no specific reference is made to the conditions of labour in our tropical colonies, but clearly what applies to the dominions ought to apply to the tropical possessions.

There is another problem which is of peculiar interest to our East African territories. In each of these territories the military forces have been reduced to a minimum consistent with the protection of the native tribes near the frontiers, and the maintenance of law and order among the tribes within the territories. On the other hand, in neighbouring territories huge native military forces are being created, far greater than circumstances warrant. The League should set itself against the militarization of the African peoples. Practically all European powers have proclaimed against the traffic in arms, the object being to prevent the native population from purchasing weapons of precision for possible use against the Europeans, but this does not prevent the French Government teaching hundreds of thousands of African natives to use these weapons of precision, including artillery, and even instructing them in the art of bombing from aeroplanes, to be used presumably against other European powers if necessity arise. The League would perform a great service to civilization and humanity if it could

secure by international agreement the exclusion of tropical Africa from the area of European conflict, that is to say, that tropical Africa should be placed under perpetual neutrality. In that case, as Morel said, "we should have the collective moral forces of civilization arrayed in opposition to the power or powers which sought to infringe that neutrality; and there is no force carrying greater weight which humanity at its present stage or ethical development can invoke."

Without the effective backing of the British nation the League will be able to do none of these things. It is generally admitted that Great Britain has done more to put into practice the principles enunciated in the Covenant of the League as affecting mandatories than any other European power. We have adopted the "open door." We were the first to remove all disabilities of ex-enemy subjects. They are now free as peoples of any other nation to enter those of their former territories which are now administered by Great Britain. We have invited the co-operation of their experts in scientific research and in tropical diseases, and offered inducements to them to return to the scenes of their former labours. A large number of German settlers are already back in Tanganyika Territory: they have been welcomed. German traders are present in large numbers at every East African port. German missionaries were permitted to return to the territory three or four years ago although they were excluded from those parts of Tanganyika Territory administered by Belgium. The British Government has even given permission to German agents to visit East Africa for the purpose of paying moneys due to their former askaris—described by Dr. von Schnee to me, when I met him in Berlin, as a debt of honour which

could only be paid by the Germans themselves. Considering our attitude towards Germany, it is surprising that the full force of their propaganda is directed against us. We have dealt magnanimously with them. We look forward to the contributions which they have to make to the policy formulated by the League of Nations for the advancement of the African peoples and the better utilization of Africa's resources. The products of these countries are as available to them as they are to any British citizens: it is true they are denied the privilege of direct administration of the native peoples, but this is their only remaining disability in British territories, and who knows for how long this disability will remain? Much will depend on the contributions they have to make to the problems of African development. It may be a dream, but I am not without hope that within the next few years sufficient uniformity of purpose will be achieved among the Western European nations to enable them all to share jointly the common burden of the advanced races in promoting the advancement of the African peoples.

Years ago the foremost European powers were brought together in a spirit of loyal co-operation in their determined and successful work of stamping out the last stronghold of the slave traders. This task accomplished, the explorers of all nations followed the magnificent example set by Livingstone and penetrated into the innermost fastnesses of the Dark Continent. Missionaries of all nations and all denominations have vied with each other in their efforts to raise the intellectual standard of its peoples, to promote peace among them and to substitute the Christian ethic for their crude and beastly superstitious rites and observances. They can now find common purpose in exchanging the

knowledge they have already acquired of the peoples, the domestic stocks, and the economic products of the continent, and co-operating in extending the boundaries of our knowledge.

One of the immediate fruits of our visit to East Africa was the acceptance in full by the Health Section of the League of Nations of the detailed recommendations I was privileged to make in our report for the elimination or control of the tsetse-fly pestilence and the diseases which it spreads. A commission of expert investigators was appointed by the League of Nations, on which are represented different European powers, including a German representative, the brilliant investigator, Dr. Kleine. Last year, as a direct result of our discussions on the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa, an International Institute for the study of African Languages and Culture was founded, which is supported by practically every European nation interested in Africa, and by America. In this work German ethnographers and anthropologists are taking an active and leading part. There could be no better basis for international co-operation than the field of scientific research, for science knows no boundaries. In such labours members of all nations are brought together and arrive at mutual understanding and respect, which has the effect not only of cementing friendships between individuals, but having the greatest influence upon the relations between the nations which they represent. Africa in past years has been the scene of constant international rivalry and friction brought about mainly by the selfish interests of rival trading and financial corporations. There is hope that from the newer and better conception of the duties and responsibilities of the white races towards the blacks,

a new spirit will emerge, and that international rivalry will give way to international co-operation. It would be a magnificent achievement if the Amani Plant Research Institute in Tanganyika Territory became a centre to which would flow the scientists of all nations; if scientific investigators of all nations were attracted to the Veterinary Research Station at Kabete in Kenya Colony, just as international scientists are engaged in the investigation of problems in connection with sleeping sickness at Entebbe in Uganda. There is a great need for an East African University for the instruction and enlightenment of the more intelligent elements among the peoples. Wherever it is founded, whether the Makerere College in Uganda fulfils this need, or it is decided to establish it elsewhere, I can only express the hope that every endeavour will be made to get representatives of all interested nations on the staff of the institution.

In the chapters on scientific research and development I have outlined some of the tasks which await us. We are only just beginning to discover Africa. Even many of its geographical features remain uncharted. There is a vast field of endeavour open to nations of the world in connection with the discovery and utilization of its illimitable resources. If the Western nations make this their task, if they apply their energies to increase the productivity of African soil, to bring Africa's resources within the reach of its own peoples and the peoples of the rest of the world, if they bring to the African races all the benefits of Western civilization and safeguard them from its defects, if they make themselves indispensable to Africa's native peoples, they will be able to take common pride in a great achievement for the human race.

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