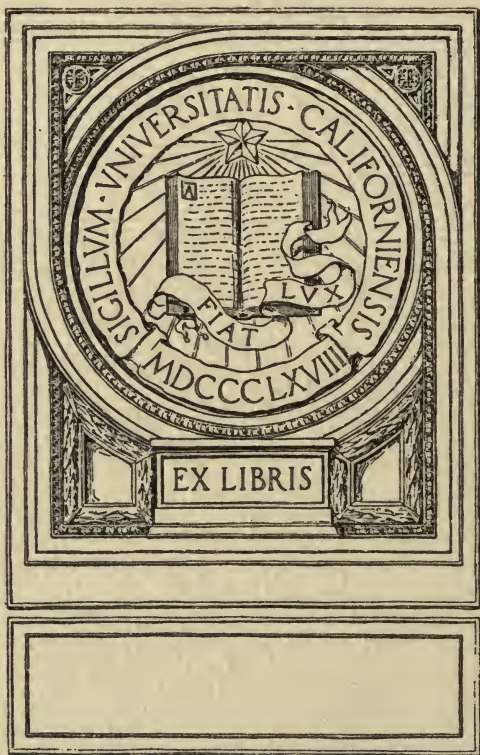


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ADMINISTRATION IN
TROPICAL AFRICA

ADMINISTRATION IN TROPICAL AFRICA

BY
CAPTAIN C. H. STIGAND

AUTHOR OF

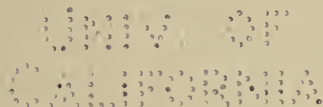
"TO ABYSSINIA THROUGH AN UNKNOWN COUNTRY"

"THE LAND OF ZINJ"

"SCOUTING AND RECONNAISSANCE IN SAVAGE COUNTRIES"

"THE GAME OF EAST AFRICA"

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FOREWORD

I HAVE much pleasure in writing this brief foreword to Captain Stigand's interesting work.

Captain Stigand needs no introduction to those interested in sport and travel in Eastern and Central Africa, as he has already made several valuable contributions to the literature dealing with those subjects.

I am confident that "Administration in Tropical Africa" will not only appeal to those readers who are unable to study the question on the spot, but will be of practical use and assistance to those whose inclinations lead them to devote their lives to the task of bringing the benefits of good government and civilization to our subject tribes in the more distant parts of the Empire.

In certain chapters of his book, Captain Stigand advances theories concerning some of the complex problems which confront the various Administrations in Tropical Africa, but, though the solutions he advocates may be open to argument and criticism, they are put forward with a tact and moderation which will ensure sympathetic consideration.

In a volume full of useful information I would call particular attention to Chapter V (The Establishment of Order), Chapter X (Agricultural Products), Chapter XVI (Transport), Chapter XIX and Chapter XX as containing many sound and practical hints.

I consider that Captain Stigand's observations are based on a careful study of the various questions treated, and disclose an intimate knowledge of the conditions prevailing in the districts about which he writes, and he is to be congratulated upon producing, in so readable a form, a useful and carefully considered work.

REGINALD WINGATE.

KHARTOUM,

February 4th, 1914.

PREFACE

THIS book does not pretend to aim at the higher administrative problems of this continent. It is written from the junior official's point of view and only touches on such wider problems as affect or should affect him, either directly or indirectly, in the performance of his duties. Junior officials for African administrations are generally selected from those who have been educated in the usual way and are healthy in mind and body. In few cases are any special qualifications made a *sine qua non*. On appointment, there appears no royal road to the acquisition of a knowledge of his duties, he must learn them by practice and experience.

The present book is the outcome of my efforts to elucidate what these duties really were and what was expected of me. The writing of it has cleared my mind to a certain extent of doubts and difficulties, and enabled me to see the way a little clearer. If it helps any other setting out on the same road in ever so little, its work will have been accomplished.

C. H. STIGAND.

KAJOKAJI,
27th October, 1912.

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UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA

ADMINISTRATION IN TROPICAL AFRICA

CHAPTER I

POLICY

I DOUBT if anyone is very clear in his mind as to the exact reasons for which we administer large tracts of the African continent. In most cases the actual Government has been forced into taking over a country, either by the enterprise of trading companies, or to prevent other nations taking possession, or to suppress notorious abuses.

A desire for possession and expansion is an inevitable result of a nation's growth and is caused by natural laws. Most of the first-comers in Africa were impelled by such laws and by pressure at home, although they themselves may not have realised the cause. This pressure from at home is continually growing, and, of late years, the value of the tropics to the temperate zones has increased enormously. As time goes on and the temperate zones become more congested, the tropics will become more and more indispensable to them.

Their importance may be estimated when it is remembered that the rest of the world is entirely dependent on them for such commodities as tea, coffee, cane sugar, cotton, rubber, fibres, cocoa, certain oils, rice, tapioca and spices. It is not too much to say that the employment, and even the very existence, of a great proportion of white men depends on the employment of coloured men in the tropics.

The Government which becomes responsible for the administration of a tropical dependency, then, appears to have a two-fold duty to perform. The first consists of the development of the country so that it may become a useful and correlated part of the empire. The second is its duty towards the inhabitants of the country for which it has become responsible. The development of the country will be greatly influenced by local conditions, and any efforts in this direction must, in the first place, be largely tentative in nature. They will also, at the commencement, be strictly limited by the resources to hand, for capital is required if future prosperity is to be built up.

As regards the Government's duty towards the inhabitants, our general policy towards coloured people may be gathered from Queen Victoria's proclamation in 1858 to the people of India, which stated that her subjects, of whatever race or creed, shall be freely and impartially admitted to offices in her service which they may be qualified by their education, ability or integrity to discharge.

Colonel Roosevelt puts it, "There is one safe rule in dealing with black men as with white—poor as with rich—that is, to treat each man, whatever his colour, his creed, or social position, with every possible justice, on his real worth as a man."

British policy towards the governed may be said to be¹ :—

- (i) A system of laws for the benefit and by consent of the governed, not for the benefit of the governing classes.
- (ii) A religious system based on the principle of liberty and toleration.
- (iii) An educational system designed as an instrument of social equality in the area of intellectual capacity.
- (iv) A system of sanitary laws for social equality in the area of physical capacity.
- (v) A system of labour based on the principle that the relation of employer to workman shall be one of contract between two independent parties.

¹ See *The Broad Stone of Empire*, by Sir Charles Bruce.

Sir Charles Bruce sums up the above as "equal opportunity, without distinction of class or creed."

On seriously considering the black man, at his present stage, however, one is forced to the conclusion that his "education, ability and integrity" are in but a few isolated cases sufficient to warrant him holding office, and even then only in very subordinate positions.

The real "worth as a man" of a great number of Central Africans is, from the point of view of Empire, practically *nil*. Many of these live in their own sphere, neither supplying raw, or any other kind of, material to the rest of the world, nor receiving much from it. It seems to me, therefore, that one of the first things to attempt with such as these is to bring them up to the state of a producer; only when they arrive at this state can they claim the right of consideration as useful units of a great empire which is held together by the mutual support of all its component parts. The black man who grows cotton is helping to support a family in Lancashire, the latter is helping to pay the wage of an African labourer. One who grows coffee or cocoa is entering into the daily life of many white men's households, whilst he receives in exchange many simple wants of his own which he has learnt to desire. The black man who is absolutely self-contained, neither producing for export nor receiving any import, has no place in the world's work.

It seems to me important that the official should grasp at the start the exact principles and policy of his Government, what he is eventually working for, and the ultimate aims of that policy. Some men seem to confuse the means with the end in view. A common type is the man obsessed by office routine. He thinks that the smooth and accurate working of his office is the beginning and end of all things. It has never occurred to him that the country is not administered in order that he may sit in an office, but that he sits in an office in order to help forward the administration of the country.

Such an one thinks that the highest test of efficiency is

to have all accounts, correspondence and office machinery in perfect order. It is a test of efficiency but not the highest. Office work is a necessary adjunct to the workings of a Government, but it is only a means and not an end. It must always stand in a secondary position; the office work is in order to enable the administration to run smoothly not the administration in order to enable the office work to run smoothly. However satisfactory it may be to have everything in such perfect order, it must always be borne in mind that the more office work can be cut down the more actual administration will be performed. By actual administration I mean anything that bears directly on the country or its inhabitants.

The outstation official is generally aware of the practical side of administration and often inclined to think too little of the necessary office work. The official of the Central Government, on the other hand, is apt to set too much store by it. These two conflicting elements would tend to neutralise each other if it were not that the latter has the whip-hand and can compel compliance with his dictates. For this reason it is an advantage for outstation officials to be brought in, in rotation, and given a term of office work with the Central Government. In this way they see both sides of the question and learn how much of the routine work is necessary. Similarly, as far as is practicable, officials of the central offices should be given tours of duty in far stations, so that they may be enabled to see the practical side before they become too imbued with the importance of their routine work.

Another one who is often out of sympathy with the aims and objects of an administration is the keen military officer. He, perhaps very naturally, looks on the training of his men as the most important thing in the country. He demands that everything should give way to this objective. The comfort, health, equipment and adequate training of his men must come before everything, even if it handicaps the workings of the administration.

To him also it does not occur to think that the country is not administered so as to support the army, but that the army is kept up so as to support the administration. It is of course the officer's duty to make his men as efficient as possible under the circumstances, but if the standard of efficiency he sets up for them is costly and out of proportion to the needs of the country, the Government have every right to curtail it.

On the other hand, the civilian administrator is often out of sympathy with the requirements of an army and, because it is of no active use in times of peace, he is inclined to think it an overpaid extravagance. The military officer generally thinks imperially, whilst the local administrator only thinks of his own little sphere, in which he is trying to make two ends meet. Personally I think that all regular troops in our possessions should be an imperial and not a local concern; but of this more later (see Chapter XXIII).

If the military officer was better able to understand the policy and the aims of a civilian Government, and the civilian administrator could better appreciate the imperial needs for regular forces, it would do much to relieve the mutual misunderstandings which so often occur between these conflicting elements.

To keep things in their relative order of importance, then, it is necessary always to hold in mind what are the reasons for which a country is occupied—in a word, the general policy of the Government.

The general policy of a Government in Africa may be summed up as the development of the country, the administration of equity to its inhabitants, and the raising of their status to that of useful citizens.

In the interpretation of the policy there is a great divergence of opinion, and the inexperienced official has no very clear statement to guide him. He must gather from others what he is to learn, and these others may differ very widely in both principle and practice. Ask any official what he is doing in his district, and he will reply that he is administer-

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ing it. Ask different officials, "What is administration?" and you will get divergent answers.

The general idea will be that it is to hear cases and get revenue for the Government, but ideas and ultimate aims will differ with various men. Some will only live in the present; they are just there to do as they are told, to conform to certain rules and make the natives conform to certain other rules.

If the official considers that his duties consist of the development of the country and the administration of equity, the next problem he will probably come across is, "How far is he to attempt developing the country for the direct benefit of the Government, and how far for the benefit of the inhabitants and for the eventual or indirect benefit of the Government?" This question will be complicated by finding that the average native has no wish to develop the country either for his own or for the Government's benefit.

Therefore another consideration is, "How far is he justified in using force to accomplish or further the ultimate aims of his Government?"

Yet another point which may worry him is, "How far is he personally responsible for what is generally termed the civilisation of the black man?" That is to say, raising him to a higher state of wants and needs, a higher class of intelligence, and an initiation into white men's customs, manners, arts and crafts. On these subjects he will probably receive but little enlightenment and so have to puzzle them out for himself.

As regards the first, he will gather, more or less, how much he must make out of the present and how much he should leave to the future from the attitude of the central Government towards revenue, and to what degree it falls in with his plans for the future.

As regards the second, he will soon learn that if he is to make the native do anything more than he has been accustomed to, coercion must be used. It is only in the degree to which this is employed that barbarous and humane

Governments differ. Yet few if any Governments are strong enough to put it down in black and white. "Yes, use force to make them do this or that," for this reads like slavery, except only in the case of taxes recognised by the home Government.

If the native is never made to do anything he does not want to, the country will remain *in statu quo*, and there will be no development.

The native can be legally forced to work in lieu of an unpaid tax, but curiously enough it is looked on as slavery to make him work for his own advantage. For instance, it is easy to get an order sanctioned that every man must pay a tax of sixty pounds of grain a year, but not one that he must plant an acre of cotton and sell it to the local traders or Government.

As regards the third question, it is generally left to the official's own efforts as to how much he raises the civilisation and morals of the individual, so long as he stops recognised crime and makes the country pay in some form.

He is not, as a rule, compelled to encourage schools or to instil into the natives the principles of sanitation or cleanliness. He will find that he has little opportunity or time for doing much in this way, except by force of example, by superintending such matters amongst his employés and police.

He is expected to encourage trade and to bring to notice any possibilities that may be capable of development or industries that may be built up if opportunity occurs.

As to the means which are to be employed and the lines on which this development and administration of equity are to proceed, different countries and different districts will vary.

In his own district, the official must, if his lines of action have not already been laid down for him, make up his mind how the general policy of the Government can best be made applicable. He must determine what course of action, what modifications or extensions of the general policy are required by the local conditions.

With regard to the general rules for the carrying out of the policy of development and equity, when we come to consider the local conditions in African tropical dependencies, apart from colonies, we will see that the only means of producing lasting results are :—

(i) To encourage development of the slow but sure type and not to expect immediate returns. To maintain the country in the first place at an out-of-pocket expenditure and to trust to future returns—when industries have had time to develop.

(ii) To trust the bulk of the administration to the European and to give the native little say in his own affairs. Such a policy may at first sight seem unjust, but, for reasons which it is hoped will be fully explained in the next chapter, such a rule has been found not only better for the natives themselves, but also the only possible means by which any results achieved may be retained.

Lastly, one might go into the qualities required of an administrator of the pioneering order in Africa, and the greater part of the administration at the outstations is very much of this order.

The African official is not, as a rule, chosen for any special qualifications. He is generally a man who has been through the ordinary routine of school and college education, but he is not required to pass any particular examination. He has not, then, been proved the possessor of any asset that would specially fit him for his duties, nor any defects which would make him unsuitable.

He may or may not be a good athlete ; but if he is, his training in this respect will probably be of greater value to him than any book learning he has acquired. For it will have given him a taste for outdoor life, hard exercise and simple living, all of which will form a great part of his daily routine.

Such a man will generally have been brought up with a clear sense of right and wrong, justice and integrity, and these are the chief moral qualities required of an administrator.

As to his book work, he will probably find that the only part of it which is in any way essential to him in the performance of his duties, at any rate in his first appointments, is a knowledge of simple arithmetic. What, then, are the qualifications that an official should possess? I do not know—it is hard to say how a course could be laid down for him to pursue. All I know is that in my life it is an ever-present regret to think of the time wasted on Latin, Greek, German and Higher Mathematics, of which I really learnt but little and remember nothing now. If I had spent all those long and tedious hours in learning the elements of the arts of blacksmith, mason and first-aid, they would have been of everlasting value to me. If, moreover, the time wasted in not learning French had been spent learning market-gardening in France I should have learnt more French and another trade into the bargain.

At different times I have had to act as carpenter, blacksmith, armourer, mason, doctor, midwife, gardener, shop-keeper, policeman, architect, planter and surveyor, but, fortunately, never in the course of my work in Africa have I been called on to make Greek verse or enunciate the binomial theorem. Comparatively seldom, too, have I had to act as a plain soldier or official.

It is a distinct handicap to have to pick up the majority of these arts at the moment that the necessity for their use arises, and then without the help of an instructor and by the very tedious process of trying all the wrong ways until one hits on the right one.

If the official-to-be were to equip himself with a knowledge of all these things he would be nothing more than a glorified artisan, but he certainly might be taught the rudiments of some of them.

As regards physical characteristics, the most important thing for him to possess is an ability to walk, and a sound pair of feet. The latter are, perhaps, a greater attribute than any other combination of qualities, as in tropical Africa he seldom gets a chance of riding. The amount of

work he gets through will depend to an enormous extent on whether his feet are able to stand the rough walking in an alternately sodden and sunbaked boot.

As to character: he should be, as has been already said, a man of justice and integrity, but a man of such high ideals as to be intolerant of wrong would be unsuitable. For he will have to take the natives much as he finds them—hob-nob with murderers, and crack jokes with wife-beaters.

He should, above all, be a man of absolutely even temper. If he is liable to lose his temper or become easily annoyed, he will find a thousand things in Africa to aggravate his complaint, with the result that he will come to hate the country and the native. If he persists in living there he will, as likely as not, end in a lunatic asylum. Finally, he must make up his mind not to make people do exactly as he would have them, but as near to that as is possible under present circumstances. He can have his ideals, but he must realise that they are only an ultimate and very distant goal. He cannot force the natives to the end he has in view, but must gradually lead them nearer and nearer by imperceptible degrees.

CHAPTER II

LOCAL CONDITIONS

BEFORE going into details of administration, we must glance at the local conditions which affect tropical countries in general and especially tropical Africa, in that they bear on questions of Government and Policy.

The main difference between tropical and non-tropical countries may be divided, so far as we are concerned, under two heads, *Climate* and *Inhabitants*, the differences in the latter being undoubtedly largely caused by the former.

To take the climate first, its nature forbids the permanent residence of the European. Therefore all white officials, traders and planters must leave the country at the end of their tenure of office or work; and, moreover, during the term, must be granted leave from time to time to recruit their health. There can be no permanent settlement of Europeans in the country.

The effect of the climate on the soil appears to make it intensely rich, but no doubt the fact that much of it is almost virgin soil would equally account for this. A small amount of agricultural labour yields, as a rule, a richer harvest than in temperate climates. However, as the climate is favourable to the produce of cultivation, so is it favourable to the production of a rich growth of noxious vegetation. This is a factor which must not be overlooked, as, if the works of man are neglected for but a short time, this noxious growth covers over and nullifies all the efforts he has made.

This fertility of the soil is a leading feature of tropical

countries and extends even to most desert regions. Those which are not actually stone deserts are, as a rule, immensely fertile, if only water for irrigation can be obtained.

Another factor is the production of a wealth of noxious insect life. These cause various diseases, afflicting human beings and their stock, and epidemics of pest harmful to crops, most of which are at present little understood. Not only is there a greater wealth of insect life in the tropics but the conditions are favourable to a very rapid rate of increase. An insect will pass through all its metamorphoses, breed and lay its eggs, in half or a quarter the time that it would take to do so in a less favourable clime. The result is that any pest is liable to multiply at an infinitely greater rate, and so is the more difficult to cope with.

Next, to take the inhabitants: the reaction of this fertility of the soil on the native is that he need do but little work to feed himself. Having, in Central Africa at least, no markets or commerce, there is no inducement for him to increase his output or to do anything but earn a bare living. The favourable conditions of the land have therefore caused him to remain stationary, after having once reached a certain standard. So long has he been in this stationary condition that he has become inert and apathetic. It is difficult to encourage or push him on to a more advanced state. This is true of most tropical natives; the only difference in the consideration of the Central African is that the level at which he remains stationary is vastly below that of the majority of tropical peoples.

If a tropical country, then, is to be developed on European lines, it is evident that it must be done so by Europeans.

The native is capable of being gradually educated into taking a larger share of government; but always, at present, under strict European guidance. Attempts to withdraw this guidance too soon or to too great an extent have always led to immediate retrogression, as may be instanced by recent events in such an incomparably more civilised country as India.

The placing of the entire government in the hands of a few men gives such men an enormous power, and so it is necessary to safeguard the native against the abuse of such power. This is accomplished by the supervision of the local government by the home Government, a body so far removed from the sphere of action that it can have no personal prejudices, interests or sympathies; a system which, like all others, has its advantages and disadvantages. The composition of the local government of Europeans differs in different countries, but the general rule is that, in the first instance, it is purely official in character. As the country is developed a council is formed to which Europeans—other than officials—who have interests in the country are admitted, and given a certain proportion of votes on certain subjects.

The above describes very generally the conditions that prevail in tropical dependencies as opposed to colonies which, by their very nature, are untropical, or only subtropical, and where the colonists assume a greater share in the government and eventually have a parliament of their own.

I have not dwelt much on the conditions local to tropical countries in general, as we are more concerned with those peculiar to tropical Africa.

Perhaps the most significant of these is the paucity of its inhabitants. Large areas of Africa are very sparsely populated. The outcome of this is the quantity of waste land, the isolation of villages and communities, the large area over which one official often has to administer, and the dissipation of the little energy available, owing to its being spread over a wide field.

If we look at any tropical country which has attained a certain amount of civilisation on its own account, we invariably find that such a country is densely crowded, a factor which makes for progress, owing to the struggle for existence and the necessity for markets, mutual help and division of labour.

In Africa the same rule applies: the most advanced peoples are almost always those who are crowded, e.g. the Baganda and Abyssinians. The most retrograde in all arts and crafts, although individually often of greater intelligence, are the nomads who wander over large areas.

So in Africa, as sparsely populated as any part of the world, the inhabitants are, generally speaking, as retrograde as can be found anywhere.

The present effect of this paucity of people on the administration is to reduce the possibilities of development and reform, owing to wastage of energy, time and material. To briefly instance what I mean by this: in a crowded part of Uganda it is easy to have good roads made and kept up everywhere by the people living alongside them and still have people available for other progressive work and development. In a place where there is, perhaps, a stretch of twenty miles between two villages, the whole available energy of these two villages will be exhausted by the upkeep of a road between them, necessary for transport to and from stations ahead.

The past effects of such isolation are that it has kept the people from advance and from communication with the outside world and even their immediate neighbours. There has been plenty of land, no struggle for existence and no emulation.

There is another point deserving of notice, which may or may not be caused by the same considerations: that is that the African savage is not merely stationary but often shows distinct signs of retrogression, if nothing occurs to push him forward.

The history of Central Africa, for many centuries past, has been one of continual incursions by the more enlightened and progressive peoples of the north. After each incursion a temporary leaven of northern blood and ideas has been left behind. This has permeated amongst the savages, growing thinner and weaker the further south it reaches. A gradual lapse to barbarism has then followed, and the

powers of savagery have gradually flowed northward, until stemmed and rolled back again by another advance from the north.

Of late years this tide of more advanced peoples struggling against the savage, although still generally northern in origin, has flowed east and west. In the first place it consisted of the incursion of Arab ivory and slave traders bringing a higher form of civilisation amongst the blacks. More latterly the tide of European occupation, often bringing Indians in its train, has found its way in towards the centre of the continent, chiefly from east and west.

The first local condition it is important to notice, after the scarcity of the population, is the ignorance and inertness of the mass of the inhabitants. The Central African has no arts or crafts worth mentioning and no industries of any kind, nor has he yet shown any inclination or ability sufficient to justify a hope that he will ever be able to compete in the world's market in any such industry or craft as necessitates skilled labour.

Next as to his climate : in most parts of tropical Africa the seasons are divided into a wet season which is very wet, and a dry season which is very dry. The native, as a rule, roughly hoes the surface of the land at the beginning of the rains, sprinkles some seed over it and then, with intervals of weeding, awaits the harvest, living for the rest of the year on its proceeds. The great majority of natives are, then, agriculturists of a primitive order and the country itself appears particularly suited to such a pursuit. It will be as well to go more fully into his methods in this respect, as this is evidently the line on which he should develop his country which is waiting to be developed. With the great increase in population of the civilised areas, and the ever-increasing demand for raw material and cereals, there is an ever-decreasing proportion between the supply from the areas at present available and the mouths to feed. It therefore seems evident that virgin Africa must be counted on in the near future to produce its quota for

the world's supply. It also seems probable that if the African will not do his share of the world's work, the pressure of the future will be such that he will either have to be forced, or Africa peopled with a race willing to do their share of production.

Meanwhile, let us look at his present mode of agriculture. He has no idea of division of labour or scientific methods; for scratching up some of the surface and throwing some seed on it gives him sufficient food on which to exist. He is immensely wasteful of time, labour and land; has no knowledge of manure and only the dimmest idea concerning rotation of crops.¹ The peculiar conditions under which he works his fields are that he and his wife together form a self-contained community; they have not to depend on, nor need they come into competition with, anyone else. The only matter of common concern and combination is the banding together of a village, as a protection against attack from other villages or communities.

The two together—man and wife—are their own tillers, sowers, reapers, gleaners, winnowers, miller and cook; also their own builder, tailor, potter and furniture-maker. While this state of things exists, there is no specialisation in any form of art or craft; everything is of the roughest, there has been no improvement from time immemorial.

The only general exceptions to this rule are the blacksmiths dotted about Africa, who, as often as not, are of a different race or caste to the people for whom they make hoes and spears. This would be a most interesting problem for anthropological and archæological investigation. Who and what were these people or peoples originally, who have become so scattered and spread so wide, and at what date did they carry their art into the centre of the continent? Possibly they and the art of agriculture, for which pursuit they make the necessary hoes, came hand in hand and

¹ This is speaking of the Central African generally. There are, of course, several exceptions, *vide* note on p. 97.

spread all over the continent. However, this is outside our province.

To continue. Occasionally there is a local potmaker, but often each individual makes what he requires for himself alone. If a man wants a new hut he sets out, cuts down trees and brings in the necessary wood and material. Usually, however, neighbours help each other in this, whilst all help in making the chief's hut. With these few exceptions the man and his wife are quite self-contained; if he wants a mat he goes and fetches the reeds and makes it for himself; if he wants a basket he and his wife make it between them; if he wants a skin bag or wallet, he sets out to trap or shoot some small mammal; if he wants tobacco he plants it; if he wants his dinner his wife grinds some grain by hand and makes him a thick pulse, with a meat or vegetable sauce.

The time spent in Africa by women grinding grain between two stones must amount to half or more of their whole working hours. I have often thought that, if the grain could be ground by machinery, it would free thousands of women all over Africa for other work. Yet such is their conservatism that it would be difficult to get them to entrust their grain to be ground for them, and it would be well-nigh impossible to interest them in any other form of labour.

We have seen that the native's manner of living is not conducive to advance or improvement in any art or other sphere, but there is another factor which also holds him back. This is that he does not know want nor has he, in his natural state, any desire for necessities he is unable to procure. There are no unemployed poor in savage Africa. Every man has sufficient to live on, and anything he has not got he knows not the want of. Therefore, at first, there is nothing that the European can bring him that he is really in need of. He cannot be in real need of civilised importations, such as European dress or food, if he has never seen any and has no knowledge of them.

Later he is taught to want such articles, and all he has with which to pay for them is either his grain, which is generally of poor quality, or his labour, which is of the most unskilled.

The question in Africa always is to entice labour, not what to do with the unemployed. There is work enough for everybody, offered and solicited everywhere; and so, if he is really in need of anything the white man has to offer him he can always obtain it by working for it.

On the first occupation of any part of Africa, unless indeed mineral wealth be discovered, there is actually nothing ready to hand that we want, excepting ivory and wild rubber. The collection of these latter is a decreasing trade which exhausts the country but does not develop it; for once you kill the elephant and destroy the vine, you have impoverished the country and built up nothing in its place.

Therefore, if you aim at future prosperity, it will be necessary to build up new industries and introduce new kinds of cultivation. Until you have taught the native to plant the things you require and to exchange them for things he learns to want, or to pay them as taxes, you cannot expect to obtain any profit out of his country.

The occupation of tropical Africa must then be carried out at an out-of-pocket expenditure, so as to rule the country justly for the native and for its best ultimate development.

Moreover, this ultimate development, if you are going to rely entirely on the native, is very difficult to encourage and very slow in growth.

The history of British African dependencies is too young as yet to enable one to judge exactly how soon a country should find its feet; and again, it depends much on the local conditions of each country. It might be said that for the first ten years there will generally be an increasing out-of-pocket expenditure. The increase is due to various new

interests being opened up, railway or other transport facilities being inaugurated, as the country learns by experience what will be the most profitable lines on which to proceed. Then for the next ten years, it might be said, there should generally be a decreasing out-of-pocket expenditure, until the revenue meets the cost of government and the country becomes self-paying. However, it will often be found, when such a satisfactory state of affairs as this has taken place, that the result has not always been achieved by bringing the native in twenty years' time into a paying producer of raw or other material. Sometimes the end has been obtained, by the native indeed, but under the direction of the planter, and it is to the latter's energies that the self-paying footing of the country is due. However, of this more when we come to consider agriculture.

The capital for the out-of-pocket expenditure, in the form of grants-in-aid, is seldom paid back to the mother country. She trusts to the future for indirect repayment, by having her markets extended, and a bigger area from which to draw raw material. For it is only in the matter of raw material that a tropical dependency can ever hope to enter the civilised markets.

Other peculiar points about tropical Africa are the peculiar diseases, such as sleeping sickness, tick and spirillum fever, rinderpest and red water, which cause anxiety and expense to the Governments concerned and arrest advance and development by closing districts and routes to trade; the absence of all forms of transport, animal or draught, except that of portage alone. This limits, to a great extent, the amount of goods that may be brought into or out of a district, and also employs men on portage work who might be developing its resources or furthering useful public works.

The want of cohesion on the part of the natives is another point to consider. Whilst it is a drawback, in many ways, its overwhelming advantage is that it renders a general

rising almost impossible and enables one tribe or even village to be played off against another. It lessens the cost of administration, in that the military force required to deal with any likely contingency or combination is but small.

It is often thought that the African is lazy, but this is not so. He is generally unwilling to work, but if he is made to do so he is a hard and untiring worker, but his lack of skill leads him to enormous wastage of energy. His natural characteristics are cheerfulness, optimism, a dog-like devotion, improvidence, a tendency to quarrel with his neighbours, superstition and ignorance. These combine to make him exceedingly easy to administer but excessively difficult to elevate.

To conclude the chapter I will give a brief summary of the points to which the foregoing statement of conditions has led us.

It has been decided to administer a tropical country in Africa and it is the policy of our Government to develop it and at the same time to mete out justice and equity on civilised lines to its inhabitants.

To do this it is necessary to put Europeans in charge of the Government, and these, subject to the approval of the home Government, will be the only people allowed to make laws and institute the reforms considered necessary.

Owing to the poverty of the country and the lack of industries, in the first instance, it will be necessary to put money into it for a number of years, until industries are built up and it can be made self-paying.

Owing to the peculiar conditions of climate and population our efforts should be aimed at the production of raw material for the home markets, as by this means alone can the country be put on a prosperous footing. For this purpose it will be necessary to bring a certain amount of pressure to bear on the natives in the way of taxes, and by teaching them wants they knew not before. The latter will

serve the double purpose of inducing them to offer their labour, so as to obtain these wants, and also of opening up a market for the consumption of certain kinds of home merchandise.

Development can only be expected to advance slowly, and no great strides in the civilisation of the native can be hoped for at once.

Having got this far, we still have the local conditions of the country in question to consider.

Suffice it to say here that in desert regions, where inhabitants are scarce and averse to agriculture, and, moreover, where water is difficult to utilise, no agricultural, or indeed any other development is generally attempted. The same may be said about stock-raising countries, the Government generally levying a tribute in kind and interfering with the people as little as possible.

In some countries agricultural development is mainly carried on by white settlers employing black labour, whilst in others the natives are made to develop their own country.

The first of these two is the quickest method by which a country may be made self-paying, but not necessarily the wisest. Lastly, owing to the low intelligence of the native, and the economy in staff necessary to a struggling country, it has been found more convenient, and also more effective, to combine the duties of administrator, magistrate, and often police officer and other functionaries, in a single individual. Where such functions are separated, as in the larger towns or capitals, such a proceeding is dictated, either by the necessity to deal with a large foreign element in the population, or to comply with the demands of the home Government, rather than from any urgent need for taking such a course when dealing with the African.

In drawing our picture of the African I have been, perhaps, too much influenced by the lack of intelligence of many Central African tribes. If due allowance has not been made for

the more enlightened peoples, such as those of Northern Nigeria and Uganda, it was done more with the idea of realising the difficulties that confront the administrator than a want of appreciation of the possibilities before them.

CHAPTER III

SELECTION OF STATION

A ROUGH idea has been given of what the white man is here to undertake. I shall next try to follow out the administration of a district from its very beginning.

Imagine that a district which has never before been administered is about to be occupied. The reasons for the occupation of this district may be that the tribes inhabiting it are accustomed to raid tax-paying tribes, or that it is wished, for political reasons, to administer up to the frontier of another State, or merely because it is part of one of our Protectorates and it is thought that the time is ripe to occupy it.

It will be assumed at first that no trouble is anticipated with the inhabitants, the administrator having already got into touch with them from the last district occupied. They will probably appear to be favourably inclined towards the Government ; in fact, delighted to have it when it makes its first appearance. One wonders if this delight will outlast the time they first have to pay taxes. If the new district is well within the dependency, its boundaries will no doubt be arranged to coincide with those of the tribe or tribes it is wished to administer. If it is situated on a frontier part of the district, boundaries will follow the political frontier, which may or may not be tribal, but often has been arranged on an arbitrary line.

Here it may be remarked that a natural feature, which would generally be chosen for a frontier line by boundary-makers, is not of necessity a tribal boundary. Of late years, since Africa has become more known and opened up, it

has been possible to exercise greater care in arranging frontiers to coincide with tribal boundaries, in preference to natural features. Such an arrangement simplifies the workings of government and the administration of the natives concerned.

In Europe a big river, like the Rhine, forms a good political boundary for many reasons. The people living on either bank are often of different races and characteristics, and the boundary makes a good one to defend and to patrol for the safeguarding of customs. In Africa this is not so. However convenient a big river may be for the purposes of demarcation and map-making, it is, in actual point of fact, often unsuitable as a boundary between states, or even between districts in the same state. The reasons are that almost invariably the same tribe lives on both banks, and often their huts are on one bank and their cultivation or grazing grounds on the other. Moreover, customs considerations have not as yet assumed great proportions between Central African states and seldom is there sufficient staff available to patrol effectively the frontiers, whatever their nature. Again, we do not assume that there will ever be a state of war between European nations in Africa, and so no arrangements are usual for fortifying or defending the frontier.

However, the exact boundaries of a new district may often be left to be finally decided by experience in the future ; at first, perhaps, all that is settled is a general idea of the area and the tribes it is wished to bring under administration.

The next step is to decide on a site for the headquarters or station. This station at once becomes the capital of the district, the seat of government, and the centre of any trade already existing or which may grow later. The chief requisites for the site of such a station are : That it should be as central as possible with regard to the country to be occupied. If the new district borders on another state, political considerations may dictate that it should be placed

on or near the frontier. Such considerations are : customs, keeping out illicit traders, being in touch with the officials of the neighbouring state and various others. However, from the point of view of the working of a district, such a position is most undesirable, it is the farthest possible from the capital and from the next station of its own dependency, thus making extra distance for transport and transit of mails. Also it will be farther from the bulk of the natives, coming in with taxes or for cases, and farther for the official to travel when wishing to visit the remoter parts of his district.

Supposing that the district is in the form of a circle with a thirty-mile radius. If the station is in the centre of this circle no part of the district is more than thirty miles from it and no native will have to come more than thirty miles to see the official. If, on the other hand, the station is on the circumference of this circle a certain part of the district will be sixty miles distant from the station.

So, in combination with other important considerations, the station should be as central as possible. It should also be on a good line of communication with the next station. The presence of a waterway may often decide the necessary position for a post. It facilitates and cheapens transport, if the stream is easily navigable, but there are certain disadvantages connected with an African waterway which may outbalance the advantages to be gained by being in close proximity to it. These I will point out later, but meanwhile, suffice it to say that the initial ease with which a new station may be built and supplied, when situated on a river, must not be allowed to warp the judgment as to which is the best possible site from all points of view, including future eventualities. In Africa there are, as a rule, no means of communication in a new country, except the usual, narrow, tortuous native path. The official would, at the earliest moment, have a roughly hoed route made from his station to the last station, or that through which his stores must come. Therefore existing paths are usually

of little account; it only remains for him to see that there is no natural obstacle in the way of his intended road and that there are people on or near the route available for keeping it clear.

If the inhabitants are well scattered over the area to be administered, a central position will also be centrally situated with regard to the majority of the people. If a certain area is densely crowded and the rest but sparsely peopled, it may be advisable to make one's post in the part that is most central for the bulk of inhabitants. However, in a crowded area, care must be taken to select a site which will permit of the station subsequently expanding without interfering with native rights. For this reason a spot on the outskirts of the crowded area, but generally central to the rest of the district, may be more advisable.

Other considerations are: the health of the situation, a circumstance which, perhaps, should come before any, as the administration of the whole district depends on the white official or officials, and if they are constantly ill everything must suffer.

The presence of stone for subsequent creation of buildings. If there is no stone available near a suitable spot, bricks will have to be made. Firewood: in a densely crowded area probably the fuel supply will be exhausted near by, and so will have to be brought from far off. In such an area the inhabitants themselves probably use cow dung, sorghum and lentil stalks, and other plants which they cultivate for this purpose.

Large trees for felling and sawing and also for giving shade. Such trees and also the firewood are not essentials, as the wood may be brought in, but they are very useful adjuncts to a station if found in its vicinity provided all other circumstances are favourable.

Water ought, perhaps, to have been included under health. A perennial supply of pure water, or as pure as can be found in the district, is of course an essential. A water supply for the garden is also necessary.

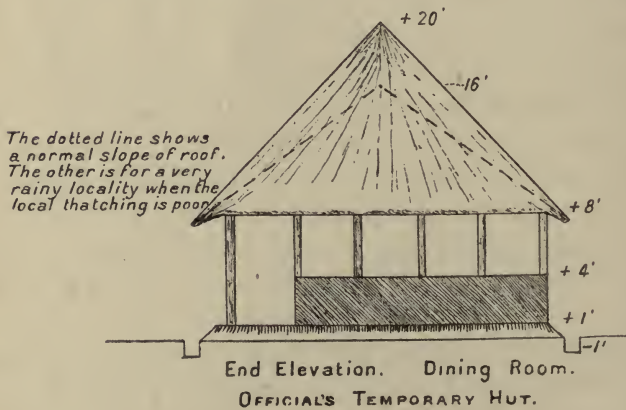
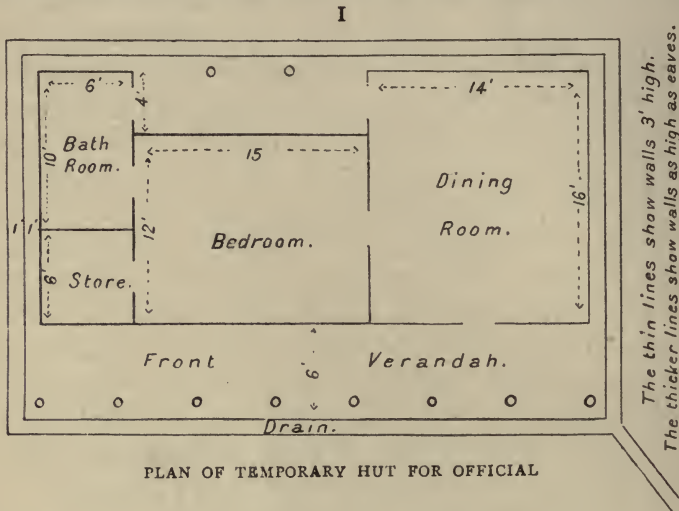
As but little is known about a new district before its occupation, there should be no hurry to select the site of the station permanently until it has been well explored. Even if several survey parties have been through the country, they have probably only examined the main features. There will still be plenty of country unknown, whilst there will be little information to hand concerning the distribution of the people and the condition of rivers or drinking places during all the seasons of the year.

Too many stations in Africa have been selected and built in a hurry, without due search to see if there is no better site available. The country has to be occupied, and the first likely-looking spot is chosen. A new station is easy enough to form, but once formed it is then difficult and costly to transfer. Quickly various interests spring up, traders build stores, and numerous other considerations arise which, taken together, make it a much greater undertaking to move a station than to form one originally.

In a new district there should then be no furious hurry to select the permanent site. The official may choose the best place he can find, and build a few temporary huts, but not with the idea of taking root there. He should first ascertain that the site he has selected is the best available for all seasons. There is such a difference in the appearance and the conditions of the country in most tropical places, during different parts of the year, that an excellent site during the dry weather may be the reverse in the rains, or vice versa.

After a year's residence at his proposed station the official will know what the conditions of water, health, etc., are throughout an average year, and he will have had opportunity to study and consider any future possibilities, which may affect the choosing of the place for his capital. Moreover, he will have had time to explore the district and satisfy himself that there is no better spot extant. It would be most annoying to find, after having built the beginnings of a station, that the site is most unhealthy, that there are

other serious drawbacks, or even that a better site might have been chosen. If one is able to combine a picturesque surrounding with all the essential requirements for a healthy



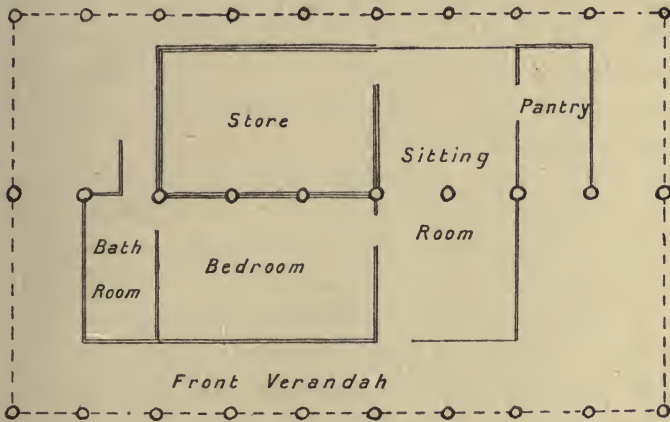
station which are locally available it will be an everlasting joy and pride to its founder.

Before going to take up his temporary site, the official in charge will have to think of all that is necessary to enable himself and his people to exist in what comfort is possible, until a permanent station can be commenced. He will

have to make up his mind to rough it to a great extent, and so should not encumber himself with unnecessary luxuries or effects.

As there will be no local shop or store he will have to take up the requirements of his police, so as to be able to cater for their little wants, such as tea, sugar, salt, tobacco, etc. This is best done by opening a canteen, and his Government or the capital of his province should advance him a

II



TEMPORARY
HUT FOR OFFICIAL.

Dotted lines = edge of Verandah. *N.B.* The roof is supported
Single " = wall 2½' high by the central & ver-
Double " = " 5' " andah poles and is in-
Treble " = " 8' " dependent of the walls.

small sum to start this account, and afford him every facility in buying his goods cheaply and having them sent up speedily and at minimum rates. The account will soon show a profit; and, after sufficient stock in hand has been laid in, the balance may be reserved for use on the station.

Before things begin to run smoothly in a new station hundreds of little unforeseen expenses will turn up, and there will be nothing with which to meet them. He will find this little account a god-send for this purpose.

Once the district has been opened up to trade, the official will probably have to close the canteen, either to save

himself time the better to perform other duties, or by the order of his Government. The police and employés will then be able to buy all their wants at the local stores which will have sprung up. By that time the station will be on a sound footing and the various little unforeseen needs, so inevitable at its inauguration, will no longer arise, or there will be other funds available with which to meet them.

It is generally the opinion that to run a Government shop, in opposition to traders, is both derogatory and unconducting to trade or the opening up of a country. Personally I differ, and think that it is an excellent thing, unless made a Government monopoly, as has practically been the case in parts of the Congo. However, this question will be discussed in Chapter XIV.

At first the huts of the temporary station will probably be native built of wattle and daub with hurdle work or matting windows and doors. Local natives, unless they are nomadic, will be able to build these under supervision, but the white man must stake them out and direct the building if they are to be any better than the usual native hut. Two designs for temporary huts are given as examples.

The natives, as a rule, bring their own tools, but a good supply of bill-hooks and axes are a requisite. Also spades, pick-axes, crow-bars and hoes should be taken, and seeds to start a vegetable garden. A few cross-cut saws might well be brought, as timber takes so long to dry and season that trees cannot be cut down and sawn up too soon. Pit saws are useful for sawing planks, but failing these the cross-cuts may be used for this purpose. After a site has been occupied for a short time the bush and country round it clears in a miraculous way, and the trees disappear. It would therefore be advisable to ear-mark from the first those trees which are to be left for purposes of shade and ornament.

Other effects required at the start are: Spring balances to weigh out rations and food as purchased, a limited

amount of stationery and office books, a portable safe, office table and chairs, pails and buckets, rope, a handy roll of tools, flags, spare ammunition and rifle-cleaning materials, guard-room lamp and oil, handcuffs and leg-irons, medicines and dressings, plentiful supply of trade goods, as money will probably be at first useless.

The formation of a good vegetable garden is a very important consideration. A supply of fresh vegetables is a great factor in maintaining the health of a European in tropical Africa. The Belgians are very sensible about this, whereas in our stations officials are very often lax in this respect. They rely chiefly on imported onions, potatoes and tinned vegetables and do not take the trouble to grow their own. It is undoubtedly a trouble and will require the official's daily supervision if any good results are to be had. Plants must be irrigated during the dry season and, if he does not visit his garden frequently he will probably find that this has been neglected and that they are withered or dead. It is also a very disheartening employment, as all one's best products seem to die or be eaten by termites, whilst strange blights and diseases, that we do not know how to deal with, occur. However, any results, no matter how small, fully justify the time, trouble and expense.

Stringent sanitary precautions should be taken from the first. These can only be enforced by having latrines for every class on the station—porters, employés, police, etc.—and enforcing their use by patrols of police and giving heavy penalties for neglect to do so.

Old rest-houses and rest-camps should be burnt in districts where jiggers and spirillum ticks are found. Wells should be covered in to protect the water from guinea-worm. Prisons, latrines, etc., should be sprinkled with Jeyes' fluid, or other disinfectant, regularly. N.B.—*Jiggers* live in the sand; the female hops on to a man's bare foot and burrows under the skin to lay her eggs. They can be carried from place to place by men, fowls, and other animals. *Spirillum Fever* is obtained by being bitten by

Ornithodoros moubata, a tick with a crinkled back. The *guinea-worm* larva gets into water from an infected man; it is there swallowed by a minute creature called cyclops, which in turn is swallowed by a man drinking the water.

Also a slaughter-house should be built, or a site for this purpose selected at once, and its use enforced. A native is always filthy in this and would think nothing of disembowelling a sheep on one's doorstep.

Having finally decided that the site chosen for his station is really suitable, the official can begin laying it out. For this purpose he should look ten or twenty years ahead and lay it out in such a way that it is easy of subsequent expansion. However, he should not spread out his small station too much at present, or it will involve a tremendous amount of labour to keep it clean and tidy. There should be ample room between houses, but no more. A tropical shower will wash away half the roads and paths in the place, and if there are many and the distances between buildings are great, he will probably be unable to keep all these at all times in repair, and clear or plant all the intermediate patches, on the grant allowed him for this purpose. The next steps in improving his station will be suggested in Chapters XIX and XX.

Lastly, before leaving the subject of the selection of a station, one might point out that facilities for water communication have led, in many parts of Africa, to sites on the banks of rivers being selected. This certainly makes transport to and from the station very simple; but when the country is developed much of the produce is brought from inland and so must be carried to the river in any case, whether the station is situated there or inland. The bank of a big river is almost always low, and, in some places, liable to inundations forming swamps. It is nearly always unhealthy, and very often the district controlled from a post on the bank is bounded by the river and so it forms a one-sided capital, situated at the extreme edge of the country it is intended to administer.

The country immediately inland of the actual river bank is, in the lower reaches of most big African rivers, lower than the bank itself and sometimes than the river itself. This expanse dries up in the hot weather, but the rains convert it into a mosquito-infested morass.

Often but a few hours back from the unhealthy river bank there is a healthy upland, affording many suitable and healthier spots. Yet such places are not chosen because of the fetish that at all costs the river bank must be occupied and is the natural site for a station.

A few hours' portorage of effects will not be of much consequence, and the extra expense will be amply repaid by the improved health of the officials and their increased energy in cheerful surroundings, instead of the lugubrious river bank, and consequently the better and more efficient administration of the district. If the occupation is to continue, it will be necessary, sooner or later, to push inland and eventually make a road and transport arrangements to supply the new stations. The old station will then be on this same road, which will have become necessary to communicate with stations further inland. If the country goes ahead, a telephone to the river bank can easily be fixed up, and that will join the main line of telegraph, which will probably follow the river bank.

It is an open question if it is really an advantage for an outstation, other than the capital of a province, to be in telegraphic communication with its headquarters. The official becomes dependent on the telegraph and frequently uses it when there is no real need. It involves more office work and ties him to his station. The real work of an outstation official is in the district and the open air. He should be amongst his people, encouraging and helping them in their difficulties, travelling round the country, gaining information, hearing cases and getting into touch with the natives, their customs, languages and all that concerns them.

CHAPTER IV

THE COMMENCEMENT OF ADMINISTRATION

IT will be the official's first task to induce a state of law and order, to instil discipline into the chiefs and their headmen, and to lay the foundations of a smoothly working government machine.

Only after the country is well in hand and under control will he be able to turn his attention to developing it and beginning to make it pay a return towards the money outlaid upon it.

A tax ought not to be asked for or expected during the first year, or, generally speaking, for the second or third year either. Sometimes an even longer period is thought advisable, depending on the nature of the local conditions.

While they are paying no tax the natives of the country may be expected to afford a certain amount of free labour, such as for the building of the temporary station and the hoeing and keeping clean of roads. The labourers, although unpaid, should be fed, or at any rate carefully supervised arrangements should be made to ensure their food supply.

The native is naturally improvident, and if he is called in for ten days' work he will bring enough food with him to last for about two days and trust to luck for the rest. After his supply is finished he will go cheerfully for a day without food and then, if he is a very raw savage, will probably run away rather than make his wants known.

The result will be that, if discipline is to be maintained, he must be sought for and, if caught, punished; the work will be retarded and the natives will get a false impression of the hardness of the Government. It is of no use telling

the natives to bring sufficient food with them—they never do. One must accept their improvidence as a trait in the African character which neither years of precept nor bitter experience will eradicate. Under some Governments the native is paid for his labour but is expected to find his own food, wherever he may be or however far from his own village. Many natives will not readily supply food to a stranger from a different tribe, and so such a system leads inevitably to suffering and discontent.

The official then, in the early days at least, should feed everybody that comes to the station, whether porters, workers, chiefs, or people awaiting the hearing of cases, or any who are delayed in the station for whatever cause. As his Government will probably not be in a position to afford him sufficient funds for this purpose he will have to meet it largely out of his own pocket or private funds, such as that of the canteen account.

However, in the long run he will find out that it pays, as his people will always be contented and happy and will hold exaggerated ideas of the beneficence and hospitality of the Government. After the station has been going some years, he will be able to reduce this expenditure somewhat, as there will be shops available from which the natives can buy food, whilst many will have acquired interests at the station—such as relations or friends amongst the police, employés or inhabitants of the native town that will spring up.

Nothing appeals to the native so much as being well fed; his summary of the characteristics of any new country he visits is generally, "Oh, there was much food," or "There was great hunger." Therefore the official will find that the best way to deal with all natives, whether workers, prisoners, or soldiers, is to feed them well, almost extravagantly, and then work them as hard as he likes. Provided that he sees they are allowed sufficient time to cook their food and given one free day a week, he can hardly work them too hard.

One of the first considerations, then, is to make stores for

grain or flour and to lay in a sufficient stock of food. The best and cheapest stores available are the usual native basket-work and mud arrangements, covered by a removable roof. Grain keeps wonderfully well in these. If stone is to be had in large blocks, the whole concern may be supported by a broad slab resting on four stone uprights. The stone slab should project over the uprights, for a projecting lip of stone may defeat the rats. Termites will not readily climb up the face of a stone, and, if they do, their galleries can easily be seen ; whereas with wood supports they may climb up inside and will always be eating into them.

As regards food for police, it is much more satisfactory, *in a new district*, to have them fed by Government and not given money or trade goods in lieu of rations, as is often done. If they are allowed to buy their own food from the natives they will impose on the raw savage, and frequently abuse their authority by making extortionate demands under threat of punishment. Natives will cheerfully submit to this, until it gets altogether too outrageous, as quite the proper and accepted rôle of a policeman or soldier. Unless the official is very observant and inquisitive, such extortions will go on daily under his very nose without his having the least idea of their existence, although much of it is being done in his name. When the natives have learnt the market values of their wares and that complaints will be attended to, this feeding of employés may be stopped and markets instituted.

In a new country murders will probably be of frequent occurrence, although the natives will not report them. The chiefs, too, will continue to try cases in their old way by taking bribes or putting the defendant to trial by ordeal (poison or otherwise), and other abuses will be common.

Of these things the official will only hear by accident, or because of some discussion as to the property of the deceased, which has induced the native who cannot establish his claim to come, as a last resort, to the white man.

Want of information as to what is really going on amongst

the natives will be the first obstacle to administration. However, the native is soon intimidated, especially on first contact with the white man, when he generally holds an exaggerated idea of his powers of punishment, and as soon as several have been punished for not bringing in information matters will begin to be reported.

The first step, then, is to try to understand the native thoroughly. This is best accomplished by learning his language and by touring round the district, seeing all the most important people and carefully explaining to the chiefs and headmen the aims and objects of the Government. The official must never be afraid of repeating himself too often or of boring his auditors, for they will have to be told the same thing many times before they will understand it.

It will be long before the official is able to talk fluently in the local language; if he is not a very painstaking and expert linguist he probably never will be able to. He will be handicapped in most cases by there being no dictionaries, vocabularies, or grammars. So, unless a *lingua franca* exists, he will have to trust largely to interpreters. If he learns but a few words of the language he will find it a wonderful help in determining whether his interpreter is giving a true translation. For instance, the accused may say, "No, I did not do it." The interpreter to finish off the case quickly, and save his master and himself trouble, will translate, "He says that he made a mistake and is very sorry." Here, if one had any idea of the forms for negation, the interpreter would stand no chance of being able to impose on one.

As to interpreters, they are a necessary evil, but the evil may be minimised by having no regular interpreter; calling in different people to act during different stages of the same case. It is an excellent thing suddenly to change interpreters in the middle of a case; no collusion is then possible.

The recognition of a common language, or *lingua franca*, is a great boon to any country. Officials are changed so often in the course of their work—going on leave, being

moved to a more salubrious climate, or from one cause or another—that it is practically impossible for them to learn the language of every district to which they are sent. Moreover, there may be two or three languages used in one district. Where one language is recognised by Government, such as Swahili in British and German East Africa and a part of the Congo, or Bangala, in the north-east of the Congo, it is a comparatively simple matter for the official to learn that language, and it will be useful to him wherever he may be sent. In such languages good vocabularies and grammars exist and the big chiefs soon learn to speak a little, or provide themselves with interpreters who do. Moreover, it puts the official and the native on much the same footing; they will both be speaking a language which is not their own and so neither will soar above the other in flights of oratory. An excited native speaking his own language goes so fast and clips his words to such a degree that he will be only half intelligible to the greatest exponent of his tongue.

Witchcraft is a most difficult thing to deal with, and trials of persons suspected of using malevolent magic will, in some countries, be most difficult to stamp out or even hear about. At first the natives will probably bring up for trial, in all good faith, persons suspected of using magic to bewitch people or cause disease amongst cattle. If the official is unsympathetic and acquits the offenders, the natives will think that there is no safeguard against having their children or their stock ensorcelled. So they will continue to try such cases according to their old customs, and maintain the greatest secrecy about them. By laughing at such beliefs he does not shake their faith in them, but he puts himself out of reach of their confidences. It is then very difficult to know just how to deal with these first cases of witchcraft that are brought up. Circumstances and the individual temperament of the official must largely decide the course he will pursue.

Personally I would rather adopt the attitude of sym-

pathetic adviser, as much as possible, except in matters of flagrant malpractices. In a case where, say, a poor old woman was brought up and accused of making spots come on a cow's udders, if the people were very much incensed against her, I might keep her at the station for a month or so. If she was dismissed and sent back to her village she would probably be given a very poor time and, if it was considered a serious crime of which she was charged, she might even be poisoned. Africans are very forgetful; after the popular furore had abated, I would call the chief and say that she had been under observation and had done no harm. Further, that I considered the case against her as unproved, and so she was to return to the village and that he would be held responsible for her well-being.

One of the first things to do in a new district is to open up a practical path to connect with the last station on the route up. In few parts of Africa are there roads such as we understand them in Europe, as the expense and labour involved in their construction is generally out of all proportion to the present need. A rough path is cut and kept clear of vegetation. So quickly does the grass spring up that, if it has to be kept clear all through the year, it will have to be hoed several times during that period.

In some countries it is customary to make such a road as broad as the king's highway. This is a pure waste of work in a place where there are no vehicles, and where the inequalities and other defects of the road would be sufficient to prevent their use even if there were. The formation of a broad road involves much more work than a narrow path and is exceedingly trying to the eyes, owing to the glare from it. The only traffic likely to pass is pedestrian and, however broad the road, the native will always proceed in single file, according to his custom. All that is necessary, then, is to make a path sufficiently wide to prevent the grass at its sides leaning inwards and hampering the progress of the pedestrian. The width, then, should be decided by the length of the grass, but six feet will often suffice.

The width having been decided, bamboos or sticks may be cut to the required measurement and issued to the different chiefs and headmen responsible for the clearing of different sections.

Great difficulty will be experienced at first in enticing the people to come willingly to work for payment. There is often nothing to offer that they really long for. It is manifest that if you have nothing with which to pay them, they cannot be expected to be very anxious to come to work. There is no money amongst them and they do not understand its use, and so they would not thank you for small round discs of metal, unless, indeed, they immediately became popular as ornaments.

In some countries the natives are in the habit of dressing in bark cloth, and such people soon learn to buy or demand trade calico. Where the natives are quite naked, they are usually quite content and happy in that state, and do not immediately see any advantage in changing it, especially when such change would involve extra work.

It is the same with practically all the trade goods that the European has to offer; the uses have to be learnt and the need for them acquired by an unsophisticated people before there can be any demand. Many things they might be pleased to accept as gifts, rather from curiosity than otherwise, but not to work for.

Perhaps the only thing required is a supply of beads, but sufficient of these to deck out all the women of the tribe can soon be obtained in bartering flour, grain, or eggs.

True there are two things which the white man can supply which are almost universally appreciated, and for which high prices will be paid. Wisely, however, our Government generally forbids just these two things, which are guns and spirits. Trade in these is even more false than that in ivory and wild rubber; in the latter you drain the country—with these you take out of the country whatever they have the power to purchase and sow in its place the seeds of discord.

A Government is supposed to protect the natives and

prevent internal dissension. What are we to think, then, of a Government whose chief articles of trade are guns and powder? The defence in some cases is that weapons are so cheap and worthless that little harm can be done with them. That is to say, fraud is pleaded as an excuse for pursuing a false policy.

To return to the point from which we have digressed: the official must teach the people wants unknown to them before any progress can be made. Whether this is really better for the savage is a very open question. However, if any development is to be expected, the official must try to cater for and whet a local appetite for trade goods. He can, however, if he runs his own canteen in the first place, largely direct the native's training in this respect by offering him sound rather than trashy articles. When the native is paid in money for his labour it must be explained to him that the sum given is worth so many yards of calico, so much salt, or so many strings of beads. When he says that he does not want the money, as he is sure to do at first, he is then given its equivalent in what he asks for.

This affords another reason for the necessity of establishing a canteen at first, unless the official is to be supplied plentifully with Government trade goods. It would be absurd to send an official to a country where money is not used with nothing but cash for the payment of all labourers, police, employés, etc. The money is, when paid out, perfectly useless to them unless they are afforded facilities for exchanging it for effects.

In some countries money is not used for some years after the administration commences, except in the larger towns. Instead of taking so much cash and putting it in his safe, the official takes so many yards of calico and accounts for it as cash. This system has certain advantages in the early days of administration, and it also tends to keep down prices enormously. Where extended, however, into what is practically a Government monopoly of all trade, it becomes an abuse, and often leads to foisting on natives stores to be

disposed of, rather than articles he is actually in need of, in exchange for the amount he has earned.

One of the first things to do is to assess the relative value of things. Prices should be as low as possible, for once they have been fixed they can easily be raised, but never again lowered. A mistaken idea is current that high prices denote prosperity, but it is just the reverse. The price of a chicken, sheep, cow, load of grain and a wife will be found to be in relation; that is, so many chicken will make a sheep and so on, so if one of these is fixed, the value of the rest may easily be worked out according to their local proportion.

The hut or other tax is generally on the basis of the pay for a month's work, and this again will probably bear some relation to the price of a wife. It is a most mistaken policy to make the tax higher than need be, that is to say, the wages for a month's work should be as low as possible. It has been said that the only possibility for a prosperous future is for the country to become an exporter of raw produce. The African's best chance of being able to compete in the world's market is through the cheapness of his labour. If one raises the hut tax, it also raises the price of labour and hence the price of all his produce, the chicken, the wife, and the load of food. As these are all in relation it really does not affect him much what they are called in money. It may be argued that if you double the hut tax you double the revenue, but the country is never going to become prosperous from the collection of this internal revenue alone. It is only juggling with its resources and making a temporary asset out of a future loss.

Many Governments are averse to being stigmatised as trading companies. It is for this reason, perhaps, that they are generally in such a hurry to get money introduced and have nothing to do with trade goods. They wish the taxes, if possible, to be collected in money and not produce. Hence it becomes the official's duty to get as much money as possible into the country, and to take it out again in taxes.

Under these conditions money becomes to the native only something to be accumulated for the payment of a tax and nothing else. He does not use it for any other purpose, but carries on his little private transactions by barter as before. He has not then learnt the use of money, he has only learnt that he must collect so much a year to pay to Government.

This state of affairs is apt to lead the official to a mistaken idea of what the ultimate policy of the Government should be. He thinks that the country is administered solely to get three shillings a year, or whatever it may be, out of each native, and that he is there for that purpose and for the hearing of cases and taxing of traders. No country, however, will become permanently prosperous on this alone.

In a new district everything must be tentative for a certain time, till it is ascertained what will pay or what will thrive in the country. When these are known I am sure that the development of a country would follow quicker if the Government would proceed more on trading lines. Later it could always hand over the trade it had induced to trading syndicates. In the making of a country, however, I should like to see the Government proceed more in the following way. It would say to the people, "We want a tax in kind, and, moreover, if you will bring this we will pay you for bringing it, but if you do not bring a tax in kind you must pay so much money or do so much work instead." Then should follow a list of every conceivable thing that might be produced in the country, the price that Government would pay for it, and the amount that must be brought to obtain a tax receipt.

The price would allow a good profit to the Government, after including a margin for transport and export. Such a course, although it could not be immediately so profitable as the hut tax, would commence a development in a way that no trading company could ever hope to do; and, moreover, it would bring money into each district and ensure

its real circulation. This same money would largely be spent in the local canteen and the profits on this would be available for use in the district and station, so that after a few years no grants would have to be made for these purposes.

When a sufficient start had been made, the country could be opened up to trade, and the Government would say to the people, "Now we have taught you to make money you must pay a tax in money," whilst the Government would also reap the dues on trading licences, customs duties, and whatever else it thought would meet the case.

A matter which must be guarded against from the first is the spread of sickness amongst the natives or their stock, a circumstance which the opening up of a country and of trade routes enormously facilitates. In the old days, when all the tribes, or even sections of a tribe, were at daggers drawn, there was little opportunity for such increase of infection. A hostile reputation amongst a certain tribe was as efficacious as a closely kept quarantine.

The local diseases amongst men and cattle should be ascertained and steps taken to prevent their spreading. Such steps are always difficult, for to enforce strict compliance with rules regulating the movement of people and cattle, over a wide area, is wellnigh impossible. However, the utmost possible must be done to prevent the spread of contagion.

The beginning of the rainy season is the time during which the African agriculturist works. To this must be added a short period of harvesting. Therefore all other work in the district should be arranged, as much as possible, so as not to clash with these seasons. No work, except under the most urgent circumstances, should be asked for during the time the natives are busy with their fields. In collecting taxes, it is, as suggested above, best to pay in part for any produce collected in kind. Doing this is an encouragement to plant more.

Taking a tithe or "ushur" is, with very ignorant savages,

a bad policy. He has no idea of proportion and cannot see that the man who plants more is able to keep more. From his point of view, the more he plants the more the Government want, and so it is an inducement to plant less.

Perhaps the fairest of any, from a native point of view, is the hut tax. This means that a rich man, with several wives, pays more than the poor one. He will see the justice of this, and yet it will not induce him to keep fewer wives, unless he really cannot afford them. In the latter event someone else will keep the wife and so pay the tax, for every wife must have a hut. There are no homeless women in Africa. Everyone over a certain age is either a married woman or a widow, unless indeed she be a prostitute, which is usually a state only known in the larger towns.

At the beginning of an administration there is, in the first place, no market; the only things sold are those bought by the official and his employés. It will seem, to begin with, as if his duties consisted in drawing his salary and paying his police, and then seeing how much he can make for Government out of these sums, by charging himself and his police for licences, market and slaughtering dues, and whatever fees can be inaugurated.

There is one point that I should like to insist on very strongly, and that is that in first taking over a new district the official should be allowed the freest hand possible. A single white official has often to get the country in hand and the natives under control with miserably inadequate means at his disposal. Such summary justiciary methods as may be employed would not for a moment be passed by legal men, but the ends accomplished fully justify the means.

If the official sent up is not a man to be trusted to deal out law and equity to his best ability, under the circumstances, and to further his Government's ultimate aims to his utmost, without being under strict supervision, he is not the man to be chosen for a new country. If he is the proper man, he should be told that he is being sent up with such

and such an object and to carry out such and such a policy. That he is to thoroughly acquaint himself with the country and report on its prospects at the end of a year. That so much expenditure can be sanctioned for the first year and so much for the next two years, depending on his reports, which may modify or extend the sum allowed. That he is to be given an absolutely free hand and that at the end of three years or less his Government will come and see what he has done.

Lastly, let him start with a very meagre opinion of the possibilities of enlightening the savage to any great extent. By taking a low standard he will be better able to understand and be in touch with him. He will then be delighted at the least glimmerings of intelligence, and the work accomplished will be the more evident. Taking too high a standard will only lead him inevitably to disappointment, and perhaps to a feeling of resentment against the native for not having come up to his expectations.

CHAPTER V

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ORDER

A NEW people must be brought under control slowly but firmly. At first it seems as if this would be a very difficult task. There are many thousands of natives in a district who must become accustomed to immediate compliance with Government orders, whilst there is perhaps only one European and a small staff to enforce these orders. With the ordinary African this task is in reality easier than it might appear. The native is easily bluffed, and there is no cohesion between sections and tribes. The official has seldom to deal with the insubordination of more than one small and isolated section of a people at any given time.

None of the rest of the people will bear the official any grudge for dealing with such offenders severely, for they are probably old enemies. If the first few people to give trouble are duly warned, and then, if they do not comply with orders, dealt with, the remainder will soon fall into line.

The first step in inducing a state of order is to find out who are the big and accepted chiefs in the country, and impress upon them that they will be held responsible for the conduct of their people. Next, when men are required to open up a road or build the first few huts of the temporary station, so many men may be requisitioned alternately from each chief. Later, each chief should be visited and lists made out of the headmen of all their villages. It must then be explained to the headmen that they are responsible to their chief for the people under them, and that the Government will support the chief if they give him any

trouble. After that it should be seen that the working parties, from each chief, are drawn fairly and in proportion from the various headmen. A book should be kept showing the number of men that have been used from each headman and the amount of time they have worked.

Still later a roll or register should be made of the men under each headman. A convenient way to make this roll is to write the name of each full-grown male and to each name leave plenty of space in parallel columns, for the subsequent expansion of this register. Such columns may eventually show how many wives, children, and huts each man has, whether he is in the possession of a firearm, and later how many head of cattle or other stock he possesses.

The list of names may be divided into two classes: those who will become tax-payers and those exempt. The exemptions may be such as are recognised by Government in an official capacity—chiefs, headmen, keepers of rest houses, controllers of ferries, and men in other employments—old and decrepit men and those who have performed a certain period of work for Government during the year.

When a poll or hut tax is eventually brought in, the sums paid may be entered in a separate column against the name of each man, and under the year in which it is paid. This register or census will enable one to check deaths and murders, if the headmen are made responsible for reporting every casualty to anyone who is on the roll.

The register number of any cases, either criminal or civil, in which a man's name appears, might also be entered against his name. If he is subsequently brought up, or brings up a case, it can be ascertained immediately if he has had any previous conviction or if he has had the case settled before. A frequent practice amongst natives is to bring up the same case, perhaps one that did not occur during their lifetime, and have it re-decided by every fresh official who enters the country.

Another purpose this register serves is that, if a man brings up a case to be decided, it can be seen at once if he

has paid his tax. If not, the official would be quite justified in refusing to hear a long and involved case unless the complainant first paid his debt to Government.

The chain of responsibility having been determined, and everybody in this chain made to understand his duties, any hitch or delay in executing an order must immediately be taken notice of. If it occurs a second time and it is a serious case, the person responsible should be removed and another put in his place. All the members of the chain should understand that it is their business to see any order carried out so far as it concerns their immediate subordinates. If any of the latter fail to obey, it is the duty of his superior to report him immediately, a course of action which he will at first try to shirk. The chief will, when brought to account over non-compliance with an order, try to put the blame on one of his headmen. The proper reply to this is that the man should have been reported at the time, and not only after the official has discovered that the order has not been carried out.

When working-parties are brought into the station, each group of ten to twenty men should be accompanied by a headman or overseer. The latter will be responsible for his people during the time they are at work, and will see that they get their rations and that their complaints are attended to.

At first there will be great difficulty in getting information and intelligence about occurrences in the district; the natives will have a natural tendency to conceal things from the official, and it will be difficult to ascertain the rights and wrongs of a case. The official cannot be too careful in investigating cases, especially as between chiefs and their subjects, as the latter may be brow-beaten and afraid to state their case.

The only way to obtain information at first is to travel about keeping one's eyes open, and to ask random questions of anybody and everybody. Any neglect to report crimes and cases or instances of bringing false statements

to court, should, if detected, be immediately punished. Presently natives will come rushing in with information about even unimportant events.

As regards the clearing of the necessary roads, the chiefs living nearest the route should have it divided out between them, each being responsible for a section. They should also have the limits of their task clearly explained to them, a stream being the best boundary mark.

Before taxes are instituted the natives may be made to keep the roads clear for nothing; when they are taxed it is more usual to pay for all work. Then so much a mile is generally paid for road clearing. The sum is often given to the chief on the conclusion of the work. If this is done, inquiries should be made as to whether the workers have actually received their remuneration, otherwise the chief may pocket the whole amount himself.

If the road is to be much used, rest camps may be built at different stages, for the convenience of travellers and porters. It would be part of the duties of the chiefs to keep the houses of these camps in repair, on the sections of road for which they are responsible. Chiefs who do not live on or near the roads would be made responsible for other works.

If funds suffice, it is advisable to put in caretakers to look after the rest camps, to see that the houses are not damaged, the camp is kept clean, and that natives do not use such houses as are set aside for Europeans. Caretakers are especially necessary at any ferry, or bad crossing, or where there is a change of porters to be effected. Some responsible person should be at such places to see that boats or canoes are not damaged, and to look after loads coming up.

Where possible, local people should be employed in this capacity, but in a new country, in which everybody is raw and uncivilised, such responsible persons are not available. To put extraneous natives in such a position and to leave them for long periods to their own devices is to be avoided if possible. Such men impose on the local natives

and, if not watched closely, impress them for trade or work. They should therefore be changed round as often as possible, or brought in for periods of work in other capacities, at the station.

The rest camp in its highest form would be a centre for the direction of any agricultural movement in that part of the district. For in each of such posts one would have two or three semi-civilised natives, ex-soldiers, or employés, with a considerable amount of spare time on their hands. If one of these had been engaged or trained on, say, a cotton plantation, it would be simple to make these men responsible for planting a certain acreage of cotton, besides looking after the camp. If it is required to try anything else, one of the caretakers may be called into the station for a few months to learn what is necessary, and then sent back to his post. The rest camp then becomes, on a small scale, an experimental plantation for that part of the country. Subsequently it may serve as a practical illustration to the natives round of how to grow certain products, and may also become a centre for the distribution of seeds or the collection of produce.

Porters will have to be sent from the station to fetch up stores from the last post or the place to which transport arrangements formerly existed, if the district is to find its own labour. Probably, however, for the first few months loads will be sent up with porters from the last station on the route. After that the official will be expected to make his own arrangements. At first each gang of porters may have to be sent down in charge of a policeman or other responsible person. Soon the natives will learn to go in charge of their own overseers, who will bear a letter, or form, to state the number of men, what loads they are to receive, and if they are to receive rations at the other end. Porters should be paid a suitable hire from the first, even if the other works are unpaid, until taxes are inaugurated. As a rule, the native intensely dislikes carrying, and has the greatest horror of going far from his own village.

If the journey consists of more than a few days it would be advisable to ration the porters for the down journey only, and to make arrangements for them to draw food for the up journey at the other end. Otherwise they will eat or discard most of their food in the first few days and leave themselves nothing for the end of the trip.

Other services to be arranged for are *mail runners*. If the distance is long a change is generally made every forty or fifty miles. A post camp could be combined with a rest camp, and one set of runners arranged to ply on each stage.

As the work of the mail runners is at certain intervals, it is as well to employ them on other light work between the times they are running. A suitable arrangement is to give them one whole day's rest after they arrive in the station, and then employ them in such light work as planting until their next tour of duty comes round.

Conservancy. Two or three men should be employed on this work from the first. As it is difficult to find men who take an interest in this kind of employment, arrangements will probably have to be made to change them at frequent intervals, or to promote them to other work after a certain period. As an alternative, prisoners may be used.

Before any accommodation but the locally made hut is available for prisoners, and before they realise that they may be shot if they run away, frequent attempts at escape may be expected. It is then fairer to both the guards and to the prisoners themselves to put the latter in chains. The most convenient chains are leg-irons, which permit of being fastened and unfastened with a key like handcuffs. The slack can be fastened by a string to a belt round the waist, whilst the part that comes in contact with the leg may be padded, if the wearer is to move about much. Worn in this way they are of little inconvenience to the wearer in ordinary employment, but if he tries to run away they will catch up in the bush. When the natives know that they will be shot at if they attempt to escape, and that they will also probably be recaptured again and given harder

sentences, should they manage to get away, it will be unnecessary to chain the short-sentence prisoners.

Every effort should be made to recapture runaways, or to bring in people who at first refuse to come in for cases, even if it is only a witness in an unimportant civil case that is required. Once the native gets the idea that he can elude the white man, as undoubtedly he could if he was not given away by his people, there is an end to all chance of a really effective administration. The official must then painstakingly track down every eluder of justice, until such time as the native sees that it is best to come in at once when he is called.

It is hopeless to try and find a naked savage in the bush or to run him down with police encumbered with rifles and equipment. The best chance of effecting a capture by police is to get news of where he is sleeping and then surprise him in his hut. The surest way, however, is to bring pressure to bear on his chief or headman.

In the first beginnings of administration these always deny all knowledge of the offender. They generally know perfectly well, or if they do not it is an easy matter for them to find out. The best thing to do, then, is to put the chief and the headman under custody until the man is forthcoming or proof is produced that he has gone elsewhere. Then he can be demanded from the chief of the place to which he has gone, who will have no particular reason for wishing to hide him. This may sound hard on the chief, as one has no proof that he is sheltering the wanted man, but it is the only way to teach them that their duty is to assist the Government in such matters. Moreover, unless the chain of responsibility is maintained rigidly, it will be impossible to hold a country full of natives, all of whom will shirk or evade orders if given an opportunity. In nine cases out of ten the wanted man is produced in a few days, thus justifying one's action.

The official will constantly wish to call in to the station or communicate with various chiefs with reference to orders,

cases and other matters. Often it will not be necessary to see the chief personally only, if an order is sent to a chief, steps must be taken to ensure that he has really received and understood it. The number of police available will not usually be sufficient for this purpose, whilst if any stray native is used, it will be difficult to prove that the chief has really received and understood the order. If he is called to task over non-compliance, it is open to him to say that the message was incorrectly delivered.

To meet this and other difficulties, an excellent arrangement is to make each chief provide a headman, son, relative or representative to live in the vicinity of the station, who can be sent to call the chief or take a message to him. This representative watches over the chief's interests at the station, reports complaints made by any of his porters or people working there. His house or village affords a place at which anybody from his chief, coming in for cases or for any cause, may stop. He is present at the hearing of all cases for or against any of his people, and generally acts for his chief in all circumstances in which the latter's presence is not absolutely necessary.

An extension of this scheme, when it can be arranged, is to have the son or heir of each chief at the station for a certain number of years. They can be put through a course of training or instruction in anything thought desirable. Such things might be agriculture, sanitary methods of living, and perhaps, in later times, a certain amount of education. Finally, when the present generation has passed, all the chiefs of the country will be men thoroughly cognisant with government methods and aims, and of superior training and discipline.

The representatives of the various chiefs will form the nucleus of a big village, which will shortly spring up under the wing of the station. All chiefs or headmen deposed should be brought to live there, at any rate for a time. If they are not removed from the village they will attempt to cause trouble, collect about them a party of malcontents,

and make things as difficult as possible for successors in office. As regards general policy, it is a mistake to try to push on the natives too fast, or to attempt to explain too much to them at a time. Give them one or two ideas and let them digest these for some time before giving them more. The first great lesson to learn is that an order must be obeyed.

The official will have to start by trying to stop murders, fighting, and raiding. Although one has said a good deal about the punishment of offences above, these punishments are often very lenient on the first occupation of a district. Perhaps only a few years for murder, a few months for robbery, and a few weeks for non-compliance with orders. The very raw savage sets no store by an elaborate trial, decision and sentence. It suffices for him that he has done something you consider wrong and that you have caught him and put him in prison. When you say he is to come out, then he comes out. He does not recognise himself as in a different category before and after trial.

If the newly occupied district is on a frontier, one of the first orders will probably be to forbid the entry of arms and ammunition. As no elaborate Customs arrangements are possible, and natives may pass anywhere across the border, the official will have to trust to the organisation of his chiefs to report natives in possession of arms for which they cannot account, rather than to their detection and exclusion at the points of entry. The best method of carrying this out is to make a register of all arms in the country as soon as possible after taking it over. The people may be given a certain period during which to report all in their possession. When this has elapsed, any weapon found that has not been registered will be presumed to have been smuggled, it will be confiscated and the possessor and his chief punished. Those weapons which have been registered should be stamped and numbered. Other important orders may have reference to cattle sickness and the spread of the disease.

The power of the chiefs should be only gradually reduced

till they have learnt how to keep order by reporting offenders to the Government. Finally, an order may be issued as to exactly what civil cases and what petty criminal cases they may be entrusted to deal with. Anything above these must be brought to the station. A scale of fines or light punishments, such as extra turns at portorage, might be given to the chiefs. The people must be given to understand that they can always appeal from the chief's decision, but that if they do this obviously to cause trouble the punishment awarded by the chief will be increased. Otherwise they would appeal over every case.

If the district occupied is to be run as a native reserve, certain modifications of policy will be necessary, and these will be treated of in Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER VI

LAW AND EQUITY

ORDINARY law is much too complicated in its process and lengthy in its action to be suitable for natives of tropical Africa. The official has not time, or sufficient staff at his disposal, to administer justice after approved fashion ; the native, moreover, is incapable of understanding such involved methods. He understands firm and prompt action, but not the winding intricacies of evidence and procedure. In a word he needs equity—the law which natural reason appoints for all mankind.¹

The one official has to be not only judge and jury, but also prosecutor and likewise counsel for the accused. In fact, he must find out all he can to obtain a conviction and at the same time bring out all possible points in favour of the accused. He must produce and examine his witnesses for prosecution and again try to shake their evidence in cross-examination on behalf of the prisoner. Moreover, he has to base his procedure largely on what he knows of the habits, customs and character of the different tribes of his district. His business is to get to the bottom of the matter by whatever methods he can and then to give his decision and sentence according to his conscientious conviction of what is best for the workings of justice, and in the interests of the people.

Evidence as understood in an English law court often counts for little in an African. What is actually said is often of not so much account as the manner in which it is said, a circumstance which cannot easily be recorded in

¹ Equity originally meant the principle of equal or proportionate distribution, and hence the levelling or equalising of the *Jus Gentium* and *Jus Civile*, the former being the law dealing with the foreign element, not subject to Roman civil law. The Romans founded the law of nations on the institutions by which nature was supposed to have governed all mankind in the primitive state. See *Ancient Law*, by Maine.

the proceedings. For instance, if a witness readily said of the accused, "Oh, yes, he is a very bad man; he threw his spear at So-and-so," I should, with some natives, regard this as purely negative evidence and be careful subsequently to elicit that the witness was not present at the time. On the other hand, another might say he knew nothing about it so emphatically that one could almost assume that he had been present and possibly an active participator.

When there is a white man on one hand trying to uphold justice and several thousand natives on the other trying to elude it, it is evident that it will often be impossible to produce that accumulation of evidence which is generally considered necessary to convict. If no convictions were made except on evidence which when taken down would satisfy a legal expert, the position of the white man trying to uphold justice would be untenable and its ultimate ends defeated.

Civil cases are generally the hardest to decide, as, at the conclusion of the hearing, the evidence so often appears to be absolutely evenly distributed for and against. Yet with these it is generally necessary for the official to give some sort of judgment, and he has not the faintest idea in whose favour it should be given.

In spite of the flimsy evidence on which convictions are sometimes made in criminal cases, I believe that very rarely a miscarriage of justice occurs. The very fact that the case has been reported shows that something must have taken place. The chief, knowing well that the man is guilty and fearing that the crime may reach the official's ears, has brought him up. Having, by so doing, exonerated himself from all blame in the matter, he would, perhaps, like to see the man acquitted, and so takes no steps to procure evidence; on the contrary, he suppresses as much as possible any facts he knows. In civil cases, however, the white official, often in ignorance of the real reasons for the claim owing to the reticence of both sides, must frequently make a mistake. Yet it is a well-known fact that natives

will come from far to obtain a white man's decision, rather than submit to that of their own chiefs, who know the ins and outs and the rights and wrongs of the affair. The reason is not far to seek. The native knows that the white man has no private axe to grind, he has no relations, blood brotherships, feuds or old grievances amongst the parties of either side, and so his decision will be absolutely impartial. He will do his best to get to the bottom of the matter, unaffected by any other considerations than the rights and wrongs of the case in point. If he makes a mistake the native goes off bearing no grudge, and is equally ready to bring up his next case before the same tribunal, and even the same case again when a new white man comes or the present one has been given time to forget that he has heard it. Therefore in outstations, and especially in newly occupied country, rough-and-ready methods are quite sufficient and should be interfered with as little as possible. The use of the central courts is more to deal with Europeans, traders' disputes, and matters connected with extraneous and more civilised natives than to interfere between the official and the raw savage.

The methods of different tribes differ enormously, and the procedure, especially in eliciting evidence, must be varied accordingly. There are tribes amongst whom it will be found that each side spontaneously speaks the plain truth. With such people the administration of justice is heavenly.

There are tribes who will speak the truth when it is dragged out of them, but not till then. There are, again, tribes amongst whom it will be absolutely impossible to obtain a straight answer; every question must be circumvented. With these one must make up one's mind to listen patiently to a long tangle of irrelevant matter in answer to the simplest question. I remember an official who only wanted to get just a plain "yes" or "no" out of a witness before dismissing him, and he was determined to get it. "Now," he said, "you may only answer one word, either yes or no. Do you hear?" "Yes." "Well, did you or did you not see

this ? ” “ Well, that is just what I was going to tell you, Bwana. You see that when I—— ” “ Silence ; did you or did you not ? ” “ Well, the time that I saw this man and he said to me—— ” and so on. I left him after an hour tearing his hair and throwing the stationery around, but he had not got his answer.

Some people seem to have the greatest reluctance to state their case at all ; they expect one to know the whole of their claims by intuition. It is like drawing teeth to get any evidence out of them. As an example of how peculiarly patient one has to be with these I will give an instance of parts of the hearing of one of the tooth-drawing variety.

A man will walk into your office and lay a little bundle of sticks on your table.

“ Well, what do you want ? ”

“ I want these,” he replies, pointing to the sticks.

“ What are they ? ”

“ Property belonging to me.”

“ What sort of property ? ”

“ Cows.”

“ Where are they ? ”

“ Over there,” pointing vaguely in a certain compass direction.

Then will follow about half an hour's questioning, at the end of which time he will have reluctantly admitted his name and the name of his chief and the name of the man who is supposed to have his cows—a certain chief.

“ Well, are your cows with this chief ? ”

“ Yes.”

“ Is he actually in possession of them, or is it any other ? ”

“ They are at his village.”

“ But are they in his own hands or has any other person got them in his keeping ? ”

Then follows another long series of questions and answers, which finally elicit that it is not the chief against whom the claim is made, but one of his men.

The chief and man are sent for and a day fixed for the

hearing. When all are present the hearing is commenced, the plaintiff is asked to state his case.

"I want these," he says, showing his bundle of sticks and surprised that you should be so dense as not yet to know that he wants ten cows. The defendant is asked if he has ten cows belonging to the plaintiff, and states flatly that he has not. The plaintiff is then asked to state how they left his possession, and he says :

"That man took them."

"When?"

"Just now, nearly."

"What time of the year?"

"The maize was this height."

"During last year?"

Murmurs of dissent from the defendant, who says :

"No, long ago."

After a tremendous amount of cross-questioning the latter says, "Long ago, the cow belonged to my father."

"Which cow?"

"The cow he claims."

"But he claims ten cows?"

"Yes, but they were one at first."

After an infinity of questions it is finally discovered that the plaintiff is claiming one cow which he says belonged to his father and for some reason passed into the possession of the defendant's father, and since then had increased with its offspring to ten.

Now the official begins to think he sees light, and asks the defendant how his father got the cow.

"He received it in exchange for his daughter."

"Who married his daughter?"

"So-and-so."

"So the cow never belonged to the plaintiff's father."

"No."

The plaintiff then says that although the cow had never actually been in possession of his father it nevertheless was his as he had married the sister of the defendant.

“ Was that the one that married So-and-so ? ”

“ Yes.”

“ Did she marry your father first ? ”

“ Yes.”

“ Why did she leave him ? ”

“ She ran away.”

“ What did your father pay for her ? ”

“ He gave his daughter in exchange.”

So the case rambles on until the official looks at his watch and finds that it is lunch time and that there are still two more cases waiting and a mail to get off. He wonders how much time he should really waste on such a case, or whether it would not be more in the interests of his work in general to cut it short and toss up which side gets the cow. The next point is as to how much of this pleasant, rambling conversation it is necessary to write down as the official record of the case. There has been no evidence offered by either side, except that strenuously elicited by himself. It would be manifestly absurd to spend a few more hours in writing out all these questions and answers. In the majority of African cases what purports to be a record of the proceedings is, in reality, nothing of the sort. It is a résumé of what the official imagines the case should look like.

In the above instance he would probably write down :
“ Civil case No. ———.

“ X *v.* Y

“ X claims return of value of dowry paid by father to Y’s father for daughter Z.

“ X states: Father married Z and paid one girl to Y’s father for her. Z ran away to W. W paid one cow to Y’s father for her.

“ Y admits that father received one girl for Z and that Z ran away. Produces no proof of return of dowry.

“ Decision. Y pays one cow to X.

“ Place. ———. N.B.—Claim to increase disallowed.

“ Sentence executed in presence of court.

“ Date (Signature).”

At the conclusion of the case it will probably be noticed that both parties are pleased. X because without the white man's help he would not have got his cow. Y because at one period he thought that he was going to lose ten cows.

Enough has been said, perhaps, to show that ordinary legal procedure is out of place in tropical Africa; cases take often quite long enough to decide without burdening them with technical methods. Something more elastic and simpler in action, more rapid in execution than ordinary procedure is required. Something that in the swiftness of its application more resembles military law, but which is, if possible, even simpler. Both the Indian Penal Code and the Sudan Penal Code are used with a certain amount of suitability in tropical Africa.¹

As a rule the official is empowered to hear and punish all ordinary criminal cases, whilst the more serious, such as murder, have to be sent down to a higher court to try. On opening a new district, if murder cases are common, he should be given power to deal with them, being given a maximum punishment to award.

When the country is well in hand, and the people know more about the Government, such cases may be sent down, or kept awaiting a superior court. At first, however, witnesses are so very difficult to secure that the case should be heard when and where they can be produced. Often they will be so alarmed that they will have to be kept as prisoners until the case is over. To look at it from their point of view: a murder is committed and the accused are

¹ The Indian Penal Code is used in British East Africa and the Sudan Penal Code in the Sudan. On the West Coast of Africa, and in most settled colonies, the common law of England was brought with them by the original settlers, and has formed a foundation on which local statute law has been erected as required. Laws enacted, revised, or repealed at home subsequent to the granting of a charter do not, necessarily, become embodied in the laws of a colony.

In ceded or conquered colonies the law of the land, at the time of occupation, is generally used as a foundation.

As local laws are generally made, altered, repealed or revised by numbers of statutes succeeding one another, it is often difficult to ascertain what the actual law is on certain matters, unless all the statutes are consolidated and codified from time to time.

arrested. That ought to finish the case, the white man has put in prison the parties he thinks guilty. Then they hear that it is not yet over, and that the white man wants some more people in connection with the case. Evidently he has not got as many prisoners as he wants and is looking for some more, so it is just as well for the witnesses to keep out of the way, for they are more intimately connected with the case than anybody else left.

Punishments, on first occupying a new country, should be very light but very unsparingly awarded, till the natives have learnt what they may do or what they may not.

Sometimes the official is empowered to hold a court to try any case, provided he has two native assessors sitting with him. Besides sitting as a magistrate's court the official should be also empowered to hold summary trials of all but the most serious criminal offences, and the maximum punishment to be awarded at such a trial should be about a year's imprisonment. In these there is no particular procedure; the only records that it is usual to keep are date and place of offence, name, tribe and chief of accused, what he is charged with, witnesses for and against, plea, decision and sentence. Sometimes a short résumé is added of the leading facts elicited.

A careful record, or index, of all cases heard, both criminal and civil, should be kept. The cases should be numbered consecutively, and the number of each case entered against the name of anyone who appeared in it, in the census toll or register.

In civil cases the local customs of the country should be followed as closely as possible.¹ In many parts cows form the basis of all law, both civil and criminal. A wife is worth so many cows, a man's life so many, and a theft payable by so many.

It is important to remember that the basis of native law is not the individual but the family, and after the family

¹ In Uganda proper the kabaka (king) and lukiko (native council) rule the country as to native law, and much the same procedure is used amongst the more civilised peoples of West Africa.

the clan, and then the tribe. The head of the family is held responsible for the doings of all his household and is owner of all their assets. Similarly the chief is held responsible for all his people. At the death of the paterfamilias or the chief, his heir assumes his legal responsibilities as well as his estate. So no debt or transgression is expiated by the decease of an individual. If he is the member of a household the head is still responsible, if he is the head his heir is still responsible. A proper conception of this, as the factor underlying all native law and thought, is important. It explains the native's tenacity to old grievances and much which is otherwise inexplicable. A man may be killed; the family tries to revenge itself on the murderer or get blood-money from his family; failing this, it revenges itself on some member of the clan or tribe. To the native mind it is quite sound law that, because A killed B, the family of B should kill X, who may never have met either A or B, but is of the same tribe as A.

As regards the intricacies involved in the inheritance of property by a multiplicity of wives, it is as well to follow, roughly, Muhammadan law, in which all possible contingencies are allowed for. A useful little book on the subject is *The Rights of Women and the Law of Inheritance*, by Abdul Kadir, published at Aden. It is written in Arabic on one side with English translation on the other.¹

The legal forms, etc., required are :—

Copy of Penal Code and special Ordinances in use in the country.

Forms of Procedure for all courts that can be held.

Forms for summary trials.

A register book for civil cases.

A register book for criminal cases.

Charge Sheets.

¹ The full title of this little book is :—

“ A Treatise on Muhammedan Law entitled ‘ The overflowing river of the Science of Inheritance and Patrimony,’ together with an Exposition of ‘ The Rights of Women, and the Laws of Matrimony,’ by Shaikh Abdul Kadir, bin Muhammed Al-Mekkwawi. Printed in Syria and published by the author in Aden.”

A prison book or roll, showing the names of all prisoners, with the dates of admission, sentence and date of release.

Forms for Civil Cases.

These are practically all that are required at an out-station, and even some of these might be dispensed with in the first place, such as the forms for summary trials and civil cases, the register in each case being sufficient.

It is a good thing to keep a list of all "wanted" people in a conspicuous place in the office, so as to be constantly reminded of them. Such are escaped prisoners, people wanted on criminal charges, or those who are trying to escape presenting themselves as defendants in civil cases.

All fines given as punishments or part punishments become the property of the Government. They should be collected and entered immediately in the treasury book lest they be forgotten.

It will often be necessary to keep one of the parties in a case at the station until the fine or judgment given against him is paid up, otherwise the decision will not be executed without much delay and trouble.

In civil cases a better way is to have all disputed cattle or movable property brought into the station before the hearing and deposited in the Government zariba. On conclusion of the case it is handed over to the party to whom it has been awarded, and a note put against the decision: "Sentence executed." If it is not executed at once and in presence of the court the chances are that it never will be, that the case will have to be gone into again, or that it will lead to some other case.

CHAPTER VII

COMMENCEMENT OF DEVELOPMENT

As with the country which is, in the first place, maintained at an out-of-pocket expenditure, so it will be with the district. On first being occupied it must be supported by its Government and should gradually progress from being worked at a loss, through the stage of being self-supporting, to that of paying for its share of the expenses of the Central Government and finally becoming an asset to the country.

It cannot be expected at first that its Government will be willing to expend on the new district more than the most meagre sum—not more than will suffice to maintain a sufficiently effective occupation—until the possibilities of the country are known.

The first few years, then, will be spent in studying the conditions and considering on what lines the most profitable and suitable development may be made. Once this has been decided it is to be hoped that the Government will lay down the capital necessary to enable the foundations of such development to be laid. However, even then funds are, as often as not, unavailable; and this for many reasons. The Government, as is generally the case with African Governments, may be engaged in the very strenuous task of making two ends meet. The grant-in-aid may have been reduced or the new district may have been opened as a political necessity, or to simplify the administration of another district, before the funds requisite for it were really to hand.

The whole question of African Governments is one of making two ends, very far apart, meet. Everyone's pet

plans have to be cut down or postponed. Each head of Department will be crying out for money, and, when sums are available, it is only natural for the central Government to expend them on what there is every reason to suppose will give a profitable return, rather than on experiments in distant outstations.

No one will have such faith in the new country as the official-in-charge ; so it may be many years before he can arouse interest in his plans, and he will generally have to start, as best he can, on little or no funds.

It may be that the prospects of his district are favourable enough to encourage tentative efforts by private Europeans or firms. Even if this is so, expenditure of Government capital will certainly be necessary to improve transport arrangements, an expenditure the Government will be unwilling to undertake until it is assured that there are sufficient Europeans to warrant it. Meanwhile, the lack of transport arrangements will probably have the effect of deterring that sufficing number from the venture.

Whilst studying the future possibilities of the country, the official will have to make use of what local assets are immediately available, so as to make his district contribute somewhat towards the expenses of administration.

One may divide his efforts at development into two periods. The first is that during which he is, as it were, prospecting the country and meanwhile making the most of resources ready to hand. The second is that during which, having marked out his course, he gradually proceeds on it, until the prosperity of his district is assured. During the first period he may indeed find something which, when extended, might turn into a permanent industry ; but as a rule he must make up his mind that his policy during the first few years is to be one of makeshift. The things he encourages and the revenue he makes are only internal and local, useful enough for the time being ; but they are not such things as will, unaided, bring great prosperity to the country.

Such things are the establishment and encouragement of local markets. He may be able to supply grain or cattle for slaughter to the next district, and so put a little money into the pockets of his people, to enable them to pay their taxes. This, however, does not accomplish anything permanently satisfactory.

The taxes may look very prosperous on paper and show the district as beginning to pay its way, but no real asset has been gained. He has taken stock, grain and taxes out of the people and put back a few articles of merchandise. Even the money made comes out of the next district, and so is not gained to the country at large, for the poor quality of the grain and the expense of transport of the stock will, as a rule, prohibit all chance of profitable export; they must be sold strictly in a local market. He must not, then, be carried away by a false impression of the good he is doing; he has done nothing but induce the people to help in a small degree to make two ends meet. If, however, he eventually teaches them to plant something profitable as an export, and if he improves their methods of agriculture, so that larger returns are forthcoming, he has done something both for the people themselves and for the Government.

Of other assets which may be ready to hand, there may be hides and ivory, and, if the people are taught how to collect them, wild rubber, ostrich feathers, gum and beeswax. Also of purely fancy things: ostrich eggs, captured animals, weapons and barbaric ornaments. Trade in any of the last category is simply a makeshift, but such things serve their purpose, which is to make a little money and teach the natives how to trade, until some profitable industry arises.

As to hides, trade in these may become a permanent one in the country, but such trade is generally confined to stock-raising and nomadic peoples, who cannot be expected to produce much else.

Ivory and the tapping of wild rubber may bring in a

rich harvest, but these industries can only be regarded as temporary expedients for bringing in revenue. The trade may last over a number of years, but it must eventually decline. All money made out of this trade is drawing on the resources of the country without building up any asset in its place, unless the profits made are devoted to the establishment of permanent interests. A small amount may be made out of ostrich feathers, but so long as the industry is in the hands of natives alone it will be impossible to produce feathers to compete seriously, either in quality or amount, with those supplied by European ostrich farmers. Gum is a valuable asset to a country, but the localities which produce it are very limited. Unless the industry is carefully supervised the forests may become exhausted, in the same way as those of the wild rubber.¹

In countries where wild honey abounds, a fair industry in the collection of beeswax may be started. The native, as a rule, throws this away after eating the honey. The refining of the wax sufficiently for trade purposes is not difficult. The best way to teach the native is to train two or three more intelligent men and to send them round the district to show the people.

The discovery of mineral wealth, if in sufficient quantity to pay for the transport of necessary machinery, immediately makes and finances a country. Development and comparative civilisation will follow the consequent opening up of the country, and all present anxiety as to its fortunes will be shelved. The natives will soon learn the unskilled use of pick and spade, and later many of them will become good workmen.

A railway will generally be brought up to or near the

¹ Commenting on the increase of the gum trade, the Annual Report for 1911 of the Central Economic Board of the Sudan Government states: "These statistics might be taken as evidence of an altogether satisfactory state of affairs, but they are an indication that, so far as the gum trade is concerned, the country is living on its capital, as some of the gum forests are being gradually worked out" (Chap. I, par. 44). The Report then continues to say that a scheme is in hand for the regeneration of the forests.

locality, and the increase in the European population and the necessity for feeding labourers, servants and employés, will cause a large demand for local produce. Also there will be a demand for local natives as artisans, carpenters, builders etc., so soon as they can be trained to the work.

Wages generally run much higher in a mining centre than those paid for labour in other parts, so the chances of being able to produce for export will be considerably reduced ; but this is less material, as it will take all the energies of the people, for some time, to supply the local market.

This training of artisans for local use must not be neglected. Even if their work is never likely to be of any service outside their district, they are a considerable asset to a country in its development, and the local native is naturally cheaper to hire, if he is of any use at all, than an imported one.

By means of establishing local markets, collecting taxes, and drawing revenue from licences, market fees, etc., the official will try to show his district as self-supporting ; that is to say, the revenue sufficing to pay for the local expenditure ; and so endeavour to prove that his district is worthy of encouragement. Such a state of things, however satisfactory they may appear, should only be considered as temporary ; for the district is as yet far from being an asset to the country. During this time the official has been studying its prospects and deciding on what lines the future development had best be made. Perhaps he has all this while been experimenting with different kinds of produce ; to see what will grow and what will not—perhaps he has been allowed a grant for starting an experimental plantation. Having decided on his best course, he will then set forth his scheme in full, its probable cost, and his reason for building on its success. He will ask for the necessary funds which will enable his district to set out on this its second stage, that of inducing a state of real and permanent prosperity. Of this stage more will be said in Chapter XVIII.

Meanwhile, one cannot insist too strongly that, until this stage has been embarked on, no real or permanent good has been effected, and this should never be lost sight of during all the first years of bare existence.

It seems to me that there is too often no proper distinction between what we have called above the first and the second periods, and the official imagines that all he should do is to continue on the lines of the first period, or an extension of them, and all that can ever be expected of him has been accomplished.

In a way he is right in thinking this, for to embark on the second period he will require technical help and experience ; but before this comes to his aid he must do what he can to investigate and initiate the future policy. If he does not suggest and work for a means of future prosperity, it will be a long time before assistance comes to him unasked. It is for him to try and find a way, if he can ; and when he has found it he can then ask for the help and the funds necessary to follow it out, with the more chance of their being granted.

As to civilising the native on our lines, it is a very open question whether we do more harm than good in our attempt. In most cases it would seem as if the native were happier and comparatively speaking richer before he was subjected to the civilising process. Of course, the same rule cannot be made to apply to all peoples nor to all countries. Whereas it might be to the advantage of some to civilise them, there are others whom it would be better to leave alone as much as possible. So it should be decided without delay what our attitude is to be towards the natives in any given area. If it is decided that they had best be left alone as much as possible, to civilise themselves and develop their country in their own manner, only under a guiding hand, their country should be made into a native reserve. It must then be decided how much they ought to pay for this privilege, in taxes or tribute, and their country should be at once closed to the evils of civilisation. A competent commissioner

may be put in to act as the guiding hand, and the experiment tried, to see what development the natives are capable of under guidance, and untroubled by extraneous affairs.

Should one decide to civilise the people and develop the country on European lines, the evils of civilisation should still be excluded as much as possible, and for as long as possible, and we should strive to bring them at first only its benefits. Of these the first is justice. The second is, perhaps, the development of trade, finding markets for them outside their country, rather than for traders inside.

This is speaking generally; but, when it comes to the point, some natives are found to be so idle and so primitive that it is impossible to stir them up to do anything. Such people as these are ear-marked as labour, either to work on planters' estates or on Government plantations or public works.

Many tribes of Bantu people plant copiously during the rains, but, from want of method, science and suitability of products, cannot grow anything worth having. Such natives in the first place have practically everything they want. They have all the food that they have ever been accustomed to, and if they are ever hungry it is only because they have not planted sufficient for their needs. They have never tasted tea, sugar, salt (other than that made of ashes), so cannot hunger after them. They are either naked or clothed in bark cloth, in either of which cases they have to learn the use of cloth; they make their own utensils, and there is practically nothing they hanker after except, perhaps, stock. If there is not plenty of stock in the country it will probably be owing to tsetse or disease, and so it will be difficult and costly to bring it to them from elsewhere.

To such people as these one has not a single thing one can give that will be a sufficient inducement to sell any of their simple goods or to offer their labour. It is evident, then, that such natives must be taught to acquire wants before they are able to advance one step in what we call civilisation; for, if we can offer them nothing they need, all work

for us will be either tax labour or slavery; all purchases must be effected by force.

Some natives easily acquire the desire for European goods, whilst some cling to the naked, self-supporting condition for a long while. Whether it is for their ultimate good to be taught wants of which they have no knowledge is difficult to say. What I wish to point out is that there can be no development of a country until the natives have learnt such wants; and there can be no advance, in what we call civilisation, until there are rich and poor. I may seem to harp unduly on this theme. If I do, it is because it is the fundamental principle underlying all our relations with the black man, although many do not like to see it so baldly stated. To put it quite clearly: the white man teaches the black man wants of which he has no knowledge before and then holds out to him the satisfying of them as an inducement to offer his services as soldier, policeman, labourer, or to sell his produce, and, in later days, he is enticed in the same manner to raise himself and develop his country. Therefore it is the principle underlying all the workings of the Government, the upholding of justice and everything else great and small.

Before such wants are acquired the natives are all rich or all poor, whichever you choose to call it. The difference between rich and poor is that the one has what the other cannot get. With natives in their raw state everyone practically has as much food and worldly possessions as his neighbour. Some have more stock, but there is no marked distinction between any one and his fellow.

Having admitted, then, that the fundamental step towards development is the acquisition by natives of new wants, it remains to the advantage of all concerned that only reasonable ones should be acquired, and this can best be regulated by keeping the trade at first in the hands or strictly under the supervision of the Government. Such wants as clothes, cheap ornaments, tools, ploughs, tea, sugar, pipes, plates, bowls, cooking-pots, knives, axes, soap,

oil, lamps, chairs, spoons and medicines are perhaps reasonable, and many of them are progressive. Such as whisky, gin and rifles are vicious, whilst extravagant and useless articles such as musical boxes, chandeliers, and rickshaws are apt to give the native a wholly false idea of the value of his services and the scale on which he should live.

An education to European wants is best commenced by paying in trade goods for all Government work done ; indeed, often money would be of little use at first. Although I have talked of the raw savage as absolutely self-contained, this is not perhaps actually true of any people in these days, although some are very nearly so. Now some few articles of trade have penetrated to even the remotest countries, and there will always be some, though perhaps very limited, demand for such things as beads and calico. Gradually these will become more and more in demand, and other articles will be added to the category of local wants, for which people will sell their produce or which they will accept in payment for labour. The produce so bought will be used to feed police and employés at the station.

When the demands for European articles largely increase, it is time to begin to persuade the natives to plant other and more profitable crops and bring them for sale. What is profitable and what is not depends largely on the expense of transport to the coast, or other markets. Roughly speaking, the farther from the coast the more costly to the consumer should be the article it is attempted to produce. In other words, the farther from the coast the more should the produce grown be such as involves much labour to grow or that which requires a long period of care before it reaches maturity. Of course, the cheapness of labour and the intelligence of the people must also be taken into consideration, and this is just where the difficulty often comes in. For, in a country far inland, perhaps the people are less intelligent than those near the coast, whilst the only produce which would stand a chance, with the big transport rates involved, is that which requires extra skill in management.

Under such conditions the only hope for the country lies probably in employing the natives as labourers to European planters—if the latter can be induced to come.

To see what is suitable to the country, experimental plantations will have to be inaugurated. To induce the natives to take up the proposed line, the official will have to indulge in long talks with the chiefs, encouraging them to grow what is required, pointing out the advantages and rendering them partly trained assistance, as will be gone into in a future chapter. We have come to the conclusion that agriculture is the best means of developing most countries. Whether the agriculture is to be run by the natives themselves, or by labour under planters, is a matter of policy in deciding which sentiment and suitability of the country play a large part. Much will depend on the natives themselves: if they are thought capable of self-development or there are other reasons making the country unsuitable for planters, it should be made into a native reserve. If, on the contrary, the natives do not show any signs of being able to improve themselves, every encouragement should be given to induce planters to come to the country, and every effort made to secure a sufficient supply of labour for them.

Finally, there is one thing that many people of lofty ideas seem to overlook in their desire to uplift the savage. That is that in the civilising of the native one must begin by teaching him the use of his hands rather than his brains. One idea of raising a native is that of teaching him to read and write, arithmetic, geography and kindred subjects. These are latter products of civilisation. Every civilisation that we know of has built itself up in the first place out of bone and muscle, manual labour and physical attributes. In the beginning they have had to learn how to fight, repel invaders, and hold their own. Having accomplished this they have built up for themselves a solid foundation of arts and crafts and agricultural prosperity.

The education of the mind, to an abnormal degree, is only an after product, and even then only in proportion

to the skill the people have gained in manual work. Properly speaking, learning, when carried to any great extent, should only be the acquisition of a few, whilst the labouring class should form the vast majority of any State. Even now many individuals of civilised people are ignorant of any great learning. The prosperity of a State lies almost entirely in its labourers, and when the great mass of the people are not of this class the food supply of the nation is seriously endangered.

In Africa the natives are suited to become labourers, and to attempt to make them believe that they are above such manual work is doing them a serious wrong. Moreover, to build up a superstructure of learning before the solid foundations of prosperity by labour and industry have been laid is a still more erroneous policy with the raw savage than it is with his civilised brother.

CHAPTER VIII

NATIVE RESERVES

THE kind of country suitable for making into a native reserve is one which is peopled by a numerous, industrious, intelligent and law-abiding people. The people should be well-disciplined and obedient to their chiefs, and the latter should be men of authority, having sway over large areas.

If the community is broken up under numberless petty headmen, recognising no superior or paramount chiefs, it will be difficult or impossible for the official-in-charge, and his small staff, to exercise control over the great mass of the population until a more efficient organisation has been created. Split-up communities of this kind are generally of lawless disposition and unlikely to make any immediate progress.

Where the people are of the nature first described and are thus worthy of encouragement, limits may be assigned to their territory and the whole made into a reserve in which, under certain restrictions and with a certain amount of help, they may be encouraged to develop on their own lines.

If, however, they are of the latter description and it is thought that they are unlikely to profit by such a step, or that they are unworthy of this privilege, the best chance of making the country pay and of reducing it to order is to convert it gradually into a planters' country, if such a course is possible. A lawless, split-up community will require more supervision, a greater force of police, and relatively more expenditure on administration, than a well-ordered country,

whilst less advance may be expected and infinitely less return.

Possibly a country may be unsuitable to planters; perhaps it is too far from the coast and the difficulties of transport too great, or the country too dry, or the climate altogether too bad. It will then become, to all intents and purposes, a reserve, although it may not actually be designated as such. Denseness of population may be argued as a reason against introducing planters, on the grounds that there is no room for them. This is true to the extent that the immigration of planters may be impossible without interfering with native rights over the land. How much to regard such rights in the case of natives who are troublesome to deal with and refuse to improve themselves or their land is a matter of policy and sentiment. It might be argued, on the other hand, that in an overcrowded district the advent of planters is a remedy rather than an aggravation of the evil. For the planter, with his skilled methods of agriculture, can grow far more produce on a given area than can the native.

Desert countries, inhabited by nomad tribes, are, from the peculiar conditions prevailing, practically native reserves. The difficulties of administering such a country and dealing with a moving population are so great that often no attempt is made to effectively occupy and administer it. The understanding with such nomad peoples is generally that, so long as they behave themselves, do not molest caravans passing through their country, and do not raid or encroach on other tribes, they will be left alone to live their own life without outside interference. No taxes are generally asked for from such people, and any revenue accruing is that indirectly obtained from customs duties on exports, such as gum, hides and stock, and imports, such as calico, rice and dates. Where there are recognised caravan routes, which must be followed, it might be possible to raise something in the way of octroi, or toll duties, at certain spots.

To deal with the tribal disputes which inevitably occur amongst nomad peoples left much to their own devices, or with other elements of discord, it will be necessary to keep an efficient camel corps, or corps of mounted police. Nomad peoples generally move swiftly and travel far, this type of people having evolved to meet the requirements of desert countries, with long stretches between water holes. In such a country it would be impossible for any other type to exist.

After taking over a new district the question of native rights over land should be gone into before the country is opened up to any degree. It should be ascertained exactly what areas are used by or claimed by the different tribes and sections, and what is waste land which may be appropriated by the Government for future exploitation. As a rule all forest areas will be immediately appropriated by the Government, so as to check useless destruction. To fail to do so is to endanger the future timber and fuel supply, and possibly also the rainfall.

Until the advent of planters, traders or other Europeans, in any quantity, the whole country is treated practically as a reserve. When, however, extraneous interests begin to build themselves up, such as mining concessions, development companies, or individual planters or settlers, it becomes necessary to determine what areas are definitely to be assigned to the natives of particular tribes. The populous and well-ordered tribes showing progressive signs would have land allocated to them and made into a reserve. Once this step has been taken no one should be allowed to encroach on this territory; indeed, to alienate any part of such marked-down reserve generally requires the sanction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

It should then be explained to the people that the country is theirs and that their rights in this respect will not be interfered with so long as they keep within the bounds of this sphere, do not interfere with others, and keep certain rules. The people so treated may be stock-raising people,

and the country so reserved pastoral lands. I mean pastoral people who are either non-nomadic or only semi-nomadic. The true nomads, as suggested above, inhabit a type of country which, although it may not be called a reserve, is practically reserved for them by nature.

With pastoral people no great or startling development can be expected—except perhaps a great increase of stock owing to veterinary and quarantine arrangements reducing and excluding disease. Pastoral people, although generally more intelligent than the agriculturist, are, as a rule, even more conservative in their habits, and intolerant of innovation, than the latter. Indeed, their manner of living does not readily permit of their becoming civilised in the way we understand civilisation. The immediate reason that the pastoral people are, as a rule, so superior to others is that the majority are of northern origin or have northern blood in their veins. For the original reason that these wild, northern nomads, such as Arab and Somali, should be above the average Central African, we must look chiefly to the geographical and climatical conditions of their country, circumstances which have always had a preponderating influence in the forming of the characteristics of different races. A desert life, long treks, fasts and thirsts, holding one's property against marauders, and existing under very adverse natural conditions, must have the effect of producing a more strenuous type than a sedentary life of lightly tilling a generous earth to obtain all that is required for existence. I have said that a crowded state is a stimulus to improvement; there is this stimulus operating in many deserts; for, in proportion to the water-supply and grazing, there may be relatively more people than in many more fertile countries.

The very conditions that have tended to raise such peoples in intellect and hardiness have also tended to limit the bounds to which their civilisation will reach. The same applies, though in a lesser degree, to their hybrid and semi-nomad southern offshoots. Such people, then, must

be taken as we find them : more intelligent, more courageous and better organised than their neighbours, but with less possibilities of immediate regeneration or improvement. As to the agriculturists, if they are industrious and not unintelligent, much may be done with them.

With both peoples any advance made depends largely on the Resident or Commissioner, known and respected by the people, who is sent to direct their doings, aided by a small staff and bodyguard of police. All extraneous influences, or at any rate undesirable ones, are excluded as much as possible, and no undue pressure is brought to bear on the people. They are ruled mainly by their own chiefs, who are responsible to the Resident for the orderly behaviour of their people. If the people are sufficiently well organised, it will be necessary for the Resident to interfere but little with the internal administration and arrangements of the tribe, and he will only have to step in if glaring abuses and crimes occur.

He suggests improvements to the chiefs and leaves them to carry them out in their own way. He only dictates the broad lines on which the country should be governed. However, although he may not interfere in many things, it must be clearly understood by all concerned that his decision on all matters is final and that his orders must be implicitly obeyed.

Such is the way in which one would wish to treat the people of a reserve ; for thus the official, largely freed from judiciary duties and the troubles of dealing with the lower branches of the tribal organisation, will have practically his whole time free to devote to the development and future prosperity of the country. However, in practice it will be found that amongst comparatively few tribes is the organisation so perfect as to form a ready-made machine fit to carry on the workings of government.

It will thus be necessary, as a rule, to spend the first few years in strengthening whatever organisation is extant, and adding to it where it is found insufficient for its pur-

pose. However bad or worthless the system found amongst the people may appear, it must always be the official's endeavour to build up his organisation on what already exists rather than fashion a new one which he may think more efficient or suitable.¹

Imagine a tribe in which the worst possible existing form of government is found, one split up under numberless small headmen, acknowledging no superior and having themselves but little authority over their people, and then see how one would try to deal with the situation. Amongst such communities quarrels and feuds are generally rife between all the little sections, whilst the very impossibility of holding anybody responsible causes a prevalence of murder and other crimes which pass unpunished.

The magnitude of the task of evolving an organisation of law and order under such conditions is one that may well appal the official. To accomplish it will require infinite tact and patience.

He may start at the top of the scale by nominating big chiefs and making certain headmen acknowledge one of the created chiefs, a thing they will do their utmost to evade; or he may start at the bottom by strengthening and establishing the authority of the various headmen. Undoubtedly

¹ Sir E. P. C. Girouard states the necessity for this in the 1909-10 Annual Report on the East Africa Protectorate, from which I have extracted the following paragraphs:—

“The fundamental principle, and the only humane policy to be followed in dealing with peoples who have not reached a high stage of civilisation and are still dependent on a communal system of government, is to develop them on their own lines and in accordance with their own ideas and customs, purified in so far as necessary.

“Every improvement must be by a natural process of evolution which will cause no extreme dislocation of present circumstances. We should support the authority of the chiefs, councils and elders, and headmen in native reserves; and the prestige and influence of the chiefs can be best upheld by allowing the peasantry to see that Government itself treats them as an integral part of the machinery of the administration . . .”

There are not lacking those who favour direct British rule, but if we allow the tribal authority to be ignored or broken it will mean that we, who numerically form a small minority in the country, shall be obliged to deal with a rabble, with thousands of persons in a savage or semi-savage state, all acting on their own impulses and making themselves a danger to society generally. There could only be one end to such a policy, and that would be eventual conflict with the rabble.

the latter will be the best course to pursue. Although it will take longer to evolve a system of organisation, the result when attained will be of a more solid and disciplined nature. To accomplish this he will have to be constantly travelling round his district and personally dealing with each minor headman, teaching him his duties towards the Government and towards his people. He will begin with those close to his station and gradually extend outwards, till he has taught the headmen obedience to orders and to come into the station when called for. When they are first asked to establish their authority over their people they will commence by saying that their people will not hear them. It will then be necessary to go into the matter carefully with each headman, find out who are the most rebellious and seditious amongst their people, and make a plan for capturing these with one's police, dealing with each little group as occasion arises. These seditious ones may be fined or given short terms of imprisonment and then sent back to their villages, after it has been explained to them that they are to obey their headman whose authority Government intends to support.

Directly any headman begins to obtain a measure of authority, it will be found that his people will try to run away to others, so as to evade his orders. Such a state of affairs is untenable, for, if this is allowed, justice can always be eluded; it will be difficult or impossible to round up criminals, and headmen will be afraid to exercise any authority, lest they lose all their people. To prevent this it must be understood by all headmen that any case of desertion amongst their people must be reported at once, and that anyone arriving from another headman must be handed over to Government. Every native deserting his headman must be patiently tracked down, punished and restored to his own village. To check such cases the register of inhabitants under each headman, already referred to, is of the greatest use. Having strengthened the authority of the headman, the next step is to search for suitable men to act as chiefs over groups of headmen. This will be a

difficult matter, as the material available will be so poor. However, although each headman may acknowledge no superior, a careful inquiry will generally elicit that there are certain men amongst them who occupy a higher status than others. They may not exercise any actual authority over different headmen but, for various reasons, they may be more respected than the remainder. Such reasons might be that they are the original owners of the land, have descended from a former chief, or have superior reputations as rainmakers or medicine men. It is to such men as these that others might turn in the case of a national calamity. They might be applied to in the case of a long drought, which the local rainmakers had been unable to deal with, or in the case of threatened invasion by a better organised tribe, or they might be asked for advice in some complicated case.

If such can be found, the establishment of their authority may be difficult, but it will be readily within the conception of the people; they will be able to grasp that such an one has some right over them, which is now to be strengthened. The raising of a stranger, or one amongst numberless equals, to the rank of chief would be sure to cause great discontent, and the new chief would probably fail to attain any measure of authority, unless he could rise very superior to his surroundings.

A native is often unwilling to impart information about his customs, beliefs and social arrangements. This is partly through an innate reticence on these subjects, and partly because he follows customs so blindly and instinctively that he has but a blurred and hazy idea of what they are, their cause, origin and meaning. So it may be only with great difficulty that one can obtain correct information concerning whom the native regards in a superior light. The only way to discover this may be to pick up every scrap of information one can, as to past history, origins of clans, customs and so on, till one obtains a clue. An instance may show more clearly what I mean. I had collected to-

gether a number of petty chiefs of a very split-up tribe and questioned them carefully as to who was the superior, with the view to a subsequent nomination of an over-chief. All averred that they were quite equal, that everyone had his little territory and his people, and was responsible to no other. I tried several ways of getting at the truth, but failed. I then gave out some meat and told them to divide it up between them. It was noticed that one man received a much larger share than the rest without any question or demur on the part of the others. Here, then, was some right of precedence, evidently established in the native mind, which all acknowledged. This little circumstance gave me the clue to that which I had been vainly trying to elicit.

If no such acknowledged superior can be found, it will be necessary to nominate chiefs from the best of the headmen, or put in chiefs, such as ex-government employés or soldiers. Such a proceeding often leads to poor results, although the old soldier may make a very efficient chief once he can establish his authority. In any case, it would be well if such created chiefs were first employed or kept at a station, so as to get conversant with European methods. Having created the chiefs and established their authority, the administrative machine has only reached a state which is often found already attained by many well-organised tribes. For I have been taking the extreme instance of an utterly unorganised people, lacking in any cohesion.

So far, practically all justiciary powers have been in the hands of the official alone. Now it will be possible for him to delegate some of his powers to the chiefs, a step which in the case of a well-organised tribe would have been taken from the first. It will be the official's ultimate policy to entrust the greater part of the administration to the chiefs, each chief governing his people under his supervision. If abuses are prevalent, a strict watch will have to be kept on them, as power is delegated to them ; but once the natives know that justice may be had from the official if any mis-

carriage of it is reported, there will be less need for such rigid supervision.

The first step will be to state what classes of cases may be settled by the chiefs and what penalties may be exacted. Such may be petty theft, disputes about property and wives, and so on. The more serious crimes will be dealt with by the Resident, as also any failure to report these and cases of chiefs exceeding their authority.

As the natives grow more conversant with justiciary methods, native courts may be formed, and these may be held under the direction of the various chiefs, and be given greater powers. For this purpose it will be necessary to prescribe some form of training, such as to retain the members, previous to their appointment, for a certain term at the station, where they will attend all courts and learn what is expected of them. A scale of punishments and fines which may be exacted for specified offences will be made, and learnt by all concerned. When the natives have made sufficient progress, a council of the most important chiefs may be formed,¹ to discuss local measures and suggested laws and reforms. Whilst the Resident's decision is final in all matters, he may in this manner learn the views of the local chiefs and will, so far as is compatible, naturally respect their wishes. They, on their part, will feel that

¹ As an example of an African Native Council the following description of the Basutoland Council is drawn from the Basutoland Annual Report for 1910-11 :—

"The duties of the Council are of an advisory nature and for the discussion of the domestic affairs of the country. It consists of 99 members (all natives) and the Paramount Chief of the tribe. Of these, 94 members are nominated by the chiefs and headmen of the tribe and approved by the Paramount Chief, subject to confirmation by the Resident Commissioner. Five members are appointed by the Government.

"The Council meets in the Council Hall at Maseru not less than once a year and sits for some three weeks. The Resident Commissioner is President (ex-officio), the Paramount Chief occupying a raised seat in the body of the hall. The form of procedure is practically that of most bodies of a similar nature. Proceedings are formal and regular, and indiscriminate argument is not allowed. The point that would probably strike a visitor would be the courtesy and politeness with which members treat each other, as well as the moderate tone of the speeches made in the course of debate. . . .

"The principal fault to be found with the debates is their tendency to drag on to undue lengths, and as a result it has been found that there is always business left unfinished at the close of the session."

they have a hand in the workings of government and will be more likely to co-operate intelligently in the introduction of reforms.

Such local discussions might be on questions as to the opening of new roads and markets, the prevention of disease, the introduction of new forms of agriculture or crops and so on. So much for the workings of the administration of a native reserve: let us now turn to the steps to be taken to increase its prosperity.

With a pastoral people the energies of the Resident should be devoted to such subjects as the exclusion of disease, the quarantine of sick cattle, prevention of overstocking any area, the prevention of fouling of water-holes, inquiries into grazing and watering rights, and so on.

Also to the collection of a certain yearly tribute, the sale or exchange of cattle or sheep on behalf of the tribe, and the supply of such necessaries as the people may require brought into the country.

It will generally be found that a pastoral people are largely dependent on other tribes for a supply of such articles as spears, bows, arrows, ornaments, cooking pots and various other things. An arrangement may be made with officials in charge of the tribes that make these things to supply them. A trade in these and other things may be carried out, and markets established under government supervision. Some of these things may be substituted by European-made goods, whilst beads and calico will generally be required, even by the most primitive people.

The market should first be established at the official's headquarters, and a fixed rate of exchange agreed upon. Fixed prices may also be made for the sale of sheep, goats and cattle. The stock bought at these rates may be exported, whilst with the money so obtained the natives will be able to buy what necessaries they require.

Often in a pastoral country there are a few minor industries which may be encouraged, such as the collection of honey and sale of beeswax, whilst the export of hides

should form a large item. About an agricultural people there are more possibilities. They are, as a rule, more ready to accept the innovations of a rough form of civilisation, and they are, moreover, more accessible. With these also the policy of keeping out extraneous influences should be maintained. A yearly tax or tribute in kind should be agreed upon, for the collection of which the different headmen are made responsible.

It will be the business of the Resident to afford a market for the sale of any local produce the natives have to sell, and also to bring them any goods of European manufacture they may wish to buy.

In the first instance the only market for purchase of native produce or for sale of European goods will be at his headquarters. In time, however, the natives will learn the value of trade, and may be encouraged to open local markets and local shops, the native traders receiving their European goods from the central store, in charge of the official, at the lowest possible rates, also disposing of their purchases in produce to him.

Development in a native reserve is naturally much slower than in a country which is being opened up, and the pace forced. In the native reserve the natives are allowed to develop on their own lines, with the slightest coercion, but as much help and encouragement as the Resident is able to give. If the advance made is only slight the official must not be discouraged, as such advance is likely to be more permanent than the forced advance of other areas. Lastly, a point to remember is that in a native reserve the natives are allowed to run the country for their own advancement and not ours. Profits will probably be long in coming, but when they do come, after allowing for government expenditure, they should be spent in the country on reforms, administrative and industrial.

CHAPTER IX

PLANTERS AND AGRICULTURE

AGRICULTURE is the surest and soundest means of developing a country. There is nothing fictitious or unreal about the value of crops ; a State built up on agricultural prosperity is really very rich, however primitive the people ; it is rich in real wealth.

Putting aside the rare instance of a settlers' country, such as the Highlands of East Africa and the Katanga, where Europeans come to settle permanently, a circumstance under which much land eventually passes from the native to the European and which has a tendency to oust entirely the native population, there appear to be the following alternatives in developing a tropical country by agriculture :—

- (i) By planters.
- (ii) By government plantations.
- (iii) By encouragement of native enterprise.

Of course, a combination of two or all of these methods may occur in any country.

If the country, or parts of it, are suitable for planters and the latter show a tendency to take up land, this is the surest way of ensuring rapid development on sound financial lines, provided only satisfactory arrangements can be made for an adequate labour supply. It is also necessary to keep down wages sufficiently to enable the produce to compete with other markets.¹ Other requirements of a planters' country are : Not too healthy (for then it would become a

¹ The following are prices of unskilled labour prevailing in different parts of tropical Africa. They have been extracted from various hand-

settlers' country), but not too unhealthy, unless there are great compensations in the way of facilities for cheap transport, extreme fertility and cheapness, and wealth of labour supply.

Not too crowded with native population.

If the labour is wisely organised and provisions made for clothing, housing and feeding the labourers, regular hours and minimum wages enforced, and medical attendance provided by their employers, the natives have little to complain of; they are, indeed, in many respects much better off than they were in their villages.

A certain prosperity is induced amongst them and those who learn skilled labour rapidly rise to higher wages and are in a position to accumulate property. It is the very best means of dealing with an idle and worthless population who will not develop themselves. By being assured of work they are relieved of all cares and anxieties with regard to famines, aggression, sickness and shelter. However, in such a case it is futile to pretend that the country is being administered solely for the benefit of the native, as this is

books issued by the Emigrants' Information Office, and Annual and Consular Reports for 1910 and 1911 :—

East Africa Protectorate 4 Rs. to 6 Rs. per mesnem (=5/4 to 8/-) plus food valued at 2½ Rs. (=3/4).

Nyasaland, 6/- per mensem.

Uganda, 4½ Rs. (=6/-) per mensem.

Southern Nigeria, 9d. per diem.

Northern Nigeria, 6d. to 9d. per diem.

Freetown, Sierra Leone, 15/- to 30/- per mensem.

Gold Coast, 1/3 per diem, or 25/- per mensem plus 3d. a day for food.

Ivory Coast, French West Africa, 10d. to 1/2½ per diem.

Natal, 25/- to 32/- per mensem.

Quilimane, 7/- to 8/- per mensem, plus food.

South Africa, 10/- to 20/- per mensem, plus food.

Ashanti, 1/- per diem.

Katanga, mine natives average about 2 francs per diem.

The sums include food, unless stated. Of course, these prices have to be studied together with the rates of transport from the respective countries to their markets. It will be noticed that in inland countries as a rule lower rates of wages prevail than on the coast, which is as it should be. These prices do not on the whole compare very favourably with those of Ceylon, a country of established success in agriculture by planters, where the wages range from 4d. to 8d. per diem.

far from the case. It is being administered chiefly for the benefit and profit of the white man—both the local planter and the home consumer. The native, however, benefits indirectly, by the increased prosperity of the country, for the Government, with increased funds at its disposal, is able to do more for the native in the way of medical arrangements, sanitary measures, schools and various other things. One disadvantage of a planter country is that it tends to shake the authority of the chiefs and bring the people more directly under the white man's control, a circumstance which may tend to good or evil eventually, but certainly tends for a time to disorganise native society. On the other hand, with development on native lines, profits are often long in coming, and so many of the benefits of civilisation have to be curtailed or indefinitely postponed.

A question that appears to be as yet unsolved is to what extent the native will eventually be able to compete in any market with the planter. If the history of tropical agriculture is inquired into, it will be found that even civilised natives, such as those of China and India, with all the advantages of cheap labour, small wants, and acclimatisation, are not able to seriously rival the planter. It is not a case of sentiment, but it is a question of whether we are attempting an experiment foredoomed to failure in attempting to make the native a producer. The planter can produce such a much greater quantity off a given area and save so much labour by science, orderly methods and mechanical contrivances, that he can, as a rule, cut out the native cultivator in the market.¹ It is only where he has been first in the field that the native has attained any measure of success; but directly the planter turns his attention to the industry, the native too often has to go to the wall.

A striking example of this can be seen in the recent

¹ Mr. Willis, in his *Agriculture in the Tropics*, says that exports from Ceylon of European to native produce are as 3 to 1, but the area under cultivation and population supported by it are only as 1 to 5.

growth of the tea trade of Ceylon and Assam, to the exclusion of the older-established China trade. Entering the market at a time when practically the whole world bought from China, they have in a few years competed so successfully with the China market that the planters of Ceylon and Assam now hold the great bulk of the world's tea trade.¹

The same applies to many other originally native industries, Chinchona bark amongst others. So it will be seen that if the prosperity of the country alone is to be considered, it is desirable to encourage the planter. If it is not a planters' country, or if it is wished to administer the country for the benefit of the native alone, it is only possible by greatly improving native methods and rigorously keeping down the price of labour.²

¹ I extract the following from Mr. Willis' *Agriculture in the Tropics*, showing the decline in the China tea trade and growth of that of India and Ceylon:—

"With the enormous growth of the industry (tea planting) in India and Ceylon, which now have between them about 1,000,000 acres in tea, the export of tea from China has gradually fallen off, and the merchants have left Foochow for Calcutta and Colombo.

"Thus, the figures of consumption in England for a few different years may be quoted as clearly illustrating this statement:—

	China.	India.	Ceylon.
1849	50,021,576 lbs.	—	—
1859	76,303,661 „	—	—
1869	101,080,491 „	10,716,000 lbs.	—
1879	126,340,000 „	34,092,000 „	—
1889	61,100,000 „	96,028,491 „	28,500,000 lbs.
1899	24,000,000 „	134,000,000 „	85,137,945 „

(Willis' *Agriculture in the Tropics*, p. 60.)

These figures also show an enormous increase in the consumption of tea, a fact which should have served to lessen the difficulty of competition.

² The sudden rise of cotton-growing in Uganda as a native industry might be argued as a proof that the native is able, under proper guidance, to compete in the market. The exports of cotton prior to 1908 were inconsiderable. The annual reports show the following exports for the last three years:—

1908-9 ..	725 tons	} approximate figures.
1909-10 ..	1158 „	
1910-11 ..	2470 „	

For the same three years the planters of Nyasaland who have lately

If the country is to become a planters' or a settlers' country, a survey must be made before allotting any great bulk of land. Native rights of land must be inquired into and the general policy towards the different tribes decided on; that is to say, whether they are to be isolated in reserves, or called on for labour supply outside the areas they inhabit.

The areas suitable for planters and those to be reserved for natives having been decided on, other considerations are :—

(i) To make necessary arrangements for transport. All lands allotted should be close to existing or proposed roads or routes. It is important to lay out a scheme from the start for all roads which may become necessary in the future, so that the land which they will traverse may be retained in the hands of Government and not given away with the blocks of land.

(ii) To arrange satisfactory conditions of land tenure.

(iii) To arrange satisfactory conditions for labour, both as regards the supply and wages, on behalf of the planter, and the clothing, housing, feeding and general treatment on behalf of the native.

been turning their attention to this industry have only exported as follows :—

1908-9	..	337 tons	} approximate figures.
1909-10	..	383 "	
1910-11	..	775 "	

It must be remembered, however, that the planters of Nyasaland are but a small community and that they plant tobacco and other things largely, whilst Uganda is a large and populous country, and even there the planting is, although native grown, largely under white supervision. Moreover, at present there are comparatively few planters giving their attention to cotton; a large proportion of the trade is in native hands.

My object in laying stress on the superiority of the planter and the practical certainty of his ousting the native from any market in which he chooses seriously to compete is not to condemn the native as a possible producer out of hand. I am for every effort being made to raise him to that rank. What I wish to show is that it is a difficult task, and that the difficulty of it, if we are to hope for success, will justify us in using a certain amount of humane coercion, for without this the attempt would be, in most countries, hopeless.

The export of cocoa from the Gold Coast, an industry which is almost entirely in the hands of natives, may be instanced as proof that the African can under proper guidance compete in certain markets.

It is a great mistake to allow more planters to take up land than can be abundantly supplied with labour. We have assumed that in this case the natives are not sufficiently worthy of encouragement to warrant them being placed in reserves. Their labour can then generally be forced to a certain extent by the inauguration of taxes. Those who are unable to pay their tax—and if they are of a very unprogressive type these will be a great proportion of the tribe—will have to work to obtain the necessary money.

It is noticeable that most tropical countries that show any signs of prosperity concentrate their energies on one or two products and, unless the conditions are very favourable, make no attempt to spread over a wide field of industries. Once something suitable to the country has been discovered, all available energy is thrown into its production, such as cloves in Zanzibar, and tea in Ceylon (which is the one great produce of that country although there are many smaller industries).

The reason for this is obvious. The exploitation of one product, to compete with the outside world, requires machinery, experts in the drying, preparing and safeguarding from disease, experiments in acclimatisation, and a variety of special apparatus. In a small country, with a small revenue and a limited amount of capital engaged, it is evident that funds will not be available to provide the best, most profitable and modern apparatus in many branches. Thus in cotton, for instance, one of the cheapest of industries, ginning machinery will have to be set up in various centres, whilst in sugar a very expensive plant and factory must be established.

Although better results will probably be obtained if all the efforts of a country are thrown into one industry alone, it is perhaps best to recognise two, for in the event of failure in one, there is the other to fall back upon. In Ceylon and in Nyasaland coffee was at one time practically the only industry, and in both it failed, owing to fungus in the former and uncertain crops in the latter country. In each case it was

found necessary to create another industry to replace coffee planting. At the present moment there are two important industries in Nyasaland producing about equal weights and values of crops, viz. cotton and tobacco.

If, in a planters' country, it is not profitable to waste energy over many industries, it follows to a still greater degree in a native developed country. In the latter the capital engaged will be necessarily smaller, the crop per acreage less, whilst the difficulty of teaching the native to plant and pick has to be contended with. In the latter certainly, and possibly also in the former, it will be necessary for the Government to erect the necessary factories or plant, perhaps at a loss, and to encourage the industry in its infancy, to carry out experiments in various parts of the country and provide experts in the planting and preparing of the required products and combating disease. It may also be necessary to quote, at first, specially low prices for transport, and render other facilities at a loss.

The reduction of railway and other rates, where only natives are concerned, is often a mistake, as they are unable to grasp the meaning of this. They get a false impression of the value of their crops, which induces a false scale of living; whilst, when normal rates are restored, they are apt to think that they are being defrauded, and abandon their efforts. The planter will understand, on the other hand, that the low rates are only a temporary measure to put him on his legs and enable him to acquire the necessary plant, material and experience to face the future.

As regards developing a country by and for the natives alone, the difficulty arises of stirring them up to more scientific methods of agriculture and planting produce new to them. Without a considerable amount of coercion they will stick at the methods which they have always practised. However much one may be against forcing his labour for the direct use of the white man, there can be no two views amongst far-seeing persons as to whether or not we should

force the native to improve his agricultural methods to his own advantage. For the great majority of Africans, if not forced to improve, will remain stationary. If they remain stationary there is no chance of their Government becoming sufficiently rich to administer their country on sound and orderly civilised lines. Moreover, as the northern civilised countries, even now overcrowded, become more thickly populated there will inevitably be a larger and larger demand for food and raw material and an ever-diminishing area on which it can be produced. The virgin lands of the tropics will inevitably be called on for a greater supply of produce and then the black man who has not developed his country will be brought into line by methods probably less gentle than we employ at the present day. So I say coerce him in a firm but humane way to progress for his own advancement, and then he will have as much right to exist as the white man.

The native is, as a rule, quite innocent of the art of manuring his fields ; when one bit of land is exhausted, he indulges, if possible, in the wasteful practice of cutting down and burning an area of forest land, which naturally gives him a very rich new area to plant.

Rotation of crops is but imperfectly understood,¹ and where he is unable to cut down fresh forests the native will generally move his whole village, every five or ten years, so as to get new ground on which to plant. For these reasons much of the enormous areas of waste land, met with almost everywhere in Africa, are really necessary to the native, so long as he pursues his present methods. The question naturally arises, when such land, at present lying waste, is required for planters or other purposes, how

¹ Apparently the natives in the neighbourhood of Kano are an exception. There there is present that crowded state which is one of the greatest incentives to advance. "In the neighbourhood of Kano, however, where there is a population of some five hundred inhabitants to the square mile, intensive cultivation is extensively employed, the ground is carefully manured, and the theory of the rotation of crops thoroughly understood and practised" (Annual Report on Northern Nigeria, 1910-11).

much are the native rights over such waste areas to be respected?

In many places the natives own plenty of cattle and sheep, but allow heaps of manure to lie untouched. Where land is required for other purposes, or is too valuable to be allowed to lie fallow for ten or twenty years, one of the first things to do is to teach the native the use of manure. In combination with this a systematic rotation of crops should be devised and enforced, and the native should be taught to till more deeply. As a rule he only scratches over the surface of the ground and so does not derive the full advantage of turning over the soil. The introduction of a rough form of plough, as used in Egypt or Abyssinia, would be a great advance, but it would be excessively difficult to make the natives use anything so strange to them.

Having decided that coercion is necessary and right, up to a certain degree, to induce the native to improve his agricultural methods, the next point to consider is how most humanely to bring that pressure to bear. The best way of teaching the native, both by example and precept, is to establish government plantations at all important stations and to force a certain proportion of the people of each chief to work on them as paid labourers for a certain time.

To be quite clear as to the purposes for which this coercion would be used, one might state at once that such a scheme would not be carried out as Van den Bosch's Culture System was in Java—practically entirely for the profit of the home Government: it would be carried out solely with the idea of teaching the natives improved methods. In civilised countries all youths have to be sent to school. There is no reason why in Africa the youths should not be sent to an agricultural school for a year or two, especially if they are paid for their attendance.

The culture system as used in Java was that the natives, instead of paying a tax, gave one-fifth of their land and one-fifth of their time to Government. This land and labour

was used for the production of produce under Government supervision. The system had the effect of improving native forms of agriculture enormously, but was abused in that it developed into a huge system of forced labour, maintained purely for the enrichment of the home Government and without consideration for the native.

As regards the system here proposed, a certain amount of labour would be requisitioned yearly from each chief; the labourers would be paid, clothed, fed and housed in every way as if they were planters' labour. If such government plantations were well managed there would be a certain profit on the produce, which could be used for the benefit of the district at large. Natives would be brought in in rotation to the plantations and there they would learn to deal with such products as they might subsequently plant for their own profit, and also learn improved methods of cultivating their own crops. They would be brought into close contact with the officials of their district, who would be responsible for their well-being, and during their stay they would learn an orderly and cleanly manner of living.

When an impetus had been given to native agriculture, the government plantations could be closed down, or run on a smaller scale for the instruction of the rising generation. They would then be used as training colleges for youths, and to ensure the seed supply of such products as the natives had been taught to cultivate for their own profit. The duties of the agricultural superintendents would then be to tour round the district to see what advance was being made, and to give advice concerning disease and other matters. The necessary plant for dealing with the preparing of the products, such as gins for cotton or pulping machines for coffee, would remain at the agricultural school.

In tropical Africa the uneven distribution of rainfall in most countries generally makes rain crops the only ones worth any attention. For there is generally six months

of very wet and six months of very dry weather; whilst irrigation on a large scale is, in most places, not feasible under present conditions. The latter is only generally in use for the production of vegetables for Europeans. In the Transvaal a new system of dry-farming has been evolved which may subsequently be found useful and profitable in other parts of Africa.¹ Water storage and the

¹ "The principle of such farming (dry-farming) is to conserve rain which falls during the non-sowing time by preventing the evaporation, and to keep it in the ground until the sowing season. Where there are not less than ten inches of rain a year and the soil is not less than four feet deep it is stated that dry-farming is successful, and that no irrigation is necessary" (*Union of South Africa Handbook*, Emigrants' Information Office, 1911).

The following is a résumé of some suggestions made by Mr. W. A. Davie, of the Sudan Department of Agriculture, for the improvement of rain and flood crops in the Sudan:—

1. *Thorough tillage* well in advance of planting, and also hoeing during the period of growth. Natives are generally very casual about tilling.

2. *Retention and, if possible, increase of the soil fertility*, by the above tilling which increases the water-holding capacity of the soil, by adoption of a sound crop rotation, by returning all crop residues to the land, by preserving and conveying to the land all farmyard manure.

3. *Sound choice of crops*, viz. those for which there is the best market, taking into consideration questions of transport and the climate and soil of the particular district. Having decided on the most profitable crops the rotation should be arranged to suit them.

4. *Economical use of water supply*. This applies chiefly to water brought for irrigation, but as regards rain the water may be conserved in the soil by the thorough tillage advocated above and by terracing sloping fields.

5. *Use of pure and clean seed of good germinating capacity*. Seed should be free from impurities and admixture of varieties, a thing the native is very careless about. If there is any reason to doubt the germinating capacity, it should be tested before sowing.

6. *Proper preparation of produce for markets*. Grain should be offered in a clean condition, of uniform quality and variety, or the price is greatly deteriorated.

The following rotations are suggested as regards the Sudan:—

1st Year. Earth nuts, Lubia (a kind of pea), and Dal (lentil).

2nd " Cotton.

3rd " Semsem.

4th " Millet (Sorghum).

Or,

1st Year. Earthnuts, peas and lentils.

2nd " Cotton.

3rd " Half Semsem and half Sorghum.

Or,

1st " Cotton.

2nd " Wheat.

3rd " Sorghum, followed by Peas (lubia).

The valuable crop cotton is, in above, grown the year after the ground has been cleaned by a leguminous crop.

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conservation of moisture in the soil is aimed at by frequent tillage and breaking up of soil, and the supply of humus is increased by manuring and returning all crop residues to the land. Humus acts like a sponge in retaining water.

CHAPTER X

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

WE will take a brief glance at the various cultivated products which are at present being exported from tropical Africa. To commence with, those which are actually being cultivated by the native without extraneous assistance, and which, if transport rates are very cheap, might be turned to account, are sesame, ground nuts, castor oil, sorghum or millet, and maize.

The first three of these are exported, chiefly to France, for the purpose of crushing for oil. The oil obtained is used largely in the manufacture of soap. Sesame is extensively grown in India and Ceylon, and is found all over Central Africa, but there is no large export of it. That of the Sudan is perhaps the biggest supply.

The ground, or earth, nut is chiefly exported from the West Coast, where the large waterways and proximity to the market reduce the cost of transport.

The export of castor oil appears to be inappreciable, although the plant is met with almost everywhere in Africa.¹

Either maize or millet (the great millet, sorghum or jowari, and also the bullrush millet) form the staple food of the greater part of tropical Africa. There is a certain demand for these cereals for the purposes of distilling and food stuffs, but a good quality is required, a condition that the native-grown grain does not often conform to.²

The only other foodstuffs, worth mentioning, grown by natives are manioc (cassava or tapioca), yams, sweet

¹ Bombay castor seed is valued at about £12 per ton in London, a price which does not permit of this product being exported with profit from inland countries.

² About 10,000 tons of maize, however, are exported annually from Southern Nigeria. Maize also is largely exported from Lourenço Marques.

potatoes, arrowroot, eleusine, bananas, beans and lentils. The latter, except perhaps manioc, are hardly deserving of notice as possible exports, whilst the great drawbacks to the former are the poorness of the quality, the smallness of the yield, the uncertainty of the supply, and, lastly, the insuperable obstacle that, unless the country is exceptionally situated with regard to transport facilities, the price obtainable does not sufficiently cover freightage and working expenses from inland countries. This applies more to the cereals than to the oil-yielding seeds, which are more valuable weight for weight, and some of which are largely exported from favourably situated countries. For a favourably situated country the export of ground nuts is a most profitable industry, e.g. the Senegal, exporting yearly over £1,000,000 worth.

Much can be done in the first place in finding local markets for native-grown foodstuffs, and so causing money to circulate in a district, but this is only a first step. No African country has built up any appreciable industry in the exportation of native-grown cereals. Natal exports a considerable quantity of maize, but this is practically all European grown,¹ and, moreover, that country is most favourably situated for the export of a bulky product. The oil-yielding plants are exported in the seed. If they were crushed locally, thereby saving much expense of transport, it might be possible for countries less favourably situated to compete with Senegal and Gambia. In the latter countries ground nuts form the leading export.²

To sum up the above, it does not seem possible to build up in a country any measure of prosperity in the encouraging

¹ Meaning that it is of better quality than native grown. Better seed is selected, it is more carefully planted and tended. Further, the produce is "graded," that is to say sorted into different qualities. The best qualities fetch higher prices, whereas, when the different ones are mixed, they, as a rule, only fetch the price of the lowest.

² The returns for 1909 show 228,000 tons, valued at £1,772,240, as exported from French West Africa, whilst in the same year Gambia exported 53,644 tons valued at £323,231.

An attempt has been made in Southern Nigeria to encourage an export trade in ground nuts, and instructors from Gambia have been introduced, but with little or no success.

and exportation of the common existing native crops, unless it be ground nuts, or possibly sesame, and then only in a country favourably situated. Let us now briefly review the more valuable produce at present exported from Africa. We will take them in alphabetical order.

Chillies. There is a certain market in the small bird's-eye chillie. It is easy to grow, in fact in many places it grows like a weed. Neither the picking nor the drying (which is done by spreading in the sun on a floor) require any great skill or special apparatus. There does not appear to be a very big demand, but as a subsidiary industry it might be worthy of encouragement.¹

Cloves. Practically only grown in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, which export about £300,000 worth yearly. Other parts of the continent seem unsuited to its production.

Cocoa or Cacao. This plant requires to be grown more or less under shade. It bears about the sixth year, which is a disadvantage. Otherwise its culture is suited to the native, as it requires no great skill or special apparatus. The pod is cut off, opened, and the seeds extracted. They are then piled in heaps and covered over to ferment, and then spread out and dried in the sun for a few hours a day. When dry they are ready for export. The industry, as far as Africa is concerned, is at present practically confined to a part of the West Coast, chiefly in the Portuguese island of San Thomé and also the Gold Coast. In the latter country it is almost entirely produced by natives, whilst in Portuguese territory it is cultivated by Europeans.²

Cocoa appears to require a tropical climate and a low altitude. Experiments have been tried with a view to introducing it into the Loanda district of Angola, but with-

¹ In 1910 Zanzibar exported 155,788 lbs. of chillies, valued at £2115 to France and India; whilst in the same year Nyasaland exported to the London market 119,126 lbs., valued at £1985.

² The exports of cocoa from San Thomé for the year 1910 are valued at nearly 8,000,000,000 reis (4,900 reis = £1). For the same year, from the Gold Coast, 50,692,949 lbs., valued at £866,571, were exported. This industry is also rising in Southern Nigeria, Ashanti, and Fernando Po.

The import of cocoa into the United Kingdom has grown from about 12 million lbs. in 1882 to about 45½ million lbs. in 1902.

out success, the reason attributed being that the climate is not tropical enough.

Coconuts. In Africa the coconut palm appears to be strictly confined to the seashore near the equator and cannot be grown successfully inland. The plantations are practically entirely in the hands of natives. The chief value, for export purposes, lies in the oil extracted from the kernel. This is valuable for soap and candle-making and many other purposes.

The extracted and sun-dried kernel, called copra, is generally exported in this form and pressed on arrival at its destination. It produces about two-thirds of its weight in oil, whilst the residue is useful as a cattle food. Owing to the value of its oil and probably the limited area in which it thrives, a fact which prevents any enormous extension of the industry, there is always a demand for copra and the price keeps up.

There is also a certain demand for coir, the fibre which envelops the nut. It is used for rope-making and matting. There are also various local uses to which different parts of the tree may be turned, such as roofing material from its plaited leaves, toddy, vinegar and various other things.

A coconut plantation in an area known as suitable for their growth is about the soundest and surest of minor industries in Africa. The tree is grown from the nut, it bears after about its sixth year, and is said to continue bearing for about a hundred years. On the East Coast a good bearing tree will produce about fifty to sixty nuts a year, valued at about a rd. a piece. The expenses of looking after a plantation are small. For the first six years there is little to do. The largest cultivation of the coconut appears to be in Polynesia, where the conditions are probably more favourable. Africa being near the home markets, however, is easily able to hold its own, and at present there is little fear of its being cut out and little need to improve the methods now in use.

The copra trade chiefly centres round Zanzibar and the opposite shore of the mainland.

Coffee. About half the coffee supply of the world comes from Brazil. There is a comparatively small production from Africa. The fact remains, however, that native-grown coffee is planted profitably both in Arabia and Abyssinia, although the process of pulping the berries requires a certain amount of skill. This industry in the hands of planters has failed in Ceylon and also Nyasaland, in the former country owing to disease and in the latter owing to uncertain seasons.¹ It is still being produced by natives in Abyssinia, and so there is hope for it as a possible native industry where the climate and other conditions are favourable. Suitable conditions might be considered to be a not too hot, tropical climate in an upland country, with a loose, and even stony, soil and a good rainfall. The most valuable kind is the Arabian coffee, which requires an altitude of about 3000 feet, although it may do at 2000 feet, or even under. Perhaps 3000 feet to 5000 feet is the best altitude, whilst the rainfall should be about 60 inches.

If the winds are strong the crops should be sheltered by belts of trees.

The Liberian coffee can be grown at lower altitudes, but is not so profitable.

The pulping, and removal of the husk from the berry, is done by machinery on European plantations. Natives use more primitive methods, such as hammering between stones. A good deal of experience is required in the fermenting and drying processes to produce a high-class and high-priced berry.

The plant does not bear generally until about the fourth year. In some of the highlands of Abyssinia large trees of about twelve or more feet in height with spreading branches are found, probably being of great age. At present, besides Abyssinia, the only great export in coffee from Africa appears to be from San Thomé and the highlands of Angola. In the latter locality it is native grown. The

¹ During the last two years coffee has been started with great success by the planters now taking up land in Uganda. The latest advices state, however, that the fungus has already appeared.

production is increasing in British East Africa. The latter is planter grown.¹

Cotton. There is at present a great demand for British-grown cotton, and as this industry, in British territories, is practically entirely in the hands of natives, it is one of the best forms of agriculture to encourage amongst them. Most of the planters who grow cotton look on it only as a "catch crop" (something to pay for working expenses whilst waiting for their main crop, such as coffee, rubber, etc., to mature). Their output is, on the whole, inconsiderable.

The reason for the present boom was the rise in price of American cotton and the increased home consumption of the latter, which seriously affected the cotton industry in Lancashire.

As regards the Old World, India has the largest output, exporting over twenty million pounds' worth of raw cotton, besides an immense amount of manufactured cotton goods. However, the Indian cotton is of poor quality and mostly finds its way to Japan.

Next comes Egypt, which also exports about twenty million pounds' worth of raw cotton, but practically none manufactured.

The trade in these countries is of old establishment. During the last few years a considerable trade has sprung up in tropical Africa.² Other considerations which make it

¹ Coffee has been considerably planted on State-owned plantations in the Belgian Congo, but has not up till now proved a success. The Liberian coffee, which was formerly planted there, is now being abandoned in favour of other kinds. In the Kaffa province (Abyssinia) and in parts of Angola great tracts of coffee are found growing wild. It is from these trees that the berries coming from those countries is chiefly collected.

² The table below, the figures of which are only approximate, shows the values of the exports of raw cotton from the principal countries of supply in tropical Africa for the years 1908 to 1910. Practically the whole of this trade is of recent origin.

	1908	1909	1910
	£	£	£
Angola			30,000 (about)
French West Africa	3,480	5,800	
Nigeria, Northern	1,300	4,400	1,850
" Southern	60,000	150,000	65,000 (about)
Nyasaland	28,300	26,200	58,700
Sudan	80,700	56,200	224,700
Uganda	37,000	60,400	169,000
Totals	210,780	303,000	549,250

a suitable crop for encouragement are that it does not require specially fertile soil; in fact cotton soil (the heavy black soil which cracks in the sun) is of little use for anything else; it takes only six months to grow; it can be grown as a rain crop, it is easy to cultivate and pick; before the special apparatus for ginning is available it may be exported unginninged.

Although the seed is of value as an oil seed, it is not worth its cost of transport from a distant country, but comes into the category of the other oil-yielding seeds above. As the seed is about twice as heavy as the lint that envelops it, unginninged cotton weighs about three times as heavy for transport as ginned cotton. In a country from which it would not pay to export the seed it is manifestly necessary to set up ginning stations as soon as possible if the industry is to be encouraged.

It has already been stated that the West African colonies on the coast owe their big trade in oil-yielding substances largely to the transport facilities available. In Southern Nigeria the weight of the export of cotton seed is considerably more than double that of the cotton lint exported. This means that not only all the seed of the exported lint finds a market, but also seed of internally consumed cotton.

In such countries as the Sudan and Uganda only a small proportion of the seed is exported, which means that the expenses of transport prevent it from being a really profitable export. The cotton grown in the highlands of Nyasaland, being planter grown, is of exceptionally good quality. The plant is known as "Nyasaland upland." In the lower country, on the banks of the Shire River, Egyptian cotton is cultivated. In Angola and Uganda the Caravonica plant is being largely experimented with.

The price of cotton depends very largely on the length of the staple. Indian cotton is of short staple and fetches but poor prices.

Hemp. The cultivation of hemp requires a dry or

even desert soil. As it flourishes on a poor soil it is suitable to countries where little else is possible. The most valuable is manilla-hemp, which is at present only grown in the Philippines, to which country alone it appears suited.

Sisal hemp has been tried in Africa and appears to do well in certain parts. The plant takes several years to grow and is then cut off near the ground. As the weight of the fibre is only a small proportion of the plant itself, it is necessary to prepare it on the spot. As this is generally done by hand, and African natives are accustomed to extract fibre from many other plants, it ought not to be difficult to teach them.

Rice. A great amount of Indian rice is imported into Africa, whilst it is comparatively little planted in this continent. Although it might be hopeless to try to produce it for export in competition with the former, enough should at least be grown to satisfy home consumption. Rice is grown in Gambia and Sierra Leone, but not sufficiently for the needs of the natives, who buy imported rice when their own millet crops fail. It is grown to a certain extent on Lake Victoria, but owing to its poorer quality and insufficient supply, the East African markets chiefly depend on imported rice. Perhaps the most successful rice cultivation in Africa is that on Lake Nyasa, chiefly at Kotakota. The cultivation here was commenced by Arab settlements on the lake shore. Subsequently it was encouraged by Government and expanded greatly.

There are two kinds of rice—the swamp and the hill rice. A large amount of water is necessary to its growth and it is generally grown standing in water until the seeds are nearly ripe, when the water is allowed to run off and the ground to dry. Excepting in America the industry is practically entirely in the hands of natives, and the grain is winnowed and husked by the most primitive means.

*Rubber.*¹ There has been such a boom in rubber of late

¹ Wild rubber will be dealt with in the next chapter.

and such enormous areas have been planted up with various species, that it seems there must be a great fall in price and severe competition when the present areas have matured. The *ficus elastica* is said to be the best rubber tree for a native to plant, as it is not so easily killed by rough methods of tapping. However, with so many Europeans engaged at present in the industry, and the present improved means of obtaining clean rubber, it would seem useless to encourage natives to start planting. There may be over production, as has occurred in so many products. At present, the wild rubber of Brazil—in spite of its being dirtier than plantation rubber and mixed with bark and extraneous matter—is said to be of a better quality than the latter in that it is more elastic. If plantation rubber can be improved in this respect it may be able to cut out the wild rubber market, which at present holds the bulk of the trade, about half the world's supply coming from Brazil. The best growing rubber in Africa is probably the Ceara known as *Manihot glaziovii*. This tree grows well in most tropical parts of the continent, does not require so great a rainfall as the Para, and can be tapped about the fifth year. However, it requires careful handling in the tapping, and experience in the Belgian Congo appears to show that its life is not long once tapping is commenced. Against this again is the advantage that the rubber fetches a good price.¹ Para rubber (*Hevea brasiliensis* and others) requires a lower elevation (*Manihot* grows well at four thousand feet) and a heavy rainfall. It is thus more suited to the West African tropical regions near the coast. It is grown on the Gold Coast, in the Congo and Angola, but at present can hardly be said to have got beyond the experimental stage.

The Lagos rubber (*Funtumia elastica*) is largely grown in

¹ The latest reports from the Congo state that rubber experimentally produced from this tree fetched 23 fr. per kilo at Antwerp, whilst that of the Lagos rubber (*Funtumia elastica*) only fetched from 17 to 20 fr. per kilo in the same market.

the Congo on State plantations. There are estimated to be over three millions of trees of this species planted. It grows much slower than the Ceara and is not ready to be tapped till its seventh year. It is the wild rubber of Nigeria and Uganda.

Other cultivated rubbers, such as *castilloa*, *ficus*, and *euphorbia*, are being experimented with in the Congo and elsewhere.

The output of cultivated rubber appears to be at present but small from Africa, the greater part of that on the market coming from the East Indies and the Malay.

As no distinction is generally made in the export tables between wild and cultivated rubber, it is not apparent how much of that at present coming from Africa is from planted rubber.

As regards tapping, coagulating and drying or smoking,¹ there have been considerable improvements of late. The chief feature of tapping is to cut long slanting slits, collecting the latex in a cup placed at the lowest point in this slit. These slits may be spiral, half-way round the tree at different heights, herring-bone, or plain V's or Y's. Great care should be taken not to cut beyond the bark, thereby damaging the tree. A new knife is said to have been invented for the Ceara, which meets all requirements. If this is the case it will be a great boon, as no really satisfactory instrument had yet been devised.

The tree should generally be tapped low down, as the yield is greater. The principal science in tapping, besides not cutting too deep, is to tap always as near the same place as possible, as the yield often increases at subsequent tappings at the same spot. To ensure this it is necessary to tap very carefully, so that each slit does not destroy too much bark. Sometimes instead of making a fresh incision the sides of the old one are shaved off.

¹ A new scheme to prevent the rapid coagulation of the latex, at the time of tapping, is to treat it with an alkaline solution. This prevents it coagulating and adhering to the tree, and the consequent loss of clean rubber.

The collected latex is left to coagulate, rolled out in biscuits or sheets and then dried or smoked.¹

Sugar-cane. This is largely planted by natives over the greater part of tropical Africa, but is only used by them to chew. For the manufacture of sugar an extensive plant is required. The native supply is too small and precarious for the outlay on such machinery to be possible in places where there are no extensive cultivations under Europeans.

As a rule, factories have to be run on a very large scale to compete in the market² and everything has to be done on the most up-to-date lines. Tramways to bring the cane into the factory; several sets of rollers; one crushing closer than the other; and experts in the evaporation and crystallising.

There are big factories on the French island of Réunion and on the Zambezi River.

The Sena sugar factory on the Zambezi is capable of an output of 10,000 tons of sugar yearly. In 1910 the output was 6822 tons, the year having been a bad one for the cane. The preceding year it produced between 8000 and 9000 tons.

¹ With reference to the preparation, the following extract from the 1910 *Annual Report for Southern Nigeria* is of interest:—

“An important stage in the development and improvement of the preparation of native rubber was reached during the course of the year. Several thousands of trees in the native communal plantations of *Funtumia elastica* having attained tapable dimensions were tapped, and the rubber prepared under the supervision of and by members of the Forest Department, in the presence of the owners. The coagulation of the latter was obtained by boiling, and the coagulant was then rolled out into thin biscuits on a table by a wooden roller, the rubber being washed throughout the operation with very hot water. The biscuits were then hung up to dry and smoked in a long drying shed. Rubber of the first quality was thus prepared by means of simple appliances that can easily be procured by the natives.

“The fine, clear, amber-coloured biscuits thus prepared were eventually sold at home for 6s. 6d. per lb. on a falling market, when the best Para only realised 6d. a lb. more. This is a very great improvement on the usual quality of rubber exported from Southern Nigeria.”

“As regards the yield, in all 1021 lbs. 13 ozs. of dry rubber was obtained from 4706 trees over 18 inches in girth, and from 28,815 small plants that were thinned out and tapped to death. The average return per tree from the two classes was 1·402 ozs., and 0·337 ozs. respectively. The percentage of loss in weight by evaporation of moisture was 37·7 per cent.”

² Beet sugar supplies about 60 per cent of the world's sugar supply. It is this, amongst other factors, which makes competition so severe.

There are other factories situated on the Zambezi, and the combined output for 1910 that passed through the "Chinde" customs was 15,200 tons. Although it would not be possible to compete in the sugar industry without putting a great deal of capital into it and ensuring a large plantation of cane, much might be done with small presses in different parts for supplying coarse sugar, or "gur," for local consumption. The plant would be very cheap, wooden rollers worked by an ox would suffice. There would soon be a brisk local trade in the gur. In India this is more in demand than refined sugar.

The sugar-cane appears to require a heavy, black, almost water-logged soil, and does best at low altitudes. The small native plantations are generally planted in the black soil on either side of streams flowing in swampy valleys.

Tea. Nothing appears to be done in tea in Africa, with the exception of a small industry which has started in Nyasaland during the last three years. It requires a high altitude and more capital than coffee, as the shrubs take longer to mature (four to five years as against three to four with coffee).

The industry, which is centred in Assam and Ceylon, is practically entirely in the hands of planters. A small quantity of tea is cultivated in Natal.

Tobacco. This is another industry which has been commenced in Nyasaland and now forms the most important one of that enterprising little protectorate, having largely taken the place of coffee.

Tobacco requires considerable skill and experience in the cultivation, selection of seed, topping (breaking off the buds as they appear) and, still further, in the curing and grading.

Tobacco, of a kind, is grown by natives in very small quantities for their own use, practically all over Africa, but it is of no use except for purely local trade. Such local trade can often be considerably encouraged; for instance, the supplying of a pastoral tribe with tobacco grown by an agricultural tribe. Such pastoral tribes are often much

addicted to its use as snuff and for chewing, and have no means of obtaining a regular supply.

In non-tropical Africa tobacco is grown considerably by the more civilised races. Algeria exports between £200,000 and £300,000 worth yearly, whilst it is also grown extensively in Arabia and Asia Minor. These dry country tobaccos are used mainly for cigarette making.¹

Wattle bark. The black wattle is grown for its bark, which is used for tanning.

In some thickly populated parts of Africa there is no firewood available, except millet and lentil stalks, and whatever other trees or shrubs are specially planted for this purpose. In such places as these, and possibly also in the neighbourhood of railway lines and navigable rivers, such trees might be planted with profit, to serve the double purpose of fuel and export of bark. Wattle trees could be cut down in about six years. The bark is then stripped off.

It is a bulky crop and only realises about £8 a ton. It is largely grown in Natal. In tropical Africa it requires a high altitude.²

This finishes the most important of tropical African cultivation. There are a variety of small things which might be turned to account on a small scale, chiefly for local use. Such are potatoes, onions, vegetables, fruits, and lucerne (for cattle food). Wheat is now being cultivated in East Africa and the Dongola province of the Sudan. As a country develops there always arises a large local demand if it can be milled in the country. Ginger is cultivated in Sierra Leone. Figs and grapes are largely grown in North Africa, and large quantities of wine are exported from Algeria, as also from the Cape. As there is an indigenous vine in tropical

¹ The tobacco exports from Algeria for 1910 were more, viz.—Leaf, 6128 tons, valued at £208,360; cigars, 92,651 hundreds, valued at £21,360; cigarettes, 698 tons, valued at £180,200; cut snuff, etc., 856 tons, valued at £68,520.—Consular Report for 1910.

² Black wattle grows well at 5500 feet in British East Africa, but it grows still better at higher altitudes, at which there appears to be generally a great proportion of tannin in the bark.

Africa there is a chance of its being cultivated elsewhere. Dates are grown in Northern Africa and a small quantity on the East Coast.

When experimenting to find what products can be grown in any locality a study should be made of the produce of other countries similarly situated as to rainfall, altitude and latitude. It is important to know the average rainfall to be expected in any area, as most crops can only be produced within a certain limit of maximum and minimum inches of rain, and it is hopeless to attempt them if there is insufficient or too much.

A rough rain-gauge can be improvised out of an empty tin with a jar or bottle for a measuring-glass. The glass could be tested and marked by putting a certain number of inches of water in the tin and seeing how many times this would fill the bottle.

Lastly, and this is most important, it is worse than useless to attempt to introduce any new crop to the native, or improvement in agriculture, until it has been thoroughly experimented with. If the new venture is not an immediate success the native is not only discouraged but distrustful of future schemes.

CHAPTER XI

INDUSTRIES AND NATURAL PRODUCTS

As a country is opened up, there will eventually be openings for the native in many walks of life, but the main body of the inhabitants must always be agriculturists.

Too many missions and educational establishments only devote attention to teaching natives reading, writing, English, mathematics and kindred subjects, whilst schools of agriculture and crafts are rather the exception.¹ There is no object in setting so much store by education, unless it is intended to make the black man into a race of scholars and clerks. The native is eminently suited to manual labour in his own country, a few clerks are perhaps useful, but a clerical education is a very false basis on which to build up the civilisation of any great number of natives who have not yet learned to work intelligently with their hands.

The school or mission that teaches technical education is a blessing to any country. Besides raising the standard of labour they are beginning to make the country self-providing. A clerical education might be given with advantage to a few selected ones, such as the sons of big chiefs,

¹ On the West Coast more attention seems to be given to agricultural and technical education than in other parts of tropical Africa. There are schools of agriculture at Bathurst (Gambia), at various mission stations on the Gold Coast, a technical school in Freetown (Sierra Leone); the Government school at Nassarawa (Northern Nigeria) includes crafts and agriculture in its curriculum, and technical instruction is also given in schools in Southern Nigeria. The clerical class must, in any community, be infinitely less in proportion to the agricultural and artisan classes.

but not indiscriminately to many, thus unsuited them for the agricultural life they should pursue.¹

In Central Africa it is often necessary to import our doors and windows and various other things from England, and this transport of heavy but necessary articles is very costly. There is splendid timber to be had in almost all parts of Africa, and there is no reason whatever why the native should not learn to make very fair local substitutes.

To my mind not half enough attention is given to teaching crafts locally. If an individual official is a good carpenter or mason he may train some natives to work at these crafts. By doing this, in far outstations, he may be able to provide himself and his staff with housing and furniture many years before the expense of doing this by means of the Public Works Department is allowed.

An official who is a good artisan is the exception. Perhaps an Indian carpenter may be obtained and his native assistants may in time pick up the rudiments of his art, but such matters are too often left to chance.

Before spending funds on higher education it should be the object of each country to establish a central school for thorough instruction of natives as masons, sawyers, carpenters, tailors, blacksmiths, gardeners and cobblers. Also, as local circumstances may demand, as potters, tanners and weavers.

¹ Extract from *Morning Post* leader :—

“As to education in India, it seems to us that our present policy goes further and further astray. In India we have a poor and mainly agricultural country, with a strictly limited field for men educated in the clerical and literary style. A certain fairly well ascertained number may be employed in Government offices, as lawyers, on the railway staff, in mercantile houses, as schoolmasters, and so forth. If this demand is oversupplied the result is a surplus of hungry *litterati* who clamour in vain for employment, and can find no outlets except in agitation, or in a kind of blackmailing politely called journalism. Yet we have deliberately set ourselves to produce this surplus, and are surprised at the problems and difficulties into which we are thereby led. Not only so, but we make this surplus unsuitable to any other work by conducting higher education in English.”

As a rule the native artisan's services are greatly in demand; he can command five or six times the wages of his untutored fellow and holds very generous views as to the amount of holidays to which he is entitled.

Artisans having acquired a knowledge of their craft could be distributed amongst different outstations, where they will be invaluable in carrying out the necessary work, and also in teaching local assistants the rudiments of their art. These latter, should any of them show signs of sufficient aptitude, could be sent for a course at the central school, on completion of which they return as full-fledged artisans and relieve the former ones.

Advantage should be taken of any tendency amongst local natives to produce any sort of workmanship, even in a debased form, to try to improve the standard. Many natives go in for rough forms of weaving, pottery and smithy, and it might be easy to devise some improvement on their present methods. However, such is the conservatism of the average native that it generally takes him long to appreciate that there are any methods superior to his own laborious processes, or that any fabrication is better than his rough handiwork. To come down to specific instances of how local arts might be improved:—

In many places all spears, hoes, axes and knives are fabricated by local smiths out of locally smelted ore. The iron is beaten out between two stones. Surely, with a little skilled supervision and help, saving of labour and increased output might be accomplished by quarrying for the ore and having it broken up by pounders on a large scale, and by arranging for a supply of charcoal. Also it would not be difficult to improve the methods used in smithing by issuing hammers, bellows, etc. The usual native arrangements would be something as follows: The smith having decided to make some more hoes, starts out with perhaps a couple of helpers or his sons and some small baskets to fetch the ore. On arrival at the spot they find that their former

excavations have been washed in by the rain and have to remove a certain amount of soil ; they then loosen the ore, little by little, with sharpened sticks. After having spent a week or two at these preliminaries, and having made several journeys backwards and forwards with their little baskets, they decide that they have obtained sufficient ore. Next they require charcoal ; this entails a journey to a forest in another direction and a few more weeks in making it and bringing it in.

Then, after a long rest, they set to work to collect some firewood, and roughly smelt the ore in clay chimneys or over a charcoal fire. Probably the goat-skin bellows and the clay nozzle to which it is attached have been broken since last time they were used. New nozzles are made, and then it is discovered that they have not got a goat out of which to make a new pair of bellows.

All work ceases whilst negotiations are carried on for the purchase or barter of a goat. Finally one is obtained in exchange for two hoes and a spear to be subsequently paid to the former owner.

The bellows are made, the iron is melted in a charcoal fire and knocked into shape between two stones. After making a few hoes, one or other of the materials gives out, and work ceases. After buying necessary food with their hoes the operators take a rest. The owner of the goat comes to claim its price, but they find they have only had one hoe and a lump of iron left, which they give him, and a long case commences between the owner of the goat and the smiths. If by these slow and dilatory methods the smith is at present able to earn his livelihood and the agriculturist is supplied with what he requires, what hope is there of any improved methods becoming popular or increased supply finding a market ? When the native has been stirred up to greater agricultural exertions he will need more implements, and so the smith must be stirred up too, or else implements must be imported.

A similar description might be given of almost any purely

native industry. All are performed with the maximum of labour and the minimum of output.

The African, although he appears clumsy with his hands, can be taught to make excellent furniture; whilst on the Zambesi River there is a settlement of natives who have been trained by the Portuguese to turn out quite high-class gold work, in the form of rings and bracelets of beaten gold or wire plaited with elephant hair.

The native can be made to learn most crafts, but he lacks the desire to learn of his own accord. He is not lazy, but he is usually unambitious and unenterprising.

In Abyssinia the natives weave the national dress, a kind of cotton blanket called shamma, on rough hand looms. The finished garment is warm and serviceable, and it would not be difficult to teach other natives to make a similar article. However, in Abyssinia the home-made shamma is less and less made nowadays, as the natives favour the European-made imitation, chiefly, perhaps, because the latter is ornamented with a broad red stripe.

Natural products. The most profitable of these is mineral wealth. The prospecting for, or the exploitation of, mines will hardly come within the official's manifold duties. In a mining country he will be chiefly concerned with the production of labour.

In mining centres, owing to the amount of labour required and the high wages generally offered, there is a tendency for a great part of the people to become alienated from their chiefs and to settle down in townships; also the agricultural effort of the district is generally directed towards supplying the numerous mining population rather than growing material for export. The high wages given for labour often make the latter difficult or impossible.

Fine timber, such as mahogany and ebony, is found in many African forests. This is not profitable for export unless good and cheap transport arrangements exist. For these, and mangrove bark for tanning, see "Forestry," Chapter XXII.

Ivory. Mention has already been made of ivory. It has been said that usually it is a decreasing production—rather a temporary asset than a permanent source of profit to a country. By making stringent regulations restricting the shooting of elephant, and making elephant-shooting licences rather than the actual collection and sale of ivory, the source of revenue, it will be possible to draw a limited profit out of elephant and ivory for a number of years. However, when a country is developed, elephants have a tendency to die out or go elsewhere. It is not compatible for elephant and civilisation and progress to live alongside each other. It soon becomes a question of crops or elephant—occupying waste lands or leaving them in a pristine state.

Rubber. The collection of wild rubber in the Congo has been made the most profitable industry in Central Africa. However, like ivory, rubber is a decreasing production if left entirely in native hands. Either a great part of the profits must be forgone in order to have the industry put on a sound footing under the supervision of forestry officers, or it will gradually die out. Where no supervision is exercised the natives tap the trees to death; a circumstance that is not so noticeable at first, as fresh areas are opened up in place of the exhausted ones. Eventually, when it is too late to repair the damage done, it may be found that the whole country is practically exhausted, and that no new industry has been built up in place of the failing one.¹

¹ The gradual exhaustion of the wild rubber trade can be seen from the following figures, showing the export from the Belgian Congo during the last eleven years:—

1899	.	.	.	.	.	3747 tons net.
1900	.	.	.	.	.	5317 " "
1901	.	.	.	.	.	6023 " "
1902	.	.	.	.	.	5350 " "
1903	.	.	.	.	.	5918 " "
1904	.	.	.	.	.	4831 " "
1905	.	.	.	.	.	4862 " "
1906	.	.	.	.	.	4849 " "
1907	.	.	.	.	.	4657 " "
1908	.	.	.	.	.	4560 " "
1909	.	.	.	.	.	3751 " "

It must be remembered also that in these figures are included cultivated rubber, an export which is increasing as the wild rubber is diminishing.

Wild rubber is generally collected from vines, chiefly of the *Landolphia* genus.¹ The Lagos rubber, *Funtumia elastica*, is found in Uganda and on the West Coast, whilst in Angola wild rubber is collected from root rubbers.

The vines grow chiefly in moist soil, along stream and river beds. *Landolphia owariensis* is said to attain a height of 350 feet and has produced 32 ounces of rubber at the first tapping of a specially big vine.

French West Africa is only second to the Congo in yearly production of rubber. In 1909 it produced 4318 tons, which was more than the Congo for that year. Of this amount about half comes from French Guinea.

The next largest producers are the Gold Coast, chiefly Ashanti and Southern Nigeria.

Gum. What has been said about wild rubber applies largely to gum. Unless closely watched and put on a sound footing the gum forests are liable to become worked out. The best way of controlling both gum and rubber collection is to have the forests under the supervision of forestry officers and only allow collection under permit or licence. This is done as regards the collection of rubber in Uganda and Southern Nigeria. In the former country the policy is favoured of letting areas of forest to companies on long lease, as it will then be manifestly to their own interest to nurse the industry.

Gum is only found in good quality in the drier and

¹ The chief vines appear to be :—

In the Congo :—

<i>Landolphia</i>	<i>owariensis</i> .
„	<i>klainii</i> .
„	<i>Droogmansiana</i> .
„	<i>thollonii</i> .
<i>Clitandra</i>	<i>arnoldiana</i> .
<i>Carpodinus</i>	<i>gentilii</i> .
„	<i>gracilis</i> .

In Uganda :—

Landolphia dawei.
Clitandra orientalia.

In East Africa :—

Landolphia kirkii.

hotter northern parts of Africa, such as Somaliland, British and French Sudan, noticeably Mauretania in the latter, which exports between three and four million pounds' weight yearly.

Fibres. In most parts of Africa good natural fibres exist, chiefly the Sanseviera and the Raphia palm. Machinery for the extraction of the fibre is necessary, if export on a large scale is intended.

As fibres are worth from £25 to £30 a ton on the home market the trade is profitable only in favourably situated countries. The chief item in its collection, after machinery has been erected, is the transport of the raw material to its site, as the land in close proximity to the factory soon becomes exhausted. In the Quilimane district good results have been obtained with Sisal.

Oil palm. The home of the oil palms is on the great West African rivers. The oil is extracted from the kernel of the fruit of the palm ; it is largely used in soap-making.

Kernels are generally exported whole, but at places there are local factories for pressing them, in which case only the oil is exported. Many of the West African countries derive a large part of their revenue from this industry.¹ The oil palm does not appear to flourish in parts of Africa, other than the so-called oil rivers. A comparatively small amount is exported from the Congo, but this may be because little attention has hitherto been paid to the industry. Now that there is a falling off in the collection of wild rubber, no doubt efforts will be made to divert the industry of the natives to the collection of palm kernels.²

Shea nuts. The produce of the shea, or butter-nut tree,

¹ Southern Nigeria exported in 1909 158,849 tons of kernels valued at £1,815,967 ; and also 22,996,487 gallons palm oil valued at £1,447,163. French West Africa in the same year exported about 43,000 tons of kernels and 21,500 tons oil. Sierra Leone also exports this produce to the value of about half a million pounds sterling annually.

² No doubt other oil-yielding trees will be found and exploited in the future. The following is extracted from the Consular Report for 1911 on the Portuguese Possessions in East Africa :—

“In the Inhambane district an exceedingly valuable and hitherto little exploited product is the fruit of the mafureira tree (*Trichilia*

forms a considerable item of export from Northern Nigeria. The tree grows in rather upland countries and is common in several parts of tropical Africa. The kernels of the fruit are pressed for oil. In Northern Nigeria about £100,000 worth is exported annually, but little or nothing appears to be done in this industry elsewhere.

Kola nuts. This is another West African industry, the nuts being exported from Sierra Leone and elsewhere for local sale amongst the natives of other West African countries.

Fisheries. A considerable local trade in cured fish exists in many parts of Africa.¹ *Bêche de mer* (sea slugs), for the China market, have been collected on the East Coast. There are also other small industries for the collection of such objects as mother-of-pearl, kauris, etc.

Beeswax. About six hundred tons are exported annually from Abyssinia. "It is melted down by merchants and put into blocks before export, as there is generally a considerable percentage of impurities in it; 1 cwt. of pure wax, after deducting brokerage and commission, should fetch £6 10s. net in London."²

emetica). This is an oil producer which is exceedingly prolific and widespread. . . .

"An important discovery was also made in the Lourenço Marques district a few months ago of another valuable oil-producing tree. From specimens sent by me to Kew Gardens it has proved to be a species of *Balanites*, probably the *Balanites egyptica*."

¹ Fourteen hundred tons of cured fish were carried inland from the coast on the Secondee-Coomassie railway in 1911.

² Consular Report, Abyssinia, 1911-12.

CHAPTER XII

ACCOUNTS AND OFFICE WORK

It has been found that a certain amount of routine is essential to enable any government machine to run, but in tropical Africa the work of administration is so much in its infancy, and so much latitude has to be left to the individual, that less office work should be necessary than elsewhere. In outstations it should be reduced to the absolute minimum required to check the work done, the accounts and stores.

In some places the mania for multiplicity of rolls, lists, and forms is remarkable. Perhaps the official is required to rule out and furnish a number of such forms as these monthly :—

MONTHLY ROLL OF EUROPEAN RESIDENTS IN THE BONGO BONGO DISTRICT.

Officials		Planters Settlers	Merchants	Others	Total Officials	Ti. Non- Officials	Grand Total
1st class	subordinate						
1	nil	nil	nil	nil	1	nil	1

I certify that the above is a correct return of all Europeans in my district during the last month.

Signed X. Y. Z.

Bongo bongo District.

Date.

Or he may be required to suspend such necessary work in the district as investigating cases, superintending road-making and various other practical work, so as to return monthly to his post and see if there are still three office chairs and one table in the grass hut which serves as office, or to check and make a list of a number of trumpery articles

of total value not exceeding £20, or inquire into the circumstances under which a spade has been broken.

In tropical Africa the country is so poor and the government machine has such difficulty to make two ends meet, and, moreover, one official has usually to perform so many duties, that red tape is not desirable to the same extent that it occurs in other and more organised countries.

Just this foreword to explain one's general attitude towards office work. I am not advocating a slovenly office in which nothing can be found, accounts are mixed up, and everything is at sixes-and-sevens. A well-run office is a great qualification in considering the work of an official, and the thing by which an Inspecting Officer will probably judge his labours most. Whatever office work is done should be done well, but let only that be done which is absolutely necessary to the working of the district in its present stage of advance.

Having now formed a rough standard by which to decide what office work should be done and what left undone, let us consider the work which comes under the former head.

First of all as regards the natives for whose benefit the district is supposed to be occupied.

There should be a register of the names of all males, under their various chiefs, with columns against them for the names of wives and children, numbers of huts, and any other items considered necessary. Sometimes this also serves as a tax book, amounts being entered against the names as received, under a column for each year. The making out of this book and keeping it up to date is no small labour; moreover, it must be checked every few years. If plenty of room is left against each name at first this book may be extended, as administration advances, by entering up against each individual such information as: Cases in which he appeared, judgments given against him, any office or employment he has been in, his qualifications for any employ, his pursuits or trade, the number of cattle he possesses, or any other detail that appears desirable, in

view of the policy of administration in that particular district. As a kind of index or table of contents of this book, there would be a roll of the various chiefs and their recognised headmen, with references to the pages occupied by the people under them.

A registration of all fire-arms possessed by natives is generally important, and this again might be combined in the same book, each weapon and its registered number being entered against its owner.

Next there is the recording of cases. There should be made a sufficient summary of each case heard to enable reference to be made subsequently to its salient points. For most petty cases a record of evidence and procedure is absolutely unnecessary. All that need be recorded is: The name, tribe and chief of both plaintiff and defendant, the witnesses (if any), a brief statement of affairs as understood by the officer at the conclusion of his decision or judgment.

For instance :—

	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Date.</i>
Suleiman Hassan (Chief Bolo) <i>v.</i> Abdi Adan (Chief Boto).		
Suleiman claims return of 10 goats paid for Moko (daughter of Abdi) who ran away to Mogi Gobri (Chief Boto).		
<i>Decision.</i> Mogi Gobri pays Suleiman 10 goats.		
Executed 1/1/10.		
Civil Case No.....		Signed.....

If the case crops up again it is quite evident that Mogi was the new husband, that he had not paid the father for the woman, and that the latter made a counter claim against him, and so two cases have been settled in one and the decision carried out.

These cases should be filed, numbered consecutively and indexed. Similarly there are the criminal cases which may be summary trials or court cases, and which must be carefully filed, numbered and indexed. These have already been referred to in Chapter VI. This practically finishes all

that bears directly on the natives, except orders and regulations, suggestions for development and reports. These, together with the other office work necessary to enable the official to maintain order and discipline in the district, hear the case of Suleiman *v.* Abdi, collect his tax from Chief Bolo, and carry out schemes for progress and development in the station, and the district may be roughly divided in :—

- (I) Matters affecting police.
- (II) „ „ employés.
- (III) „ „ Government stores.
- (IV) Orders and regulations for station and district.
- (V) Accounts.
- (VI) Prison and prisoners.
- (VII) Reports.
- (VIII) Correspondence and its filing.

(I) *Matters affecting police.* It is clearly impossible to keep such intricate and all-embracing accounts and registers of police as of a regular company. The military officer has nothing else to do but to look after the training, discipline, equipment, etc., of his unit, whilst the administrator has multifarious other duties.

It is necessary to have a nominal roll showing dates of enlistment and promotion, the tribe, chief and village of each man, together with a record in different columns, against each name, of the clothing, equipment and accoutrements with which he has been furnished, and the date of issue.

Defaulter sheets are sometimes kept, otherwise the entries are made with others in the case-book, to which, if they are properly indexed, reference can easily be made.

It is also necessary to have a pay roll, or perhaps this also can be combined in the one nominal roll book.

It is usual to furnish a return every month of arms and accoutrements on charge in a district. This would seem really unnecessary and may lead to a slack system of checking.

There is no doubt that if it is really necessary to send a return from a district to headquarters, that such a return should be checked with all possible accuracy. So, unless the return is to be a farce, this monthly arms return means that the official must come back to his station at the end of each month, no matter what he is doing, and check all arms and accoutrements. As police will be constantly employed in all parts of the district, it means calling in all those out—in a word knocking off all other work once a month, if a conscientious check is to be taken.

This is manifestly absurd; so what often happens is that the official, before leaving his station, makes out a return, without any check whatever, and leaves it to be posted on the right date. This return is probably identical with that of the last month and the month before.

Much better would it be to have one thorough check and overhaul of everything once a year, doing half the police at a time and then letting these relieve others who are out in the district and checking the other half. At the same time the yearly board could be held on all time-expired or damaged kit and stores.

It always seems to me that too much office work is done from the wrong end. For instance: A., the Provincial Commissioner with 14 clerks in his office, sends B.—an Assistant District Commissioner or Collector with one clerk—20 rifles, 20 sight protectors, 20 pull-throughs, 20 oil bottles, 20 hand guards, 20 slings, 1 table and 3 chairs. B. or his one clerk sends a receipt for all these articles, and so has made himself responsible for them to A.

Now A. with his 14 clerks requires that B. with his one clerk shall write every month to him and say, "I have in my possession 20 rifles, 20 sight protectors, 20 pull-throughs, 20 oil bottles, 20 hand guards, 20 slings, 1 table and 3 chairs," all things he has already acknowledged receiving and which are presumably shown in A.'s books as having been received by B. If A. really wants to know every month that B. has these things, surely one of his 14 clerks

can, from B.'s receipts, make out this list monthly and show it to A. A. says he is responsible for these things to the Capital and so he must have B.'s list monthly to check by. Surely if his books are kept up he knows that he at least has received them and acknowledged them to the Capital, and so he can still admit having had them if any question arises concerning them; also he has B.'s receipts, so he can always hold B. to account for them. If it is really necessary that a full list of these articles passes between A. and B. monthly, surely it would be much more natural if one of A.'s 14 clerks, with all the facilities of typewriters, copying books, etc., at the disposal of headquarters, made out the list. A. could then send it to B. every month and say, "You are responsible for 20 rifles, 20 sight protectors, 20 pull-throughs," etc. One might even imagine that if A. and his 14 clerks only did this once a year, and then sent B. a full list of all the things he was responsible for, asking him to check it, that it would be sufficient. However, this is not the way things are done. B. with his one clerk must make out the list and send it to A.

This is only one out of a number of cases in which it is customary to throw clerical work on the poorly equipped and staffed outstation which could be more quickly and efficiently performed in bulk by the central office, with all its advantages of staff and clerical facilities. As a rule rifles and ammunition are the only things of value in such returns. As often as not the police belts, slings, pouches, bandoliers, etc., are condemned military equipment, and the whole lot would not fetch more than a few shillings at a rummage sale. So we have the ridiculous state of affairs of an official, whose pay works out at £2 or £3 a working day, not counting Sundays, leave, etc., being compelled to spend one or two days a month in making out long lists of rubbish.

Perhaps rifles should be checked oftener, but as to clothing and equipment, each man is supposed to be in possession of a set and must make it good if lost. There is no reason

why they should not be described as such, viz. "one set equipment and one outfit of clothes," and that if he is found to be deficient of anything he himself will be held responsible.

Once a year, or twice as the case may be, he can hand in his old clothes and receive his new issue, at the same time he can show that he has all his equipment and that it is in a good state of repair. In practice probably section commanders would inspect once a month and report that all was correct, or the reverse, for the satisfaction of the official ; but this is a very different matter to checking and making out lists once a month.

In these matters, as in all others, we must not get so obsessed with the routine that we lose sight of the object for which it is instituted. In the case of checking and making lists of stores the object is, presumably, to prevent loss and wastage. If, however, a great deal of trouble and time is spent over clerical work connected with objects of small value, we are preventing a possible small wastage at the expense of much valuable other work left undone. Again, I have often noticed in places where there are intricate methods of checking and accounting for stores, that while one's efforts are fully taken up with small matters, wholesale waste and extravagance is liable to proceed unchecked in larger matters.

(II) *Matters affecting employés.* Such include herdsmen, post-runners, conservancy, caretakers, artisans, etc. A roll of these must be kept, with dates of enlistment, rates of pay, names of chiefs and tribes, and against them columns for the issue of clothes and pay.

If they are payable under different votes, it is best to keep the different services on different pages, so that the totals under each item may be transferred and checked easily with the table of expenditures.

(III) *Matters affecting Government stores.* The receipt and issue of all stores received at a station, issued or returned to headquarters, is generally kept in a store-book or ledger.

Entries in the store-book may be checked by the way-bills, whenever convenient between trips in the district, viz. every one or two months. It will generally be sufficient if the store itself is checked once a year.

With a proper system of way-bills all goods arriving at or leaving the station can be checked. This will be explained later under "Transport." These are most important, as they show exactly what things ought to be in the station and what the official is responsible for. As regards local issues, it is perhaps simplest in small stations to enter them up in the store ledger as issued. In big stores there is generally a system of indents, and these indents are filed and entered up in bulk, as with the way-bills above.

A good system of way-bills can also be made to acknowledge automatically the receipt of all stores arriving and obtain receipts for all stores despatched.

(IV) *Orders and regulations for station and district.* These are added to as fresh orders are made from time to time, or old ones cancelled or altered. The originals should be kept in a file together, while there should be plenty of copies available.

Some people seem to think that they should go on writing orders indefinitely, till there is an order to meet every possible contingency, but that it is unnecessary to show them to anyone but the Inspecting Officer. "What about latrines in your station?" the latter may ask. "Here you are, sir; orders 17 to 25 under *Sanitation*," says the smart official. The fact that there are good and stringent orders on the subject is perfectly satisfying to some people, although, under the conditions that exist, some of them may be quite impossible to enforce.

The official will write many of his orders, no doubt, chiefly for himself; for instance, those determining the pay and rations of employés, etc., so as to have it definitely settled what he pays them and gives them to eat. As a rule, however, he should try to avoid a multiplicity of orders affecting

the native himself, as it will be difficult to get them all complied with. He should think, before writing any order, whether he is confident that he will be able to carry it out in practice or enforce compliance with it.

In certain cases, such as in, say, cattle sickness regulations, he perhaps does not expect the fact of there being an order prohibiting movements of cattle between localities absolutely to stop any such movements in practice. The order is made and promulgated so that there should be no excuse for its infringement and to enable him to deal severely with the cases he discovers. However, even in such a case, it is utterly useless framing the order if he does not see his way to enforcing it very widely; to do so is only to lower the prohibitory value of a government order in the eyes of the natives.

Having made an order, the official must take every care to inform all parties concerned about it, and carefully explain it to them. With the average native chief once is not sufficient; they must be periodically informed of all the orders extant.

In opening a new district it is a great mistake to burden the native with too many at once; only the most urgent and important things should be enforced at first, and these should be gradually supplemented by others.

Orders, regulations and instructions for a station would fall under such headings as these :—

Police.

Drills and fatigues.

Roster of duties.

Pay and ration days.

Regulations for cultivation by.

Regulations as to their relations with natives (such as not allowed to employ native labour, etc.).

Sanitation.

Regulations against mesquitoes.

Drinking water and drawing from wells (regulations against guinea-worm).

Latrines.

Refuse pits and incinerators.

Slaughtering houses.

Washing places.

Clearance of grass or bush.

Employés.

Pay days and rates of pay.

Duties and work hours.

Clothing.

Housing.

Prisoners.

Rations.

Work hours.

Meal hours.

Clothing.

Washing.

Cleanliness of prison.

Mail and mail-runners.

Time-table.

Stages.

Dress and pay of runners.

How runners are to be employed between turns of duty.

Daily routine.

Inspections of lines, sanitary arrangements, etc.

Days for sittings of courts.

Monthly checks and reports.

Check of cash in safe.

Report of cases tried.

Monthly accounts.

Entering up of stores received and issued.

Monthly progress report.

Other returns as called for.

Yearly checks and reports.

Board on all equipment and stores.

Annual report and summary of receipts and expenditures, cases heard, etc.

Indents for next year.

Medical arrangements.

Hospital.

Parading of sick.

Market.

Regulations for.

Market rates.

Trade and traders.

Issue of building plots.

Licences.

Regulations affecting such, as buildings, cleanliness of plots, etc.

Various.

Where firewood is to be cut.

Pay and rations of local labour.

Preservation of trees and timber.

Although there appears to be a multiplicity of orders and regulations above, but few of these apply to any one set of people, whilst a great number are merely for the sake of reference.

As regards orders and regulations for the district they might come under such headings as these :—

Roads.

Seasons for clearing.

Sections of road and what chiefs are responsible for them.

Agricultural regulations.

Import of seeds likely to contain pests prohibited.

Issue of Government seeds.

Traders.

Closed areas for.

Regulations for.

Ivory.

Sale of.

Disposal of tusks of elephant found dead.

Various.

Prohibition of planting bhang (Indian hemp).

Sale of spirits.

Many of the above will be dealt with in provincial orders, government ordinances and circulars. However, it will be impossible to bring all orders and regulations in force immediately into action in a new district. The effect of trying to attend to them all at once will probably defeat its own object. So the official will deal at first only with the most important, whilst his own orders will serve as a guide to the state of progress that has been made with regard to bringing orders to the notice of the natives and enforcing their compliance with them.

(V) *Accounts.* Considerable latitude should be allowed in the matter of expenditure and accounts, especially in out-stations. The contingencies that will arise during the year at a far station cannot easily be foreseen during the previous year, nor can they be easily adjusted from the Capital. If the official is very stringently tied down as to the exact sums to be disbursed on every item, much delay and wastage of effort and material are inevitable.

As a rule sums may only be disbursed on the exact objects for which they are granted, and all surpluses must be returned to the treasury at the end of the financial year. For instance, at a far station £100 might have been allowed for building an office and £30 for, say, a cattle zariba. As work nears completion the official may find that he has been able to build a very serviceable kraal for £15, but that

he cannot quite make the sum of £100 cover the office ; he wants £10 worth of cement or iron to finish it off. Under existing arrangements there is no alternative left to him but to pay back the £15 into the treasury and leave the office unfinished.

This system has been found, for many reasons, financially sound, although it often leads to unnecessary extravagance on the one hand, or great inconvenience on the other. Especially is this the case in far uncivilised places, where it is not possible to calculate to a nicety the exact expenditure which will be required a year ahead to accomplish any definite object, or the amount of local labour that will be available, or the prices that will prevail for transport.

The best way of overcoming such difficulties, in far stations, and yet retaining the system, is to allot only the barest amount to each item indented for and to cover the whole with a generous contingent allowance, which may be spent on anything at the discretion of the official on the spot.

Another weak spot in finance, in the eyes of the distant official, is that the year's allotments, although perhaps made up in ample time at the Capital, are often so delayed in reaching him that they only arrive when the year is already several months old. So, although he may have effected a saving on last year's grants and expects generous treatment this year, he may be forced to inactivity during the first few months of the new year.

The financial year begins in some countries on the 1st of January, and in others on the 1st of April. In practice it might be beneficial if the period of rains were taken into consideration in fixing the date of the commencement of the financial year. During the rains it is required to let all natives possible work on their fields ; and so no labour, other than that absolutely essential, should be called on for public works. The rainy season also is unfavourable to the performance of any such work, and so, if that time was spent

in forced inactivity, waiting for estimates, there would be little loss.

A circumstance that leads to extravagance and waste, and one which it would be difficult to combat, is the state of financial hostility with which the outstations generally regard the Central Government. The Provincial Commissioner, for instance, wishes to carry through a scheme, or erect a building, which he estimates will cost £500. "The mean authorities," he argues, "always cut down my estimates by half, £250 will be useless, so I will put in for £1000." To his surprise he gets this only cut down by a quarter, and £750 allowed. Now he says that if he does not spend all this it will be a precedent for the Central Government still further cutting him down another time, so he spends £750 where an expenditure of £500 would meet requirements.

As regards the keeping of accounts, these, like all other office work, should be simplified as much as possible in outstations. A rough scheme for such accounts might be a ledger with a monthly page for the disbursement on every chapter of the budget, and similarly a monthly page for the receipts under each head.

The monthly totals from each page to be carried forward into a summary account of all expenditures and receipts for that month and also into a form which shows at the top of each column the amount granted under a heading for the year or, in the case of receipts, the amount estimated for the year.

In the case of expenditure, each sum as entered might be deducted from the balance and so show how much is left to expend.

For instance, page 1 of ledger might be January disbursements on account of public works showing :—

	£	s.	d.
Pay of masons	4	0	0
Hire of labourers	10	0	0
Purchase of cement	10	0	0
	<hr/>		
Total	24	0	0

This £24 is carried forward to the summary for January, which shows something like this :—

JANUARY, 1912. SUMMARY.

Page of Ledger.	Receipts.	Page of Ledger.	Expenditures.
99 1911 Ledger	Cash in hand $\begin{matrix} \text{£} & \text{s.} & \text{d.} \\ 36 & 0 & 0 \end{matrix}$	1	Public works $\begin{matrix} \text{£} & \text{s.} & \text{d.} \\ 24 & 0 & 0 \end{matrix}$
49	Cash from Treasury $\begin{matrix} 300 & 0 & 0 \end{matrix}$	13	Conservancy $\begin{matrix} 4 & 0 & 0 \end{matrix}$
61	Tax receipts $\begin{matrix} 44 & 0 & 0 \end{matrix}$	25	Roads $\begin{matrix} 14 & 0 & 0 \end{matrix}$
73	Licences $\begin{matrix} 10 & 0 & 0 \end{matrix}$	37	Contingent $\begin{matrix} 10 & 0 & 0 \end{matrix}$
		Pay roll	Pay of Police $\begin{matrix} 60 & 0 & 0 \end{matrix}$
	$\begin{matrix} \text{£}390 & 0 & 0 \end{matrix}$		Cash in hand $\begin{matrix} 278 & 0 & 0 \end{matrix}$
			$\begin{matrix} \text{£}390 & 0 & 0 \end{matrix}$

The sum of £24 is also carried with the other items to the form, showing the yearly expenditure allowed on each heading as :—

	Public Works.	Conser- vancy.	Roads.	Contin- gent.	Police.	Heading.
etc. etc.	$\begin{matrix} \text{£} \\ 100 \end{matrix}$	$\begin{matrix} \text{£} \\ 48 \end{matrix}$	$\begin{matrix} \text{£} \\ 60 \end{matrix}$	$\begin{matrix} \text{£} \\ 50 \end{matrix}$	$\begin{matrix} \text{£} \\ 720 \end{matrix}$	Sum allowed for 1912
	24	4	14	10	60	Expended Jan.
	76	44	46	40	660	Balance Expended Feb.

To keep the above clear I have only dealt with round sums and a few items. The different headings of a budget contain such items as :—

- Police.
- Contingent.
- Public works.
- Repairs to buildings.
- Conservancy.
- Postal.
- Roads and rest houses.
- Officials' salaries.
- Travelling allowances.
- Transport.
- Woods and forests.

And many others which concern the outstation less.

(VI) *Prison and prisoners.* A roll of prisoners should be kept up, showing date of admission, sentence, and date of release. This should be hung up in a conspicuous place.

Lists of convictions are also, as a rule, called for either monthly or quarterly.

As regards the prisoners' list, it saves trouble if this, or a copy, is put on the officials' table during the hearing of cases. Every sentence given is then entered at once and there is no fear of its being forgotten.

Another list which should be hung in a conspicuous place, is that of persons "wanted"—escaped prisoners, deserters and others—so that they are not overlooked.

(VII) *Reports.* A general monthly progress report is generally sent at the expiration of each month to headquarters. This contains such information as casualties, important events, weather, crops, progress made, and it affords an opportunity of discussing proposals and schemes or making comments on those in hand.

(VIII) *Correspondence and its filing* will be treated in Chapter XXI.

This finishes all the absolutely necessary documents to keep up in a far station except such licence books—arms', game and traders'—as are issued to the station, and such registers as arms, leases of land, etc., as may be considered necessary. There are, of course, many other books and documents that may be kept up. One of the most useful is a diary showing the chiefs who came in, the movements of officials, and other daily events.

However, it is no use trying to keep up more than there is time and opportunity to do well. Much better a few well-kept and accurate official books and registers than numbers of untidy ones, which get behind the times owing to stress of other work.

CHAPTER XIII

TAXES, CUSTOMS AND REVENUE

THE kind of government possessed by an independent state is, as a rule, that which has been found best suited to its present needs. The expenses of its upkeep are in proportion to the prosperity of the community, and its state of development follows that of the people. It is, in fact, the best government that the people are able to create and afford for themselves at that especial period of their advancement. It has been evolved to meet the needs of the community. In a tropical dependency the state of affairs is different. The government is created by a people far advanced in the scale when compared to those for whom the government is intended. It is an advanced form of government, superimposed on a backward type of people, a form of government which they could never have created themselves.

Such a government as coincides with our ideas, simple as we may try to make it, is at first utterly beyond the financial powers of the people of the country to support.

It is much as if a complicated and expensive form of government, such as prevails in England or Germany, was to be thrust on Swiss taxpayers.

The foreign Government must then be partly supported by the home Government until the country can be developed sufficiently to afford it.

In cases in which the country has quickly become self-supporting this satisfactory state of affairs has generally been achieved by the energies of foreigners, settlers, miners, planters and traders opening up new sources of revenue.

Although the country and the native contribute towards this increased prosperity, it comes about in a manner which does not directly press on the inhabitant. The latter, in fact, shares in the increased prosperity and yet probably does not share in any increase in taxation. The revenue of the country is obtained partly by taxation, but very largely by juggling with the assets and products in a manner that the native is incapable of doing for himself. As an example of the meaning it is intended to convey by the word "juggling," let us imagine a people very rich in cattle. These accumulate, and amongst themselves they have no means of getting rid of surplus bulls—not required for breeding and above their requirements for meat. Such a process as sending these bulls five hundred miles, or even five miles, for sale is absolutely outside their power. Before the advent of the European they were probably at war with the peoples about them and there was no guarantee of life or property amongst them.

The white man opens up the country and requires a meat supply for a distant town on the coast. He starts a market and purchases cattle for cloth, brass wire, or whatever the cattle-owning people may desire. The cattle are sold at profit on the coast, and the white man has "juggled" into the country's revenue (1) profits on sale of cattle, (2) customs dues on imported cloth and brass wire. Instead of being mulcted by direct taxation of these sums, the people have been benefited, in that the cattle-owning people have been given a means of disposing of their surplus stock to profit, whilst the coast people have been given the meat supply they required, and possibly at a cheaper rate than could be imported for them from elsewhere.

To take another extreme case: I have met a tribe—but they must be very few and far between in these days—where if an elephant is killed the people take the meat and leave the tusks lying on the ground with the other bones. The white man comes and says, "Bring me those bones and I will give you what you like in the way of cloth, beads, or

whatever you want." Here, evidently, all parties are perfectly satisfied with the bargain, and the country reaps the revenue from export duty on ivory and trading licences.

In considering this question of revenue one must keep two kinds clearly apart in our minds ; one is direct taxation, which falls solely on the native of the country and in return for which he is supposed to reap compensating advantages. The other is revenue derived from other sources, which hardly affects the average native at first, but is borne by the white man, planters, settlers, traders, travellers visiting the country, those that pay licences for special privileges, or that accrues from well-arranged juggling with resources.

In civilised countries there is also direct and indirect taxation, but the latter hits the people of the country in a manner which it does not hit the native of tropical Africa. An import tax on tea, for instance, is felt by practically everybody in the country. In Africa an import tax on calico is not noticed by the natives, although it may be worn practically by everyone, for a yard of calico when it first reaches him is worth, say, two hens, and is perhaps cheaper than his own bark cloth. As time goes on, owing to improved and cheaper means of transport, it often actually grows cheaper and not dearer ; whilst his own two hens, as there is more demand for them on the country being opened up, become more valuable. Many other forms of indirect revenue, such as gun licences and game licences, are paid by the white man and do not, as a rule, affect the native at all. Some forms of indirect taxation, such as licences to collect rubber or sell native liquors, do affect certain classes or individuals amongst the natives ; but against this must be placed the fact that it is only the coming of the Government collecting these taxes that has enabled the native concerned to dispose of such things profitably. The white man is always opening up new markets for the native, new ways of making money should he be willing to work for it ; and, moreover, as time goes on his own assets increase in value : his two hens will fetch two yards of calico instead of

one, his services as a labourer will be valued at four shillings instead of three a month; he is put in the way of planting more valuable products and so on. So, financially, the native's state is much better than that of the long-suffering civilised peoples, amongst whom taxation mounts up swiftly and new markets open up comparatively slowly.

It is evident from the above that the more a tropical dependency can make over indirect taxation and the more that it can keep down direct taxation, provided only the natives pay what to them is a fair return for benefits received, according to the state of advance they have reached, the more satisfactory will conditions appear to them. The native will never feel the oppression of indirect taxation, at least not for many years, and even where it does hit him he is unaware of it. It also has, as with ourselves, the effect of falling on the well-to-do and the extravagant to a greater extent than the poor and economical.

For instance, the native who can afford to keep two wives and give them both calico to wear is paying indirectly for customs twice as much as the man who can only afford to keep one.

Let us now proceed to see what are the chief sources of indirect taxation from which revenue accrues to a government; after that we will consider the subject of direct taxation.

Customs. As the coast towns are the first places to become occupied, this is generally the earliest form of obtaining revenue and, where the hinterland is not occupied, it is sometimes the only feasible one. Till the interior is developed, however, it cannot be expected to reach any great amount. To work the Customs, to the best advantage of both the country and its government, a careful study of market rates in Europe, cost of ocean freight, labour and cost of transport to the coast of the articles exported should be made, and compared to similar conditions in other countries exporting the same produce. A promising industry may be nipped in the bud by unwise taxation.

Part of the duties of the Customs department is to check all imports and exports and furnish financial returns of them, and these give a sure indication of the state of advancement of the country, whilst the totals, when divided by the number of the population, give an idea of the amount of taxation the country is able to support.¹

Licences. These include game, arms, rubber collection, liquor, traders' and prospectors' licences, as well as various

¹ In the beginnings of administration in a new country the total imports generally are of very much greater value than the exports. This is as it should be; it shows that capital is being put into the country and the foundations being laid for future development. As the country advances the value of the exports should rise more rapidly than the imports, till the two are finally about level. Comparing the value of the two, shows, to a certain extent, what the people and the country are getting in exchange for what they are giving.

I cannot help calling attention to the significance of the following figures extracted from the *Statesman's Year Book* :—

Year.	Country.	Imports.	Exports.
1910-11	Northern Nigeria	£330,506	£120,652
"	Southern Nigeria and Prot.	£5,857,335	£5,304,186
"	Gold Coast	£3,439,831	£2,697,706
"	Sierra Leone and Prot.	£1,162,470	£1,249,367
"	Gambia and Protectorate	£578,983	£535,447
"	Somaliland	£267,183	£247,333
"	East Africa Protectorate	£1,000,346	£962,911
"	Uganda Protectorate	£549,153	£340,326
"	Zanzibar	£993,031	£1,033,467
"	Nyasaland	£230,800	£189,528
1910	Senegal	£5,855,603	£2,554,479
"	Upper Senegal and Niger	£492,535	£211,059
"	French Guinea	£1,928,719	£732,260
"	Ivory Coast	£1,271,966	£629,988
"	Dahomey	£1,427,931	£715,294
"	Togoland	Mks. 11,466,121	Mks. 7,222,123
1909	German S. W. Africa	Mks. 34,713,448	Mks. 22,070,904
1910	German E. Africa	Mks. 44,344,281	Mks. 34,691,371
1908	Portuguese Guinea	Mils. 857,155	Mils. 492,238
1909	Angola	Mils. 5,674,861	Mils. 5,485,085
1910	Portuguese East Africa. State Territories	£853,627	£419,523
	Mozambique Company		
	Nyasa Company		
AND			
1910	French Equatorial Africa	Fr. 11,119,000	Fr. 17,454,000
"	French Somaliland	Fr. 21,024,712	Fr. 33,566,887
"	San Thomé and Principe	Mils. 2,902,935	Mils. 8,150,632
"	Belgian Congo, special	£1,473,872	£2,664,091
"	" " general	£1,759,117	£3,823,947

Imports are generally valued at their rate in the country of origin, and exports at their rate in the colony. Charges for freight should therefore be added to former

others. Depending generally on the number of foreigners, whether settlers, traders or visitors, in the country, they only begin to become an important item as the country gets opened up.

Game licences in Africa often add considerably to revenue, but with these it must be remembered that they cannot be considered as a permanent asset. As the country gets settled over, or developed, the game must decrease, and eventually the game licences must follow suit. Meanwhile, it may attract sportsmen and travellers, and this causes a certain amount to be spent in the country, independently of the sums collected on licences. If, however, it is a country healthy enough to attract many visitors, it will also attract settlers and planters, and then it soon becomes a case of settlers or game. Even if the country is developed by natives and becomes prosperous, like Uganda, it becomes an alternative of plantations or game. It is not fair to expect the native to plant enormously and pay a tax whilst giving them no redress and forbidding them to shoot elephant, who demolish a whole banana grove in a night. On the other hand, once the native is allowed to kill game freely with modern weapons, the latter is doomed to speedy extermination. Another factor has come into play recently in the conflicting interests of mankind and game, and that is the outcry against the latter as the purveyor of infection and an attraction to tsetse.

Game will sooner or later have to be relegated entirely to reserves set apart for them, where they do not interfere with natives or settlers. It would be, perhaps, only fair on the game to set aside the profits at present made over them to provide for their ultimate restriction and preservation in such areas.

Railways and Steamers. An African railway is generally constructed by a large out-of-pocket expenditure of the home Government, and even after that it may have to be supported for a certain number of years. However, it surely draws increase of trade and revenue in its wake and,

although large receipts under this heading must not be expected at the beginning, it is, in the long run, a tremendous asset to a country.

Steamers, where navigable rivers are available, are cheaper to start and maintain, and are often profitable from almost the first.

It should be a great benefit to a country if the railways and steamers are in the hands of the Government, as the prices of freight may be made to fit in with the general scheme of development. Some products may even be carried at a loss until the price of all transport has been reduced, or the industry it is desired to encourage has been put on a firmer footing.

This subject will be touched on again under "Transport," Chapter XVI.

Posts and Telegraphs. Telegraphs can only be considered as a real source of revenue to a country when it has attracted a big extraneous population, for the African native of the interior does not use this or the post to any appreciable extent, although the more civilised peoples of the coast send a few letters.

In the initial stages, the revenue derived from telegraphs is perhaps misleading. It is accumulated rather on the principle of robbing Peter to pay Paul. Perhaps the takings on this heading show a considerable sum, but if looked into it will probably be found that ninety per cent of the telegrams sent are despatched by government departments and officials—telegrams which could not be sent if there was no telegraph. So, out of the total receipts, perhaps ninety per cent represents an increased expenditure in other Government departments, solely caused by the presence of the telegraph, whilst the remaining ten per cent is the only real increase to revenue. The line, then, is really being worked at a loss until there are numbers of private individuals to use it. This is only to show that a telegraph service is not necessarily such an asset to a country as it may appear from a perusal of its receipts and disbursements. It is,

however, undoubtedly an asset of the future, it aids indirectly in the opening up of a country and, when it has attracted sufficient planters, traders and travellers, will become a paying concern independently of official telegrams.

Sale and rent of Government lands. This is often a considerable item in the revenue of a country, if it is being opened up to planters and settlers. The question of what is government land is often, however, rather an involved one, and one on which there is considerable variation of opinion in different Protectorates. Whilst the right of the native to his lands is generally recognised, all land is in some countries considered as belonging to Government, by whose sanction the native occupies it. In others the natives' absolute right to practically all land is recognised, and it is only by sanction of the paramount chiefs and the subsequent approval of Government that any lands may be alienated for any purpose. This question depends largely on the policy of the Government with regard to the future of the country and whether parts of it are to be eventually marked out as native reserves or land for planters and settlers. In the latter case native rights are not apt to be so rigorously regarded. The committee recently appointed to inquire into the laws relating to land tenure in West Africa will no doubt lead to more definite regulations on the subject and a more uniform policy.

Concessions. These may be for mining, farming, or for the monopoly of any given trade. Governments in Africa are usually, and very rightly, unwilling to grant such concessions or monopolies, thus tying up large areas or certain trades for years ahead. For these countries are still in their infancy and there has not yet been time to judge of the value of the concessions made, the ultimate policy of land tenure and the prospects of the future.

Court fees. These are, as a rule, not demanded on the first occupation of a country. It is only as the natives begin to understand the workings of law, or in the larger

towns, that fees are taken. Even then they can hardly pay for the upkeep of the legal staff which such an advance of judiciary methods demands.

Besides the above forms of indirectly acquired revenue there are numbers of smaller ones, the profits on some of which are in many countries allowed to be expended for the benefit of the province or district in which they are collected.

Such are : ferry and market dues, slaughtering fees, and so on.

At the end of the year the receipts of all revenue, including taxation, are totalled up and an estimate made on their basis for the forthcoming year. To this must be added the grant-in-aid from the home Government, if any. The expenditure to be allowed for each department of the Central Government and each province during the next year is allotted under different headings, according to the estimated receipts.

However, the outstation official is more directly connected with the raising of the taxes from his individual district. A good relative index as to the amount of taxes to be expected from a country can be gained by the value of exports per head of the population. This can be compared with those of other countries and the proportion their taxes bear to this sum.

The taxes raised in tropical Africa are generally one or other of the following three kinds :—

(i) A tax in kind bearing a certain proportion to the produce of each taxpayer. Such is the “ushur,” or tithe—a tenth of his harvest and of the increase of his stock, perhaps the oldest form of tax in the world.

(ii) The hut tax. A certain sum of money to be paid by the owner for every hut he possesses.

(iii) The poll tax. A certain sum to be paid by every adult male in the land.

The value of the last two may occasionally be collected in kind.

Some countries have, at different periods of their development, adopted each of these forms in the order given. The tax in kind is very suitable to the needs of a people at the commencement of an administration, when they as yet have no money. However, it is often at this time a source of embarrassment to the Government, for it has not yet developed sufficient transport facilities for getting rid of the tax thus received. Nevertheless, a considerable amount of food is required by soldiers, police, labourers, porters, etc., on opening up a new station, and a light tax in kind combined with a judiciously arranged labour tax may be used with advantage until such time as the people are able to pay a money tax.

Next in order comes, as a rule, the hut tax. There is a certain advantage in this as compared to the poll tax. It strikes hardest the wealthy with many wives, each having a separate hut. Huts are easily seen and easy to count, they cannot run away, and if the owner will not pay for them they can be, after removing the contents, burnt or destroyed. The owner not having the wherewithal to pay can, at his option, do a month's work, and so a certain amount of labour is ensured which would not otherwise be forthcoming.

The poll tax is more trouble to collect and, although it generally succeeds the hut tax in the development of a country, may mean a certain loss of revenue. For the naked savage having no domicile is more difficult to catch and mulct of his tax, whilst the owner of three or four huts, who cheerfully paid before three or four taxes, now only pays one.

It is more suitable, however, to some states of advance, as at present in Uganda where the civilisation of the native has caused him to shun more and more the married state. It is hoped there that the change from hut to poll tax will check this tendency by catching the homeless unmarried man equally with the married one, and so not encouraging the former to remain single to avoid a tax.

The fault in the hut and the poll tax seems often to be that the Government, whilst saying to the native that he must pay three shillings, or rupees, a hut or a head, does not lay itself out to show him how he is to make the sum, otherwise than by coming in for a month's work. In countries where the natives are of a very progressive nature they soon learn the value of money and are ready to earn it in various ways. In places where the natives are not ready to adapt themselves to civilised conditions, the tax might be made into a better weapon for overcoming their inertness and want of enterprise.

Of course, the labour question is always a problem, as there is an objection to forcing labour, and a native seldom presents himself willingly for work. Thus men working off the value of their unpaid taxes are a godsend to the public works, transport and other necessary services, which would be at a standstill without them. Such labour, however, although it aids the opening up of the country, does not advance appreciably the development of the native himself.

In my opinion a tax ought to be elastic enough to be capable of being turned to suit the best needs of a district; and that, besides this, an adequate amount of labour, for absolutely necessary work in hand, should be forthcoming from the people. I would have a tax, modified according to the district and the particular lines on which it is desired to develop it, either a hut or a poll tax in name and worded something like this :—

“For each hut (or poll) the owner must bring either 3 rupees, or 60 lbs. of flour, or a sheep, or 20 lbs. simsim, or 20 lbs. beans, or 2 lbs. rubber, or he must do a month's work. If, however, he brings 60 lbs. of unginmed cotton, or 25 lbs. chillies, or 20 lbs. coffee, it will be received as his tax, and, moreover, the Government will pay him so much in return for it.”

Certain people are, as a rule, exempt from taxation. Such may be chiefs, their recognised headmen, employés in

government service, or anybody who has worked for a stated time in government employ during the year, very old men, invalids and cripples. About the latter the official can generally be allowed to use his own discretion ; any man he thinks unfit to work or in distressed circumstances he need not press for payment.

CHAPTER XIV

TRADE AND TRADERS

ONE of the eventual objects of administering a country is to open it up to trade. Yet, in the early stages, all trade has to be supervised strictly, so that it may develop on the right lines; and traders, for various reasons, have often to be restricted in their operations or altogether excluded from certain districts.

In the first instance there is very little trade, either incoming or outgoing, to encourage large and responsible trading firms; and even after the country has been going some years, such firms are generally confined to the coast towns and the Capital of a country, it not being worth their while to open up houses and establish agents elsewhere.

The trader who opens up the interior is either the Arab, Indian, Greek, or Swahili ivory trader, and the very small shopkeeper (who may be any of the above, but is rarely a native of the country).

One cannot help regarding with a certain amount of admiration the original Arab and Swahili ivory traders, who faced innumerable dangers and hardships in their long journeys into the interior, to come back with their precious caravans of ivory. Such people, too, although responsible for much wanton misery and suffering caused by their slave-raiding, must be credited with establishing a certain amount of civilisation. The horrors of slave-raiding have often been dwelt on, and they were, indeed, to be deplored, although not looked on as brutal by the average African, but accepted by him as matters of course. What has not

been so much dwelt on, however, is that these same slaves were subject to a much better lot than would ever have been theirs had they remained in their homes. They were generally kindly treated, well fed and housed, and given little or no work to do. The only Africans that have today attained any measure of civilisation are to be found amongst former slaves, the negroes of America and the West Indies.

These same brutal slave-raiders put an end to many inhuman customs in the places in which they founded settlements, introduced Muhammadan law, and did a certain amount of good in their way. The lesser evils did not appear as evils to them; whilst the greater, if they dealt with them, they put down by use of rigorous, and perhaps brutal, but nevertheless effective methods.

The ivory trader of the present date has not, as a rule, the qualifications which called forth our admiration for his predecessor of the past. Occasionally he has a hard and difficult time, but more often he is sitting smug and safe under the wing of the Government, doing little for the advancement of the country except by paying his trading licence; whilst he is depleting it of resources which can never be put back, and often buying his wares with trashy articles which are of no real value.

A man of far more use to the country is the petty trader, however small his transactions. He teaches the natives to buy and sell, makes a market for their produce, and helps the circulation of money. He buys their flour and beans, a few pounds at a time, for money or beads, and affords the natives a means by which they can collect sufficient for the payment of their hut tax, and so relieves the official of the difficulties of receiving, keeping, and getting rid of a certain amount of goods in kind.

It is the desire of most Governments to establish the circulation of money amongst the natives as soon as possible, and it is in this that the small trader is of great service. It is often a puzzle to me where the money in a country

comes from. A new district opens and there is no money whatever in it to commence with. After a few years one imagines one knows of practically every sum that has been disbursed in the country, and the total is insignificant, whilst much of it must find its way out of the district again. Yet one arrives at the astonishing result that it is self-supporting; that is to say that the taxes collected in the district cover the expenses of the administration of that district, and this before the country has developed, or started any industry. This is, of course, excluding its share of expenses of the Central Government.

Now of the money granted to that district a great proportion is not spent in it at all. There are, for instance, the salaries of the officials and his clerks. The greater part of these is spent on food and stores either from England or shops in the Capital. There is money granted for public works, all the skilled labour will have been sent from the Capital or elsewhere and, although the artisans may spend a great part of their pay locally, they generally have remittances to wives, or money put by to take away with them on the conclusion of their contracts, which is not so spent. Also part of the sums allotted on the same service is spent in such stores as cement, tin roofing, etc., from elsewhere. Yet not only does the tax collected cover all this—a much greater amount than that spent by Government in the district—but the natives appear to have money also with which to buy bugles, scarlet tunics and umbrellas, whilst most of the sums paid for such articles are remitted by the trader and so sent out of the country. Whence, then, comes the surplus of money collected in the district over that disbursed in it, remembering always that it started on nothing?

There are certain factors which partly account for this. First there are the sums spent in the country for the first few years—before any tax was collected or expected; but this must soon come to an end if more is taken than is spent every year. Then there are the sums spent by any

travellers through the district or foreigners, but in out-of-the-way places these are insignificant.

The main factors accounting for the phenomenon are, the sale of ivory, some of which comes from old stores in the hands of the natives, and the presence of a company or two of regular troops quartered in the district, whose pay, although spent there, is chargeable against the Central Government.

Prosperous looking as the situation may appear when the country is described as self-supporting, this description is often misleading. The ivory must come to an end, and, as the country settles down and peace is assured, the troops will be removed elsewhere, and then where is the money to come from to pay the tax?

It was, perhaps, wrong to state that the ivory traders do nothing for the country, for here we see that they are furnishing the natives with the wherewithal to pay their taxes and are contributing towards this temporary air of prosperity. What I wish to insist on though is, that this is not really a satisfactory state of affairs. On a new country being taken over the ivory in it is generally the only available capital, and it is a capital which, in its natural state, draws no interest, and increases, as a rule, infinitely more slowly than it is consumed. In the first few years of administration this capital may be eaten up so as to afford profit to the trader and give the new district a false air of prosperity. It must be realised fully that, when the capital is all spent, the ivory traders go, and so do their trade licences and their trade, if no asset to take its place has been built up. Then the country is in a worse financial position than at the very beginning. The natives have learnt extravagant habits by the ease with which they could make amounts out of all proportion to their mode of living. A naked savage with nothing either before or behind him (as the Swahilis say), but who has happened to have a store of ivory, has been able to buy bugles, a mule, frock-coats, a general's uniform, and all manner of things, and found it

absolutely unnecessary to do any work till his ivory store comes to an end. As he has put by nothing, he is suddenly thrown on his own resources as a wage-earner, which are equal to a few shillings a month. Traders have been falling over each other and giving a false air of commerce to the small station, whilst the official has been penning reports about the wonderful prosperity of the district; and so it goes on for ten or even twenty years. Then, if the eyes of the Government have been shut, the pinch will start. Decline of prosperity, grumbling amongst the natives, the traders off home to India—they, perhaps, having been the only ones with their eyes open and realising that it was necessary to make hay while the sun shone.

In such countries as the Sudan, British East Africa and Uganda, small Greek, Indian or Arab traders are to be found at practically every station. It is generally found advisable to confine such traders' operations strictly to the station, where they are subject to supervision. This is especially the case in far and frontier districts, where it would be difficult to stop them from doing a little gun-running, smuggling and illicit trading. In such countries as the eastern Belgian Congo (till quite recently), Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia the small trader is not found. In the Congo because, until lately, he has been excluded; and in the latter two countries because they are off the beat of the Indian or Greek, or else there are not enough profits to attract them, whilst there is no local race with sufficiently developed commercial instincts to take their place.

In these countries, partly because of the absence of the trader as a circulating medium, and partly because the circulation of money has not been insisted upon, payment in kind and by trade goods has survived in part, and is indeed a necessary adjunct to the somewhat slowly circulating and small supply of money in hand. Each station has or had its supply of trade goods, only a few necessary articles being kept in stock, chiefly calico (white and blue), and these were treated just like cash. A native whose pay

is three shillings a month may not want three shillings, but wishes for nine yards of calico, which is, indeed, the money of the country, and which, if he was not able to obtain at the station, he would have to travel far to get.

Such a system is practically necessary where shops and traders are few and far between.

Trade in the hands of a Government can be used for the eventual good of a country and may be an advantage on the first opening of a new district. It may also be a very bad thing; but this depends on the policy of the Government that exercises the privilege of trading, and not on the question of in whose hands is the trade. The abuses to which such a system may lead have been dealt with in criticisms on the former Congo administration. The advantages of such a system are amply exemplified in the beginnings of the administrations of such countries as North-Eastern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, where development amongst the natives has been slow but sure. His state there has been raised gradually, rather than by forced pressure as in the more exploited parts of Africa.

The chief advantages of keeping a certain amount of trade in the hands of the Government seem to be that the profits in the first place, when the Government is being run at a loss and is sadly in need of funds, can be used to relieve the burden of taxation and to build up assets and interests in the country. Any profits will be more fully and advantageously used in this way than if they went to enrich Indian, Arab or European traders who have no permanent interest or stake in the country.

The Indian has no claim on the country, especially at a time when it is being run at a loss. The Arab might claim to have been first in the field, whilst the Britisher may, as a taxpayer paying for the out-of-pocket expenditure on African administration, consider that he had a right to resent government trade, in competition with him, in a country he helps to support. However, many of the big European trading-houses of the coast are in the hands of foreigners—

Germans and Austrians—whilst the British taxpayer is paying for the best ultimate interests of the country, and not so as to make a few pounds in the present at the expense of the future.

Another objection raised to the use of trade goods, either wholly or partly, in place of money, is that it arrests the development of the native, in his conception of modern trading conditions. The native is being developed all too fast in immaterial matters—those that do not tend towards really elevating his status. In many really important matters he is all too slow to move. It appears to me to be a matter of little concern whether his methods of barter or buying and selling are of the tenth century or of a later date, whilst his manners, customs, modes of life and subsistence are still much as those of prehistoric man.

Lastly, a few notes and regulations for the conduct of petty traders in outlying districts.

They should be induced to bring serviceable articles of merchandise rather than trashy articles of no value, although the native to a certain extent will insist on the latter. For instance, in a district poor in stock they might be induced to bring in cattle to exchange for ivory.

They should be confined in their operations to a government station, and not allowed to wander at will about the country.

Ivory traders should be made to keep up some semblance of a shop, so that they are not ivory traders only but help in other ways to establish trade. This will be a difficult thing to enforce, as they will probably take no interest in anything but ivory. The best way of doing this is to make it a rule that they must have a certain value of stock before being allowed to trade in ivory. The Government will then have some hold on them, if they break rules or orders; whereas the ivory trader who gets up a few articles, exchanges them for tusks and is off again, is difficult to get hold of or punish if he indulges in malpractices.

Ivory traders might also be made to trade for a certain

period as ordinary traders before an ivory trading licence is granted them.

The practice of using agents for the purpose of ivory trading should not be allowed, unless such agents are properly certificated and their employers hold themselves responsible for them. If this is not insisted on, any trader can employ and finance any bad character in a shady undertaking and share the profits if it is successful, whilst if he is discovered the agent disappears into a neighbouring territory, and, being a person without capital or property, leaves nothing to be confiscated, whilst his employer denies flatly that he was acting on his behalf.

Ivory traders should be forbidden to take out elephant-shooting licences or to have elephant guns in their possession.

Each trader should be given a copy of the rules and regulations affecting him, either in the Protectorate in general or a District or Province in special.

Traders may have to pay, (i) trading licences ; (ii) ivory licences ; (iii) rent for the plot of land on which their shop stands.

In a new country, where the transport is by portage or otherwise limited, there should be an arrangement between Government and traders as to the supply of facilities by the former. For the same reason trading licences should only be given to as many traders as the Government is competent to supply with transport sufficient for their effects.

CHAPTER XV

STOCK AND STOCK-OWNERS

THE consideration of stock is not, as a rule, an important item when dealing with the usual agricultural African. For they generally have but little, although they prize highly what they have, and so have little or none to dispose of.

The only points to consider are the safeguarding from disease of whatever there is, and the consideration of whether it is possible or advisable to introduce more from elsewhere in payment for labour.

Putting aside such healthy uplands as support stock-raising tribes, it will be found that the great bulk of Central Africa is unhealthy for stock ; it does not thrive well and is scourged with various diseases.

The reason that many agricultural peoples are poor in cattle is probably, not because of their agricultural habits, but because they cannot raise sufficient head to support them entirely. It is probably the loss of cattle, through disease or war, which has forced many tribes to take seriously to agriculture as a means of subsistence, rather than the easier life of cattle-herding. In these poorly stocked countries, cattle, sheep, and goats are correspondingly set much store by, and the people will often willingly come to work for a sheep or goat where the offer of money, clothes or anything else would fail to tempt them.

A good agricultural country generally goes hand in hand with the keeping of stock on a small scale, a scale sufficient to benefit the land but not sufficient to make people desert agricultural enterprise in favour of cattle-raising. Cattle,

and subsequently goats, break pathways into the bush and long grass and so prepare fresh areas for being opened up to cultivation. They graze down the grass and keep it short on fallow ground and so permit of its being cleared again, when required, with but little trouble. Above all, they manure the land and prevent its becoming impoverished.

Amongst the majority of Central African peoples the introduction of a market for, or the payment of labour in, sheep and goats would be much appreciated. It is just this market that is often so hard to get; the difficulty of buying stock in any quantity, and the expense and difficulties of transport and the mortality in passing through unhealthy areas, is sufficient to make the experiment costly and unsuccessful. Unless, indeed, there is a stock-owning tribe in an adjacent district, whose taxes are paid in kind, it is generally outside the powers of an official in a far district to arrange such a market for his people.

If the Central Government would co-operate in any such scheme, make the necessary arrangements and be prepared to stand the loss, if any, it would indeed be a benefit to many outstations. Especially would this be so at the commencement of administration in a new country, before the people had learned other wants which would induce them to come and work for payment. As a rule, however, the supply is so small that the Central Government requires all it can get to meet its own requirements for a meat supply and export to coast towns. It seems to me that a Central Government, nevertheless, often looks at the matter from a rather short-sighted point of view, by aiming at export directly there is a surplus in any one part of the country. Sometimes the surplus from one little district is exported out of the country, whilst other parts would be greatly benefited if this stock were diverted in their direction. To export—before all parts of the country capable of maintaining a head of cattle, sheep or goats, without prejudice to other industries, are supplied—is to deplete the country of a possible future asset. Not only this, but these other parts are often willing to pay

quite as good a price as the market to which they are exported, whilst the stock involved still remains in the country as part of its capital, and forms a valuable adjunct to agricultural enterprise.

Export of cattle is generally restricted to males and so here no harm is done ; but with goats and sheep numbers of females are often sent out, and this is very false economy.

The chief diseases which affect cattle in tropical Africa are : *Rinderpest*, the most far-reaching and scourging in its effects, as it sweeps over vast areas, killing off perhaps ninety per cent of the cattle.

Nagana or *Trypanosoma Brucei*, carried by tsetse fly, the most insistent, as, once it reaches a district, the infection appears to remain.

Red water, or *coast fever*, concerning which little appears to be known except that it is communicated from one to another.

The precautions to take against rinderpest are strict quarantine of infected cattle, inoculation, destruction of sick animals, and an attempt to isolate areas to which infection has not yet spread. This disease spreads with the game, and kills off wholesale such animals as buffaloes, kudus and elands. As there is no means of controlling the movements of these, there is the possibility of their carrying infection far and wide to be considered.

Red water fever appears to affect certain areas¹ more than others : it can only be dealt with by quarantine.

Nagana is a very hopeless thing to deal with, once infection reaches a place where the conditions are favourable. The favourable conditions required for it are the presence of the tsetse, uncleared bush and, according to some, the presence of buffaloes. By some it is thought that only fly of the morsitans varieties can carry infection, whilst others think it possible that sleeping-sickness tsetse also

¹ Concerning such areas the following extract from East Africa Protectorate 1911-12 report is of interest:—

“It is practically impossible to eradicate the disease in all these infected areas, and the policy now advised is that of exposing to infection all calves born in these districts, with, in most cases, subsequent immunity.”

may harbour the *trypanosome*. Even if all the cattle of the district were to die of the disease or be removed elsewhere the infection does not of necessity die out, as it may be carried on in the blood of game or perhaps even other animals.

The greatest precautions must be exercised to prevent the movement of cattle from a known infected area to an uninfected area containing fly.

Tsetse have their good years and their bad years, seasons of the year when they are numerous and seasons when they are scarce, or almost non-existent, in any given locality, just the same as other insects. Moreover, they may never be very numerous on a certain road or route which a traveller might take in passing through a country, whilst they may be numerous in adjacent villages and on the banks of streams, where transport animals or cattle would naturally be taken to graze or water. It is evident, then, that it is very rash to declare an area fly-free unless the most diligent search has been made in every spot, at every season during several years.

Of other diseases:—*Pleuro-pneumonia*, a contagious cattle disease, is dealt with by quarantine and inoculation. *Sheep Scab* is injurious to the wool and is treated by dipping.

Let us now consider stock-raising amongst (i) settlers and planters, and (ii) pastoral tribes.

Amongst the former sufficient cows are generally required to supply their owners with milk and butter. The native cow gives but a poor supply of milk, so three or four times as many are required as would be with European cows.

In countries in which there is a considerable white population there may be openings for dairy farming on a small scale, whilst there will always be a local market for the sale of cattle. However, in no place in tropical Africa would it appear to be worth the settler's while to devote his whole energies to stock-rearing on a large scale, an industry which would only become profitable if a big trade was established. The difficulties and expense of transport are generally so great and the risk of losing a large proportion of the stock

from disease so serious, so little is at present known about such diseases, and precautionary measures are so difficult to enforce, that it would be as well for him to invest his capital in an industry less venturesome.

If native cattle are bred it will be difficult to compete locally with the output of pastoral people, whereas if good cattle are to be transported from Europe or elsewhere the capital required and the risk incurred will be correspondingly greater. There appears to be no country in tropical Africa that could seriously compete in an export trade with such a country as Madagascar, in which island there are countless herds close to the coast, uninfected by the usual African cattle diseases, and with every condition in their favour. Moreover, these cattle are bigger, healthier and much superior to the usual, small African cattle.

As regards stock amongst pastoral peoples, let us first consider the conditions prevailing amongst them. In many ways they are very difficult to administer. They are generally nomadic, or partly nomadic, in habits, which makes it hard to control them. Their manners and customs are, as a rule, the most primitive, and yet their organisation and laws are often much above the average. Nothing will induce them to change their manner of living in the smallest degree, and so, although living under the rule of the white man, they learn little or nothing of his civilisation. After many years of occupation of a country they are generally found to be in just the same state as when they were originally met with.

Cattle people are less nomadic than camel breeders, and sometimes live in fixed villages, in which case they are comparatively easy to deal with. The nomadic state is chiefly developed through scarcity of water, and consequently poverty of grazing at certain seasons. It is thus that in dry camel countries the nomadic instinct is found in its fullest development, since it is necessary to trek far in search of water and grazing, and to move on again directly there is a scarcity. Where there is abundant water and

good grazing for cattle, tribes may be found living in fixed dwelling-places and even indulging in agriculture as well as herding. Amongst cattle people all the laws of the community are generally founded on cows. A marriageable girl is worth so many cows, a life or a limb so many, sacrifices of oxen are made at certain seasons, or at certain ceremonies, or to invoke rain, peace, success in arms; every function and ceremony, religious or civil, has its quota of oxen and cows for sacrifice, slaughter, or gift laid down.

With cattle-owning tribes a tax or tribute in kind is generally found most satisfactory and easily raised, as the organisation of such peoples is generally very efficient; it may be only necessary to assess the amount to be paid and to leave the collection in the hands of the chiefs.

Such peoples are generally of a very independent character and, although there is often no difficulty in getting them to pay a tax, they pay it rather from the point of view that it is a fee, or bribe to be left alone. It is to them more of an acknowledgment of the kindness of Government to allow them to adhere to their old life and customs, rather than a return for the benefits of civilisation and administration brought to them. All they desire of the white man is that he should leave them alone, to live as they and their forefathers have always lived. Since it is very difficult to do anything else with them and they are generally well disciplined and fairly law-abiding people, and appear happiest if not interfered with, this is generally the best policy to employ towards them.

Amongst such people it is useless to expect any great openings for trade, but they have one great, available asset amongst them, and that is skins and hides, which in the ordinary course of events, before European occupation, were useless, or merely used as sleeping mats and hut roofs. The sale or barter of these can generally be fostered until it assumes quite an appreciable industry. There is always a good market for hides, most countries export a certain amount and some make quite a profitable business out of

them. The true camel-breeding nomads, like the Somali and the Rendile, are still harder to deal with than the semi-nomads. Nothing, it would seem, would ever change their order of living or instil into them what we call civilisation.

They have developed their own kind of government, after a manner well suited to them, and as there are, as a rule, no serious crimes amongst such people, and they live on the whole a peaceful, well-ordered existence, there appears to be no reason why we should unduly interfere with them. They have their little tribal wars, raids, and loots amongst each other, it is true, but without these life would be very dull. As a rule, not much harm is done in these, and it would seem rather ultra-humanitarian if a European nation like ourselves, who have lost many thousands of human lives in one battle on a single day, were to step in and say, "These tribal wars—in which an average of one old woman and a boy get killed per annum—are very wicked and we must put a stop to them."

When any real oppression takes place, such as the advent of the rifle amongst one tribe or section, or the springing up of a mahdi or mullah, or aggression by a more powerful people, it is then perhaps our duty to step in and protect the weaker, or put an end to a reign of tyranny; otherwise no administration is usually attempted. There is probably a camel corps or mounted infantry whose duty it is to stop the worst of the tribal fighting, or arrest notoriously bad characters, outlaws or robbers. For the rest, there are usually coast or boundary towns which are occupied, and the Government derives its revenue almost entirely from customs and trade in such articles as gum and skins, almost the only things that come from such countries.

The improvement of the breeds of existing stock is rather outside the province of the ordinary official or the settler. Anything in this line is generally done by experiments conducted by experts employed by Government.

Such experiments are the breeding up of better milking cows, better fleeced sheep and angora-haired goats

by a series of crosses between extraneous and indigenous animals.

One often hears the question asked, " Why do not people introduce home poultry ? " The answer is simple enough. Although the native chicken is skinny and small it has the advantage of being very cheap. It is found in practically every village and it requires no special food or care, but just picks up the chaff and any grains which fall on the ground by accident. Home poultry, although infinitely preferable for eating purposes, requires to be brought out, fed and cared for, and protected from snakes and small carnivorous animals. Roosts and runs must be built for them, food bought for them and natives engaged to tend them. To sell them for profit it would then be necessary to ask a price five or ten times greater than the native chicken, and it is doubtful if many would buy them at such a price.

Ducks, turkeys and geese are seldom found amongst natives, and so it might pay to rear these in a country with many European residents, or they might with advantage be introduced amongst the natives in certain districts.

CHAPTER XVI

TRANSPORT

THE question of transport is one of the most difficult problems to deal with in Africa, except in such countries as parts of the Sudan, Congo and Portuguese East Africa, which are situated on the banks of navigable rivers like the Nile, the Congo and the Zambezi. Where such rivers exist, a comparatively cheap and serviceable transport can be quickly inaugurated.

River transport, however, is fraught with certain difficulties, and so, although cheaper than land transport, it is much more expensive than ocean transport. Special types of steamers must be devised to suit the shallow state of the river at certain seasons ; special forms of furnaces must be used, adapted to wood fires, a wasteful form of fuel which supplies little energy and requires a considerable amount of labour to collect.

At present there is plenty of wood to be obtained, but, as time goes on the great clearings now in progress will extend farther and farther. The small, stunted trees, which are generally the only ones available, will be exhausted in the immediate vicinity of the river and supplies will have to be fetched from farther inland. It does not seem as if provision for the future was being made on Africa's great rivers. Some new form of fuel will have to be devised or planting of suitable trees should proceed hand in hand with clearing and cutting. It ought to be possible to find some tree of economic value which would be a source of profit besides a fuel supply.

It does not seem likely that without any attention the

usual stunted trees of the river banks will spring up again in time to meet the future want. In matters like these one must look ten or twenty years ahead, and in that time, if the country is much opened up, there will probably be a greatly increased traffic and demand for fuel. In Central Africa, once a forest area has been cleared, its site quickly becomes covered with tall rank grass which, when it dies, is subject to the yearly bush fires. These fires kill most saplings in their first year, and it is only a few kinds of very hardy and generally useless trees that are able to finally accumulate enough strength and sap to live through a fire. One cannot look without apprehension on the ultimate fuel supply of such a poorly wooded river as, for instance, the White Nile.

There is another aspect of river transport which I cannot help noticing. A big navigable river affords an easy means of opening up the country through which it passes. Transport is quickly and easily arranged for by placing suitable steamers on the different reaches; and any falls or rapids cutting off one reach from another are, as a rule, soon circumvented by sections of rail or other forms of transport. This having been done, a period of stagnation seems to succeed. The country is opened up so far as the immediate banks of the river are concerned, but inland from it all remains unknown or unexploited. It is often long before any serious attempt is made to make even passable roads or tracks into the interior, and supply the already organised river transport with feeders from either side. A study of the conditions prevailing inland from Africa's great rivers will show that the countries involved are often more backward and less under control than many others which have not the advantage of having a great navigable river running through their midst.

Putting aside Nature's great transport roads—the rivers—let us consider the methods of transport in other parts and their development, beginning with the humble porter and ending with the railway.

On a country in Central Africa being first occupied, there are, as a rule, no transport facilities whatever. There are no roads, only crooked little native paths choked with grass and undergrowth and full of pitfalls for the feet of the unwary. The best description of such a path is perhaps one which occurred in a report on Southern Nigeria, which describes the native road as "a drain shut in on both sides by tall grass and bush."

Along such tracks as these the only possible form of transport is that by native porter. Except in a few parts, such as in German East Africa, in which a race of professional porters has sprung up, the carrying of loads is far from popular. The natives of the country must be impressed into service as transport, failing this it would be perfectly impossible to occupy the country. Government stores must be got up, there are the official's private food stores and effects, the material for forming stations, necessaries for police and regulars, and a variety of other things. One of the first considerations of the official is to open what are by courtesy called roads, first between the next station and his own, and next from his station to the most important centres of his district.

These roads are really only hoed paths from which the grass and bush have been cleared. They are impracticable for anything but human transport, except perhaps pack animals, and there is no attempt at levelling, metalling, giving the road a camber or draining it; for such work would require supervision and also involve much time and expense. The worst of the streams are, perhaps, bridged over with rough structures of poles; these are quickly demolished by termites and have to be renewed yearly.

The purposes such roads serve are merely to shorten the winding native track and to enable the pedestrian to proceed without having to force his way against encumbering vegetation. It, moreover, enables him to see before him and avoid the stones and holes, whereas on the grass-

choked native track he sometimes proceeds for long distances without being able to see his own feet. Another purpose these roads serve, and this is a great consideration to the European although unimportant to the native, they save the pedestrian from getting wet through from the dew off the grass during a morning march, which is, as a rule, inevitable on the native track.

It is as well for the official to bear clearly in mind the purposes these roads serve. They cannot, in their present state, be used by anything but pedestrian traffic, for the reason that they are too soft for carts and, moreover, there are probably no vehicles within hundreds of miles. Only the centre of the road is used and the native porters would proceed in file whether it was one foot or whether it was a hundred yards in breadth. Such is their custom and they are not easily broken of it.

So there is no use in making these paths any broader than is absolutely necessary, as to do so is not only a sheer waste of energy but enhances the weariness of the traveller owing to the greater glare on a sunny day off the broader surface. So trying is this that many people actually prefer the native track for a long march, in spite of all its disadvantages.

The breadth of the path, then, should be only sufficient to prevent the grass and bush at the side of the road from bending over and obstructing the actual track in its centre.

As at each clearing of the track, which generally has to be done twice a year, the grass and weeds are hoed up and thrown to one side, together with the sods of earth clinging to their roots, the actual road soon becomes lower than the land on either side of it. This circumstance causes water to stand in the road long after it has dried elsewhere, and also tends to convert any gradient into a water-course draining the surrounding country. The running water still further lowers the level and makes pits and holes, breaking up the surface.

I have never heard a suitable suggestion for dealing with

this contingency, except banking and draining the road, a work out of all proportion to the needs of a country at this early stage or to the funds generally available. The only course to pursue, when the road gets too bad, is to hoe a second one parallel to it, or to take another route to its destination. As the road becomes absolutely overgrown with vegetation and indistinguishable from the surrounding country a year after it has been cleared, there is little difference in the labour involved, whether the same or a new stretch of road is hoed.

Having made his rough roads and inaugurated his porter transport, the official immediately begins to consider in what manner he may eventually better his communications and improve his transport, by disposing of the porter in favour of some other service. The reasons for which he is anxious to do away with the porter may be :—

(i) That the natives of the country dislike the work.

(ii) That this consideration, and the desire not to impose too much on the native, very greatly limits the amount of stores he can bring up and also the weight and bulk of any given article. This consideration often seriously affects his own comfort and the well-being of the station.

(iii) That whilst a great number of the natives of the country are being used as porters, they are not available for other work, and little advance can be expected in other directions, unless the district is a very populous one.

Before leaving the subject of porters, however, let us consider the method of checking by way-bills the loads carried, and thus the stores received and despatched from a station, referred to in Chapter XII.

Let us suppose that A. is the headquarters of a province having outstations B. and C. which are supplied with stores from A.

At A. there is a block of blank way-bills on which goods are sent to B. and another in use for goods sent to C. The way-bills in each book are numbered consecutively and each number is in triplicate. Station B. has also its A. book of

blank way-bills, as also its C. book, provided there is any communication between those stations.

A. wishes to send a caravan of stores to B. and so makes out a way-bill, let us say No. 101, the next one in his book. As it is in triplicate he inserts two carbon sheets and then enters, on the original, in one column the number and description of the stores sent ; in another the number of porters and the name and chief of the headman in charge of them ; in another the date of despatch ; and in another the date to which the party has been rationed.

Then, of the three copies of No. 101 way-bill, A. tears out two, puts them in an envelope, gives it to the headman and sends the party off, whilst he retains the third copy in his book. Now if the way-bills in the envelope are lost, the headman or porters run away, or anything is missed or destroyed, A. can always refer to his copy and find out that headman so-and-so of such-and-such a chief was responsible for the party, and he can also see exactly what they took.

On arrival at their destination, B. receives the two copies of way-bill No. 101, checks the stores and signs both copies, making a note in red ink in a special column should there be any deficiency. One copy he posts back to A. and one copy he files in a file marked "Way-bills from A." He also keeps a file "Way-bills from C." as well as his own way-bill books "to A." and "to C." and also receipted, duplicate way-bills returned from A. and C.

On entering No. 101 in his file, B. looks to see if the last number was No. 100. If it is 99 he knows that for some reason or other 100 has gone astray, and immediately notifies A.

B. has now in his files every single article that has been received at his station, and also in his way-bill books, "to A." and "to C.," every article that has been despatched from it. From these he can always bring up his store ledgers to date, whenever he wishes to—either monthly, quarterly or yearly, depending on how often he sends in returns.

A. receives back duplicate of No. 101 receipted and then his books are clear of the articles on it. He can check his store books any time he likes by the way-bills and knows from them exactly what has been sent to and received from each of his outstations B. and C.

On No. 101's receipted copy returning from B., A. enters it in a file "Way-bill receipts from B." He also has a file "Way-bill receipts from C."

If, however, after due time has elapsed, No. 101 does not return receipted, he informs B. about it and asks him to trace the stores, at the same time sending him a copy of the original.

The consecutive numbers of each book of way-bills makes a check of receipts easy as any missing number is at once noticed.

The next step to porter transport is pack transport, either donkeys, mules, camels or bullocks. In most parts of tropical Africa the country is not suited to donkeys and mules; there are none in the country, and the mortality amongst them, if imported, is so great that the experiment is too costly to be feasible. There is tsetse, horse-sickness, and all manner of ills to which they are subject; moreover, it involves great cruelty to entrust such animals to the tender mercies of natives of the country, who do not know how to load them, feed or look after them.

A pack animal can often use the same type of path as a porter, and in some countries it has been found possible to use pack donkeys and bullocks to help out the porter difficulty.

The advantages of pack over porter transport are: That one man can look after several animals and one animal can carry the load of two porters, so much fewer men are required for the service.

That they do not require so much food as porters, that they are always available for use when fit, that there are only the wages of the transport men to pay and the initial expense of buying the animals and making good losses. So,

where the mortality is not great, this form of transport is cheaper than porter.

One of the minor drawbacks is that these animals cannot carry such articles as corrugated iron, tables, or any peculiar shaped article. This limitation does not apply to such an extent to the camel, as the latter can carry anything in reason. In camel countries there is seldom any great development of traffic, and the camel is generally the best form of transport it is possible to have there under existing conditions, so it suffices for all practical needs of such a country.

To return to the more tropical parts of Africa however, if it is decided to inaugurate pack transport, it should be put on sound lines from the first. Every care should be taken to get suitable headmen, who understand their work, and to have the animals examined at each end of the stage along which they ply. Anyone found guilty of ill-treating, overloading or neglecting any of the beasts under his charge should be severely punished. It is only in this way that moderately humane treatment of the animals can be expected.

It will often become part of an official's duties to superintend transport animals and arrangements, although he may know little or nothing about it. Even where there is a European in charge of transport, he cannot be everywhere at once, and so any official who notices ill-treatment of animals, or carelessness on the part of the native drivers, should make a point of correcting them. For this reason it is advisable that all should have a slight knowledge of the care and management of animals. A few of the most important points to notice are: Animals should be watered three times a day *before feeding*—to water after feeding may result in colic. A full draught of cold water should only be given to an animal when hot if it is to be groomed immediately afterwards, or continue being exercised. As a rule it should be allowed to cool before being watered. On the march, however, if it is hot, the animals should be

watered frequently, so long as they are to move on afterwards.

When saddles are removed a sack should be thrown over the loins if the animals are hot. Sweaty backs must not be exposed to hot sun or wind. Backs should be smacked on off-saddling, so as to restore the circulation. Also at this time animals should be encouraged to roll where the ground is suitable, that is, sandy and not stony. After about an hour's march a halt should be made and all harness inspected, also every possible part of friction should be carefully examined and galls looked for.

If a gall commences to appear a leather pad or piece of sheep skin should be used to keep pressure off the spot. Galls should be treated with salt and water or alum after the day's work is over.

When carts or waggons halt on an incline, stones or props should be placed behind or in front of the wheels. Animals suffering from galls should be exercised, but the galls should be covered over to prevent flies or birds getting at them.

When a sore back appears, remove the pressure from the spot by folded blankets, cutting a hole in a numnah, or removing some stuffing from the part of the saddle immediately over the spot.

For broken knees wash and keep a wet rag tied over. For kicks, foment with hot water.

If an animal goes lame examine its foot for a stone. If no stone has been picked up apply cold water bandage on or above the fetlock.

For a cough or discharge from the nostril steam the nose and then dry the head thoroughly. Keep the nostril clean.

When the animal is hot, groom from the heels upwards. If there is no time for any other grooming, the heels and legs should at least be dried after a day's work.

If any trembling is noticed after watering groom vigorously under the belly and lead the animal about. Feed, if possible, before starting in the morning and after grooming in the evening. In very hot climates, however, nothing

should interfere with a very early morning start, and so the animal should generally be fed at the mid-day halt, about 9 or 10 o'clock.

On unharnessing, all steel work should be cleaned at once with an oily rag.

A picket-rope for mules may be fastened between the wheels of waggons, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the ground, and the animals tied to this. Bad kickers should be given heel ropes. For donkeys the picket-rope may be fastened to pegs driven into the ground. Where there are trees the rope may be fastened to these.

After picketing, the animals should be smoked by making little fires of grass or dung up wind of them.

The load of a pack mule is 160 lbs., and of a donkey 120 lbs., both exclusive of saddle.

For a camel the load is 240 lbs. to 400 lbs., and even more than this for certain kinds. For the usual African camel 240 lbs. to 300 lbs. is quite sufficient for a long march, where the conditions are trying and water scarce. When the animals can be watered daily and the "going" is good, more may be carried.

Animals should be allowed to go their own pace and not be unduly hurried. There should be facilities at either end of the stages for attending to sick animals and keeping them till they are well again.

Pack transport is, however, at best only a makeshift until some better kind can be inaugurated.

The next step is to make a real road, and the official will generally have to show that a considerable amount of traffic is to be expected before he will be able to get a grant for expenditure on this account. Although labour is cheap enough in Africa it is utterly unskilled. A road requires much skilled labour to lay out, level, bridge, drain and metal, and is a costly undertaking.

Owing to the long distances that generally prevail between stations and the few inhabitants per square mile, in the greater part of Africa, the necessary labour is often

difficult to obtain. The initial expense is great and there is also the recurring expense of keeping it up. Noxious vegetation takes root and springs up so quickly in the track, and the tropical rains and floods are so heavy, that to keep a road up to the mark requires constant attention. If it passes through a poorly populated district the greater part of the available energies of the people of that district will be required to keep it in repair. Probably stones have to be brought from far, there are swamps to be crossed, and this means draining them and keeping the drains clear. Two-wheeled bullock carts can sometimes be plied with advantage on quite rough roads, but anything heavier requires a well-metalled road. Having constructed a road, a great mistake is often made by getting too heavy waggons to work on it. It is often forgotten that conditions in tropical Africa are not the same as in South Africa, and that whereas in the latter country a heavy waggon can proceed over the veldt and negotiate difficult spruits, it does not follow that in Central Africa such waggons will be suitable. The dry, short-grass veldt is very different from the oceans of mud found in Central Africa. Moreover, in the open country the waggon can pick a new track each time, instead of following the same rut as those that have proceeded, as is inevitable on a cleared track through a thick bush country. Again, the South African waggons are, in their own land, manipulated by skilled hands and drawn by larger beasts than are found in the tropical parts of the continent.

A heavy waggon soon cuts up the best road that can be made in Central Africa. Owing to climatic conditions much loss is usually to be expected amongst the draught oxen, whilst in tsetse districts it is practically impossible to use animals at all. In the near future it is probable that mechanical transport will figure largely in the traffic of Central Africa. Even now it has been introduced in Uganda, the Gold Coast, and Nyasaland ; whilst considerations of sleeping sickness and the inadvisability of moving cattle or animals about the country will probably necessitate it

taking the place of animal transport in many places where the latter is now being used. A common error with motor vehicles, as with ox-waggon, is to have them heavier than the local roads are fit to support. The chief reason for this is to try and obviate the necessity for petrol, the supply of which may be difficult, by devising cumbersome wood-burning engines. What appear to be really wanted are light trolleys with the weight distributed over a considerable surface.

Lastly in the order of transport comes the railway. This is, as a rule, so outside the period of advancement to which any tropical African Protectorate has attained, and so out of proportion to the financial position of the country, that it is quite out of the question for it to attempt its construction on its own resources or credit.

Even after it has been made, a railroad is often a losing concern for a number of years, and it is only when the advanced state which it has initiated has had time to develop that a profit is shown. However, an apparent loss over a railway's working expenses, during the first years of its existence, is often as misleading as the apparent profits on the telegraph (see Chapter XIII).

A railway is the very best present that the home Government can make to an African dependency, as, provided that there was the slightest reason in the first place to warrant its construction, it will be an everlasting asset and a pride and joy to it. Trade and prosperity follow very surely in the wake of a railway, although it may seem to be rather putting the cart before the horse, and as if the railway should follow the trade and prosperity. Although the profits may not at first cover working expenses, this does not fairly state the case, as there are a thousand and one byways over which the presence of a railway profits a country. There is the initial outlay on the railway, a great part of which is spent in the country on wages of labourers and purchase of food, whilst the sums so expended commence the circulation of money in a country which probably

before that had practically none. Then, when made, there are all the staff and employés spending money in the country; there are the travellers brought to the country who spend money in licences, customs, wages of servants and many other things. There is the advertisement to the country, and this attracts visitors and planters—the latter to develop it. There is the increased area over which planters can settle and still have transport facilities for exporting their produce. There are the increased Customs receipts caused by this, and the army of small traders and hangers-on who are attracted by the railway and open shops and start trade at every station. There is also the increased transport facilities for getting up government stores and proceeding with any schemes on hand.

Lastly, a wise scheme of freights can help on the industries the Government wishes advanced, whilst an industry considered inadvisable or harmful can be checked by making prohibitive rates.¹

However, the countries that are ripe for railways are few and the countries that can afford them, without help, practically *nil*, except where rich mines have been discovered and a company-paid line run to them. The Cape Railway has been pushed on in this way from mine to mine, till it has now reached the rich Katanga country.

For countries that show no immediate prospect of large returns on a railway, countries far afield and utterly undeveloped, an eventual solution of the transport problem will, perhaps, be found in an adaptation of the mono-rail. The advantages of this are the cheapness of making the track and an ability to surmount with ease natural ob-

¹ One reads in the Annual Consular Report on German South-West Africa, 1911: "Maize is also very cheap. The railway rates were so high as to restrict the market for agricultural purposes to Windhuk," viz. it was not possible to export from a farther distance inland. Whether it was by accident or design I do not know, but if it has given the planters an impetus to produce something more valuable it will have served a good purpose. It seems to me that inland planters who plant maize are wasting their time, when they might be doing something which would compensate them more adequately for the expenses of transport.

stacles. The great disadvantage is that only a comparatively small quantity of freight can be carried at each journey. Such a service, then, should be suitable for a country to which a line of transport is urgently required but from which no great bulk of trade is to be immediately expected.

CHAPTER XVII

LABOUR

A CERTAIN amount of work for the State is necessary to maintain any form of government. The first needs for labour in a new country are, the transport of stores to stations, the clearing of the roads, and various other services. As the country progresses, if any advance whatever is made, labour for a number of different purposes will have to be called for: houses must be built, roads and bridges made, labourers found for experimental plantations and other works.

If the natives of the country are unwilling to work for the Government, it is sometimes possible to introduce willing labour from elsewhere. This will probably involve offering a higher wage to the imported labourers than that which prevails in the country from which they come, so as to induce them to leave their homes. There is, moreover, their food for the journey and their transport to be considered.

As a rule, the African native is of a stay-at-home disposition. Although he may be willing to work in his own district he is often filled with alarm at the thought of being sent to work elsewhere.

On the other hand, some tribes take very readily to the idea of working for a wage and will go far in search of it, as the Wanyamwezi of East Africa or the Atonga of Nyasaland; the latter go down to the South African mines in large numbers.

There is the greatest divergence in the attitude of different

tribes towards the question of labour for the white man. Whereas with some tribes practically every able-bodied man is anxious at some period or other to work for a wage, with other tribes nothing will induce them to offer their services; labour must be forced, or brought from elsewhere, for necessary works. As the attitude of the native on this question will affect the policy, the workings of administration and the progress of the country, it will be as well to compare these two types and consider how it is best to deal with them.

The characteristics of the type that is anxious to work for the white man are generally: a certain independence of character and consequently often a poor or ineffectual tribal organisation; a desire to wear clothes, which is generally the primary inducement to become a wage earner, and also a certain desire for progress and advancement. Other inducements to leave the native village are: unsatisfactory conditions prevailing in the country, either a too populous district, unfertility of the soil, the inability to supply themselves with some want, or a growing tendency to throw off old superstitions, witchcraft and other trammels of the former savage life. Here it may be remarked that the savage in his native condition, instead of being free and unfettered as is generally supposed, is often more bound down by customs, etiquette and observances than a modern slave of fashion or society.

The conditions which prevail amongst the other type, are: a very primitive form of life, but one in which there is often a very high state of organisation and subserviency to chiefs, a state in which every want is locally supplied, a state of great richness and prosperity, comparatively speaking, one in which the people are perfectly self-contained, have no intercourse or desire for intercourse with other tribes, and in which the people are intensely conservative in their habits and mode of living.

There is another type of the non-labour-producing people, and that is an absolutely lazy people who will

do no work, either for themselves or others, whereas the type we have just depicted above is one willing to work hard enough at their own cultivation or whatever they have been accustomed to, but not as wage earners under the white man.

Now let us compare the progress of the country and administration with these two different types of natives. With the first we have labour ready to hand for all public and progressive works the Government is able to undertake. Industries spring up, and there are always labourers available for plantations, factories or any commercial undertaking, public or private. If there is anything in the country at all it soon attains a prosperous state, whilst the natives are brought in touch with the white man. Missions, schools and classes for technical instruction, experimental plantations and farms quickly spring up, and there is no lack of pupils and apprentices. In fact, the country and the native quickly go ahead, but there are certain disadvantages connected with this state of affairs. Being quickly brought in contact with the outer world, wages are apt to rise rapidly, and the same cause often tends to introduce and increase European vices. However, against this one must admit that native vices, malpractices and superstitions tend to die out. The great drawback, from an administrative point of view, is that the power of the native chiefs is quickly lost, and the white official has personally to control and keep in order large numbers of natives emancipated from their tribal life. The constant ebb and flow of natives to and from the civilised centres, that have arisen, and the moving nature of the population, make it difficult for the official with his small staff to maintain law and order so effectually as he could at a time when the chiefs were held directly responsible for all their people.

Tribal and village life tend to die out and, if any pressure is brought to bear on an individual by his chief, it is easy enough for him to escape by going off to some town or

plantation and offering his services. These labourers, after a period of service, return less and less to their villages. Village life with its restrictions and limitations has become irksome to them. They have, during their periods of service, learnt wants which cannot be supplied in their old homes. Money is now a necessity to them, and they must work with the white man to obtain it. Their chief's word ceases to have any weight with them, they regard the elders and headmen as uncivilised and uneducated, and they are unwilling to submit to their judgments.

Consequently, the old and natural organisation of the country becomes disintegrated and it is necessary to build up a new one, under the direct rule of the white man, to meet the changed conditions. This is not easily done fast enough to meet the requirements of the situation ; but, of course, this process may come about more slowly or more quickly according to the characteristics of the people and the conditions of the country. Sometimes a whole country or district rapidly passes from the old tribal system of rule to one in which the majority of the people are under white masters or living in townships.¹

In areas inhabited by people of the second and non-labouring type, and where it is not possible or advisable to import labourers, it is nevertheless necessary to requisition a certain amount of labour, however much all public works and progressive schemes are cut down. If the people themselves are otherwise hardworking and deserving of encouragement, the best solution of the difficulty is to make the country into a native reserve and abandon all idea of im-

¹ From the Annual Consular Report on German South-West Africa for 1911, it would appear that the total population of the effectively administered portion is about 70,000, whilst the number of locally enlisted labourers serving white masters is about 20,000. If we exclude from this latter total about 3500 Ovambo, who presumably come from the unadministered part of the colony, we are still left with 16,500. If these figures are correct, it means that practically every able-bodied male in the administered area is in white men's service. Even so, the demand for labour is much greater than the supply ; labour is imported from British South Africa and Ovambo and Caprivi, the areas not at present effectively administered are now being opened up to extensive recruiting. The population of these areas is estimated at 120,000.

mediate and great progress. Even then, if the work of the Government is to be carried on, labour cannot be altogether dispensed with and pressure must be brought to bear on the people to produce it.

Where this unwillingness to work on the part of the native exists, the official has a natural hesitation to force their labour, and so many useful and progressive works, which would undoubtedly make for the good of the country, may be abandoned. We have had cause to complain of forced labour in other states, labour which has been enforced in a manner which is, in our opinion, inconsistent with the principles of civilised nations. For this reason we have had, perhaps, to be ourselves rather too careful in this matter, lest we incur the charge of following the practices we condemn.

Our policy in this respect is controlled by the home Government and it is not always realised that in many places the very existence of a Government and its officials is dependent on a certain amount of forced labour.

Having decided that in countries where the natives will not produce any labour it is necessary to force them to do so to a certain extent, the next question is: to what extent? We have divided the non-labour-producing natives into two classes: the ones who are industrious in their own interests, but who will not offer their services to Government or as paid labourers, and the others absolutely incorrigible and worthless. Of the former one would say—if they are worthy of encouragement, and other conditions are suitable—put them in native reserves. This will minimise the amount of labour that will be necessary for them to produce and will give them an opportunity of developing on their own lines, and expending their energies on the things that they will work at. Of the second class, if they will neither work for the Government nor for themselves, they are worthless, and a menace to the community, and so should be made to work for the former.

To lay down certain broad principles as to the circum-

stances under which forced labour is legitimate, one might say: That the Government is founded with the chief objects of bringing justice and equity to the native, suppressing abuses, and introducing law and order. As further objects the Government has in view the development of the country and the raising of the status of the native.

If it really effects these objects, then it is only fair that the native should render some return to the Government or contribute in some degree towards its support. The most effectual support he can offer to the Government is a certain proportion of his time spent in labour, but labour for which he will be paid.

Now if this labour is spent on government works and the development of the country, it would appear that such are legitimate objects for which to enforce it. If, however, labour was forced for the purpose of enriching private individuals, or on works which do nothing to develop the country, and are not of urgent necessity to the existence of the Government, then it would come under the head of illegitimate forced labour. Again, if labour is forced without payment being given for it, it comes under a different class to that which is forced but paid labour. However, even unpaid forced labour is not of necessity iniquitous. Circumstances may arise, even in fairly advanced countries, where it will be obviously for the public weal to use such labour until some substitute for it can be found.

The Egyptian *corvée* system, which has now been abolished, was an example of this, and, with all the desire in the world, it was found impossible to abolish it off-hand without slowly building up a system to take its place.

Roughly the facts were these. Every year it was necessary to clean out and repair all the channels which supplied and drained away again the irrigation water so vital to the country. In the old days it was only by forced labour that it was possible to accomplish this work, as no one man would voluntarily give his labour for the good of the community, however vital it was for the existence of all. The *corvée*

system has now been replaced by paid gangs of labourers who perform the work at the public expense. The fault of the *corvée* system did not lie so much in that the labour was forced and unpaid, as in the manner in which it was forced, which often entailed great hardships and unfairness on those caught for the work. Nevertheless there would be few who would maintain that the *corvée* system was not preferable to no system at all.

In Central Africa we have to deal with a people much more primitive than the Egyptian, a people unable to appreciate division of labour or community of interests. Although there is perhaps no work to be performed of such vital interest to a whole country side as is the keeping in repair of the Egyptian irrigation channels, yet many occasions arise where some work or other is obviously for the good of the people, or a great section of it. It seems to me that to use forced labour, even if unpaid, on such objects would often be preferable to allowing them to remain unperformed. Especially would this be the case when it is remembered that the grounds on which the *corvée* system was objected to was chiefly the hard treatment of the participators and the unfairness with which they were selected. Such objections would not apply to work conducted by humane British officials. However, such a system is not countenanced, and perhaps rightly, where it involves unpaid labour.

Having established the right to use, where necessary for public works and the good of the Government and the country in general, a certain amount of forced labour, when free labour is not forthcoming, the difficulty is to what extent one is justified in raising such labour. In native reserves they should be called on as little as possible to supply labour. Rather should they be encouraged to better their modes of agriculture and bring prosperity to the country by that means.

If they are a hopelessly lazy people, and do nothing towards the development of the country, they should be called

on freely to produce labour for all useful works, such as making roads, bridges, as labourers on government farms, or supplied to planters. Such a people might even be sent as labour to other districts, to relieve other and industrious people of the necessity of supplying labourers. These indolent people are only a burden to the country if they are allowed to remain in their natural state. Some people are so lazy that they will not plant sufficient food for their own barest needs, and during a large part of the year are subject to hunger. Such natives might be subject to a tax of two or three months' work a year, until such time as they can show a certain area of cultivation in their villages. However, the usual African is by no means lazy; he works hard, especially when driven by the force of circumstances.

The native should be worked hard, but fed well. He is capable of working ten hours a day for long stretches if only his food is as good as he gets in his village, and there is plenty of it. Too often the humane official is very careful to see that the native is not worked too hard, but not so careful as to the quality of his food. If he took exactly the opposite course it would be better. He does not realise that the food usually supplied to the native is not of nearly so good a quality or so varied as that he gets in his home. If they are well fed there are seldom any complaints, however hard the work. The native seldom says exactly what he means. The cause of any dissatisfaction or grievance is generally the food, but his complaints will probably be about the work, being driven too hard, or various other things. Drive him just as hard but better his food, and the complaints will cease.

The black man lives on a very simple and monotonous diet, but it is a mistake to think that because he can live on so little he can, at a pinch, easily live on less. The white man may argue that he in England gets fresh milk, butter, fresh fish, fruit, vegetables and all manner of other things which he does not get in Africa. Yet he does very well without them and does not complain; so surely the native

ought not to object if he has his food cut down by far less in proportion. He who has never been accustomed to more than flour and green stuff daily should do very well on maize and beans for a month and ought to be glad to get it. However, to a native accustomed to flour daily, the change to unground maize would be a very real hardship, and he would feel it more than does the European his lack of butter, fish, etc.

One black man, when put over another, is apt to treat him very brutally—it is in his nature to do so. For this reason constant supervision must be exercised over all police and native overseers who have been entrusted with parties of labourers or prisoners.

As regards porters, it should be explained to the headman in charge of the party that the halts are to be made at certain stages, and that they are to see that the men get water.

The carrying capacity of different tribes is very different, varying from 50 to 80 or 90-lb. loads. A weight suitable to the local natives should be fixed in each district and on no account exceeded. Where it is necessary to transport some object heavier than this limit, such as a safe for instance, it must be slung to a pole and carried by several men. When this has to be done the party should not be expected to make such long marches as usual; a swinging load or one carried by several men together is much more trying to those engaged than is a single man's load.

Moreover, it generally requires a greater number of men than one would suppose to carry a load heavier than the authorised weight for one man. For instance, if one man will carry 60 lbs., two men together will not carry 120 lbs. or anything like it; 80 lbs. would be nearer the mark.

Lastly, as to rates of pay. It is important that the wage-rate of the native should be kept as low as possible. It is only the low wage-rate now prevailing in tropical countries

that enables them to supply produce at a price within the purchasing power of the great mass of white people. It is this low wage-rate that admits of such articles as tea and sugar being consumed in every household, and it is the same rate that enables raw material, such as cotton, to be imported on terms ensuring a large market.

CHAPTER XVIII

LATER DEVELOPMENTS

AN administrator must always be thinking ahead—he must think out what progress is reasonably to be expected in the near future and try to work up to it. The ideal is never attained, as it recedes as fast as an advance is made towards it ; but with some ideal in mind his work will be more coherent and purposeful.

In Chapter VII we traced the beginnings of development ; the period of prospecting until some definite line or lines should be decided on for developing the country. Later we have shown what such lines might be, chiefly as regards agricultural development.

Let us now imagine a district which has just embarked on this second stage—the stage of real advancement ; the country is already planting and exporting produce for the outside market and an era of definite prosperity has been initiated. Then let us consider the direction in which the official's efforts have been tending, and to what they are hoped ultimately to lead. The country may be developing as a planters' country or as a native reserve. If the former, the official will be chiefly concerned with the provision of labour, the administering of justice to the natives, and the running of his stations. The planters will probably have a chamber of commerce and be represented in council ; by these means they will make their needs known to the Central Government. Transport, agricultural experiments and so on will be arranged for them by the departments concerned.

Even if the country is only progressing by native develop-

ment, by the time the second and progressive era has been entered upon, there should be great improvements completed or contemplated in the near future. Such improvements hoped for will be a good road connecting with the station on either side. This should be properly surveyed, laid out, metalled and bridged. Motor transport, bullock carts, or even only hand carts run by natives, will then bring up all goods and take away produce. Even the latter would be an improvement on the old porter, whilst the rates of freightage should be cheaper. Possibly even, if the official has been able to show that much trade is to be expected, a branch line or steam tram to the nearest point on an existing line or port may be in contemplation.

The old form of hoed path has been abolished from the main routes, but such paths are now found between all big villages and leading to every part of the district, not on the main road.

At each station the official hopes to have a doctor, hospital and veterinary arrangements, ample to deal with the whole district. All natives sick and wounded in the district will be brought in and treated at Government expense.

Every native will be registered in the station books; births, deaths, and perhaps marriages, will be reported and entered up as they occur.

Also the official would like to have in his station artisans and workshops, so that every form of rough carpentry, blacksmithing, tailoring and cobbling can be performed locally, and shops and traders ready to buy any produce offered them and sell anything within reason.

He would aim at having good vegetable gardens, a dairy farm and poultry runs in the vicinity of his station. Also experimental plantations and stock farms according to the needs of the district.

There should also be a large central market at his station and small markets all over the country, the overflow from which, or the produce bought at which, would come into the station for sale and subsequent export.

Also it would show tremendous progress if all the natives of the district were clothed and cleanly, living in sanitary and well-ordered villages, whilst the bigger chiefs had built for themselves well-ventilated houses of brick and stone instead of their native huts.

Sanitary arrangements and the supply of water at stations should also be greatly improved. For this purpose it would be an immense benefit if there was a sanitary board of the Central Government, whose duties were to inspect the different stations, giving advice, recommending improvements and also visiting important spots in the different districts and encouraging native chiefs to make more suitable arrangements.

Chief of all improvements the official would like to see in his district would be the natives in the country engaged in some profitable pursuit, or some profitable form of agricultural enterprise. They would come in each year to get the necessary seeds from the experimental plantations, plant largely, and sell their surplus stock for export. There would be a department of agriculture to attend to pests, to make experiments, to decide what should be grown, to teach methodical and up-to-date methods, and to help the natives in every way possible with their crops.

The presence of a profitable export trade would bring money into the country and induce its circulation. It would be a great advance to wean the natives from their improvident ways and encourage them to save money. For this purpose banking facilities should be provided, for one of the chief reasons which now prevents the African from putting by is the insecurity of his manner of life. His gains are easily lost, stolen or mislaid; he has no means of safeguarding them.

A local bank, on the principles of the General Post Office Savings Bank, would be an immense blessing to him—once he had learnt more provident ways and confidence in such an arrangement. The chief requisites for a native bank would be: facility and rapidity of deposit and withdrawal,

and the acceptance of every sum, however small, he wished to invest.¹

Of other advances to be made let us consider :—

- (i) Schools.
- (ii) Native courts and officials.
- (iii) Improvement of water supply and its storing for agricultural purposes.

(i) *Schools.* The eventual ambition of an official who was anxious to raise the standard of the intelligence of the natives of his district, and also benefit them materially, would be the establishment of a school something as follows :—

An agricultural class to teach more scientific methods of planting such crops as had been decided on for the country. Every effort would be made to include amongst the pupils sons of chiefs and headmen, who would see that the knowledge imparted was spread amongst their people.

Classes in technical instruction in all the chief arts and crafts likely to be of use, for a limited number of men. The pupils on becoming proficient would be passed to the Department of Public Works of the district.

A select class for the education of sons or heirs of chiefs and their representatives in such subjects as : Reading and writing in the common language of the country, such a language as Arabic, Swahili, or Hausa.

Simple arithmetic.

Hygiene.

As the old chiefs died out or became past work, these sons would replace them and be a great help to Government. Eventually, perhaps, they might be able to keep their own, or duplicate registers of their people, deaths and births and taxes paid ; as also of petty cases heard.

An excellent training for heirs of chiefs would be a course of three or four years at a station : two years as a soldier to learn discipline, one year at school and learning agricultural

¹ The Government Bank in Uganda receives any sum, from 1 to 7000 rupees, from a native depositor, and pays an interest at $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ per annum.

training, and the last year attending courts and learning simple judicial and official work. During the first two years they would attend school in addition to their military duties.

Such men when they returned to their villages and assumed the rank of chief would do much to the enlightenment and advance of their people.

In the majority of the African Protectorates there are few, if any, Government schools, but subsidies are often given to assist various missionary bodies. On the West Coast many of the mission schools appear to make agricultural education part of the curriculum. In Uganda education has reached a very advanced stage for Central Africa; there are many schools for the special training of sons of chiefs, and it is realised that the future prosperity of the country depends on agricultural rather than scholastic training.

(ii) *Native courts and officials.* If the country is to be governed by ruling through native chiefs, it will be the object of the official gradually to fit the latter and their subordinates for the duties they will have to perform. It is for these especially that simple educational facilities are necessary, whilst it is advisable in most countries, and especially in Central Africa, that the great bulk of the people should remain illiterate labourers.

When a country has reached a considerable state of advance, schools or colleges for the teaching of elementary law, to those destined to become chiefs and native magistrates, will be necessary.

Before this, native courts are made by recognising or strengthening the powers of headmen and chiefs and supervising the judgments given. In Northern Nigeria this has developed into a regular judicial system, with paid native magistrates, a circumstance which enormously relieves the duties of the European official.¹

¹ In a country where such courts have not been established, but where the people are advanced enough to bring all their cases up for hearing, the official spends an enormous amount of his time in hearing petty civil cases which could quite well be dealt with by enlightened chiefs—if there was a system for so doing. The great majority of these small civil cases concern erring and errant wives, cases which are generally

The only other class besides chiefs and their heirs and native magistrates for which an education is necessary is that of native clerks and book-keepers. These are often imported from India or elsewhere. Local material is sometimes available in mission-trained youths, and more might be done in many countries to put such a service on sound lines. A certain amount of clerks might be called for from the missions yearly, and the candidates for these vacancies might be trained on lines which will be of use to them in this profession. The requirements for such would be, reading and writing, either in English or a recognised language, typewriting, simple mathematics and book-keeping. As vacancies for these would be few it would be only necessary to train a very limited number of the more advanced and intelligent pupils in these requirements. There is no reason why these should not also be trained in agriculture; as the main prosperity of any African country must chiefly depend on its products, the more that have training in this respect the better. Even a clerk may be in a station where he will have to supervise a Government plantation or where he can turn such knowledge to account.

These native clerks, on being received from the missions, should at first be placed in positions in the Capital or at central stations, further to learn their work in a practical manner, for the first year or so, after which they may be sent, as required, to outstations. If they were given assured positions, provided they performed their duties satisfactorily, and assured conditions of pay, promotion and possibly pension, it would do much to raise such a service. At

decided according to native custom. For instance, in 1910 the native courts of the Kano Emirate in Northern Nigeria dealt with 19,473 civil cases, out of which 9020 were classed as matrimonial. Such cases as these can well be heard by native courts, the only consideration is to establish a system for the supervision of such courts, to ensure that they do not become corrupt. African women are, as a rule, very loose in their morals and it is a mistake to treat them too leniently, as a European official would be likely to do. In many countries the erring wife is given a beating, public or private, according to native law, a judgment that would go very much against the grain of a European official. It must be a great blessing to any official to be freed almost entirely from such cases and have competent native courts to deal with them.

present, in many places, the native clerk is just caught in a haphazard manner, and there is no definite prospect of advancement before him, however well he performs his duties. On the other hand, an indifferent one may often be thrust into a good billet, for want of competitors and a system of advancing those best fitted. For instance, a billet is vacant, someone is required to do the work, and the first native that is found who can read and write may be taken for it. However proficient he may become, he, as likely as not, remains in the same post, if it is at an outstation or in a small department, and is kept there because he has become useful or has got to know the local language.

On the other hand, he may be most unproficient and yet the senior clerk may die or leave, soon after he comes, and he may get the post, just because he happens to be there and knows a little about the work. The native is not likely to realise the unfairness of such a system, but, if there was a definite list and service of native officials, it would probably be productive of much better results ; the next senior, provided he had qualified himself, would get the next post vacant.

(iii) *Improvement of water supply and its storing for agricultural purposes.* This is perhaps looking a long way ahead, but nevertheless it is an improved condition of affairs which must arise if the country is really to go ahead as an agricultural country. Where planters and settlers are introduced, steps will rapidly be taken to improve existing conditions, but where natives alone are concerned it will probably be long before any great improvements are made.

As it is, the natives rely entirely on rain crops, and during the dry seasons no agricultural work is carried out. There is, as a rule, no arrangement for water supply, except perhaps a few small holes scratched in the ground, the water in which is often half mud. Eventually it will be necessary to pay great attention to the subject of water supply in Central Africa, as is now being done in the Cape and Natal. No advanced forms of agriculture can be carried out without

irrigation, whilst, apart from this, people and cattle are often hard put to it in many parts during the dry weather. Even in the tropical parts, with a heavy rainfall, this is often distributed over only a few months or half the year, whilst during the rest of the year a big period of drought is to be expected.

The erection of dams, the formation of reservoirs, boring for water, and the making of channels, sluices and weirs must enter largely into the programme of the future. Such matters will probably be attended to by an irrigation department, or the department of agriculture, as expert knowledge is required. Such works will have to be largely supported by Government or, if it is a planters' country, probably the Government will give subsidies and advance loans for water-boring and conserving schemes.

Meanwhile, however, the official may be doing much to improve local conditions by making small wells and reservoirs and damming little streams, so that at least people and cattle may have sufficient and fairly good water to last them through the dry weather.

CHAPTER XIX

IMPROVEMENT OF STATION—BUILDINGS

ALTHOUGH the station itself is a very small place, when compared to the size of the district it administers, and although the aim of the administrator should be to improve the conditions existing over the whole district, his chief concern will always be centred about the improvement of his station.

This is to a certain extent as it should be. It is the centre of the civilisation and the home of the white men of that vicinity, and as such should be made comfortable, cleanly and orderly, both as an example and for the sake of the health and comfort of the present officials and their successors.

The official should spare no pains, then, to make it as homelike and pleasant a residence as he can ; but in spending money and using labour for purely ornamental purposes, he must always remember that there is a whole district as well as his particular station.

The conscientious official must bear in mind that, although ornamental walks, flower-beds or designs, may catch the eye and win him good marks at an inspection, the time and energy thus expended might often have been spent in more profitable work. With this foreword let us see what we can do to improve our station and make it healthy and comfortable.

One of the most important considerations is the housing of the officials. At first the official will expect to have to rough it in a native-built hut, but the sooner he can be suitably housed the better for health and other considerations. In the native hut he has, no doubt, contrived to make

himself fairly comfortable, but it is obviously out of the question to provide himself with furniture, carpets and curtains, good stores and other luxuries of civilisation, as they will only be destroyed by damp, termites and all manner of noxious creatures. Moreover, rats will always be boring through his walls, termites will destroy his hut entirely in the course of a year, and bats will make their home in the roof to the detriment of his papers and books. The inside will either be uncomfortably stuffy or exceedingly draughty, according to the style of building. Again, the yearly renewing of a number of wattle and daub huts involves much labour and is false economy; in the end consuming as much money as the building of permanent houses, whilst there is nothing whatever to show for it.

In making for himself, or having made for him, a decent house, the height of the official's ambition will probably be to defeat the termites utterly. This will not often be possible in out-of-the-way parts, where it is difficult and costly to get up stores, but if it can possibly be done it will save him endless expense, trouble and anxiety. The official may be absent a month or so on trek, or he may be on leave, and during his absence he cannot count on his black servant carefully looking after his things. The servant left in charge, if he is a good boy, may make a cursory inspection once a week, but he will probably fail to notice any white ants' workings, short of a nest several feet high.

A house may be made termite proof in two ways—one by raising the whole structure on iron pillars or legs, and the second by a copious use of cement. The type of house should, of course, depend on the climate and altitude or temperature.

To take the house on iron pillars first, of which one kind is the French Congo pattern—it is made of corrugated iron, match-boarding, and sometimes papier mâché walls, glazed or varnished. It is transported in pieces and erected on the required site. It is also possible to take it to pieces again and move it elsewhere, although it is never so good

when put up for the second time. The advantage of such a house is that it is absolutely clean inside and free from termites, rats and practically all insects which destroy property. There is no grass roof in which to breed insects, etc., no mudded or plastered walls distributing dust over the room, whilst insects are unable to climb the iron pillars to reach the house. To make doubly certain, each pillar is provided with a small circular trough running round it, which when filled with water offers a sufficient obstacle to any enterprising insect who has crawled up so far. The whole house also acts as a sufficient lightning conductor.

As the house is raised well above the ground it is a type particularly suited to a low-lying country liable to become swampy or flooded; and, from its elevation, it catches any breeze there is, which on the ground-level might be unnoticeable owing to surrounding vegetation.

It can easily be made mosquito and bat proof, a circumstance which still further fits it for low-lying and malarial areas. Its initial cost is comparatively small, and so it is especially suited to such mosquito-infested places as are situated on, or near, the coast, on the banks of a navigable river, or on a line of railway.

It has certain disadvantages which, when taken into consideration with various climates and localities, make it an unsuitable form of residence.

With a tropical sun shining on it, it becomes unbearably hot inside, as the iron roof and pillars are excellent conductors and absorb the heat until they are too hot to touch. The sun also strikes through the thin walls. Rain accompanied by wind beats in, whilst a violent hurricane (a fairly uncommon occurrence in Africa) may take off the roof or stave in the sides.

As the whole house has to be carried in pieces to its destination, its transport trebles its initial cost in distant stations; and added to this must be counted a certain amount of skilled labour required in the erection. A white foreman and artisans will probably have to be sent

to put it up, and their wages and the cost of transporting them to the site and back again must be taken into consideration.

As it is very draughty, and while hot in hot weather, exceedingly cold in cold weather, it is unsuitable to high altitudes, cold and windy countries.

There can be no fireplace inside, but it is possible to erect a stove, or failing this, to place a sheet of corrugated iron on the floor, and on this rest a kerosene oil tin or old bucket filled with embers from a fire outside, to give warmth or to dry the house in damp weather. This tin should have a number of holes or slits cut in the side with a tin-opener, or with a hammer and steel chisel.

The other type to the portable house is the locally built one which may or may not be supplied with materials such as corrugated iron and cement from Europe. Such a house is the most suited to the majority of places in Africa; it is more durable, withstands heat and cold better, and in distant places is cheaper to construct. The portable house, then, should be generally confined to the low-lying countries already suggested, and also to serve as temporary dwellings in certain circumstances, such as railway construction camps, where buildings are required to be rapidly run up and later dispensed with or moved elsewhere when the work is finished. As an official may have to build his own house it would perhaps be as well to go into the second type at greater length.

First a suitable site must be selected, one that is well drained, and, if possible, with a pleasant outlook. It is a mistake to select the highest point in the vicinity, as thunderstorms in Africa are a real source of danger, and accidents from lightning are very common.

Having selected the site, every termite nest on it should be thoroughly dug up, and, if possible, the queen captured. A few natives are very expert in finding the queen, but the majority have no ideas on the subject at all. The hard fine earth excavated from these termite nests makes splendid

mud which binds well, and this is always used in place of mortar for all work, except the actual pointing. A mud-finished surface, however, must never be left exposed to the rain. If stone is to be had in the near vicinity, and it does not require extensive quarrying, it is undoubtedly the cheapest and best material. Otherwise bricks must be made and for these nothing is better than this same earth from the termites' nests.

In most places where stone is available there is enough material on the surface to suffice for a house or two. If blasting must be resorted to the inexperienced official is advised to keep to powder, as even experts occasionally blow themselves up with dynamite. The blasting holes are bored with crow-bars, water being poured into the hole whilst boring. When finished the hole is filled up with powder, a train, or fuse, is laid, the end lighted and a bolt made for cover.

It will be seldom that sufficient slabs or faces will not be found that can be removed by light charges, and no heavy quarrying will generally be necessary till a large town is in process of arising; long before that time there will be a Public Works Department with experts to deal with blasting and building.

As said before, sufficient broken surface stone will almost assuredly be found to make the few necessary buildings on the commencement of a station. All that is necessary will be a few crow-bars to lever up the large pieces or break them off, and a sledge hammer to break them up. When using this surface stone, however, care should be taken to exclude badly weathered pieces, which will subsequently crumble and split after being built into a wall, or directly any pressure comes to bear upon them.

As regards bricks the powdered earth from the termites' nests is made into mud and well kneaded by being trodden on by men's bare feet. Lumps are then carried to a table, where they are pressed into frames like those made for honey, but of the size of the bricks required. These open frames are

laid on the table, the mud is pressed into them and smoothed off flush with the top edge of the frame, by removing the excess of mud with a small board or stick which has just been dipped in water. A piece of deal packing-case will serve this purpose, provided it has a straight edge; this is just scraped across the top of the frame to level off the mud.

The brick is turned out and placed in the sun to dry, care being taken that it is not bent or cracked in moving. The frame is then dipped in water and placed on the table again, ready to receive another lump of mud. The bricks, having been sun-dried, are stacked in kilns for burning, that is to say built up roughly in a stack, leaving room for the heat to penetrate between the bricks and an archway underneath for the fire. The whole stack is then coated over with mud or cow dung to prevent the heat getting out, and a wood furnace is made in the archway and kept up for several days, according to the size of the stack. If there is lime to be burnt, it may be placed in the stack and burnt at the same time.

Many of the outside bricks often become broken; these can be used for paths or rubble, whilst those nearest the fire are burnt black and so are generally used for inside walls, where they do not show.

So much for the material; next as to the design. This again depends on the climate and also on whether there is cement for pointing the outside walls. If there is not, a verandah should be built all round the house, so as to protect all exposed surfaces of wall from the rain. The verandah is supported on the outside by poles, and as these are eaten and weakened by borers and termites, they can be replaced comparatively easily, whilst an exposed, unpointed wall sooner or later must give way, as the mud is washed out of the joints and from the lower part of the wall and then the whole house becomes useless.

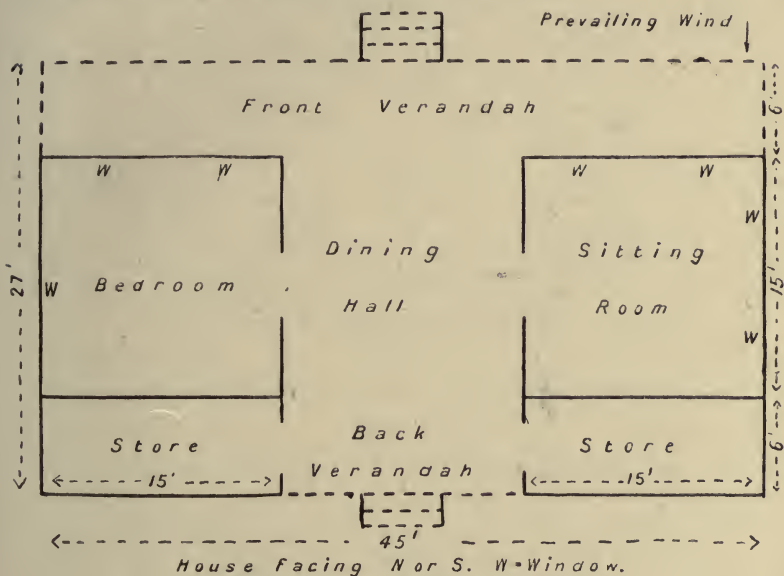
Presuming cement is available, here are some suitable designs.

(i) House for a very hot climate.

In this design the whole centre of the house is open, but

where mosquitoes are numerous it can be closed in by mosquito netting back and front.

The stores can be lighted by small windows, 1 foot by 9 inches, high up the wall near the eaves. These will give enough light; it will be impossible for anybody to enter by them, and as they will be sheltered by the eaves from the rain it will not be necessary to close them.



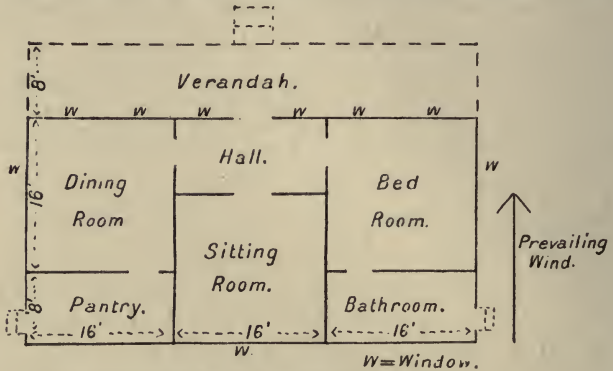
(ii) For a colder climate the same pattern as (i) will do if the dining-hall is made into a room by continuing the front and back walls of the bedroom and sitting-room. The front door will then be in the wall leading on to the front verandah. A servants' entry door may be made through the left-hand store into what was the bedroom. This will now become the dining-room and the store the pantry. The right store can be made into a bathroom and a door made between it and the old sitting-room, which will become the bedroom.

(iii) House for a high altitude, windy and rainy.

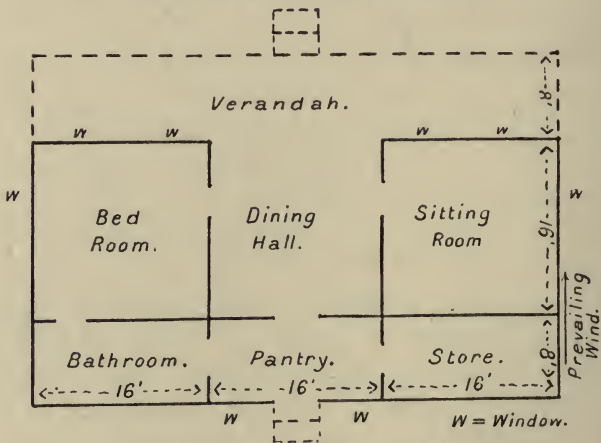
The advantage of this pattern for a windy climate is

that no outside door opens to windward nor directly into a living room, there being always a hall, pantry, etc. between. This type is weak in store rooms, but part of the verandah may be walled off for a store.

One must decide in selecting the position of a house



(iii) HOUSE FOR A HIGH ALTITUDE.



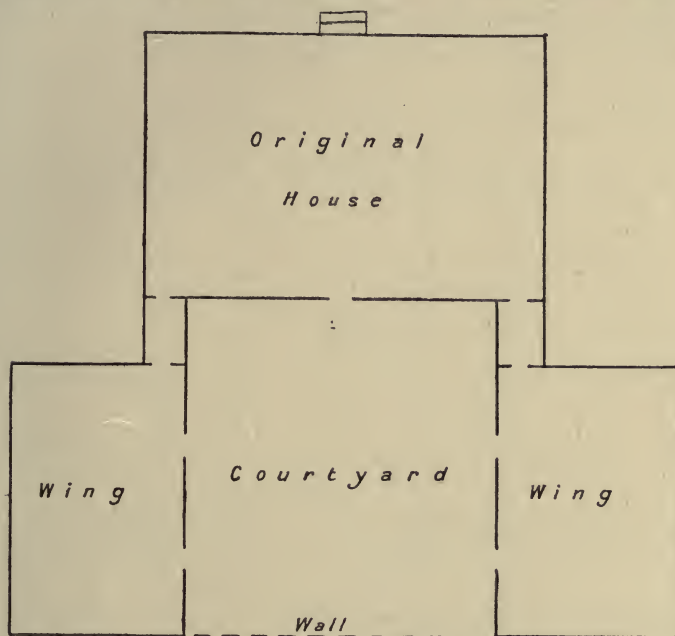
(iv) ANOTHER PATTERN OF HOUSE.

whether one wants the morning or the evening sun or both on the verandah, according to the climate and one's habits. If the temperature is hot the verandah might be arranged to face the morning sun, viz. the sun is shining in during the time it is fairly cool, and when one is doing one's morning work, whilst the verandah is in shade to sit on in the

evening. If, however, there is an open dining-hall, as in (i), the verandah should face N. or S., whilst the bedroom might be to the W. so that the afternoon sun will not heat up and shine into the sitting-room.

(iv) Another pattern of house is shown on page 208.

It gives a pantry instead of hall and is simple to build as all the walls run in straight lines. Again, the front of

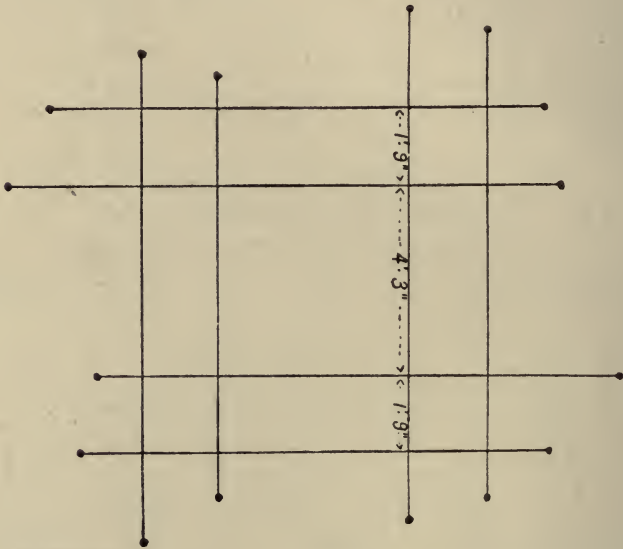


The Courtyard can be closed by building a simple wall along the dotted line. This wall might be made into the back wall of servants quarters.

the dining-hall may be walled in so as to make it into a room, with a door opening on to the verandah.

The above are all very simple designs, but they afford, if properly built, comfortable and roomy enough quarters for one official. Directly he tries to go into more elaborate designs, or to enlarge the rooms, the amateur architect may get into difficulties with roofing, lighting and the obtaining and handling of sufficiently strong roofing beams. If he

wants to make a house for two or three let him lengthen but not broaden the above type, having a number of rooms leading out upon a long verandah, or else let him make wings attached to the original by corridors as shown on page 209. Foundations should be dug in soft soil to the depth of 2 ft. at least. The best foundation possible is rock, so there is no object in trying to break away outcrops of rock which may appear in places, so as to make all the trenches of equal depth.



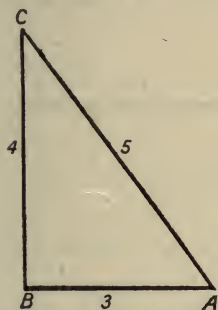
FOUNDATION SO AS TO GET A FIVE-FOOT ROOM.

The foundation trenches are built up and filled in with stones, rubble and mud. There is no object in having a symmetrically built wall underground, but the trenches are just built in and filled entirely up. The foundation should be a foot or nine inches broader than the wall it is intended to build on it. As the wall is built in the centre of the foundation it will require a little thought and experiments with diagrams on paper first to get the exact measurements to lay out on the ground so that the rooms become the size required when the walls grow up. For instance, if

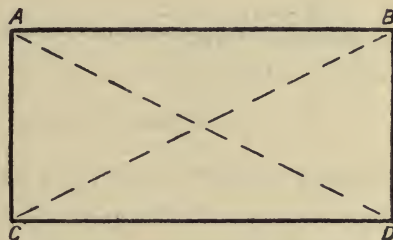
the whole house was to consist of but one square room of five feet interior measurement and walls one foot thick, the measurements laid down on the ground for foundation trenches would be in the form of two squares, one inside the other, and of 4 ft. 3 in. and 7 ft. 9 in. sides so as to get a 1 foot 9 inches foundation.

The pegs are not put in at the corners of these squares, but in prolongation of each side, as in the diagram; otherwise, when the trenches were dug out the pegs would fall in and their places be lost. When placed as in the diagram the corners of the squares are determined by the points at which the strings cut one another.

Another advantage gained by not driving the peg in at



LAYING OUT A RIGHT ANGLE.



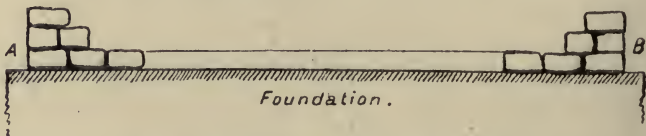
MEASURE DIAGONALS AD AND BC.

the exact spot which marks the corner, is that, as often as not, there will be a stone or something which will prevent it from being driven in. As in the diagram, it is immaterial whether one peg is moved back a foot or two in search of a convenient spot, provided only such spot is in direct prolongation of the line.

The best way of laying out a right angle for the corner of a building is by the old method of 3, 4 and 5 of any unit forming a triangle. Take, for instance, a tape measure: fasten the end to peg A, mark off 3 yds. to B in the required direction of front. Then take 4 yds. along the tape, hold a peg C against this place, and then another 5 yds., bringing the end of this back to A. When the

lines $CB=4$ yds. and $CA=5$ yds. are pulled taut, the peg C is driven in and will be found to make a right angle CBA. As an additional check after laying out a rectangular building, measure the diagonals AD and BC. If these are equal to one another the sides are at right angles.

The foundations are levelled before the walls are raised on them. They will be filled in by eye until roughly level, and then corners are built up and levelled with one another with a spirit-level. Each layer is then built level by stretching cords across from the corners at the right height, and the layer is built up to the level of the cord. Be it noted that I am not trying to teach the reader to build if he knows the least thing about the art. I am only trying to tell him how to make something to live in if he knows nothing



THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WALLS.

whatever about it, as I have had to do for myself several times.

The top of the foundation and all that part of it which is above ground is, of course, built to the exact measurement shown by the strings on the pegs.

Having made and levelled the foundation wall, one begins to build on it the house wall. If the floor is to be level with the top of the foundation wall the latter should be sufficiently high above the ground to be well out of the damp. It is as well to have the floor 2 ft. or more above the ground level. The wall is commenced at the corners, and for this purpose, if stone is good, the corner stones must be chosen carefully, so as to give square faces at right angles. They will generally have to be trimmed roughly with hammer and chisel, a square being used to see if the two faces are at right angles. The corners are built up carefully, with frequent trials of the plumb-bob to ensure

them being vertical. By levelling or measuring, the different layers or courses are kept the same height. Great trouble should be taken to ensure that the corners are vertical, at right angles, and that the different layers of each are level one with another.

Having got the corners up a few layers, each layer of the walls between them is rapidly brought up by stretching strings as AB (the height of each layer), and building up to it. One string is fastened outside and one inside to give the thickness of the wall, and care is taken to bring each face, outer and inner, of wall, exactly parallel and up to the strings. (See diagram on page 212).

Whether bricks or stones are used, they are best built in alternate layers, or courses, of headers and stretchers,

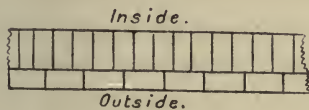
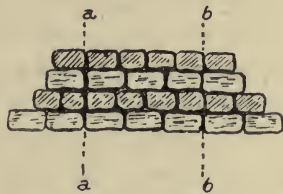


DIAGRAM IN SECTION.



BAD DISTRIBUTION OF WEIGHT.

viz. laid lengthways or breadthways from whichever side of the wall you look, but the header course on the outside will be the stretcher on the inside and vice versa, as will be seen from a diagram in section.

Great care must be taken to break joint; that is, never to let two consecutive joints come directly above one another or alongside one another.

Practically the whole art of strong building, provided the walls are plumb, consists in the careful distribution of weight and this breaking joint.

Above is a diagram of a bad distribution of weight and jointing, and the wall will tend to crack or split along the lines *aa* and *bb*.

To defeat the termites a course of cement mixed with three to four parts of gritty sand should be laid right round the house at the same level. This should, if the cement is

laid well, prevent them burrowing up inside the wall and reaching the roof. They find no difficulty in carrying their galleries through the mud mortar, but solid cement checks them. This course should be thick enough to prevent any cracks or bubble holes that may form in it from extending to both sides and so affording a passage.

It is worth while putting on this cement with great care. As termites are able to come through cement when wet, it would be worth while to leave it to dry and then cover it over with dry grass for a day or two. When the grass is removed again it will be noticed, from the earth they bring with them, if termites have found a crack or way through the cement, attracted by the grass.

This cement course is sometimes laid directly on the top of the foundation wall, but a better place is perhaps at a height of about two and a half feet above ground level. Having laid this cement well the roof should be safe; or rather, the only way for the termites to get at the roof is to carry a gallery out from below the cement course, passing up the face of the wall to some spot above it which will afford them an entry again. Such galleries can be easily seen, and the hole from which they emerge can be stopped up with cement. It is for this reason that it is best to put the course well up the wall, as near the ground such galleries will not be so noticeable, especially as the bottom of the walls, on the outside, will probably be splashed with mud from the rain.

If the house is made of brick the floors also will probably be of brick or tiles; if stone is used big slabs of stone, if available, may be used for flooring with advantage. Failing these, the flooring will probably be of rammed earth and rubble coated with cement.

If slabs are used, a bed of rammed earth and small stones should be made for them, and after they are laid the joints between can be pointed with cement to prevent the termites emerging from between them. This cement pointing should be slightly below the general level of the surface to

save it from being much trodden on with nailed boots and so becoming cracked.

If the whole floor is coated with a layer of cement this requires very careful doing, and the cement must only be allowed to dry slowly or it will become cracked in the process.

Having cemented the floor and having laid the cement course in the wall, the only part open to termites, by which to enter the room, is that space of wall between the floor and the cement course. If this space is now carefully pointed with cement there should be no possible entry hole for them. I say "should" as in practice the cement makes miniature cracks in drying; in other places a small bubble forms where the cement is thin, and in drying leaves a tiny hole, whilst enterprising scout termites may have already bored through it whilst still wet. Through all or any of these the termites hurry to their destructive work, and so the house is not yet proof. These cracks may be filled up by painting very liquid cement over them with a brush.

After this the only thing to do is to move all furniture and boxes repeatedly, and to inspect carefully every part of the house. As each point of ingress is marked down, by the earth brought in, chip a hole an inch deep, so as to give a good thickness of cement, and after putting some medicine, such as tar, to keep the termites away for a day or so till it is dry, fill this up with cement. For a time they will go on discovering new places, but eventually they may be defeated.

A cement flooring is liable to powder and crack when walked on with heavy boots and so should be covered with carpets or mats.

We have now done our utmost to make the house termite-proof, but it would be as well to set aside a bag of cement, so as always to have some ready for future use.

So much for the inside walls, except that lime, chunam, distemper, and various preparations, even down to wood-ashes and water, are used to plaster them. Most of these are apt to powder and make dust in the room; so, unless a

good distemper is well put on, it would perhaps be preferable to leave bare stone walls.

Personally I think the latter much more clean than any form of plaster. A wainscoting of native matting may be made round the wall to a height of $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 ft.

In decorating the house there is always the difficulty of getting nails into the walls. The plaster is destroyed or bricks broken in so doing, whilst, unless the nails are very long, they never hold. This difficulty may be overcome by letting into the walls, at the time of building, one or two rows of wooden pegs all round each room at a height of 5 ft. and 8 ft. or so. These can be cut off flush with the wall and nails may be driven into them as required, from which pictures or anything may be hung. If they do not occur at the exact spots at which they are required, wires or rods may be stretched from one to the other and objects hung from these at the place wanted.

A picture rail might be fixed to the upper row; these can be made fairly easily if one is provided with a beading plane.

Similarly, pegs may be left over all the doors and windows, so as to support curtain rods. It will also be found convenient, if the house is built of stone, to leave all sorts of odd projections of slabs of stone to act as shelves, brackets, etc., and broad window sills may be made of the same material. These projections, if it is afterwards found that they are not required, can always be chipped off flush.

All surfaces of outside wall exposed to rain should be pointed; and indeed, if cement suffices, it is better to point those protected by verandahs also.

Next, as to roofing. If corrugated iron is available it is really best, as it saves constant thatching and does not leak. To make the house cool the iron should be covered over with a light layer of thatching.

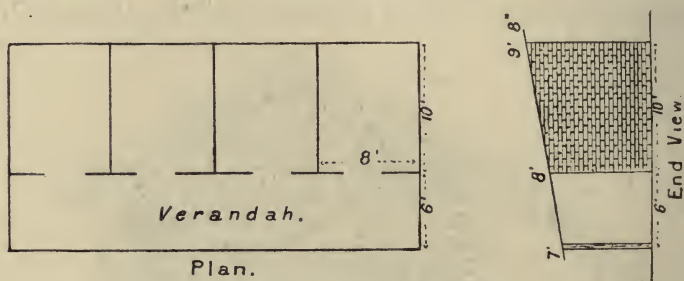
All roofing poles and beams should be chosen carefully from wood which is known not to be attacked by borers. To make additionally sure, all poles may be soaked in water

house. For stores, simple and effective buildings of the "lean-to" type may be made—as in the diagram.

The rear wall may be carried 2 ft. or so higher than the verandah and the whole covered with a slanting roof of iron which does away with the necessity for any ridging.

They are easy, simple and quick to build, and can be indefinitely prolonged or added to at either end.

The same type of building will serve as a guard-room and prison; and if a number of these buildings are constructed in the form of a square, verandahs facing inwards and con-



"LEAN-TO'S" MAY BE MADE AS IN THE DIAGRAM.

nected with walls, an enclosed court results. The guard may be situated at the gateway.

The advantage of this arrangement is that all the store-rooms, etc. can be watched by one sentry, whilst the only ingress to the court may be through a gateway. Prisoners may be allowed to walk about freely and attend various workshops inside, without fear of their escaping.

The chief tools required for building are :—

Mason's trowels.

„ hammers.

„ chisels.

Sledge-hammers.

Crow-bars.

Picks.

Shovels and spades.

Plumb-bobs.

Spirit-levels.

Measuring tape.

Square.

A few straight-edged planks for levelling and cementing.

Buckets, tins and barrels.

Baskets (of local manufacture) for carrying earth and mud.

Twine.

Long nails to drive into the wall whilst building, so as to hold the twine.

Foot rule.

Pounders for ramming earth and stone, which may be locally made.

Suitable quarters for servants and soldiers may be made of the same "lean-to" type, on a small scale, and arranged in long lines.

It will probably be the official's ultimate object to do away with the native-built hut as much as possible in all station buildings, even to employé and native quarters. Replacing destruction by termites and the constant re-thatching of native-built huts require endless labour; and moreover the interior of the latter is generally dark and filthy, and it is very difficult to induce habits of real cleanliness so long as they are in vogue.

CHAPTER XX

IMPROVEMENT OF STATION—OTHER WORKS

ONE of the earliest things to which the official should turn his attention is the provision of suitable timber for use in carpentering and the woodwork of the houses. Wood takes long to season, and after being sawn up it should be stacked for two or three years before using.

In Africa there are many kinds of trees, such as redwood, mahogany and ebony, which yield magnificent timber. Failing a supply in more open places, they may be sought along the banks of streams and rivers.

The felling of such trees requires a certain amount of care, and the manipulation of large logs of wood with unskilled labour is exceedingly difficult. It will be better to start on small trees, or the limbs of bigger trees, obtaining logs of about 8 ft. in length and 5 to 6 ft. in circumference. A suitable pit having been made in the vicinity, these logs may be rolled, or carried by about twenty natives, and placed in position for sawing.

To deal with larger logs the personal superintendence of a European is necessary, or accidents will be sure to occur.

To the raw native there are two kinds of weights; the weight he can lift by himself, and the weight he cannot. To combine with other men to lift or move one of the latter is something he does not generally comprehend.

The safest way to transport these logs is to sling them to a number of cross-pieces and carry them near the ground, so that no one gets hurt if one falls; or, better still, to prepare a path and poles or ways for it to travel on, and then to roll it.

The tree is originally felled with axe or cross-cut saw,

being guyed with ropes so that it can only fall in the direction required. Having felled it, the limbs are removed with a cross-cut saw and suitable lengths sawn. These logs for sawing may be roughly trimmed on two sides to a flat surface with adzes. They are then placed in position for sawing, and parallel lines are marked out on the flat surfaces on either side, the breadth apart of the planks or beams required. These lines are made by stretching a string dipped in ink or blacking, from end to end of the log. When it is taut in the required position the string is drawn back, like the string of a bow, and then allowed to flick back against the wood and leave its impression.

The sawyers then have to keep the pit saw on these lines, an art which the native will generally require some little practice to acquire. If the saw shows signs of leaving the line one side or the other, the log may be tipped up, which will bring it back again. Wedges are put into the cut as it proceeds.

The tools and the materials required for sawing are :—

Felling axes.

Cross-cut saws.

Pit saws.

Hand saws.

Stout rope.

Files for sharpening saws.

Adzes.

Plumb-bob (which may be improvised with a stone or weight).

If no pit saws are available the cross-cut may be used for sawing planks by fixing them with suitable handles.

In a new station the official should try to obtain from the Capital or elsewhere such native artisans as two or three masons or bricklayers, two sawyers, a rough carpenter and a blacksmith. Natives of the country should be placed under these artisans to help them and eventually learn their trade. Also all long-sentence prisoners should be made to learn some trade or craft.

Before the wood has seasoned properly it will be found impossible to plane well, but it may be roughly smoothed and trimmed—if required for lintels and window frames—by means of files. Subsequently it can be treated with sand-paper.

Nothing improves the appearance of a station so much as shady avenues and large shade trees, in such places as the market and outside the office, for waiting natives to sit under. In a hot sun such avenues and shade trees are a very real blessing. For this purpose many men think that it is necessary to try to grow some rare and exotic tree unknown in the country. They would scorn the homely sycamore (*Ficus sycomorus*) or other common tree. Exotic trees require constant care and attention, and generally suffer much from the attacks of termites and other insect pests. In most parts of Africa there are plenty of indigenous trees which are handsome enough if properly kept and trimmed. In selecting one of these one is sure of a tree that will grow, and which, with a little attention, should thrive well and soon accomplish its chief object, which is to give shade.

Added to shady walks, neat and well-kept paths and roads are a requisite. To have a dry path, one which does not turn into a river or wash away with each deluge of rain, it is necessary to have a good system of drainage, a circumstance which will also tend to the general health of the station.

To ensure this, and that the station is eventually well ordered and sanitary, it is necessary to lay it out carefully and plan it from the very start, instead of allowing it to spring up haphazard. The principal difficulty in laying out is to keep the latrines, especially native ones, cook house, refuse heaps, etc., of every set of buildings, out of the way, neither near its own buildings nor any other. Until the arrangements for removing night soil and rubbish are highly organised, plenty of space should be left between the backs of buildings and their offices, and those of the next set. This will tend to increase the size of the station

and consequently the lengths of road and paths, as also the spaces to be kept clean and tidy, but it is nevertheless advisable at first. As the station grows, the conservancy will be put on a sound footing, incinerators for the burning of rubbish will be built, and other steps taken for the sanitation of the town, and then the spaces in between the old buildings can be filled up.

It should be one of the official's first cares to drain or fill in any swamps or pools in the vicinity. One way of effecting this is to encourage natives to cultivate any swampy or low-lying areas and, when the ground is cleared of its long grass and rushes, to cut channels and watercourses.

Practically every path should have a shallow drain on either side of it, and the roadway should then be raised above the level of the ground surface, by laying on shingle, broken bricks, or rubble, and then pounding hard. To prepare such a surface of path or road the simplest form of pounder is made by cutting a section of a log of hard wood. This section, like a butcher's block, is then bored and a handle like a big broom handle wedged in. One or two natives working together then pound the road with this implement. The draining of the station will involve taking plenty of drains across the various roads. Wooden bridges have to be constantly renewed as eaten by termites, and shortly after they are made they begin to look untidy.

Of course small masonry culverts are the best and most permanent, but cement is seldom available for such purposes.

Where large slabs of stone are obtainable, they may be used to bridge these drains, resting on large stones on either side. Pieces of old corrugated iron may also be used advantageously, provided that the span is not more than a foot or two. These are covered over with earth to make the roadway.

On a broad road an Irish bridge is as neat as anything. This is made by making the road gradually slope down to the level of the drain and up again on the other side, while

the water passes over the surface of the road in a broad, shallow drain. The road is, at this point, paved with flat boulders or flags to prevent it washing away.

Where there is a low-lying piece of ground in which the water lies, the path may be led across this by the old-fashioned stepping-stones, till such time as labour is available to fill it in or properly drain it.

On leaving a station one is prepared, if travelling in the rains, to get wet through every day, to wade swamps and paddle in puddles; but in a station one expects to be able to walk about dry-shod. Yet I have noticed that during the rains water is often allowed to stand on the roads and paths in a station when a little work in raising the road, draining it, or arranging stepping-stones, would enable one to walk about the station dry-shod.

A good water supply to a station is always a difficult matter to ensure, except in the very exceptional cases in which there is a running stream. It is then only necessary to prevent the water from becoming fouled upstream. Where there is such a stream the problem of how to water the garden and ensure a vegetable supply all through the dry weather is simple.

A position on the lower slopes of a hill, down which a stream flows, is an ideal site for a station. As it expands it may follow round the side of the hill at the same level on either side of the stream. There will be a good view and the station will be easy to drain. A channel, or several channels, from the stream may be led round the slope of the hill, as is done at Zomba in Nyasaland. From this channel numberless small channels descend to irrigate every garden and plantation.

Such an ideal state of affairs is very rare in Africa. Generally one has to contend with water-courses which form muddy torrents after rain, but between whiles are absolutely dry. In the drier parts of tropical Africa the water supply generally comes from a small swamp, which overflows into a water-course in the wet weather and dries

up in the dry weather. In the latter season the natives get water from small holes or wells dug in the bed of the water-course, or in the dried-up swamp.

One may often find a damp bit of ground near the head of such swamp. This would really be a spring if the sun was not so hot and the evaporation so great. As it is, the water only serves to slightly moisten a small patch of ground and then dries up. By digging here one may get water, but the spot should be carefully roofed over from the sun to prevent it drying up, and the open land round, if possible, planted with shade-giving trees.

One of the disadvantages of such a source of water supply is that the station has generally to be built some way from and above it, otherwise it would be either in or near to what would be a swamp during the rains.

By sinking a well 10 ft. deep or so one may often get water above the swamp, and so nearer to the station. The sides of such a well soon fall in. To keep them intact as long as possible and also to keep the water in the well unpolluted by surface drainage, the earth removed from the well should be banked in a circular wall round it. The whole should then be covered by a roof, so that rain falling on the edge of the well does not flow in, muddying the drinking water and softening the sides. Poles are then put across the mouth, to make a platform on which to stand whilst drawing water, and an aperture only large enough for the passage of a bucket should be left. Natives do not understand drawing water with a bucket and, even if the well is provided with a pail, rope and pulley, they will try to climb down into it to draw water according to their custom. This will not only foul the well and loosen the sides, but will also involve the probability of the water becoming infected with guinea worm. As soon as possible something permanent in the way of a well, with masonry or boarded sides, should be made.

If it is a case of using the spring in the swamp, a hole a few yards square may be cut out and a wall built on three

sides reaching above the level of the ground, so as to keep out the surface drainage. The fourth and lowest side of the square is closed with a lower wall over which the water will be drawn from the well inside, or, better still, providing an exit for the water, which will then pass into a cemented tank. The floor of the well should be coated with shingle or stones and the whole may be cleaned out at intervals. Perhaps, as the station prospers, it will be possible to run to a deep-bored well and pump.

The situation of the garden will have to depend on the site of the water supply,¹ or there may be two gardens, a wet and a dry weather one. The wet-weather garden would then be on well-drained ground near the station, and the dry-weather garden on land that would probably be swamp during the rains and below the spring. For the watering of the garden during the dry weather it may be possible to make a reservoir by damming up a suitable spot in a small torrent. If this is done a pipe with a cock can be let into the base of the dam wall and water allowed to flow from this, when required, and led by a channel to the garden. The mouth of this pipe should be protected by wire netting or other device to prevent it from becoming blocked up. In a place in which mosquitoes are numerous, such reservoirs should be far removed from the houses and inhabited parts of the station.

As to the garden, no effort should be spared to produce a good supply of vegetables, as the health of the officials will be largely dependent on this, for there is little nourishment in the usual skinny sheep and chickens of the country. It will probably be found that some kinds of vegetables do well from the first, whilst others do not. The first should then be cultivated largely to ensure an adequate supply. As time is available the latter may be experimented with to see if it is possible by any means to grow them.

In some countries it appears to be the custom to go in

¹ Provided, of course, that the soil there is suitable. The surest indication of good soil is the grass which is found growing on it. The best soil, outside forest areas, is clothed with luxuriant elephant grass

largely for gardening, whilst in other countries there seem to be few who interest themselves in this pursuit. In the former we find officials living in far-away stations with quite good gardens of varied vegetables and fruits, whilst in the latter no one appears to realise how much better their tables would be if only they took a little trouble.¹

Vegetable seeds should be sent by post from England every few months. It is, as a rule, a mistake to try to grow anything locally for seed, as all plants deteriorate enormously. There are many things that do well in parts of Africa once they have been brought there, but are difficult to obtain in the first instance.

In a country where every station has a good garden, such things as strawberries, grenadillas, bananas, limes, custard apples, paw-paws, and a great variety of other plants may be passed on from station to station. It is easy enough to make arrangements for the careful transport of a few trees from a station a few days away. Failing this you can bring them yourself when returning from a visit, and tend and water them on the way. It is a very different matter trying to get the same things sent you from the coast and making arrangements to have them cared for during a long journey, performed perhaps in stages partly by rail, partly steamer, and partly by porter or cart.

The Belgians have good gardens in practically all their stations and they pass on such things as paw-paws, bananas, and tomatoes from one station to another, so that one meets with these in the most remote posts.

In British Protectorates the garden is almost always a private one, and depends on the enterprise of the official. If he spends an immense amount of energy and a certain amount of money on not only making a garden for himself but starting fruit trees brought at great trouble and expense for the benefit of his successors, it is most disheartening to him if these successors do not look after and carry on the

¹ In the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, for instance, every station is provided with seeds direct from Europe, and has a serviceable garden.

work he has commenced. Perhaps he is suddenly moved elsewhere and a man who does not care about gardening takes his place. I have seen this happen. The carefully tended garden is left to its own devices; in six months it is covered with rank grass ten feet high; in a few months more this is dead and catches fire and there ends the garden; the budding fruit trees which have been nursed and cared for, and all the energies of the predecessors have been wasted.

For this reason, and for the health of the officials and the general advance of the station as a white man's residence, I should like to see a garden in every station—official and not private. The official would be given so much a year to spend on the station garden; very little should suffice, and with this sum he would do the best he could. All vegetables, etc., from the Government garden should be sold and the profits spent on improving the garden. A keen gardener would in this way make a considerable profit and be able to start fruit trees and new vegetables. His energies would not be lost, as his successor, whether keen or not, would have to take over the garden as part of his official duties and must at least preserve the work of his predecessor.

Delicate plants and seeds may be planted with advantage in native baskets stood on stones or bricks. In this way they escape the attentions of termites and black ants during their very tender stage. When they are beginning to grow too big for their baskets, they may be planted in the ground, basket and all, a process which saves transplanting and the consequent loss of energy involved. The basket when buried soon rots and is eaten by termites, and the roots are left clear to extend in any direction.

Many kinds of English vegetables are incapable of standing the fierce sun, especially as young plants. A simple potting shed may be made, open on all sides and roofed with bamboos or poles, through which the sun filters but does not strike fiercely. This roof also breaks the force of the tremendous downpour of tropical rain, which breaks young plants, washes away seeds and earth, and does much harm.

Enough sun and rain comes through the cracks to suffice, but if the rain is insufficient the plants must be watered.

It is as well also to break up the garden with rows of quickly growing trees, such as bananas, so as to give shade to the vegetables planted between them.

The following are some of the fruits and vegetables which grow well in many parts of tropical Africa.

Fruits.—Bananas, paw-paws, limes, mandarins, grape fruit or sweet limes, custard apples, avocado pears, grenadillas, guavas, mangoes, strawberries, melons.

Vegetables.—Lettuce, endive, asparagus, tomatoes, carrots, turnips, potatoes, beetroots, cabbage, brinjal (or aubergine), ladies' fingers, onions, leeks, Brussels-sprouts, peas, pumpkins, beans and cucumber. The last two, however, are often difficult to grow, and if native kinds can be obtained they will do better.

In some places, although milk is easily obtained, the officials do not trouble to make arrangements to supply themselves with butter, cream, junket and cheese, all of which are quite simple to make. The simplest way of making butter is to put some milk in a bottle and get a native to shake it up.

It can be made on a more elaborate scale by pouring the milk over-night into flat, shallow basins, skimming the cream off next morning with a large flat spoon and churning it in a small hand churn, which can be bought for £1 or 30/-.

Every implement used should be scrupulously cleaned with boiling water, as the least tint of sourness or dirt quickly turns the milk. Salt should be mixed with butter, unless the climate is very cool and the butter is to be used at once.

CHAPTER XXI

CORRESPONDENCE AND FILING

A FULL and careful system of filing will eventually save much trouble and delay in answering correspondence. The official should be able to place his hand at once on any order or subject and all the correspondence dealing with it. Undoubtedly the best system of filing is that of "card filing," for which special cabinets and card boxes are made. Without these appliances it can be easily imitated on a small scale by obtaining a number of blank cards of the same size, some files, and finding a cigar or other box of suitable size to take the cards.

There are different methods of keeping the files to which the cards refer—I will detail one presently. The chief points about the cards are: they afford an easily arranged alphabetical index to all the subjects contained in the files, and they can be added to or taken from without difficulty.

Briefly, the system of cards is this: Every subject that occurs is classified under a heading or headings, and these are written on various cards. Against these headings is entered the number of the file, or other data, by which the subject itself may be found.

These cards are then packed in alphabetical order, standing upright in a box. If there are a great number, the different letters may be divided, one from the other, by inserting a higher card between them and inscribing the letter that follows on that part of the card which comes above the general level.

The subject required can easily be found by turning over

the cards in their box without removing them, there being sufficient space left to allow them to slide backwards and forwards in the bottom of the box. When a proper card box is used, each card is bored, and there is a rod which passes through this hole and keeps the cards in a standing position. This hole is joined to the edge of the card by a slit which enables any card to be placed in position or removed from the rod without drawing off the others. With a little ingenuity a home-made copy of this device may be constructed, or a weight may be used to prevent the cards sliding down on to their sides.

A few cards more or less make little odds ; so, to facilitate finding a subject, it may be entered on several cards under different headings, each one in its place. For instance, one may have " Police, clothing and equipment," " Clothing and equipment, police," and " Equipment and clothing, police," so that whether one looks up " police," " clothing," or " equipment " one is sure to find the subject one requires without delay.

Some prefer to keep out-letters and in-letters in separate files. A reason given for this is that the copies of out-letters, being all written in a uniform manner and on the same size of paper, are more orderly if kept together. Another reason may be that copies of out-letters are made by pressing in a letter copy book. If this is done the pages of the copy book should be detachable, so that the copies may be extracted after pressing. It is undoubtedly more convenient, in turning up a subject, to find all the correspondence concerning it, both in and out, together in one place.

The best type of files is the " Pilot " or some of similar arrangement, which permit of any letter or subject being withdrawn bodily and returned again in its place without altering the order of other matter.

Different files will generally be used for different subjects, or groups of subjects, such as, Police, Ivory, Details affecting station, General correspondence, etc. These files will be numbered consecutively or given alphabetical letters.

At the beginning of each file there should be a list of contents, each separate letter or group of letters in it having a sub-number. These numbers should also be written on tabs of paper, gummed on to and projecting from their letters. It is neater and saves wear and tear to enclose each letter, or group, in a piece of folded foolscap and to this the tab may be attached, whilst the subject is again written across the outside of the foolscap.

The contents list is not really necessary with a good system of headings on cards, but it may be convenient. For instance, one might look up in the cards "Police, good conduct pay" and find that it was A/10. Having got out the file, one might wish to see how many badges are issued in the year. One has the police file in one's hand and it will be quicker to turn to the contents list and look up "yearly issue" than to put down the file and go back to the cards again.

One will now roughly detail the usual clerical work connected with correspondence. Where there are no clerical staff or facilities much of it may have to be eliminated. The incoming mail arrives, the letters are opened and each is registered in the "In-letter book," or on the "in" side if the book is for both in- and out-letters. In this letter book such details about an in-letter are briefly noted as: the post by which it arrived, who it is from, the subject and number (in office of origin). New subjects are given a new number, in the home office, and old subjects are numbered with the old numbers. The letters are then answered, the subject and the number being entered on the top, or left margin, of the letter. A duplicate copy is made of the out-letter for retention in the home office, or sometimes two copies are made, then one is retained and one sent with the original.

The advantage of writing in triplicate is that, whilst one of the copies is retained in the office of origin, the second on arrival is retained at the office of destination, whilst the original letter travels backwards and forwards with

the correspondence. When the letter returns with fresh remarks there is then no necessity to look up back letters in the files, as all the back correspondence is attached—a very convenient arrangement.

In a big office the official will probably write his letter in pencil, or roughly in ink, the typist will then make typewritten copies for signature, number them, and file the office copies.

If there is no typewriter in the station the official will probably make a fair copy in ink and the clerk will copy or put it in the press and so make the second and third copy.

Out-going letters will be registered in the same way as in-letters, the details entered in this case being: number, subject, destination, and post by which they left.

All letters or copies disposed of will be put in a temporary file or basket labelled "For filing" and at certain intervals this will be emptied and every letter put in its place in the files, the new subjects entered up on new cards, and the old subjects added in their places.

If an official has no clerical help, and consequently little time to spare, he will probably find it more convenient to write his letters in a carbon duplicate book of consecutively numbered pages, inserting the letters answered opposite the copies. When time affords he then takes out the copies, and together with the letters to which they refer, gives them new numbers and files them.

If the reply is received before he has done this he can easily turn up the number of the page in his carbon book, whilst if the letters have already been filed he can find them by means of the subject in his card files. This is a very convenient arrangement for answering correspondence whilst on trek; and when a return is made to the station the letters are filed or handed over to the clerk for that purpose.

The subject of filing and the turning up of any desired subject may sound easy in theory, but in practice it requires a considerable amount of trouble to keep the correspondence

in order, so that each subject may be easily found. There are several reasons for this: one subject is apt to lead to another and when half-way between the two it is difficult to draw a line of demarcation, when it comes to filing under one of two different headings. Again, there may be two subjects mentioned in one letter, each having already a separate number in the files. Again, some subjects are necessarily vague, and it is difficult to find suitable headings for them or to remember those headings when assigned.

Another difficulty is that there are letters which cannot immediately be answered, either because they require inquiry or they are dependent on some other matter. For such as these it is as well to keep a file or basket on the office table labelled "Letters pending." Every time a mail is despatched these can be glanced through to see if there are any that can yet be answered.

Another matter liable to be overlooked is keeping a check of out-letters which have not been answered. As regards these, if the subject does not of itself crop up again to remind one, the chances are that the subject is not important enough to be worth worrying about, and it is merely making work to rake it up. For anything of very urgent importance one can keep the copies of the out-letters on one's table in a file labelled "Letters awaiting reply." Correspondence is like a rolling snowball, it continues to grow in volume until it assumes unwieldy proportions, while there are seldom any processes at work to curtail it. Correspondence continues to accumulate, often on subjects which are of little consequence; so the more subjects that fall out of use the better for all concerned—provided they are not of vital importance.

Sometimes one comes across a small station, where all the important matters the official should have to attend to are: the collection of a tax, the keeping of law and order in his district, keeping in touch with headquarters, and acknowledging stores received, etc. All of these matters are entered in books and registers, yet one finds shelf upon

shelf groaning under a volume of correspondence, every subject in which possibly seemed of import at the time of writing.

As correspondence increases so does the labour of filing and reference. In such a case as the above, one cannot but imagine that it would do little harm to anybody if the whole office was burnt down, and the official only just had time to save the records of his real work in the district.

Yet, if he goes to his shelves and tries to weed out a lot of unnecessary correspondence he will find it a very difficult matter, and this, not so much because of any use the majority of it is to him, or anyone else, but because of a fear of being "got at," or caught napping. Any one of the numerous subjects there might suddenly be referred to in an idle moment from headquarters.

This raking up of the past is largely caused by frequent changes of individuals in certain offices. Whilst a new broom, once in a way, may be salutary, a series of new brooms, one after the other, each inquiring minutely into past matters and convinced that everything must have been wrong before they came to office, is very trying to all concerned.

In the case supposed above, perhaps there are volumes of correspondence relating to a certain Mr. Jones who visited the district whilst on a shooting trip and secured two hartebeest. Some of the correspondence deals with one of Mr. Jones' rifles, the registration number on which it appears had not been clearly marked. Other correspondence concerns a third hartebeest which Mr. Jones said that he wounded, and the horns of which are to be forwarded if found. As Mr. Jones has come and gone some four years since, it is a hundred to one against anything turning up again about him, and, moreover, his visit had no bearing on any matter which was of importance to the official in his administrative duties. Obviously the best place for the Jones and other similar correspondence is the fire. Yet it is retained, cumbering the shelves and adding to the difficulty of finding other

letters, for even now a sudden demand may come to know what was the real number of Jones' rifle, and what was the reason the matter was not fully reported at the time. If the Jones' correspondence has been cherished the official will be able to refer to the number and date of his letter, reporting the occurrence and that it was impossible for anyone to make out if the real number was 7413 or 7418. Otherwise, without the copies of his letters, the official will have to acknowledge defeat.

For such reasons there ought to be a periodical sweep up and repeal of unnecessary correspondence, starting with the Capital and from there, by way of provincial headquarters, to the outstations. In such a case the official pictured above would get his yearly list of correspondence to be destroyed, and amongst different items would notice :—

“*Subject.* Jones, Mr., Registration of rifles of.
 „ „ Hartebeest alleged to have been
 shot by.”

I have already said that I think that much clerical work might be concentrated at headquarters, where there is generally a clerical staff more competent to deal with it. One way, of enabling the outstation official to relieve his shelves of a burden of correspondence on trivial matters, would be the establishment of a system under which he had to send in to headquarters all correspondence, which did not immediately affect his district or his work, after a lapse, say, of three years.

In this case he would have already sent the Jones' correspondence into headquarters and, once the three years had elapsed, it would be understood that he was not to be called to account for anything that had been sent in in this way. At headquarters they would also have the Jones' correspondence; if it was thought necessary they could compare the two sets to see if they corresponded before burning one of them. The other copy might be kept for a further period at headquarters, or it might be referred to the Capital,

if it originated there, with a view to the provincial correspondence on the subject being destroyed. For it must be remembered that in the first case there were probably three complete sets of this useless correspondence being carefully preserved: one at the Capital, one at the provincial headquarters, and one in the district.

Besides the actual correspondence there are other matters to be filed, such as circulars, route reports, intelligence reports, orders, etc., besides others referred to in Chapter XII. Such matters may be kept either separately or grouped together, and filed under the same system of numbers and cards as the correspondence. In a very large office undoubtedly some of these subjects would have their own cabinets and card boxes.

As regards orders, if the various orders, local, provincial and those promulgated in the *Gazettes*, are difficult to turn up, it is best, instead of having to turn up many back copies, to go through the whole, mark with red ink those that affect the district, and then make an index of them.

Whilst trekking round the country the official will no doubt keep rough route reports of the paths traversed and other details, such as distances from village to village, the rivers and streams crossed, and various other data. For subsequent tours it is a great help to have these conveniently noted and filed, so that all the information available for any trek or tour proposed in the future may be immediately extracted, used en route, and returned at the conclusion of the trip.

It is a good thing to keep spare copies of rough reports on the principal routes, such as those to and from the nearest stations. Almost invariably, if a stranger arrives at the station, he will want to know the distances, camps, etc., on the route he proposes to follow. It is difficult or impossible to remember such details in one's head and quite unnecessary. To be able to furnish immediately a spare report of the route required shows the official to be well informed and business-like in his methods.

Intelligence reports only concern a district situated on a frontier and will be touched on in Chapter XXVI.

Lastly, a word about interchange of letters. An official living in a station by himself for months together is very liable to get touchy as regards affairs in his district, and very prone to take offence at a dictatorial or slighting tone used in a letter to him.

Letters between officials should invariably be courteous. Letters should be carefully read over before being despatched, to see if they are liable to lead to any misinterpretation in the reading at the other end. For often a phrase, which might sound harmless when spoken, depends largely on the tone and manner of the speaker; when written it may assume a different meaning if not accompanied by such explanatory tone.

In the case of a dispute, grievance, or misunderstanding having occurred, it is most unwise for any official to dash off an answer on the spur of the moment and to despatch it at once. If he feels at all heated about the matter he should think carefully about his reply, write it, and then let it rest one or two days before re-reading and despatching it.

First of all, with regard to letters between a senior and his direct junior. The junior should invariably adopt a courteous and respectful tone. To fail to do this puts him in the wrong, and there is no excuse for rudeness. If he disagrees with anything that is suggested, or said, he should write a temperate letter explaining his reasons carefully and fully.

The senior issues orders, but in the management of his special line or department he should leave as free a hand to the junior as possible. He should not explicitly direct his procedure in matters that are of purely local or departmental concern. It is seldom that good work is done by an official absolutely tied down and allowed no initiative; moreover, under these circumstances, if he has any ability, he cannot fail to lose interest in his work. In local matters the junior on the spot must be more conversant with all the sides of a question than any other. It will spoil his work if he has

his exact course of action, or the decisions he should give, laid down for him. A senior, who tries to control all the actions of his subordinates, is not taking that wider view of matters which is necessary to the performance of his duties in a larger field. If a senior wishes to impress any line of conduct on a junior, which he knows is altogether against the views of the latter, the matter is much better settled by an interview, if possible, as then all sides of the question can be thrashed out.

One has said perhaps too much of the attitude to be adopted by the senior to the junior. It would be as well to repeat that impertinence on the part of the junior is inexcusable. Further, the latter should always do his very utmost to carry out the policy, aims and objects of his senior. Only when he has very serious and grave reasons should he fail to do so. The test of whether such reasons are serious and grave enough to warrant him in not complying with his senior's wishes is, whether he is prepared to resign his appointment to uphold his views. If not, let him do his best to comply whatever his private opinion of their efficacy may be.

As regards correspondence between officials who are not directly situated as senior and junior, this is generally with reference to some case, the complaint of someone in one district against another in another one, or concerning the forwarding of stores, or various petty matters.

In no case should one official suggest, or attempt to suggest, a line of conduct to be pursued by the other, offer him gratuitous advice, or say anything which might savour of interference with his duties; for this would most certainly be taken in bad part.

In no case should he state his views concerning a case which is yet to be heard, or as to the punishment he thinks adequate, as this is surely the business of the man who hears the case, which is still *sub judice*. Neither should he give any impression of taking sides with his complainant as against the other's defendant; to do so would be to show

himself partial and prejudiced. For instance, a certain one, Bara, of your district comes to complain that a certain one, Rabu, of the next district, has taken away his wife.

The obvious kind of letter to write to the other official is :—

“ Bara, of So-and-so’s village, has a complaint to make against Rabu, of So-and-so’s village, of your district. I should be glad if you would hear the case.”

If it is necessary to go further into the case, which is seldom, it might be put “ Bara states so-and-so,” with no comment whatever on the statement.

There is nothing that exception can be taken to in the above by the most captious official. No one can deny that Bara has a complaint, but whether it is a sound one or a frivolous one you do not attempt to suggest, not having heard the other side. As to Bara’s statement, you do not pretend to discern whether it is pure truth or absolute fabrication, but if Bara himself is to go to state his case it would seem unnecessary to state it at all.

Yet an inexperienced official may not stop here, but will embellish a statement of fact by suggestions or a commentary on his views, such as: “ I should be glad if you would have the wife restored to Bara as soon as possible,” thus admitting a prejudice after having heard only one side of the question, and suggesting a judgment; or “ It seems to me a very serious case if what Bara says is true, and I should be glad to know what punishment you award to Rabu,” thus assuming that the official to whom the complaint is sent is not competent to judge of the seriousness or otherwise.

These are but simple examples, but they show a lack of knowledge, both of African human nature and the possible susceptibilities of a brother official. The odds are very much against Bara having made a true statement of his case; many natives think that they will prejudice the official in their favour by grossly overstating their case in the first instance.

An official who is unable to keep unprejudiced, after hearing only one side of a case, lays himself open to ridicule and the charge of incapacity. There are generally acknowledged to be two sides to a question; in Africa, these two sides are often most divergent. For instance, a native rushes in to say that a certain one, Mwezi, of another district with all his people has made war on him, seized his wife, thrown his child into the river, looted his cattle, and committed various other atrocities.

The official immediately writes off a most indignant letter to the official concerned, saying that: this sort of thing cannot be allowed to continue; will he take steps at once to prevent his people making open war on him, to have the woman and cattle returned immediately and a big fine paid? The official calls up the ferocious Mwezi, who arrives wreathed in smiles leading the "murdered" child by the hand. He states that both wife and child are his, and that they had been taken from him by the complainant. So anxious had he been to get them back that he had sent a present of two cows in exchange, but that cows, wife and child had all been retained by the complainant, owing to a child having died in the village and it being alleged that it was his wife who had bewitched it, which was not true. This being the case, he had seized back his two cows one day when they were grazing, and at the same time his wife had run back to him.

Then the other side must be heard again, and so on, until at last the whole matter is fined down to a disputed goat. It appears that, when the original fee was paid for the wife to the father, one goat died on the way, and the sender said that the father had received it, whilst the father said that the husband must send another. The husband considered that he had paid the fee in full, whilst the father held that till one goat was paid the husband was not entitled to keep the wife.

So be very careful how you accept the unsupported testimony of a native, and still more careful how you comment on it. Better still, do not comment at all.

In answering letters forbear to point out mistakes and errors unless they directly concern the subject at issue. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to say that to edit the letter you are answering by marginal remarks, underlining or even numbering the different paragraphs, is the height of bad form. The other official's letter should be left intact and all your remarks, etc., should be confined within the compass of your own letter.

CHAPTER XXII

FORESTRY ¹

THE deforestation of Africa has been proceeding apace from the earliest times, and now, with the exception of some of the equatorial forests, isolated patches and stream beds, it is almost complete. The chief cause for this is the very wasteful way in which the native cuts down and burns acres of forest to obtain new soil for his plantations, and this again is necessitated by his very unscientific methods of cultivation.

The native population of Africa is really very small, compared to that of India or China. The population of the whole continent of Africa does not probably exceed that of one big province in India, yet in Africa this small population has served practically to deforest a continent, for I think that one may assume that the greater part of Africa was covered with thick forest at no such distant date.

As far as we can gather by observation of the present remains of forest and past history, there were, several hundred years ago, enormous areas of pure forest covering at least the greater part of Central Africa. In the time of the Pharaohs the okapi and the pigmy, both denizens of dense forest, were known and probably existed not so far from Upper Egypt.

We know that agriculture in Central Africa is of fairly recent introduction ; before its advent there was no general reason for clearing ground largely ; so that we can assume that deforestation practically commenced at the same date.

¹ Forestry is generally divided into (i) Timber, and (ii) Minor forest produce. The latter will be chiefly found under " Industries and Natural Products," Chapter XI.

An idea of the extravagant waste of land that occurs in Africa may be realised by another comparison with India. If the mode of life of the African was as civilised, and his knowledge of agriculture was as advanced as that of the Indian, the whole population of Africa could support themselves in an area the size of British East Africa. Moreover, the Indian cultivator is no great exponent of his art; he is thought very poorly of in this respect by agricultural experts. It has been proved that the white planter using Indian labour is able to produce a much greater weight of produce off his land, acre for acre, than the native, and of better quality.

The above may give some idea of the immense waste of land there is and the necessity for introducing more economical forms of agriculture.

The reason for this cutting down of the forest is that the native is generally quite ignorant of the art of manuring, whilst he often has a very hazy idea of any good scheme of crop rotation. Those crops he plants as a rule impoverish the land without obtaining any really good results.

Hence he is always seeking for fresh rich forest land on which to start new fields. When there are no more forest areas to clear he must perforce return to some of his old land. After leaving it for about ten years he will find it covered with grass or scrubby bush; this he again cuts down and burns and the land is then sufficiently fertile for use.

Owing to these habits the native is of a semi-migratory disposition. I think few people realise what an unfixed abode is the usual native village. Every few years, perhaps between five and ten years, he changes the site of his village so as to get new land. Usually after a few years there is no trace left of the old village and plantations, except that the country is covered with either grass, or short bush, instead of thick bush or forest. In a stony country, however, one finds relics of these villages perhaps everywhere, in the shape of worn stones which have been used for grinding, or rings of stones marking the sites of huts.

The shortness of the native's memory and his grossly exaggerated accounts of some puny war or some slight epidemic, combined with the existence of these traces of numerous old villages, may give rise to a belief that the district has been depopulated by war or disease, or at any rate that the population was formerly greater than at present.

If a map made ten years ago of any part of tropical Africa is consulted, it will be found that few villages exist on their sites as marked in the map. In fact, some early maps of featureless, rolling flats, such as extend over a great part of the continent, are practically useless, as the villages, almost the only landmarks possible, have all changed position, whilst cultivation has been replaced by bush or grass, and bush by cultivation.

With so much space and so few people, what has, then, prevented these forests growing up again? Many things. It must take many hundreds of years to grow a forest; the native can cut them down quicker than they grow up. However, they do not appear to grow up again. The forest land which has been cleared and cultivated, when it is again left to the hand of nature, grows noxious vegetation, long grass, stunted bush—anything but forest.

The history of the ruin caused by deforestation in different colonies is too well known and too ubiquitous to need proof or discussion here. It is sufficient to say that the chief evils which have resulted from this are: the lessening of the rainfall, the drying up of formerly perennial springs, the reduction in volume or disappearance of streams, and the washing of valuable soil off bare land unprotected from heavy rainfall.

What were the original conditions which favoured the growth of these enormous forests, for there seems no doubt that up to fairly recent times they were enormous, I am not sufficiently informed to say. Perhaps it took infinite ages to form a large area of forest, spreading slowly in an ever-increasing circle from a centre, gradually moistening the soil just outside the ring and manuring it with fallen

leaves, till sufficient humus was formed to encourage tree growth. Perhaps there was a greater rainfall than now exists.¹

Whatever these conditions were, we must face the fact that they appear to be no longer extant. Great areas of forest have been cleared within recent times, and probably much greater during historical times, a circumstance which may account for the present condition of parts of the Sahara and Kalahari. The forest land having been cleared and cultivated, it quickly dries up, becomes hard and sun-baked, a condition favourable to the termite, whilst it loses the greater part of its humus.

Forests are still being cut down, although this wasteful procedure has been greatly checked by the white man's occupation, and there is little but stunted bush springing up in their place. The tree in Africa has to come through many trials and dangers before it assumes the status of a tree. As a sapling it may be burnt up by a bush fire, it may be rooted up by a pig or other animal, it may be attacked by all manner of blights and insects, whilst at all times it is subject to the attacks of termites and the attentions of a great variety of wood-borers.

Even in the forests trees appear seldom to attain any very great age. The larger tree is often but a whited sepulchre; on being cut down for timber, as often as not, it is found to be but a hollow shell, the whole core having been eaten out and filled in with red earth by the industrious termite.

One wonders how long such conditions have held in these great forests, or if they are only of recent date, for the forests seem to be deteriorating under our very eyes.

It is not, I believe, known at what precise geological epoch the white ant first came on the scene, but some place him soon after the carboniferous age and lay to his account the fact that no appreciable coal deposits are found after that date, for all fallen and dead trees would have been devoured by him as they fell. If this is so he has indeed

¹ According to some, exposure to wind is one of the chief causes which prevent the reappearance of trees and forest on cleared uplands. A strong wind has a drying effect on vegetation.

exercised in the past a more evil influence over man's destiny than he does at the present day, in which, in Africa at least, he is a most malignant enemy to the progress of all industry. With this implacable enemy—who eats up your woodwork as fast as you can build, saw or fashion it, and who is ever on the look out to attack any weak tree—there is urgent reason for preserving any forests left to the utmost of our ability, and for putting forestry, including the planting of the timber and fuel supply of the future, on a sound footing.

In most countries there is a Forestry Department, whose duties are to preserve the forests, but these departments do not always aim at creating new forests or even to growing timber for future needs on a sufficient scale. It is looking too far ahead to be often thought advisable under present conditions of revenue.

Yet such provision is surely necessary if the country is to go ahead, for in the time it would take to grow suitable timber it is to be hoped that there will be great plantations and factories, and numerous white men and industries developed in the country. Then there will be a great demand for timber for building, furniture, machinery, and all manner of other things.

Where money is not available the policy of raising loans for the purpose of re-forestation, as well as for other projects which concern and benefit the future more than the present, appears to be a sound one. It is manifestly unfair to bring the burden of a heavy taxation entirely on the present generation, so as to pay for the folly of the past and provide for the welfare of the future.

Southern Nigeria appears to be one of the few countries in which regeneration of forests is attended to on a large scale. In that country considerable exports of timber are made, the profits from which put the Forestry Department on a sound footing.¹ Forest areas are gazetted and carefully preserved, timber being only cut by issue of felling

¹ The export of mahogany logs averages about £50,000 a year in value. The revenue from felling permits in 1910 amounted to £12,185 for export purpose, and £198 on local felling permits.—Annual Report.

permits. Plantations exist in the reserves of the different districts and numbers of seedlings are planted out, including teak, mahogany, cedar and other trees, for purposes of timber. Timber licence holders are also engaged in planting out seedlings of timber trees.

In the Congo there was a rule that for every kilo of wild rubber that was gathered in the forests a certain number of rubber trees had to be planted in the district in which it was collected. This seemed a wise precaution, for as the wild rubber became exhausted so would the plantation rubber grow up to take its place; whereas otherwise the collecting impoverishes the country while building up nothing to take its place. However, in execution, this rule was hard on traders, as it practically forced all itinerant rubber buyers to have fixed abodes and plantations at stations, and was for this reason withdrawn shortly after being made.

Some parts of Africa are fairly rich in timber, whilst there is as yet little demand for it, and in such places it is, perhaps, unnecessary to begin to make provision for the future. In poorly timbered countries, or in places where there is an export or a great demand for timber, some such rule as above, but arranged so as not to tie down the individual, might well be enforced. For instance, it might be incumbent on the Government to plant so many timber trees, and so many rubber-tree seedlings in its plantations, for every felling licence or rubber-collecting licence granted. Otherwise a certain proportion of the revenue collected on these heads might be laid aside for regeneration. With timber trees it would be long before there was a return for the expenditure so used, but with rubber it would not be so long.

The revenue from the exploitation of timber, like that from ivory and wild rubber, represents so much capital, or asset, taken out of the country, and the greater part of this should be put back again in some form or other that will eventually enrich that country.

Besides the timber supply there is the fuel supply to be

thought of. In practically all parts of Africa, not immediately on the coast, wood fuel is used for almost everything, steamers, railways, factories, cooking, etc. Such fuel is wasteful of energy and material. In many parts now the want of sufficient firewood is being felt; where the native population is thick there is sometimes not sufficient available to keep the inhabitants warm and to cook their food. An example of this is a great part of the Shoa Downs in Abyssinia, in which locality cow-dung, maize stalks and anything but wood is used for making the small and economical fires of the country people; whilst wood for Addis Ababa has to be brought from farther and farther yearly, and consequently becomes more costly.

Perhaps electricity will solve the problem of how to get warmth and energy eventually. Whatever the solution, the problem is there to be faced and in a not too distant future; meanwhile, it behoves us not to be too reckless with existing supplies, however sufficient they may appear for present needs, both of timber and fuel.

Forestry is outside the province of the ordinary official, but he may nevertheless use forethought and make what provision he can for the future. Firstly, he can prevent wholesale wastage of fuel round his station, and ensure that the existing supply lasts as long as possible and that fresh undergrowth is allowed to grow up in depleted areas. If he does not do this he will soon notice, as his station grows, and if all his police and soldiers are cutting wood freely, that firewood and hut-building material has to be brought from an uncomfortable distance for use in the station.

Secondly, he can prevent the wilful cutting down, burning, and waste of good timber trees for purposes of clearing ground and supply of fuel. For the latter purpose only trees that are of no use for timber should be used.

So as to recognise these it would be useful if every Forestry Department would make it a business to find out all good timber trees indigenous to a country, and which trees are useful for certain purposes, which are not attacked by

borers, which should be used for ridge poles and so on. Having done so, they should also collect a series of the native names for each kind, and furnish these lists to all stations, so that the various kinds may be easily identified.

The officials concerned will then find it easy to preserve those trees that are especially useful, or are scarce, by prohibiting the natives from destroying them. Where they occur on an area to be cultivated they may be left standing in the midst of the fields and the natives would be forbidden to light fires against them, cut off their bark, or otherwise damage them. The natives themselves would soon value them as places in which to sit in shade between their labours, and they would also enhance the beauty of the scenery. The monotony of the usual African scenery is generally due to the fact that it is either all tree, all bush, all grass, or all cultivation. A park-like scene is comparatively rare.

These lists of native names, and notes on the trees available in the country, would greatly assist the official in the selection of suitable timber, poles, rafters, etc., for building, furniture-making and various other purposes. Lastly, all officials should do their utmost to prevent wholesale clearing of forest or wooded areas, the burning down of trees, forest fires and the wanton destruction of useful trees in all parts of their district, besides in the immediate vicinity of their stations.

Little appears to be done, or is possible to be done, at present in the way of exploitation and export of timber from Central Africa, except on the West Coast, where the great rivers make export possible. Here a valuable trade in ebony and mahogany is carried on principally from the Ivory Coast and Southern Nigeria for mahogany, whilst ebony appears to come chiefly from Senegal. On the East Coast the only appreciable export appears to be mangrove bark and poles, an industry which flourishes all along the coast, roughly between the limits of Kismayu to the north and Beira to the south.¹

¹ Over 4000 tons of mangrove bark and poles were exported from Beira in 1910.

This is an industry which at present requires little supervision by the Forestry Department and one which is capable of being greatly expanded.

In British East Africa, although there is no export of timber at present, there is an ever-increasing internal demand, owing to the number of white settlers and European-managed industries springing up in the country. The country is rich in forests, but great attention is being paid to their preservation and forest offences are dealt with severely. Trees are issued free from the Government plantations for planting at stations, and the planting of trees is encouraged in other ways.

A method of obtaining seedlings, which has been commenced in that country, is to clean under and around seed-bearing trees of good species in the forest. The report for 1910 shows the revenue of the Forestry Department as £12,365, and the expenditure as £14,039. Of this latter sum £1710 was expended in nurseries, plantations and re-forestation.

A country as rich in timber as Southern Nigeria and British East Africa can afford to put their Forestry Departments on a sound footing. In countries very poor in timber there is no revenue accruing on this head, and so the Forestry Department is generally but a poorly paid department; but it is just in these countries—poor in timber—that great efforts should be made to induce a future supply. It is, then, in the latter countries that the humble efforts of the individual official are so valuable, in saving the few trees existing, the preservation of which does not warrant the appointment of a forest officer for the district, and the planting of trees on a small scale at and around his station.

CHAPTER XXIII

ARMED FORCES

IN dealing with the African soldier, and especially the policeman—for the latter is less under supervision and brought more in contact with the native—one must exercise a constant vigilance lest he abuse his position, defrauding, terrorising, or imposing on the ordinary native.

The smart soldier appears so trustworthy, so cheerful, so genial and so obedient that one is often lulled into a false sense of security concerning his doings. It is difficult to imagine such a man performing any brutal or dishonest action.

The old African nature has not been killed by this veneer of cleanliness and discipline. It is still there, and only waiting for an opportunity to assert itself. Pleasant and kindly as the soldier may appear, one must look on every one as a potential murderer, bully, ravisher, slave-dealer, and thief. It is only fear and discipline that prevents him from being all these things and one must take steps accordingly. If one neglects to do this one's police will, unknown to one, institute a reign of terror in the district, whilst driving all complainants against themselves away from the office.

Even those well acquainted with the native languages do not hear all that goes on, whilst those who have to rely almost entirely on interpreters often have no idea whatever of many happenings in their district.

One must be ever on the watch with one's native soldiery and also, to a lesser degree, with all other employés, for it

is often easy for them to bully and extort from natives, and to accept bribes, without great danger of detection.

The simplest form of tyranny that occurs is that, when a policeman is sent about some business, he takes a very high hand with the natives of each village he visits, commandeers food, chickens and sheep, and if a native objects he threatens to report him to the official.

This is a very difficult thing to stop absolutely, as one has to support the authority of the policeman to a certain extent, otherwise he could not possibly perform the many duties, often difficult and dangerous, that fall to his lot. He may have to arrest a man in a village in which all the natives are hostile. It is only by bluff and by taking a very high hand with the chief that he may be able to get the man handed over to him. On the other hand, there may be a little difficulty in getting the man, which is no fault of the chief, and the policeman says to him, "Now if you don't give me a sheep I am going to report you to the white man as a very rebellious person."

The difficulty of proving whether a policeman on duty or otherwise obtained food, etc., by fair purchase or by extortion is often great. Police are generally given a money allowance in lieu of rations, and are supposed to make their own arrangements for obtaining food, which often leads to trouble and malpractices on their part. If rations are issued there is no reason for them to have dealings with the natives, except for the purchase of luxuries, which can be obtained at the station market, and this will be under supervision. It is then possible to forbid them to receive anything whatever from the natives of the district when travelling on duty, and, if they are found to have done so, they can be punished for an infringement of this order, without having to go into a possibly intricate case concerning the means by which such food was obtained.

However, such a rule reduces the mobility of the policeman, as he must carry with him rations sufficient for the whole time he is absent, and perhaps extra in case he may

be delayed by unforeseen circumstances. Again, however carefully one may try to make such arrangements that the policeman is independent of the native, it is very difficult to carry it out in practice, for he must cook his food and so will want cooking pots, also he must have shelter at night.

Perhaps a better arrangement is to have a well-recognised tariff for the sum to be paid and the amount to be received as a daily ration of food, and then make the different chiefs responsible for the cooking and supply of the same when indented for. The policeman pays the chief the proper price, and receives in exchange the cooked ration agreed upon. If either party is defrauded he can complain to the official.

The only real way of getting at the bottom of things in one's district is by means of trekking about and keeping in constant touch with the natives of the country.

Ensnconced in his official capacity in the office, there are many things that do not come to the knowledge of the official. The bigger the station and the staff the less will he know what is going on outside it. By constantly moving about, talking to the different chiefs and natives in the less awe-inspiring atmosphere of their own villages, and keeping his eyes open, he will gain all sorts of information he would never do otherwise, concerning murders, poison ordeals, the origin and rights of feuds, smuggling, poaching, native customs and beliefs. Also he will hear by this means of any abuse of authority on the part of his police.

The difference between police and regular is that the policeman, often an ex-regular, is the one who upholds the authority of the official in all ordinary dealings with natives, arrests culprits, guards the civil stores and offices, is despatched on errands to bring in chiefs, and is supposed to help to keep law and order in the country. The regular is, as a rule, only for use in actual warfare.

The police are at the disposal of the official of a district, to distribute or to move about as he thinks fit—unless there is a police officer. In that case the latter is responsible for

their discipline, equipment, training, etc., and disposes of them according to the official's directions.

Police may be used for rounding up obstreperous villages and often for small expeditions, when circumstances suddenly arise, without reference to headquarters. For anything but the most trivial hostilities the regular is used.

It is obvious, from the duties to be performed by the police, that great military knowledge, precision in arms, and perfection in drill, are acquirements not so important to them as are intelligence and good character. A certain amount of drill must be done by the policeman for the sake of discipline, and to enable him to perform his daily duties, but such drill should only consist of simple movements. Such acquirements as company and battalion drill are quite useless to him.

The regular, on the other hand, generally has a fixed abode, from which he cannot be sent without first obtaining leave from the Capital. It is essential that he should be well trained and disciplined; especially should he be trained in such warfare as he is likely to be engaged in, viz. bush fighting and savage warfare.

He is not to be used until the occasion for his use arises: and everybody (except himself) hopes that it will not arise. It is obviously best if regulars are concentrated as much as possible in centres, as by so doing they receive better and more advanced instruction. In practice it is not always possible to concentrate them, as the area over which they may be required is so great that it is often necessary to split them up and station detachments at the most important spots. Their training should aim at reaching as high a state of proficiency as their capabilities will admit of. Incidentally it may be mentioned that a modern tendency is to attempt to train the black soldier to a higher state of perfection than he is capable of, and to a kind of warfare that he is never likely to be engaged in. A man whose fighting, if he does any, will most certainly be bush fighting, is often trained as if it were expected that he was to meet

adversaries who would conduct themselves like European troops. Such high-class training often robs him of any natural aptitude he may have possessed for bush-craft. However, points of view differ. The essential point about the regular is that he is there to meet a serious emergency, that if this arises he should be as well fitted as possible to meet it, and that he can only be moved or employed with the express sanction of the Central Government.

Seeing that all the work of administration is carried on by police, and that they are able to keep law and order and deal with any situations arising with that force alone, some civil officials have a prejudice against the military.

The chief reason for this prejudice appears to be that they consider the expenditure on the military head a useless waste of money, and that if it were abolished it would give them more police and so secure greater efficiency of administration. Finally, they think that if the country were not burdened with military expenditure it would be the quicker able to pay its way.

These arguments are, in a way, sound enough, except that history has shown us that, however peaceful things may appear, it is impossible to run a country, much less a continent, without regular troops. Africa, far from being overburdened with native troops, is, so far as the British Possessions go, almost dangerously weak. Mutinies, rebellions, organised gun-running, jihads, or holy wars, and various other circumstances conducing to unrest and requiring the services of well-trained native troops, have not been such rare events in the past that one can count on their entire absence in the future. Such risings and the growth of power of mahdis and mullahs have a way of springing into being with startling suddenness, and disciplined black troops to meet the occasion cannot be called into being in five minutes or even five months.

Another point that is overlooked by the anti-military official is that, although his district may be in perfect order and he thinks that he could deal with any situation which

might arise, the regular troops he is complaining of may not be there to watch his district, or even his country.

First, let him not be too certain of that well-ordered district of his—there may be an epidemic of gun-running and he may suddenly find the place seething with rifles. Apart from this, however, and granted that he has the most quiet and orderly district of which it is possible to conceive, he must remember that regular troops are for service anywhere, or at least any black troops in British Africa should be liable for service in any part of the continent. Meanwhile, they must be raised somewhere and have to stop somewhere, so why should they not be enriching his district by spending their pay there?

“But if they are for use on the other side of the continent or elsewhere,” says the civilian, “why make my country pay for their upkeep?” In this he, perhaps, has grounds for complaint. A battalion may have been raised in his country because the people are of exceptionally fine physique, amenable to discipline, and because they have already conducted themselves well in warfare.

All regular troops should most certainly be an imperial and not a local concern.¹ If they were paid for out of the Imperial Exchequer, instead of being a source of burden the presence of a battalion spending their pay in a country would be a source of profit. It would then be possible always to pick troops from the best tribes available, irrespective of whether such troops were actually a necessity in that country, or whether it was willing to pay for them.

Surely, it would be a great advantage if the home Government made itself responsible for all military forces, recruited them where they could obtain the best material and stationed them where the needs for them were greatest. As each dependency made its way and became self-paying, its

¹ Some of the Crown Colonies contribute towards army funds, but Mauritius is the only African one which does. We are speaking here of black troops, which are generally paid for by the various Governments concerned.

Government could make, on a small scale, a military grant to the home Government, independent of what troops were stationed there, even as Canada and Australia are now doing on a large scale for naval expenditure.

To return to the police : there are generally central training camps, or stations, to which all police are sent from time to time for instruction, or at any rate for a period to learn their work on enlistment.

The official at each little outstation has not the time, the facilities, and, in many cases, the military knowledge to conduct such instruction at his station.

It is a difficult matter to know how much police should be transferred from station to station. Sometimes police are locally raised on the understanding that they are not to be sent away from their country. It is undoubtedly a great advantage to have men who know the country, language, and people. On the other hand, after they have been some time in a country, they get to know the politics too well ; they have probably married and have other interests in the country, have their relations and friends whom they are anxious to help, a knowledge of all the intrigues and the weak points of the various chiefs. Under such conditions it is hardly probable that they will fail to use such knowledge to serve their own ends, to the detriment of justice.

Police should be fairly proficient in musketry, and so it is advisable that they perform a course every other year or so at a central training camp, unless there is a police officer at the station who can train the men on the spot.

In provinces in which there are but few police and no police officers at the various stations, arrangements should be made for a depôt or training station at province headquarters. To this the outstations can send their men as enlisted, to perform a period of training. They will also be able to send others for instruction and any that require special training, such as men to be promoted, to become drill instructors, buglers, etc. Any policeman who has

shown laxness, want of discipline, or ignorance of his duties, may also be sent to headquarters for a rigorous course of training, and there he will receive a personal supervision not possible at an outstation.

Military and police lines should be situated on a gently sloping, well-drained bit of land, and every effort should be made to ensure that they are sanitary. They should serve as an example to the natives of the district of cleanly and orderly native habitations.

The dress of police should be plain and serviceable, but smart and easy to keep clean. A tarboosh, jersey or khaki shirt, belt, shorts, and putties are the usual items. When leaving the station on duty the blanket may be taken, worn *en banderole*.

Sandals may be worn, where the ground is hot, stony or abounding in thorns, but boots should not be encouraged. To the native, boots are often a caste mark. They are looked on as the hall-mark of gentility, education, superiority, and self-respect. The native who can creak around, at great pain and discomfort to himself, in clumsy boots, thinks that he has raised himself immeasurably above his fellows. Having once been allowed, it is almost impossible to discontinue them without causing mutiny, or at any rate great discontent. Yet boots in the African soldier are the greatest mistake; he loses all mobility and becomes clumsy and awkward, in place of being quick and active. They altogether put him out of action when he has to deal with the unbooted savage, a prisoner escaping, or an enemy in hills, and they make him arrogant and overbearing to his unbooted fellows. Also they greatly reduce his marching powers and altogether destroy his running powers, unless, indeed, he has the sense to wear them round his neck.

CHAPTER XXIV

INSPECTIONS

THE official who has his heart in his work must try to avoid wasting too much time in the preparation of what is generally known as "eyewash," viz. useless show, for inspection purposes. The inspecting officer, if he is of any use at all, will see through this and will not judge of the official's work in his district purely by the kind of decorations prepared for his arrival, but by the amount of advance made in the district, the condition of the roads and rest houses, the office, records of cases, works accomplished, and so on.

It must be annoying to a Governor never to be able to see a place under its normal conditions, but always with everything artificially prepared for his inspection, flags flying, natives freshly dressed up in clean clothes, bands playing, savages dancing in war paint, and so on.

The ideal inspection, and that from which a better idea of the official's capacity could be obtained, would be for him to see a day's ordinary routine of work, cases being tried, and everything taking place just as if he were not there. However, this is hardly possible; nevertheless he can order that things should go on as nearly as possible in their ordinary routine, and so get a better idea of what work is done and how it is carried out.

It must be remembered that practically every official has more work than he can get through, if he attempts all he ought to do. He is generally short of funds and understaffed. So it is never a case of doing all he wants to do, or thinks he ought to do, but of doing the most important things, and as to which these are opinions differ. Also it

is never a case of bringing in all the reforms desirable and having everything exactly as it should be. The best one can do is to have things as near as one can to one's ideal, and to perform as much as is possible under the circumstances. Therefore an inspection should not be a kind of inquisition, or a setting of traps to find out what has not been done or how little has been done. Rather should it be conducted in the light of a search after what has been done. If, when the total sum has been added up, it is found to be insufficient, the official can fairly be blamed. If, on the other hand, it is found that he has spent his time on the wrong things, this can be pointed out to him. I have heard the unfortunate official pulled up short when he tries to tell what he has done, the difficulties he has had to contend with—and there are always difficulties which are deserving of a sympathetic attitude from the superior—and when he tries to make clear his aims and hopes. Yet it seems to me that these are the very things that the inspecting officer ought to know, so that he may judge of the work accomplished, and, also, so that he may learn about local conditions and what are the official's views and aims.

The chief point is whether the official is a worker and whether he has ability. If he has both and has been doing the wrong things, or has been devoting too much time on some things and not enough on others, it is easy to tell him to direct his energies into other channels. If, however, he is checked for not having done certain things, whilst he is given no credit for other things he has spent much time and trouble over, he will resent this, and it will probably not stimulate him to fresh endeavours.

If, on the other hand, an official is really lazy and incompetent, I do not see that there is much to be done with him—except to suggest that he is not required.

The kind of things by which an inspecting officer will usually judge a district, starting from his arrival in it, are:—

The state of the roads ; if well kept up and tapping

the chief centres of the district. Not much can be expected in this line if the road grant is small, but they should be well cleaned, and streams bridged.

If the rest houses and camps are in good repair, clean, and tidy. If the paths in the station are well kept, neat, and serviceable.

Police lines ; if sanitary, clean, and tidy.

The arrangement of the correspondence and records, and if the official is able to lay his hands at once on any orders, letters, etc., he may want.

If the official books are well kept and up to date.

If the records of cases are well kept.

The suitability of the punishments given to the crimes.

The amount of tax receipts and the arrangements for collecting it.

The discipline and smartness of the police.

How well informed the official is about his district, the country, people, their languages, customs, and manners.

What has been done to encourage trade and make revenue.

The general attitude of the natives : whether respectful, contented, obedient, and friendly, or the reverse.

What matters chiefs bring forward when he meets them.

What station and district orders have been issued.

What returns are to be seen for money spent on the station and on other heads.

Camping ground, and arrangements in station. If kept clean. Rest houses for travellers, etc.

Water supply, drinking and washing arrangements.

Gardens and plantations.

If any local industries have been encouraged or fresh ones started.

CHAPTER XXV

SLEEPING SICKNESS

SLEEPING SICKNESS has of late years assumed such a great importance in African affairs that a few words on the subject may not be out of place.

This disease, as most people know, is communicated by the agency of the tsetse fly, which acts as host to the trypanosome.

In an uninfected area the flies are innocuous. They become infected by biting a sufferer from sleeping sickness, in which case some of the trypanosomes from the blood of the latter ensconce themselves in the proboscis of the fly. When the same fly subsequently bites a healthy person, these trypanosomes may be passed into his blood and circulation, and so infect him with this malady. The trypanosomes accumulate in his blood and the patient becomes more and more listless till death supervenes.

The signs of the disease are a swelling in the glands at the back of the neck, and sometimes in other places, and a listlessness on the part of the sufferer, generally accompanied by a vacant look, as if he were only half aware of anything that was happening.

It used to be thought that it was only one species of tsetse that was able to carry this disease, viz. *Glossina palpalis*, and also that it was necessary for this fly to bite a human being actually suffering from sleeping sickness, in order to become infected. More recent researches tend to prove that this is not the case; but that other tsetse, notably *morsitans*,¹ are able to carry infection; also that

¹ Some of the different kinds of tsetse are very difficult to tell apart, and a microscope is necessary to distinguish between them. The *palpalis* is perhaps the easiest to recognise. All the lower joints, or tarsi, of the hind legs in this species are black, and it can only be confused with one other kind, *pallicera*, the hind legs of which are also black, whereas in all the rest they are pale or yellow. *Palpalis* is of a generally darker colour than the others; it may be distinguished from *pallicera* in that its antennæ are dark instead of light, as in the latter. In Uganda *G. pallidipes* is supposed to carry infection.

certain animals are able to carry the trypanosome in their blood, without themselves being affected by them. Such animals may form walking reservoirs of infection, capable of carrying the disease and infecting the fly wherever they go.

Moreover, it has also been discovered that the disease may be carried accidentally by other insects, such as the common house-fly, under certain circumstances. Such insects do not act as hosts of the trypanosome, like the tsetse, but when settling on a sore or biting an infected creature they may get trypanosomes entangled in their feet or caught up in their probosces. Then, if they pass straight to an uninfected creature, and settle on a sore place or bite him, they may inoculate the latter. The chances of infection being carried in this way are slight, except, perhaps, in the case of sore-backed transport animals stabled and grazing together.

Under the first supposition, that it was only *palpalis* which could carry the infection, the area over which the disease was likely to spread was strictly limited to the habitat of that fly. *Palpalis* is never found very far distant from the shady banks of a river, stream, or lake. By removing all shade and clearing round a station, or on each side of a river crossing, it is possible to make a station or a road *palpalis*-free to all intents and purposes.¹ Moreover, it was thought possible to put people entirely out of the reach of infection and prevent the continuation of the disease by moving them out of a *palpalis*-infested area to some other, even if that other area contained other kinds of tsetse fly.

If we are to admit that any kind of tsetse may carry the disease, the area which may eventually become infected is enormously increased. The habitat of *morsitans* is not so limited or well defined as that of *palpalis*.

Efforts to eradicate the disease generally take the form of a rigorous medical inspection, the removal of every

¹ "Lemon grass is widely used throughout the country to plant in areas which have been cleared for the purpose of driving away *Glossina palpalis*, the carrier of sleeping sickness. All the lemon grass now in the country has been produced from a single root imported by the Botanical Department some years ago."—Uganda, Report for 1911-12.

suspect and his isolation in a place where he cannot be bitten, and so communicate and continue the disease. It is manifest that if the source of infection is thus removed, and the fly can find no more infected people to bite, as the formerly infected flies die out the neighbourhood should gradually become infection free.

If, however, wild animals of the district can become reservoirs of infection, no removal of sick and suspected persons, however rigorously carried out, can entirely remove infection.

Again, it was formerly thought that the spread of infection from one district to another could be absolutely stopped by the isolation of infected areas, and preventing all natives in such areas from entering any other. It is difficult enough to control the movements of the native; when, however, it becomes a case of the wild animal being able to carry infection, it becomes a matter of absolute impossibility to check all possible spread of infection by this means.

It only remains to do all one can by forbidding natives, domestic and transport animals, to move from proclaimed infected areas to others, and also by inspecting and removing every suspected person found.

It follows, then, that at present there is no absolute and infallible way of stamping out the disease, unless the whole of the inhabitants of an infected area are removed bodily to a fly-free area, a proceeding which is seldom possible.

Where the whole country-side is covered with fly, it is useless to move the people from one fly area to another; worse than useless, in fact, for there is the chance of infecting a new area. All that can be expected or hoped for is to keep the disease well in hand, by the removal of all suspects to isolation camps, and so attempt to keep the disease within certain areas.

It follows that to attain satisfactory results one must have an efficient and sufficient medical staff, that the

principal medical officer in the district must be allowed a perfectly free hand in framing rules, regulations, and measures for dealing with the disease, and that the whole policy and management of the district must be subservient to these considerations.

It also follows that the chief necessity for areas infected, or threatened with infection, is isolation and the curtailing of movement and traffic to as great an extent as possible. Therefore the opening up of a country to trade and traffic and the dealing with sleeping sickness problems are two conflicting elements, of which one must give way before the other. It is evident that the latter is most important; for if one opens up a country to trade and to the spreading of sleeping sickness, there will eventually be few or no people left with whom to trade.

So in infected and threatened areas the official must set his face against all attempts at an opening up of his district. All such matters must be postponed till the future, and at first all his energies must be spent, in co-operation with the medical authorities, in subduing the disease and preventing its spread. When this is well in hand he may begin to think about what trade facilities, always under certain restrictions, may be granted.

The treatment of sleeping sickness patients will not come into the province of the ordinary official. If he detects a sufferer, or even a suspected sufferer, he should send him to the nearest medical officer or lazarette, making any arrangements desirable to avoid possible spread of infection en route.

So far as the sufferer himself is concerned he is practically doomed, and there is, unfortunately, nothing to be done for him. Experiments continue to be made, but at present no satisfactory treatment appears to have been discovered. The only consideration, then, is to prevent him from infecting any possibly uninfected tsetse fly, and to make things as pleasant for him as circumstances will permit.

CHAPTER XXVI

BOUNDARIES, HINTERLANDS, AND UNADMINISTERED AREAS

THE administration of a district which is situated on a frontier, or which possesses an unadministered hinterland, differs, in several particulars, from that of one surrounded by other districts under the same Government.

If the neighbouring territory is administered by the same Government, the official has no concern whatever for his neighbour ; he is responsible for his district alone, and it is not his business to report on or criticise any happening outside it. He either knows, or can find out by asking, everything that may affect him which occurs in neighbouring districts, and all are subject to the same rules and regulations. If the few points that arise between them cannot be settled satisfactorily, they can be immediately referred to headquarters, where they will be arranged.

If, however, there is a foreign country, or an unadministered area adjoining his district, the official is not only responsible for all information within his own precincts, but he should also be well informed concerning the neighbouring territory. He should pass on all available information to the intelligence department of his own Government, who would otherwise lack information of the conditions and trend of affairs in the adjacent country.

When dealing with a foreign Government, the problems that arise between two adjacent territories assume more important dimensions, and are less easily solved, than those between district and district of the same Government. Each side will look at the matter from the standpoint of its own rules and regulations, customs and laws—which

may differ essentially. Moreover, there may be other political matters which affect the problem.

Again, if the matter cannot be arranged between the officials of the two different nations, each has to refer it through his own Government, and thence it may pass between Colonial and Foreign offices for years before an agreement is arrived at. It is evident that an official who has to deal with others of a foreign Government should have tact and patience. Also he should know the language of the people with whom he has to deal. He must do his utmost to prevent any points arising between the two parties, and must try to solve amicably those that crop up, so that they are not held over for a long interval whilst the Governments concerned communicate with each other.

Beyond all things, he must be courteous in his correspondence, friendly in his actions and bearing. He should aim at the ready concession of all small and immaterial points, with a view to being able to take up a firmer position when dealing with matters that are of more importance to his Government.

The small points that occur for settlement between two adjacent countries, especially where the same tribe inhabits both sides of a frontier, are petty civil cases in which the defendant lives one side of the boundary line and the complainant the other. It is customary to send the complainant, if he is of your side, across to state his case before the foreign official of the nearest station, having first written to ask if he would mind hearing the case.

When complaints are sent by him for you to hear, the case should be gone into as soon as possible, even if it is inconvenient to do so. Having heard the case, a report of the proceedings, with the judgment, should be sent back with a courteous letter covering it. Any points which may not be immediately apparent should be explained in full, as the official may have some difficulty in understanding your language, whether it is your own or an attempt at his.

Even where tribes are different on either side of the frontier, owing to the widespread custom of exogamy which forces a native to marry outside his village, clan, totem or tribe, cases of runaway wives, purchase-money for wives unpaid, and others are sure to be constantly occurring. More difficult to deal with are natives moving backwards and forwards from one side of the frontier to the other ; men wanted for some crime or other and escaping into the adjacent territory, and people with whom one Government is at war taking refuge with the other.

To know how to act under such circumstances it would be as well for the official to ask for definite instructions from his Government—if he has none—as to whether he is to allow natives from the other side to emigrate to his district, whether he is to hand back all alleged criminals escaping from justice or only those on certain charges, and what attitude he is to adopt towards people at war with the other nation. “ With strict neutrality ” is the correct answer to the last question, but one may be neutro-phobe or neutro-phile, if one may use such words.

Where there is much going and coming of natives across the frontier, there occur cases of natives of one side infringing the rules of the other. If one from the other side is caught infringing rules on your side, the best plan is to punish him, only you must be certain that he was actually within your territory both when he committed the offence and when he was caught ; then inform the other official, in a letter full of apology, and, at the expiration of his sentence, send the offender back under escort to be delivered to his official. If you do not do this, natives from the other side will think that they can break your laws with impunity.

The official on the other side should be immediately informed of all regulations which may affect in any way his subjects, if they cross the border, such as prohibitions to import cattle, bhang, etc. Smuggling is another source of difficulty and annoyance between two countries, especi-

ally when one of the two winks at it, knowing well that it has more to gain than to lose by allowing it to continue.

It is impossible to watch the whole length of a frontier, with the forces one generally has at one's disposal, and so it is practically impossible absolutely to stop such a proceeding. However, it is possible to check it to a very great extent and make the natives realise that it is an enterprise hardly worth embarking upon.

Almost the only things that are really likely to be smuggled from one side to another are ivory or rubber, chiefly the former. The reasons for the desire to smuggle such things are generally, that the price of sale is better on the other side, that there are more facilities for sale, or that owing to stringent regulations, or, in the case of ivory, game licences, on the near side, there is no means of disposal or way of accounting for the possession of such articles.

It is practically useless trying to catch the offenders red-handed, unless, indeed, there are but few roads of egress and ingress. However, if the district is well in hand and the official well informed, it is more often than not that he is able to gain information of the transaction after the event. Either it is reported by a chief, or he hears of the death of the elephant in the case of ivory, or that such and such a village were eating elephant meat, and then an inquiry will lead to the tracing of the tusks. At other times he hears about the purchase of tusks on the other side, or the division of the proceeds leads to squabbling amongst the participators. By then finding out the offenders, severely punishing and fining them, and also giving bad marks to all chiefs and responsible persons, who should have reported the matter, it is generally possible to reduce such smuggling to insignificant proportions.

Another source of disagreement between two countries in an ill-defined boundary, one, for instance, that follows a line of latitude or longitude, as it can only be guessed at approximately, till defined and beaconsed by a skilled surveyor. When the accurate demarcation of the line finally

takes place, it is found to cut villages in half, divide tribes, grazing grounds, and watering places by an arbitrary line, or to separate a man's hut from his fields.

Such lines have been necessary to define spheres of interest and the borders of unadministered hinterlands adjoining on other countries. When the territory is occupied, every effort should be made to come to some workable arrangement as to frontier.

In Europe, big rivers, ranges of mountains, and natural features appear to make good frontiers, but in Africa the same is not always the case. Nearly all the big rivers are inhabited by the same tribe living on both banks, often by a fishing people who move up and down the river, stopping on either bank indiscriminately. The only really satisfactory boundaries are tribal boundaries, and these do not necessarily coincide with natural features. The same tribe may inhabit both sides of a mountain or a lake, swamp, river or watershed. A division which arbitrarily cuts a tribe in two can never be called a good frontier from an administrative point of view; endless difficulties will occur in dealing with the bisected tribe, however well defined is the natural feature of the boundary.

The only good, workable division is one which assigns all of certain tribes—together with their lands of cultivation, grazing grounds, and watering-places—to one country and the whole of other tribes with these adjuncts to the other. On investigation it will be found that the natives themselves have very clear and well-defined boundaries between tribes, sections, and clans, and that such boundaries have held from time immemorial and are religiously observed.

Where, however, a tribe is itself split up into two or more sections, generally hostile to one another, the native boundary between these sections will often form as good a boundary line as that between tribes, so long as it is the native boundary and no other.

The great point is that if such and such a tribe is assigned to this district, or this Government, and you make the

boundary accordingly, you have made a frontier which the natives have always recognised and will continue to do so. If you make an arbitrary division, even if this is on a clearly defined natural feature, you shake up the native ideas of boundary and property utterly, and you make a frontier which the natives have never recognised and probably never will.

Now let us take the unadministered area. The probable arrangement will be that the official has a certain district consisting of certain tribes, who are directly under his control and for dealing with whom he has sufficient staff and police. Beyond this is an ill-defined, unadministered area, for which he is held indirectly responsible, but for dealing with which he has no staff or facilities. This area is probably little known and its limits are but vaguely defined, while it finally abuts on a foreign country. On the map, probably, the whole of this area is marked with the name of his district or province.

Whether he is supposed to take any active interest in this sphere, by travelling through it when opportunity occurs, or whether he is forbidden to do so, for fear of complications arising which may lead to a punitive expedition, it is in either case one of his duties to gain all the information he can about the territory, its inhabitants, their customs, feuds, and attitude towards each other and the Government. Even if he has not been told to, he will find it to his advantage to do this; firstly, because difficulties and probably raids will occur between the unadministered people and his own people. It is, then, necessary to know the histories of their feuds and the origin of the present ill-feeling, if he is to judge fairly between them.

Secondly, there must come a time when this country will be opened out. If it does not occur in his time, it is his misfortune, but if it does, and he has all the latest and best information about the country, it will obviously be of great value. Moreover, he will then undoubtedly have a considerable claim on the attention of his Government as

the man to take it over. I think that most officials would like to be the first to take over a new country and to be the founders of new stations and establish the authority of Government in new localities, rather than stick to the routine work of a station and country which have already been built, organised, and brought under control by others.

If you are not allowed to visit the area, it will certainly tend to diminish the accuracy of the intelligence you glean, and make it necessary for you to verify all statements time after time; but it need not dishearten you. You can still gain very good and accurate intelligence, if you only are very patient and careful. Remember that Sir John Kirk, whilst resident at Zanzibar, accumulated the most extraordinary and accurate intelligence concerning the mainland and far into the then unknown interior of the continent.

So glean all the information you can, concerning the different tribes that inhabit the region; their sub-divisions, chiefs, and headmen; their pursuits—whether agricultural or pastoral; their relative wealth, strength, and organisation; their feuds and the origin; their customs and local politics. About the country you can find out the routes, rivers, watering-places, lakes, habitations, and their direction and the days of march they are situated one from the other.

Above all, you can lay the foundations of a subsequent and peaceful occupation of the country by getting into touch with the chiefs, or their representatives, and allowing them to realise that you are the person to whom to come for the solution of any difficult problem. Also you may be gradually getting them used to the idea that they belong to your country, and will eventually be brought under your administration.

The unadministered people will probably make raids, or be reported to have made raids, on your people, and in dealing with these you should do your utmost to get to the bottom of the affair, and look at it justly, from both

points of view. Only too often such raids are regarded entirely from the point of view of those under administration, who, if they are taxpayers, no doubt have the prior claim, and the wrongs and grievances of the other side are hardly given a hearing.

It must be remembered that an unadministered people are generally very ignorant of all ways and methods of government, and are often afraid of coming to state their case.

They may never realise that they are making war against a white man's Government, but only think that they are retaliating against hereditary enemies. Feeling the impossibility of obtaining recompense, and ignorant of how to proceed, they have had recourse to arms. Perhaps only a few men were involved in the original raid, for which the whole tribe is subsequently punished. If the matter had been gone into, it would most likely have been possible to have had these men handed over and a fine paid by the rest of the tribe.

There is often great apprehension on the part of a Government at endangering an official's life, and it is seldom that he is allowed to try to settle the matter by a personal visit. Putting aside the warlike, and sometimes treacherous, people found in parts of Africa, chiefly in the north, my opinion is that the usual African, at any rate the Central African, is not prepared to attack any white man who visits him, but looks on him as someone quite apart from his own feuds, in which he has got something to recover or something to fight for. He has as yet no quarrel with the white man, and I think that the risk run by an official, if he were to trek straight into the country of the so-called hostile and truculent tribe to inquire into the matter and to try to arrange a settlement, would generally be insignificant.

Therefore do all you can to hear the other side of the question, and try to see the matter from the point of view of the unadministered offenders, before condemning them

to war. You will, as a rule, find them very amenable and willing to listen to reason.

Also, if they do not at once pay up the fine or deliver up the people you demand, do not conclude that they are not going to do so. They must have a lot of palaver amongst themselves about each cow before it is handed over, and they do not understand arbitrary numbers and dates. When they bring you only a quarter of that demanded, take that and tell them to pay the rest. Once they have done anything, the rest will come in time, if you only have sufficient patience and perseverance.

In an unadministered area there is often a kind of buffer tribe, immediately adjoining the administered country. It is, in Africa, usually a very poor buffer and a very hardly used one, but a serviceable buffer none the less. The buffer itself is generally only too anxious and willing to come under our administration and to cease to be a buffer; but for some reason or other, generally financial weakness, it is found advisable to leave it as a buffer. If its country was to be taken over it would throw the Government into conflict with another tribe or tribes, or country, with whom it was not ready to deal, or it would force it to pursue some line of conduct, such as boundary delimitation, a definition of territory, or the occupation of a large area. The Government are probably unwilling to undertake this until there are more funds available, or until more information concerning the country is to hand, or until the country already occupied is in a more settled state.

Whatever the causes from which this state of affairs arises, the buffer is always a very difficult and trying thing to deal with, for, whilst keeping on good terms with it, one has to resist all its advances to be taken into the administered areas.

It is also a difficult matter to know how attacks on the buffer, by other tribes or countries, should be dealt with, for the attack or raid has generally come and gone before

one can do anything to prevent it. If one is, then, to make an expedition through the buffer country to attack the people beyond, the buffer country might as well be occupied at once, to facilitate transport arrangements and to make the attack in earnest. This, however, is the one thing that it is wished to avoid. If one is to put troops into the buffer country to protect it, that practically amounts to occupation ; it ceases to be a buffer and it will probably have to be administered at the same time, to avoid complications between the troops and the inhabitants.

So there is nothing that one can do for the poor buffer, except lend a sympathetic ear into which it can pour its grievances, and buoy it up with the hope of a better time coming.

CHAPTER XXVII

PUNITIVE EXPEDITIONS

A PUNITIVE expedition is a last resource, when all other methods of dealing with a situation have failed. It is generally unsatisfactory; as often as not, the wrong people become implicated and the right people run away and do not get adequately punished, whilst the country is set back for the next few years. As a rule, no resistance is offered; everyone tries to drive off his own cattle or stock in different directions, and there is then nothing to be done but to split up in small parties and round up anyone one can. I am talking strictly of the people of tropical Africa, and not such fighting tribes as the Zulus, or fanatics such as the Somali and Dervish.

The troops engaged soon get wearied with continual long marches and hard chases after two or three head of cattle, and the only interest to the British officers is that it gives them a chance of seeing a new bit of country, and a relaxation from the routine of parades and cantonments.

The usual causes which lead to the sending of a punitive expedition are: the murder of a white man, or raids made on friendly tribes, or an attack made on troops occupying a new country.

After it has committed one or more of such hostile acts, it will perhaps be difficult to get into touch with the tribe, so as to discover who is responsible.

The murder of the white man might have been committed by one man alone, without the knowledge or approval of any other.

If the tribe immediately handed over the murderer and

notified that it was prepared to pay a fine, all would be well. The usual Central African, however, has not the intelligence to see that this is the correct thing to do. He has only his own tribal wars as past experience by which to be guided, and if one of his men had murdered one of another tribe he would immediately prepare for reprisals on the part of the other tribe. When they in their turn had murdered one of his people—whether man, woman, or child would be immaterial—the debt would usually be considered to have been paid.

A tribe that is the object of a punitive expedition, and a country which is about to become the theatre of war, always seems to become wrapped in mystery. Enormously exaggerated accounts of its warlike preparations, its strength and aggressiveness, become current; often, no one seems informed as to whether it is the whole tribe or only one section of it who are the aggressors.

As a rule, all the sections will take to flight, on the commencement of hostilities, and become so mixed up that it will be impossible to distinguish one from the other. The only way to avoid this is for an official to visit any sections who are known not to be concerned, and explain to them very carefully that they are not to mix themselves with the other people. Even then it will not prevent the other people mixing with them, especially when they find that they have a safe retreat amongst them. Anyhow, they will probably deliver most of their cattle into the keeping of such neutral people.

Let us first see, however, what steps it is possible to take so as to avoid a punitive expedition.

The murder of a white man, especially of an official in the execution of his office, must be punished severely, or it would be impossible to conduct administration on the lines on which it is at present conducted. For this, then, perhaps there should be no alternative but an expedition, although it involves punishing the innocent—and possibly letting the guilty escape.

In any other circumstance, however, as between native and native, an attempt to get into touch with the people concerned should be attempted, with a view to making a settlement. The raids which require punishment are almost always those of an unadministered people. One must remember that, unless they have been warned to keep the peace, they are only doing what they have always done and see no wrong in doing. That the next tribe is under a European Government does not affect them greatly; they remain just the same as they have always been, and do not discover that it is necessary at once to change their old ways. It is impossible for them to realise that they are now making war on the white man by making war on his people, and they would stoutly deny any such intention, were they asked. It is for this reason that it is almost always quite safe for the official to visit them, even though they may be at war with the next tribe. The white man and his kinsmen have not been at constant warfare with them for the last few hundred years; they have no feud with the official nor grudge against him. Probably they will be very pleased to see him, and will tell him what a bad people are the tribe they have been raiding and warn him against them. However, it is as well to take certain precautions when visiting such people, and more especially is this so if they have been led to expect reprisals, or an expedition against themselves.

Let us imagine the latter case, as it will be the more difficult to deal with.

An official is administering the country of tribe A. and raids are reported as having been made on A. by an unadministered tribe B.

Tribe A. will bring enormously exaggerated accounts of these raids and the holocaust of victims. They will impress on the official what warlike and ferocious people are B. and that it is unsafe to go anywhere near their frontier. They will bring accounts of all the people killed by tribe B. and the stock looted by them, including carefully in the number

everybody that has ever been killed in their inter-tribal wars since the memory of man, and also probably every head of stock that has been paid in marriage fees to B. or that has disappeared, or been captured and recaptured from B. A. at any rate do not look on the coming of the Government to their country as the beginning of a new era from which all things should date, and so why should B. ?

All these stories will be told as if they had just occurred, and it will be difficult for the official to elucidate from this tangled history the old and the new, or what he can justly hold B. accountable for. At the end of his investigations he will probably be left in complete doubt as to whether anybody has really been killed since the country has been under administration, or whether the whole back history of the tribe has been brought up over some trivial circumstance which has just occurred.

A prejudiced or new official will probably grow very indignant over the atrocities alleged to have been committed by B. and call for an expedition immediately. The observer of African ways will know that at least half of the information is false, and probably most of the other half too, although always having some substratum of truth. Next he will try to find out more about B., and he will perhaps be told that there are no paths to B.'s country, as it is impossible to go near such bad people, and that there is not a man amongst A. who knows the way, or who will dare to go, and that A. are living in terror of their lives.

Meanwhile, probably, people are peacefully passing backwards and forwards between the outlying villages of A. and B. The people on the border are sure to be very mixed, there being people of A. under B. headmen and people of B. under A. headmen, unless the peoples of A. and B. are of very different races, such as one Hamitic and the other Bantu. Even then there is almost sure to be some intermingling.

The people of A. have probably let B. know that there is going to be an expedition against them, or that they have called the white men to their aid. Perhaps B. is rich in cattle and A. hopes to get some pickings. Anyhow, they will probably have talked a lot about how the white men are going to fight B., and the news has gone through by means of women of B. married in the A. country.

If the official now wished to visit B. it would be better if he could approach the country from another direction, and not directly from A. Perhaps there is a tribe C. who is not at the present moment at logger-heads with either A. or B.

However, to make our official's task as difficult as possible, we will suppose that there is no C. tribe, and that he must perforce go from A.

It is very important that he should send on word of his coming to B. if possible, so as not to take them by surprise. He must let them know that he is coming in peace and not bringing soldiers with him. If he looks round, he is almost certain to find that there is someone who is from B. or has relations there, whom he is able to send. He then proceeds towards B. country. As he reaches the border he looks round for signs of the B. raids, and perhaps expects to find the outlying people of A. in a state of panic, or that they have deserted their villages for a safer spot. In this, however, he will generally be disappointed, as probably the people, of even the most isolated villages, will be found grazing their cattle and going about their daily duties, just as if they were not in momentary expectation of being killed and having their stock looted.

Perhaps the last A. village he comes across is several miles ahead of the one before it, and almost in the confines of the B. country. Possibly it consists of only a few huts. All this is most perplexing to one new to African methods, but when one has had experience of what African war really is it is explicable. There may have actually been a few people killed and some stock looted here, but the people

do not expect hostilities to be renewed, or those present may be relations of B. people and so feel quite safe. Perhaps the people who have been killed wandered into B.'s country, and these know that B. is unlikely to come to their village to attack them ; perhaps B. has paid off their blood feud and so are satisfied, and it is A.'s turn to be the aggressor now. Anyhow, from the last A. village it is advisable for the official to proceed slowly, stop often, and give B. ample time to know that he is coming, and coming peaceably. Above all, he should do nothing which could be interpreted as a hostile act. The only thing he has really to be afraid of is that B. will mistake his motives, and fire a few arrows and a musket or two before running away.

When he reaches the B. country, perhaps there will be a momentary flight of inhabitants, and finally the headman of the village, or his representative, will come in with a present of peace, and then it will probably be discovered that B. are much more afraid of A. than A. of B. Once having got into touch with the headman of a B. village, the official will see to it that he is passed on from village to village, till he reaches the B. chief.

In this he must be prepared for an African sense of humour. The people of B.'s first village, having been scared to death at his approach and having all run away at first, when they find that the official is nothing to be feared, will accompany him to the next village. Arriving there they probably call out loudly, as they approach, that the white man has come to exterminate them, and go into fits of laughter when they see their friends in as great a fright as they were shortly before.

Perhaps, however, when the official reaches the first B. village, the people are so convinced that they are going to be attacked, that they have all taken flight with their flocks long before he arrives. Then a search will generally lead to some old man or woman being found in the bush, and to such an one the official may explain that he has come in peace, and send him on to the next village, whilst

he sits quietly near the deserted one till the people come back.

Above all things, he must make no sudden movement ; everything is to be had by patience. Dealing with shy and raw savages is just like taming wild animals. If you hold out a handful of salt to a waterbuck in captivity, and remain still enough and long enough, it will at last come and eat out of your hand. If it does not come the first or the second day it will eventually. If, however, you suddenly want to scratch your head or clutch your hat as it is blowing off, you send the animal off in a paroxysm of terror.

Perhaps, however, the people will be really inclined to hostility, or at any rate they may be sufficiently unfamiliar with the power of a Government to know that it is useless attacking its representative.

In this case they will probably follow, or surround the official, at what they consider a safe distance, several hundred yards, and shake their spears and shout at him. If he does nothing they are not very likely to attack him, as the natives are really very superstitious about a white man and, moreover, it generally requires a lot of talk and dancing and medicine-making before they bring themselves up to the point of attacking.

The official, however, takes no notice, and quietly camps and sits down to await events. This should entirely nonplus the native—it is against all the rules as he knows them. The shouting will subside, and in time they will get curious, and one or two will venture nearer. The interpreter may then be told to shout out to the people that they are not to be afraid as the white man only wishes to speak with them.

However, when the natives assume this hostile attitude, there is a real element of danger ; the greatest danger is that they may come to blows before they realise that the white man has no evil intention towards them.

A word about the camp. A good military position should be selected ; that is, one with a clear field of fire and other

advantages, in case an attack is actually made; and a full moon should be chosen for the visit, if possible.

The safest place from a surprise attack is either close up alongside a village, or right away from it. Right away on a clear night, with good sentries, it ought to be quite easy to get a warning of anyone's approach in good time. If a serious attack was threatened it might be advisable to leave the camp standing and take up a position some hundred yards away.

(I am presuming that our official has the usual escort of about half a dozen police.)

The enemy stalking the silent camp would then, in their turn, be considerably surprised when they found themselves fired at from an unsuspected position.

With a people who have shown themselves neither actually hostile nor friendly, who have not run away but have a sulky and threatening appearance, there may be some chance of treachery. I would then almost always rather camp quite close to their village. It gives one an opportunity to get into better relations with them, and also enables one to gather the trend of affairs. The native generally arouses his warlike propensities by much beating of drums and noise, and it would require a considerable amount of talk to effect in him the change from surliness to actual hostility.

The native, as a rule, goes to bed very early, and so if all is quiet at about 9 o'clock one may breathe freely, for, when every man has retired and is separated in his hut from others, no concerted action is likely.

On inquiry into the causes of the disputes between A. and B. they will generally be fined down to a murder or capture of stock on the part of a few individuals, or a small section of tribe B.

If this is so, pressure may be brought to bear on the chiefs, and the rest of the tribe, to deliver up the offenders or make them pay a fine. Failing this, perhaps one or two villages may have to be rounded up. Even this rounding

up of a single village is no easy matter ; for if it is not in the nature of a surprise the people will not be found at home, and their stock will be lodged with others ; whilst if it is a surprise, it may also surprise and scare the surrounding villages.

The best way, as always with natives, is to go quietly and slowly about it, obtaining all the information one can about the people, where they have lodged their stock, and so on. Then, with the connivance of other natives of the tribe, who will always be ready to give away their friends, especially if they think that there is something to be made out of it, the headman concerned and some of the stock may be suddenly rounded up. These can be held up till a settlement has been arrived at.

Lastly, as to the conduct of a punitive expedition. It will generally be accompanied by a political officer, whose duty it is to be in possession of all available information concerning the people and the country. It is he who directs which parties are to be dealt with and when hostilities should cease ; but he has no authority to exercise control in purely military matters, which are dealt with entirely by the military officer in command. It is also the duty of the political officer to get in chiefs, and envoys of peace, at the conclusion of hostilities.

The object of a punitive expedition is to punish a certain tribe or section of a tribe, and probably incidentally, in so doing, to pay the expenses of the expedition out of captured stock.

If the natives have no stock, it is really very difficult to punish them adequately for a serious offence.

There have been occasions when the enemy stands up to the troops and, if this can by any means be brought about, the expedition may be considered in every way satisfactory, for the proper people will then get severely punished, unless, indeed, a reverse is experienced.

More usual is it for every man hurriedly to drive off his own few head of cattle, on the approach of the column.

The whole country-side is then covered with small parties of two and threes, flying in different directions and taking refuge in the bush, or with their neighbours. If any head of cattle are to be captured, the expedition must be split up into small parties to scour the country, for it is of no use for a whole column to follow a man and a boy driving off three goats and a cow.

When the columns are split up the difficulty begins, as it is always difficult to keep black troops in hand when a loot is in progress.

Also isolated looting parties of two or three soldiers will be liable to get cut up, and the enemy may have collected in certain numbers anywhere, and then turn on some of the scattered troops.

For these reasons the troops have generally to be moved about in small columns under white officers, rendering it exceedingly difficult to capture much stock, or to round up any of the enemy, but thereby preventing inhumanities and casualties amongst the troops from occurring.

Having collected a certain head of cattle, the expedition then stands its best chance of enticing the enemy to an encounter. The enemy, who have lost their cattle, may muster together, when they find out how exceedingly easy it is to avoid the columns, and if the animals are sufficiently paraded about the country they may be induced to make some effort to recover them.

Finally, envoys of peace are sent out, the chiefs are gradually got in, the heinousness of their offence explained, and they are made to promise good behaviour in the future. If much cattle has been captured, as often as not, a certain proportion is held over, to be returned to the tribe after a few years or months of good behaviour, whilst the remainder is sold to pay the expenses of the expedition. A punitive expedition in Africa generally comes as a complete revelation to the tribe concerned. As a rule, the people against whom it is directed are so completely ignorant of the power and workings of a Government, and so utterly uninformed

about their neighbours and what has happened elsewhere, that they have not the faintest conception of what is likely to happen to them. They probably think that the Government consists of one white man, their own official, and that if he is killed all government ceases. If threatened with war, they probably imagine it to be war such as they are used to—much beating of drums, shoutings and warnings, a few cattle looted, perhaps an old woman murdered, and there the war ends until next time.

CHAPTER XXVIII

RELATIONS BETWEEN COLONY AND HOME GOVERNMENT

IN considering the government of our colonies, we must grasp the fundamental difference between colonies in the tropics and those in temperate zones. The latter are colonised by Europeans, and are capable of being developed by European labour. Thus they contain all the elements necessary for civilised self-government, and from the first it is evidently only a question of time as to when they will assume that state. In the tropics, however, very different conditions prevail. Whereas a native population has been found incapable of governing or developing the country on civilised lines, the climate is such that the European cannot exist indefinitely in the country, nor is he capable of performing manual labour in it. The European, then, whether colonist or administrator, is a bird of passage and has no fixed hold in the country.

The native, it has been said, is incapable of self-government or development, and so these processes have to be carried on by the European. It would be manifestly unfair to subject the natives, the great bulk of the population, to the undisputed power of a small minority of white men.

Thus in these tropical dependencies another form of government, called "Crown Colony" government, is resorted to. The main features of this are that the local European administrators have complete control of the government, but their actions are subject to the approval or disapproval of the home Government, a body too far removed from the scene of action to be actuated by prejudice or bias.

Sir Charles Bruce sums up the difference between the government necessary to the temperate zones and to the tropics in the following words :—

“ In the Temperate Zones . . . the adhesion of the self-governing colonies to the Empire is conditioned by their complete liberation from the control of the Parliament of the United Kingdom. In the Tropics, the adhesion of the Crown Colonies to the Empire is conditioned by the maintenance of that control, for on the efficiency of that control their existence as civilised communities depends. . . . The very existence of these colonies as civilised communities depends on capital and science of European origin.”¹

In our Crown Colonies the principles of government are determined by Parliament. The policy is directed by the Colonial Office, always subject to Parliament ; whilst in each colony this policy is interpreted by the Governor, always subject to the Colonial Office.

Our present policy towards our colonies might be considered to have commenced with the War of Independence. Before that time the home Government tried to encompass them, and tie them down with restrictions and orders, which no progressive colony would be likely to submit to. After the War of Independence the other extreme was resorted to, even to the extent of preparing to abandon the greater part of our possessions. This policy has now become modified. We admit freely the right of all colonies in temperate zones to complete self-government, but we have commenced on an era of trying to bind them to us by other ties than interfering with their government. Our present Imperial policy is based on the creed that our colonies are both a political and commercial necessity to us.

We have realised that not even our colonies in temperate climes can alone form a self-sufficient and self-contained Empire. Our Empire must be built up on the mutual needs of both the temperate and tropical peoples and their exchange of commodities.

¹ *The Broad Stone of Empire*, by Sir Charles Bruce, G.C.M.G.

The importance of the tropics to the temperate zone has increased enormously of late ; hardly a family in the latter is not indebted to the former for a great proportion of the commodities of daily life ; whilst great masses of our work-people are entirely dependent on the tropics for the raw material for their work. The policy to be pursued towards our tropical dependencies is, then, largely dependent on the needs of the temperate zones and the necessities of the whole Empire.

The government of a self-governing colony is, on a small scale, that of the United Kingdom. There is a Governor, who represents the King, and two chambers—a council representing the House of Lords and an assembly representing the House of Commons. A Crown Colony, however, is primarily subject to Parliament, although actually subject to the Colonial Office—that is to say, that Parliament has never abrogated its right to legislate for the Crown Colonies ; but in actual practice the various dependencies are practically controlled by the Colonial Office. At the head of the Colonial Office is the Secretary of State. Under him are five departments or bodies :—

- i. The Establishment.
- ii. The Crown Agents.
- iii. A Medical Adviser.
- iv. Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.
- v. The Imperial Institute.

The Establishment is divided into different departments, dealing with different colonies or groups of colonies. The Crown Agents are commercial and financial agents for all colonies, except those possessing responsible Governments. They raise loans for the colonies, guaranteed by the Colonial Office. As such loans are raised on Government security, they are able to obtain them, for the various Governments, at more advantageous terms than they could themselves raise them. They supply stores on requisition, purchasing them and shipping them on behalf of the colonies, and also perform a number of miscellaneous duties, including the

adjustment of accounts between the Colonial Governments and the General Post Office, paying salaries to officers on leave, and pensions.

The department is supported by the charges paid for their services by the Colonial Governments. These charges are fixed, and include a commission of one per cent on all stores supplied, and a commission of half per cent on issue and repayment of loans.

The Medical Adviser advises the Colonial Office on such matters as tropical diseases, health, and sanitation. He is also largely interested in schools of tropical medicine.

The Royal Botanic Gardens perform important work in the accumulation of specimens of plants and information from the various colonies, acclimatising, experimenting with and distributing various plants of commercial value. It also supplies suitable men for work in the forestry and agricultural departments of the various colonies.

The work of the Imperial Institute is to inquire into and classify the resources of the Empire. It is an expert agency for gauging the value of raw material and advising on its utilisation.

Specimens of minerals, etc., are received from all parts for analysis. Raw materials are examined, assessed, and a market found for them.

The duties of the Colonial Office are: to maintain the balance of just relations between white and coloured, capital and labour in the various colonies. It is also an important factor in keeping a continuity of policy in each Possession. For in most colonies there are constant changes of Governors. Each new one has his own views, methods; and were he not kept by the Colonial Office to the same line of action as his predecessors, there would probably be a change of policy with each change of Governor. For in the province of administration there are many roads; some of the most divergent lead to the same end, whilst others starting close together become most divergent.

It has been suggested that the Colonial Office would be

the better if it was supplied with an advisory council of retired Governors. At present the local point of view is apt to be overlooked, when all points are dealt with by people who are strange to the countries with which they are dealing. The advisory council would receive despatches from Crown Colonies, place them before the Secretary of State, and insist on the local point of view being given due consideration.

In Crown Colonies the Governors are appointed by the Crown on the recommendation of the Colonial Office. As in such a colony the Governor is responsible for the government and actively engaged in legislation, he is generally chosen for his qualifications and experience in administration.

In the self-governing colonies, on the other hand, the Governor represents the King in the British Constitution; he is not concerned with legislation, as this is performed by the body representing Parliament. He is therefore chosen rather for his birth than his administrative qualifications. He is appointed by the Crown, after the Colonial Office has ascertained that his appointment will be agreeable to the colony.

In tropical dependencies there is generally a legislative council or executive council. Although the power of the Governor is generally sufficient to override it, the presence of a council, acts as a check and safeguard in a manner that will be described later.

The African tropical dependencies possessing a legislative council, nominated by the Crown, are :—

East Africa Protectorate.

Gambia.

Gold Coast.

Nyasaland.

Sierra Leone.

Southern Nigeria.

Those without a legislative council are :—

Ashanti.

Basutoland.

Bechuanaland.

Northern Nigeria.

Northern territories of the Gold Coast.

Uganda.

In Crown Colonies and Protectorates, except in certain of the West Indies, the Crown has the power of legislating by Orders in Council.

In addition to this, as has been said before, Parliament never abandons the right of legislating for Crown Colonies. The composition of local legislatures varies in different colonies. They are made up of members, either ex-officio or nominated by the Crown, and a small proportion of elected members. The composition is almost always such as will give a balance in favour of the Crown nominees, whilst the Governor presides and has the casting vote.

The different elements in the legislature may be :—

- i. The Governor.
- ii. Members ex-officio.
- iii. Nominee members holding office under Crown.
- iv. Nominee members not holding office under Crown.
- v. Elective members holding office under Crown.
- vi. Elective members not holding office under Crown.

Of these the Governor is bound to carry out the commands of the Secretary of State—his only alternative is to resign his office. Members ex-officio are bound to support the Crown or resign their offices. Nominee members are expected to support the Crown, whilst elective members support or oppose the Government as they see fit. If the latter are out-voted in measures, in which they think that local official interests have prevailed to the prejudice of the public good, it is their duty to enter a protest, setting forth their grounds of objection, and to require the Governor to submit it to the Secretary of State.

So, although the representative element in the legislature is small it is effective, as the Secretary of State is responsible to Parliament and Parliament is not slow to listen to complaints of alleged misgovernment in colonies.

Not only in a case of protest by elective members or a majority of them, but also other occasions of serious difference of opinion, or in the case of officers of the Crown or nominees withholding support from a Government measure, it would be as well (unless the measure is of pressing and vital concern) for the Governor to refer it to the Secretary of State, before putting it into operation or calling on the latter to resign office or seat.

The elective members represent certain local interests. The official majority of a Council is generally reduced to the casting vote of the Governor.

An Executive Council is an advisory body. It is not necessary for the Governor to be bound by its decisions, but every member has the right to have his reasons for dissent recorded in the minutes and so brought to the notice of the Secretary of State. Its function is to reconcile the divergent interests they represent.

The elected members usually represent the white interest in a colony, and the official members the unrepresented coloured.

Where financial assistance is given to a colony by the Imperial Government, the Imperial Government must have control over its finances. For by so doing it is holding itself responsible for the financial condition of the colony.

No question affecting revenue is, as a rule, allowed to be proposed except by the Governor or by his express consent.

Ordinances for taxation, etc., are passed locally, but they are subject to the approval of the Secretary of State.

The Governor has the right to use the clemency of the Crown. Murder cases are reported to the Secretary of State, but the Governor has, as a rule, the power to confirm a sentence of death or remit it on his own responsibility.

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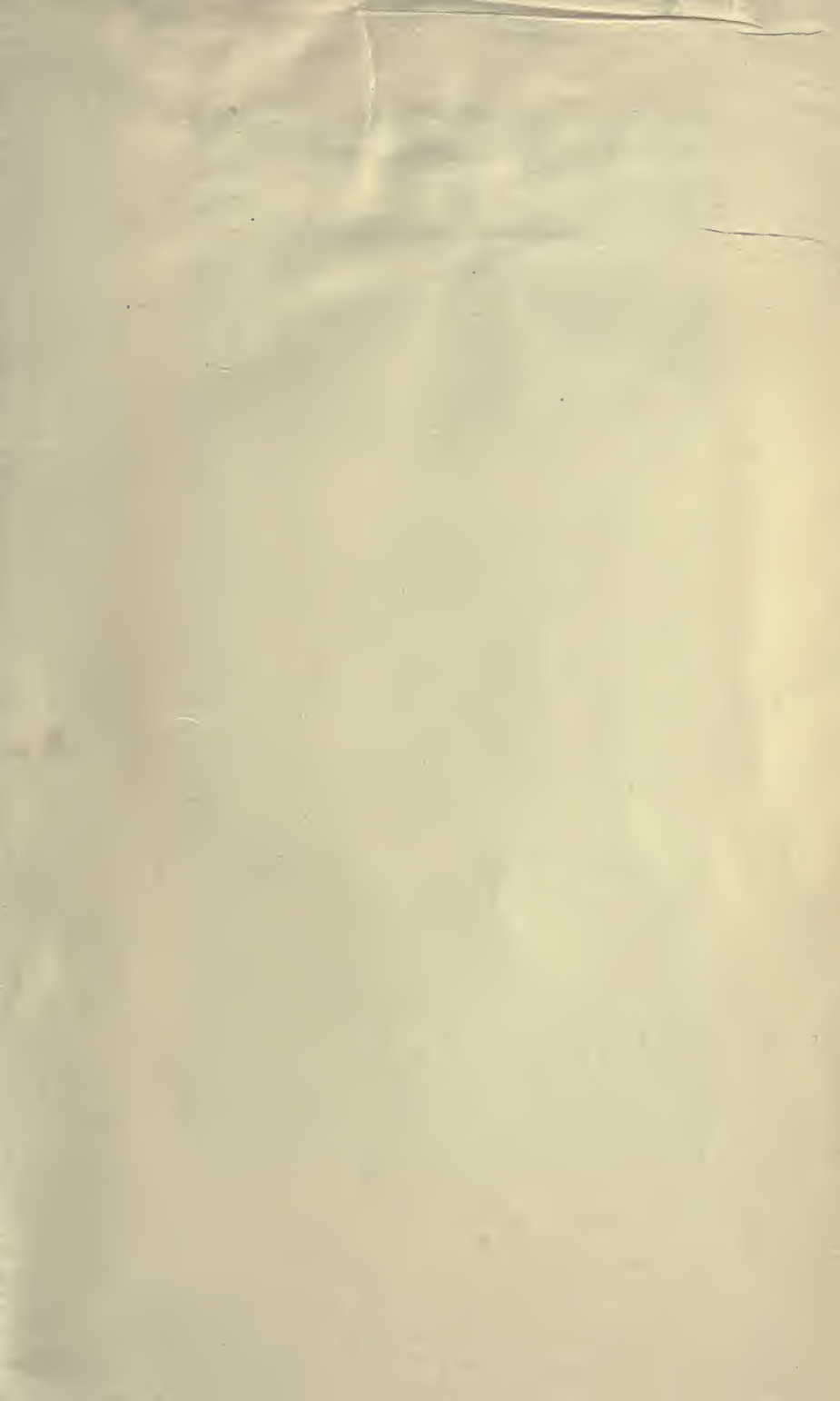
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