UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY
OU_148368
UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OUP—556—13-7-71—4,000.

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Call No. Accession No.

Author

Title

This book should be returned on or before the date last marked below.

The British Colonial Empire

[*Crown Colonist photo*

THE HEART OF THE COLONIAL EMPIRE

The Secretary of State's desk at the Colonial Office. This occupies one corner of a light and spacious room surrounded by maps and with a large conference table. The mantelpiece, originally in the old building, is the one before which Nelson and Wellington are reputed to have had their only meeting. The portrait behind the desk is of the third Duke of Leeds.

The British Colonial Empire

by
W. E.
SIMNETT

LONDON
George Allen & Unwin Ltd

First published in 1942

TO MY WIFE
Constant Helper in
all my Colonial work

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
in 11-Point Plantin Type
BY UNWIN BROTHERS LIMITED
WOKING

Contents

		PAGE
	Introduction	9
I	Heritage and Trust	15
II	The Mediterranean	25
III	The West Indies	45
IV	West Africa	68
V	East and Central Africa	83
VI	Other African Territories	101
VII	Ceylon, Malaya and the East	113
VIII	The Island Outposts	131
IX	Colonial Central Administration	148
X	Colonial Government and the Colonial Service	163
XI	Colonial Pioneers and Organizations	178
XII	Other Colonial Systems	189
XIII	Colonial Policy and Problems	203
XIV	The Future	221
	Bibliography	229
	Index	251

Illustrations

Heart of the Colonial Empire — *frontispiece*

Chart of Colonial Administration — *at end*

Map of the Colonial Empire — *at end*

Colonial Crests — *End-papers*

Introduction

Amongst the political controversies which preceded the outbreak of the second world war, the so-called Colonial Question figured prominently. It was indeed alleged to be one of the contributing causes of the war. This Colonial Question was envisaged chiefly in terms of the interests of rival colonizing Powers, dubbed the "Haves" and the "Have-nots" in the current political jargon. Colonies and their resources were regarded as "possessions" to be exploited primarily for the benefit of the owning countries, and to be bartered, like other disposable property, between the Great Powers according to their assumed claims, needs, and prestige. Those without Colonies or who had lost them in the first world war were held to be excluded from whatever benefits Colonies were supposed to confer on their possessors, and to be denied access to the raw materials they produced. Besides material resources, Colonies were expected to provide living space or *Lebensraum* for the surplus population of the metropolitan country. In fact, it was implied that Colonies were something that no self-respecting Power could be expected to do without, on the principle of "having everything handsome about it," despite some obvious examples to the contrary. The only point of view apparently not taken into consideration by the disputants was that of the Colonial peoples themselves; that is to say, the duties, rather than the extremely hypothetical "rights," of both Colonial and non-Colonial Powers towards their less favoured brethren.

Yet that is in fact the true Colonial Problem that will

emerge after the war, and to which serious thought should be given now. All the wordy spate of pre-war controversy on the now obsolete Colonial Question can safely be consigned to oblivion, for what we have to deal with now is, not the claims of this or that Power to Colonies, but the collective responsibility of all the more advanced nations for the relatively backward peoples not yet able to stand on their own feet in the conditions of the modern world and who require guidance and assistance to enable them eventually to become self-governing and independent. With them may be included those peoples who cannot be considered backward but are still in a state of Colonial tutelage. This responsibility rests not only on the present Colonial Powers, although their duties are more immediate and onerous; it is a common trust of civilization. In any permanent settlement of this Colonial Problem, the only criterion should be the welfare and the wishes, so far as they can be ascertained, of the Colonial peoples themselves.

This principle of Trusteeship is and has long been fully recognized by Britain as applying to its own Colonial Empire, and its implications can best be studied there; yet there is no book in existence compendiously describing that Empire, its history, administration and current problems, its relation to the British Commonwealth and to other Colonial systems, and its future development.

During the past decade or so, as editor of the only journal covering the British Colonial Empire as a whole (excluding the Dominions and India), the need for such a book has been constantly in my mind and on various occasions I drew public attention to it, but was too closely occupied up to the war to undertake it myself. Many books on Colonial subjects appeared during that period, and the more significant of them are included in the Bibliography appended to this volume, but none of them quite filled the need indicated

above. In May 1940, the British Government sent me on a mission to the United States to express their thanks for valued American co-operation in the Colonial sphere and to explain to the American people our Colonial policy and the new Colonial Development and Welfare legislation passed in the midst of the war. My experience in lecturing and broadcasting throughout the United States and Canada, in addressing all kinds of American audiences from the faculties of great Universities to Rotary Clubs and the keen and critical congregations of Negro churches, and in talking with Americans of every type from Senators to "red caps," further convinced me that if the two great branches of the English-speaking peoples are to understand one another better, they must both have a clearer conception of, *inter alia*, this Colonial Problem. For I found that Americans generally, even those most friendly to us, still suspected us of "Imperialism" in the bad old sense, and still thought of our Colonies as "possessions." Indeed, some quite well-informed and responsible Americans seriously suggested that the West Indian Colonies should be "transferred" to the United States in exchange for assistance in the war! It did not apparently occur to them to ask the West Indians their view of the matter. On the other hand, our own people, with far less excuse, are by no means clear as to the nature and extent of their Colonial heritage and responsibilities.

At the outset of the war, the peoples of the Colonial Empire ranged themselves spontaneously and wholeheartedly at Britain's side, a result which could scarcely have followed from the "Imperialist exploitation" or "brutal repression" attributed to us in certain quarters. They gave unstintedly in money, materials, and in man-power to the common cause, not from any nice calculation of self-interest or hope of rewards to come, but because they equally believed in

the cause for which we were fighting, so effectively had they imbibed the British tradition of freedom and justice. This war has had far-reaching repercussions on the Colonial peoples both throughout Africa and elsewhere, and these peoples will rightly expect to play their part in any permanent settlement after the war, at least in so far as it may affect the future of their own countries. For this reason alone, it would seem of the highest importance that the peoples both of the British Commonwealth and of the United States should understand the issues involved, and these, I venture to think, can best be grasped through a knowledge of the British Colonial system and policy in its present development and its aims for the future.

On all these grounds, I felt constrained, after my return to England, and in default of any better attempt to fill the gap, to make the necessary time to write this little book, which is offered in all diffidence not only to our own people who are directly responsible for the future welfare of the British Colonies, but also to the American public in the belief that our affairs in the future, perhaps not least in the Colonial field, are likely to be, as Mr. Winston Churchill put it, "increasingly and inextricably mixed up together." In any case, we shall have a joint primary responsibility for the settlement of these and other grave problems after the war.

Within the limits of a book of this kind, intended for general reading, it is naturally not possible to tell the story of the British Colonial Empire in more than brief outline, for a full history would obviously need a bulky volume or series of volumes. As a guide to further study, therefore, I have made a special feature of the Bibliography, which is, I believe, the first of its kind to be compiled. It is not of course exhaustive, but I hope it may be found to contain references to every source of further information which any

general reader or even serious student would be likely to require.

It is my hope that this little book, with all its imperfections, may be fortunate enough to recommend itself to the reading public of both countries as a handy reference-book on its subject, and that as the British Colonial Empire, like most other things British, is not static but in a constant process of development, subsequent editions may enable me to revise and bring the contents up to date, and to improve its defects. For this purpose, I would welcome any corrections or comments from readers and critics. I have in fact already received considerable guidance as to what is likely to interest the public from my experience of lecturing on the Colonies since my return, both to the Forces and to civilian audiences of all kinds throughout this country, and I am very grateful for the help my audiences have thus afforded me.

W. E. S.

I

Heritage and Trust

What is the British Colonial Empire?

First let us clear away the confusion between Dominions and Colonies which still exists in the minds of many people in this country and is widely prevalent on the continent of Europe. In early days, all our oversea possessions, with the possible exception of India, were regarded as Colonies or "plantations." In the eighteenth century, these still included the American Colonies, now the United States of America. After their loss, in the last quarter of that century, we began to build up a second Empire, which saw many vicissitudes throughout the course of the nineteenth century, but developed greatly in extent and complexity towards the latter part of the nineteenth and the first decade of the present century.

This country is sometimes said to have acquired her Empire in a fit of absence of mind, though a less charitable view has been taken of the process by our Continental neighbours. Absence of mind, or lack of political foresight, was certainly responsible for the loss of the American Colonies, which might otherwise have become the first British Dominion, and in the subsequent process no ordered plan can be discerned, for there were many retrocessions, many refusals or reluctant and tardy acceptance of responsibility, and in the early sixties of last century there was a movement to abandon the Colonies altogether.

The most striking political development of the century, however, was the growth towards full self-government of the white communities of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and lastly South Africa, a process which culminated in the Statute of Westminster in 1931, whereby those countries, now known as Dominions, and the United Kingdom became "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of nations." Thus the British Commonwealth, which it will be observed is not coterminous with the Empire as is sometimes supposed, consists of six equal nations (if Eire be included) of which Great Britain is *primus inter pares*, first among equals, linked together only by the Crown. The Dominions are therefore obviously no longer Colonies, nor are their peoples Colonials, but Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders and South Africans, or Afrikaners. There is no generic name for us all, unless we use the term Britons in the widest sense to denote citizens of the Commonwealth.

The Statute of Westminster may be said to have brought the second Empire to an end, and to have inaugurated the third Empire or Commonwealth, which, like Caesar's Gaul, is itself divisible into three parts, namely, the British Commonwealth, the Indian Empire, made up of British India and the Indian States, whose goal on a federal basis is Dominion status, and finally the Colonial Empire.

The Colonial Empire, although some of its units are among our oldest possessions, is thus a concept or entity of quite recent growth. Of what does this Empire consist? Those who think in terms of the Dominions and India as comprising the great bulk of the Empire may be surprised at the answer. It has been somewhat the custom to treat the

third member of the Empire trinity, even when its separate existence is suspected, as a sort of Cinderella. In earlier days, when the Dominions were still Colonies, the Crown Colonies and protectorates were distinctly the lesser fry, a sort of caudal appendage, and even in recent years, their relative unimportance in the Empire family has been suggested by describing them as the Dependent Empire, as if they constituted a group of poor relations. Yet the Colonial Empire comprises some forty territories, large and small, scattered across the globe, covering an area of two million square miles (three million if the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan be included) and containing a population, white, black, brown, and yellow, of sixty-five million people, or more than double that of all the Dominions (excluding India) put together.

This is no mean heritage or trust, and the ultimate responsibility for its good government and future welfare rests with the British people. Let us now take it in detail.

Commencing in the West, we have first the British West Indies, which are among our oldest and most loyal Colonies. They consist of the following island groups in the Caribbean: Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, the Bahamas, Barbados, and the Leeward and Windward Islands. On the mainland of Central America is British Honduras, and on the north coast of South America is British Guiana. These together constitute the West Indian group of Colonies. Bermuda, farther up the North American coast, is quite separate from the West Indies, though sometimes associated with them. Newfoundland, though known as our "oldest Colony," is no part of the Colonial Empire. It is normally self-governing and comes under the Dominions Office, although its government is at present in commission. Eventually, it may link up with the Dominion of Canada.

Crossing the Atlantic eastward and neglecting for a moment scattered islands, we come to the west coast of

Africa, where there are four Colonies, the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Nigeria. Joined administratively with the Gold Coast is the strip of the former German Togoland mandated to Great Britain, and with Nigeria is included a similar strip of the Cameroons, the larger portions of each of these territories being mandated to France.

The East African group consists of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, and the sultanate of Zanzibar (with Pemba) off the east coast. Tanganyika forms the greater part of the former German East Africa, the populous Ruanda-Urundi provinces adjoining the Congo being mandated to Belgium. In Central Africa are Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Southern Rhodesia is a self-governing Colony and therefore outside the Colonial Empire, as is also South-West Africa, which is a mandate of the Union of South Africa. Adjoining or embedded in Union territory are the three Imperial territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland, which, if their inhabitants agree, are eventually to be transferred to the Union.

In the north-east of Africa is the huge expanse of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, over a million square miles in extent. This, as its name implies, is a condominium of England and Egypt, and comes under the purview of the Foreign Office. On the "horn" of Africa is British Somaliland, and on the opposite shore of the Red Sea is Aden with its Protectorate. As will be seen from the map, the great bulk of the Colonial Empire, so far as area and population are concerned, is in Africa, but this by no means lessens the importance of the other Colonies.

The Mediterranean group of Colonies consists of Gibraltar, Malta and Cyprus, together with the mandated territories of Palestine and Transjordan in Asia Minor. Of these, Gibraltar and Malta are fortresses or naval stations rather than Colonies, though the Maltese are a prolific

Colonial people; and Great Britain is in the Mediterranean primarily for strategical and Imperial reasons.

Returning to the Indian Ocean, we come to Ceylon, the premier Crown Colony, and farther east lies British Malaya, the richest unit in the Colonial Empire, with the Singapore base at its tip, British North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak on the great island of Borneo, and Hong Kong off the southern coast of China. There remain the scattered island groups in the Pacific, Fiji and the Western Pacific High Commission, comprising the British Solomons, Gilbert and Ellice and other groups, Tonga, Nauru, the New Hebrides (an Anglo-French condominium), Mauritius and the Seychelles in the Indian Ocean, St. Helena and Ascension in mid-Atlantic, the Falkland Islands and their dependencies stretching from the tip of South America to the South Pole, and such isolated outposts as "the loneliest islands," Pitcairn in the Pacific and Tristan da Cunha in the Atlantic.

Thus we have made a circuit of the Colonial Empire. The broad distinction between it and the Commonwealth is that the latter is self-governing, and the former on the whole non-self-governing, though even here some qualification is necessary, for while ranking first among the Crown Colonies, Ceylon is far advanced towards self-government, and some of the West Indian islands have legislatures dating from the seventeenth century. The Dominions, moreover, are primarily white European communities, though South Africa has a large native population, while the Colonial Empire, except in the Mediterranean, is composed mainly of non-European races.

Ultimate responsibility for the government of the Colonial Empire rests with the Colonial Office in London, which is thus an *imperium in imperio*. The political head of the Colonial Office is the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who is a Cabinet Minister. The Cabinet is responsible to

Parliament, and Parliament to the electorate. That is to say, since this is a democratic country, the men and women voters of Great Britain are, in the last analysis, responsible for the Colonial Empire.

The Colonies, however, are not governed directly from Whitehall. Each Colony has its Governor, who represents the King and is nominated by the Secretary of State, and the Governor is as a rule assisted by executive and legislative councils, partly nominated and partly elected. The actual administration is carried on by the Colonial Service, a unified body corresponding to the Home and Indian Civil Services, whose members in the higher ranks at least are liable to serve anywhere in the Colonial Empire, but who act locally under the authority of the Governor in council. Attached to the Colonial Office are various expert advisers and committees to assist and advise the Secretary of State in his complex task. The Crown Agents, who are also under the authority of the Secretary of State, act for all the Colonial Governments as purchasing agents in London and in various commercial, technical and financial capacities. Some of the Colonial Governments maintain trade commissioners and information offices in London, and the Home Government, through the Department of Overseas Trade, appoints trade commissioners and commercial correspondents in the Colonies. Both the central and local machinery of government will be more fully explained in subsequent chapters.

From the economic point of view, the Colonial Empire, considered as a whole, is of great and growing importance. It is already the largest oversea market for British exports, since the Colonies are for the most part primary producers, and unlike the Dominions have comparatively few industries of their own. In return for raw materials, therefore, they are able to take an increasing range and volume of British manufactured goods. Moreover, the total trade of the

Colonial Empire in normal times of over £500,000,000 a year, considerable as it is and rapidly as it has increased in the present century, is still capable of almost indefinite expansion, since the economic resources of many territories are as yet largely undeveloped, and indeed not completely known, while the standard of living of the bulk of its inhabitants, at present very low, can be progressively raised as their productivity increases and demands for more than the primary necessities of life arise and can be satisfied. Already, of course, many communities are far ahead of others in this respect, but a comparatively slight increase in the standard of living of the more primitive communities would obviously make a tremendous difference to the total volume of trade. This will be discussed amongst other Colonial problems later.

If a motto were sought for the Colonial Empire, it might well be "Unity in Diversity." Individually, these territories exhibit the greatest diversity in situation, size, population, government, political status and social and economic development; in fact in almost everything except their common membership of the British Colonial system. They are in a constant state of evolution and experiment, and of political and social development, but despite these differences, they also exhibit an underlying and essential unity. For one thing, however they may differ in other respects, the great bulk of them are situated in the tropical or sub-tropical zone, between Cancer and Capricorn, which implies that they may share many conditions and problems, physical and economic, in common. Then, although the individual forms of government may vary, there are certain broad principles which are applicable to all; a body of expert knowledge and advice, agricultural, economic, medical, educational, hygienic and so forth, is being steadily built up at headquarters and made generally available; they are all administered by a Colonial

Service uniform in training and tradition, and largely interchangeable in personnel; and finally, they are ultimately governed by the Colonial Office on the lines of a declared common policy, subject to supervision and criticism by the British Parliament.

The central feature of that policy is the principle of Trusteeship. It is now generally recognized that the possession of Colonies is no longer to be justified on grounds of economic or other advantage to the mother country, but by the measure in which they are held in trust and administered with a view to the permanent interests of their inhabitants. Those interests are paramount and the ultimate objective is self-government.

Great Britain is sometimes referred to as a "sated" Power, or in the current political jargon, as first amongst the "Haves" as contrasted with the "Have-nots." We are represented as having "grabbed" land all over the globe, whereas in sober fact many of our present responsibilities have been almost literally thrust upon us and in not a few instances have been undertaken with decided reluctance. Some places, especially islands needed as coaling stations or for other strategic purposes, have fallen to us as a natural consequence of our command of the seas; but on the other hand, important territories once in our possession or developed by British enterprise, have been returned by us to other Powers.

One instance of this is afforded by the East Indies, for a time ruled by Sir Stamford Raffles, the founder of British Malaya, but handed back by us to the Dutch, who now acknowledge their indebtedness to Raffles' enlightened administration. It is significant that in the world as it is to-day, the Netherlands Indies should still be largely dependent for their security, in the last resource, upon British sea power. Another example lies in the Cameroons

in West Africa, taken by Germany just as a British protectorate, long delayed and already agreed, was about to be proclaimed. One strip of this territory is now under British mandate, the main part having gone to France. There are many instances of territories spontaneously placed under our protection or for which that protection was sought but for long declined.

Thus we have not, even in the past, been actuated by a policy of indiscriminate "grab"; the spirit of adventure and restless enterprise of individual Britons has often brought upon a reluctant and preoccupied Home Government charges which it was most unwilling to undertake. Moreover in all this, one has to use the terminology of the nineteenth century and earlier, when every nation assumed that Colonies were "possessions" to be exploited without much regard for the wishes and interests of their inhabitants. This conception is obsolete to-day, at any rate throughout the British Colonial Empire. It has been succeeded, as already indicated, by the principle of trusteeship on behalf of the Colonial peoples, and though this principle was first formally enunciated in the Mandates, it was in fact already operative in the British Colonies.

When, therefore, we are asked to "hand over" territories to their former owners, the proper answer is that we are already in process of handing them over to their only true possessors, the people who live in them, and that that process must go on until the final goal, however distant it may seem in some cases, has been reached, and all the relatively backward peoples have attained the fullest measure of political, social and economic development of which they may prove capable.

The Dominions have attained complete independent nationhood; India is following the same road; that must be the ultimate objective, though not necessarily in the

same forms, of the Colonial Empire. A Colony like Ceylon has already entered the final stage; some African territories are obviously only beginning their political career. It must necessarily be at a distant day, and in a very different world, when they reach full stature and are able to stand alone, though even then it is to be hoped they will remain within the wide ambit and free association of the British Commonwealth.

In the following chapters a brief descriptive account will be given of the individual units of the Colonial Empire. Since there can be no logical order, the divisions must be arbitrary, but will fall broadly into geographical groups. First come the Mediterranean Colonies as lying nearest to the mother country, and being quite different in character from the others. Proceeding then from west to east, we shall survey in succession the West Indies, West Africa, East and Central Africa, and other African territories, Ceylon, Malaya and the East, and finally the island outposts in various parts of the world. The machinery of government both in London, with its various ancillary agencies, and in the Colonies will then be examined and explained, and the recruitment, training, structure and functions of the Colonial Service described. After brief reference to Colonial pioneers and voluntary organizations, a description will be given of other Colonial systems, and some comparison will be made between their methods and our own. We shall next briefly pass in review a variety, though necessarily only a selection, of current Colonial problems. Finally, some attempt will be made, certainly not to prophesy, but to indicate possible trends of development in the future and the place of Colonies and Colonial peoples in world affairs.

II

The Mediterranean

The British have never had any passion for uniformity, and as their Colonial Empire grew up in all manner of ways, by conquest, cession, treaty, settlement or mandate, over a period of several centuries, the process (if such it may be called) has produced a great variety of forms of government, which are nearly as numerous as the territories themselves, and were determined by local conditions, historical accident or temporary expedient. The result, whilst no doubt distressing to orderly bureaucratic instinct, has certainly made for healthy growth and valuable practical experience in comparative administration. The Colonial Empire exhibits no logical or symmetrical structure, but is a living and changing organization. With this in mind, we may commence our survey of the Colonial groups, taking first the Mediterranean.

Great Britain, as already indicated, is in the Mediterranean primarily for strategic reasons. It is part of her great highway to India and Australia, the lifeline of Empire, although in case of necessity, as was demonstrated under war conditions, the alternative Cape route can be used. The Suez Canal and Red Sea route is, however, easier and shorter, and consequently Britain has her outposts at Gibraltar, commanding the western entrance, at Malta in a central position near Sicily, and in the Eastern Mediterranean at Cyprus, lying some 250 miles north of the Suez Canal and close to

the Syrian coast. For the same reason Britain has close and friendly relations with Egypt, which is the guardian and must ultimately become owner of the Canal, and is also our partner in the Sudan. Palestine and Transjordan became mandated territories after the first world war, as did Iraq, which is now an independent kingdom. Since Aden and its extensive protectorate along the southern coast of Arabia belong to the same sphere of influence, they will also be described in this chapter.

GIBRALTAR

The great fortress rock of Gibraltar, standing sentinel over the western entrance to the Mediterranean and symbol of British sea power, is the first outpost of Empire to be met on an eastward journey. It is an impressive beginning. In ancient days it was one of the Pillars of Hercules, known as Mons Calpe, and its present name is derived from the Arabic Jebel Tarik. Geographically Gibraltar is a part of the Iberian peninsula, being joined to the Spanish mainland by a sandy isthmus treated as neutral territory. The Rock is some 2½ miles in length by about three-quarters broad, and rises gradually to a height of 1,400 feet, the steepest side facing the Mediterranean. The town and harbour face across the Bay, and by means of extensive moles, a large water space, sufficient to meet all the needs of the Fleet and mercantile shipping, has been enclosed. The Rock is strongly fortified.

Until the fifteenth century it remained under the dominion of the Moors, after which it was incorporated into the Spanish kingdom of Granada. During the war of the Spanish Succession Gibraltar was captured by a British force under Admiral Sir George Rooke, with Dutch help, in 1704, and its possession was confirmed to Britain by the

Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. Several attempts were made to recapture it, and in 1779 it was subjected to a great siege which lasted for four years, but all assaults were heroically withstood by the garrison under Lord Heathfield with the help of the Fleet, which finally, under Lord Howe, won a great victory at sea and raised the siege in 1783. Since then the Rock has been left unmolested.

England's title to Gibraltar, however, rests upon a better basis than capture in war, apart from uninterrupted occupation for well over two centuries; for by the Treaty of Versailles in 1783, renewing the Treaty of Utrecht, Gibraltar was confirmed to us by Spain, in return for which we handed over Florida (now part of the United States) and Minorca, still in Spanish possession. To-day there are comparatively few Spanish subjects in British territory, the bulk of the restricted civil population of normally less than twenty thousand being Maltese, Genoese and others born on the Rock. Many workers in Gibraltar live in the Spanish town of La Linea across the boundary.

Being primarily a fortress and naval station rather than a Colony, the Governor of Gibraltar is the General commanding the garrison. He is aided by an Executive Council of four official and three unofficial members, but in this case there is no legislative council, power of legislation being vested in the Governor under Letters Patent. The town's affairs are, however, in the hands of the City Council. The climate is quite healthy. Gibraltar is a popular tourist and trading centre, it being virtually a free port. The revenue is derived from import duties, Crown estate rents, licence fees and port dues. Education is compulsory. The town is modern, and has some fine buildings and gardens and numerous shops. The water-supply is largely dependent upon the rains and is stored in underground tanks hewn out of the solid rock.

MALTA

It has been claimed for the Maltese that they are the smallest nation with the longest history in the world. Certainly the little Maltese group, comprising Malta, two-thirds the size of the Isle of Wight, Gozo and Comino, can show a continuous history from the Stone Age down to the present day and like its sister Colony, Cyprus, in the Eastern Mediterranean, it epitomizes in its own story the whole history of the Middle sea in western civilization. Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Arabs, Normans, Sicilians, Castilians, the famous Knights of Malta who represented the flower of European chivalry, the French, and finally the British have all in their turn left their mark in the islands, but the Maltese people have preserved their racial integrity through every change, with their own language and culture, a language which is unique in Europe and resembles Arabic in many respects.

Under the Phoenicians Malta became an important Colony and one of the principal depots of Phoenician trade. To them succeeded the Carthaginians, who held the island until the second Punic War, when it passed to Rome. The Roman rule endured for nearly a thousand years and much of it was a period of great prosperity for the island, when magnificent temples, mansions, baths and other evidences of Roman civilization were built, though few relics remain. During this period, the island, then known as Melita, was the scene of the shipwreck in 58 A.D. of St. Paul, who converted the people to Christianity, which they retained through all subsequent vicissitudes. The smaller island of Gozo is known in Greek legend as Calypso's Isle, familiar from the story of Telemachus in the *Odyssey*.

After a period of disorder following the fall of the Roman Empire, the Saracens became lords of the island in 870 and

it remained under Arab rule until 1090, when the Norman Count Roger of Sicily defeated the Saracens, and Malta became part of his kingdom. After his death, a turbulent period of some centuries ensued, when Angevins, Aragonese and Castilians ruled Sicily and Malta in succession, but this period was brought to an end when, about 1550, at the Pope's instigation, the Emperor Charles V granted Malta and Gozo to the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, who had been driven out of Rhodes by the Turks. Then followed the Golden Age of Malta, when, after becoming famous throughout Christendom for the heroic resistance of the Knights under their Grand Master, La Vallette, to the great siege of the Turks in 1565, the island drew wealth and support as a bulwark against Islam from all the countries of Europe, and was beautified and enriched with magnificent churches, palaces and fortifications, including the "auberges" of the nations still in use as public buildings in Valletta.

The Order, however, gradually decayed until in 1798 it collapsed before Napoleon. But the Maltese rebelled against the French and called in the assistance of the British, who defeated the French in 1800, and although Britain handed back the island to the Knights under the Treaty of Amiens, the Maltese insisted on the British staying, and to their joy and relief it was finally ceded to Britain under the Treaty of Paris, 1814, since when Malta has remained a part of the British Empire and has become our principal naval base in the Mediterranean. Ever since, the Maltese have remained loyal and patriotic British subjects and there is no question of the sincerity of their attachment to the Empire, with which their ideals and interests are closely identified.

Being an enterprising and prolific race, when pressure on the population of their small islands has increased, the Maltese have freely emigrated to all parts of the Empire,

America and the world generally. This applies at least equally to the Gozitans, natives of Gozo, who, in relation to the Maltese, are somewhat as the Scots to the English. The Maltese have always taken an active part in the conduct of their local affairs, but British representative institutions suited to ourselves have not proved too successful in Malta, chiefly owing to religious and political dissensions, which are, however, now greatly modified, to the obvious relief of the bulk of the inhabitants. Constitutional government on the parliamentary model was introduced in 1921, but on several occasions a deadlock resulted, and after two suspensions, the Constitution had to be repealed in 1936, owing to active pro-Italian propaganda and acute religious difficulties.

Formerly English and Italian were the official languages, the latter being used in the courts of law, which was a great disability to most of the Maltese, who did not understand it. English and Maltese are now, quite properly, the official languages, and questions of language and defence are excluded from the modified Constitution which has been introduced, and which will doubtless be progressively developed. As a naval and military station of great importance, the claims of self-government have naturally to be reconciled with the needs of defence, a fact which the quick-witted Maltese, whose prosperity largely depends upon the Fleet and garrison, fully recognize.

Under the present Constitution, the Council of Government consists of twenty members, ten elected on the same franchise as in the 1921 Constitution, eight official and two nominated members. The Governor, who presides, has a casting vote. This will doubtless prove an instalment of a more liberal Constitution suited to the peculiar needs and genius of the people to be evolved in the future.

The islands, which are situated 80 miles from Sicily and about 200 miles from Tripoli, have a civil population of

some quarter of a million. The Maltese are skilled mechanics and craftsmen, hard and thrifty workers, and good fishermen. Education is widespread, being free and compulsory, and Malta has its own University, founded in 1769. Maltese lace is deservedly famous, and amongst other industries are button and pipe-making and brewing. Although the soil is rocky, the available land is highly cultivated, especially with oranges, potatoes and other products. Gozo is more fertile.

Malta possesses many interesting relics of the Stone Age, notably the famous Hypogeum at Hal Saflieni and the temples at Tarxien, which are acknowledged to be amongst the archaeological wonders of the world. In Gozo also there are twin Stone Age temples at Gigantija, built on similar lines to the Maltese remains. The magnificent Grand Harbour at Valletta, the churches and palaces of the Knights, the auberges of the nations, the National Museum, the Theatre Royal, the lovely gardens and the numerous interesting excursions about the islands, combine to make Malta an interesting centre for the tourist, for whose benefit a Government Tourist Bureau is maintained. The climate is excellent in winter and not too hot in summer, living is fairly cheap and the hotels are good. Malta is represented by a Commissioner in London.

Malta played a great part in the war in the Mediterranean and successfully resisted constant and heavy air attacks from Sicily. Its people served in all branches of the fighting services, especially in the Navy.

CYPRUS

As Malta is associated with St. Paul, and Gozo is known as Calypso's Isle, so Cyprus is linked in classical legend with the birth of Aphrodite. A land of sunshine and flowers,

of varied and picturesque scenery, Cyprus is one of the most beautiful islands in the Mediterranean, with mountains rising to the 6,400 feet peak of Mount Troödos. The island has an area of about 3,600 square miles, being nearly 150 miles long by some 30 to 60 miles broad. In ancient times, Cyprus was even more beautiful, being well wooded then, and populous, supporting a reputed population of a million, whereas its present inhabitants number little more than 350,000. This, however, is double the population when Britain took over in 1878. Its mineral wealth was also well known to the Greeks and Romans, the name Cyprus deriving from the Greek for copper. That metal is still a principal export, largely owing to American enterprise, as is also asbestos, but the island's mineral resources would probably repay further exploration and development.

The history of Cyprus, like that of Malta, presents a microcosm of Mediterranean civilization. England's first connection with it was in the twelfth century, when Richard Lionheart conquered it and at Limassol married Berengaria of Navarre, but subsequently passed it on to the Knights Templars. England does not again come into the picture until 1878, when Cyprus had for many generations lain desolate and almost depopulated under Turkish rule or misrule. When Disraeli returned from the Berlin Conference of that year bringing "peace with honour," he had secured the agreement of the Turkish Government to the occupation and administration of Cyprus by Britain.

The position of Cyprus in the Eastern Mediterranean is of immense strategic value, as may be seen from the map. It is only 44 miles from the southern coast of Asia Minor and about 69 miles from the Syrian coast; it covers the great port of Haifa in Palestine, and the end of the Iraq oil pipe-line, from which it is some 150 miles distant; it is 200 miles north of the entrance to the Suez Canal, and

270 miles east of the Dodecanese islands. It would form an invaluable link in an airline from Europe through Athens to Asia and India.

In securing its occupation by Britain, Disraeli naturally had his eye on the Suez Canal and our "life-line" with India and the East generally. But before the new regime could be firmly established, international events led to the occupation of Egypt itself, and this proved unfortunate for Cyprus, which owing to England being preoccupied with Egypt, suffered a further period of relative neglect, although many things were done to improve upon its parlous condition under Turkey. Further, since Cyprus was still nominally a Turkish possession, she had still, through Britain, to pay tribute to Turkey, and this was a severe drain upon a primitive community's limited resources. Since we had occupied the island originally in our own interest, part at least of this money should have been remitted, even though we had subsequently undertaken greater responsibilities in Egypt. Many fair-minded Cypriots would, however, admit that we have already to some extent made this up to them and are likely to do so much more in the future. When Turkey entered the first world war against Britain in 1914, she lost even her nominal title to Cyprus and all payments to her of course ceased.

Egypt, however, continued to be the chief guarantee of Britain's Mediterranean communications until 1922, when it became an independent kingdom; sponsored by Britain she entered the League of Nations in 1936. History has therefore come full circle, and Cyprus, which in 1925 had been given the formal status of a British Colony, has regained its original importance in the Empire scheme. It is ideally situated as a naval and air base to command the Eastern Mediterranean. Famagusta is capable of development as a naval harbour, and there are excellent sites for aerodromes

on the great central plain of Messaria, as well as a seaplane base on the Limassol salt lake. Surveys have already been carried out by naval and air experts.

The population of Cyprus is mainly Greek, with a Turkish Moslem minority. The Greek Cypriots are, like their compatriots in Greece itself, very politically minded, and the Greek church in Cyprus, like the Catholic church in Malta, has concerned itself too actively with political intrigue. A liberal Constitution was conferred on the people after their liberation from Turkish rule, but their political and ecclesiastic leaders misused their power, an agitation for "union with Greece" grew up, which is now moribund, and in 1931 some rioting broke out in the capital, which could easily have been avoided by a little more understanding on both sides, and Government House was burned down. This led to the withdrawal of the Constitution. The great majority of the peasants, both Greek and Turkish, were concerned, not with politics, but with the problem of making a living, which was rendered more difficult by their backwardness and indebtedness to moneylenders.

During the suspension of the Constitution, the local Government has nominated Cypriot representatives to assist in the task of administration, but naturally the demand for restoration of political liberties has continued, and since self-government is the declared objective of British Colonial policy, it may be assumed that a new Constitution will be introduced. The war brought immediate demonstrations of loyalty from all Cypriots, volunteers and material aid came from all sections of the population, a Cyprus Regiment was formed, a Cypriot pioneer corps were the first Colonial troops in France. Enthusiasm for the common cause was naturally heightened by the entry of Greece into the war as Britain's Ally.

Before the war, a greater friendliness and understanding

was manifest between the administration and the people, or rather the educated classes, and there can be no doubt that, having realized the advantages of their position in the British Commonwealth and demonstrated their own fundamental loyalty, both these high-spirited Mediterranean peoples, the Maltese and the Cypriots, are destined to secure the control of their own destinies with a heightened sense of responsibility in the exercise of political liberties. There is now no danger of Italian intrigue in Malta, and Greeks and Cypriots have been brothers in arms.

Given further economic development with British assistance, Cyprus has an assured and happy future before her. Much has been done in recent years. The power of the moneylender over the peasants has been drastically curbed, land and savings banks and co-operative schemes have been introduced, good roads have been built, and water-supplies have been improved. Drought has been one of the great enemies in the past, owing to the denudation of the soil, and well-boring and tree-planting were among the measures recommended by an Economic Commission some years before the war. The principal need has been for more money, and Cyprus is likely to benefit greatly under the Development and Welfare Act after the war. The administrative services have been greatly improved, and as more revenue becomes available, further improvements can be undertaken.

Cyprus possesses many monuments of historic beauty and archaeological interest, to restore and preserve which much has been done in recent years. There are beautiful Gothic churches in Nicosia and Famagusta, the Abbey of Bella Paise, and the castle of St. Hilarion amongst many others. The climate is dry and healthy, and he scenery, especially in the mountain range, is magnificent. The villages are picturesque, the people are kindly, simple and hospitable,

and living is cheap. Kyrenia in the mountains is cool in the hottest months, and besides Nicosia, the capital, and Famagusta, there are also the towns of Larnaca and Limassol in the south.

It is an ideal land for a Mediterranean holiday, and even for permanent residence, especially for people with modest incomes in retirement. With more hotel accommodation, not necessarily of the luxury sort, and better sea, and perhaps air, communication with England, Cyprus could become deservedly popular with discriminating tourists. Cyprus is a wine-growing country and also produces oranges, olives and other fruits, tobacco, cotton, flax, vegetables and other crops. She is rich in minerals, possessing besides copper, iron, asbestos, marble and chromium. If naval and air bases are decided upon, and communications generally are improved, both with Europe and with Palestine and Egypt, economic and agricultural development and tourist traffic will follow, and Cyprus will at last enter upon an era of deserved and assured prosperity.

The history and archaeology of Cyprus will well repay study, and fortunately there are several excellent handbooks, which are referred to in the Bibliography.

PALESTINE AND TRANSJORDAN

We now come to lands of unique historical interest. Although they come under the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office, Palestine and Transjordan are not of course Colonies; they are mandated territories, responsibility for which, together with Iraq, now an independent nation, was accepted by Britain as a consequence of the first world war. They have indeed proved a heavy responsibility, especially Palestine, but this was an inescapable result of the campaign and

of our commitments, and the future of these lands would in any case have demanded settlement after the war.

The British forces in defeating Turkey conquered not only Palestine and Transjordan, but also Mesopotamia and most of Syria. Egypt also at that time was a British protectorate, although she became an independent Kingdom in 1922. Mesopotamia remained for some years under British mandate, but was granted independence at the earliest possible moment, and in 1931 became the Arab State of Iraq, under King Feisal, who had been one of Colonel Lawrence's coadjutors with the Arab irregular forces assisting General Allenby, and was at first King of Syria. Syria, after the British had driven the enemy out of Damascus and the greater part of the country, was mandated to the French. There remained Palestine, Holy Land of Christian, Jew and Mohammedan, and what is now known as Transjordan. To the south stretched the Arabian desert, the "empty quarter," since welded, under Ibn Saud, into the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, except the southern shore, including the Hadhramaut, which forms the Protectorate of Aden.

The mandate for Palestine was accepted in 1920 and confirmed by the League of Nations two years later. A civil administration, superseding the military, was set up in July 1920, under Sir Herbert (later Lord) Samuel, as first High Commissioner. At that time the vast majority of the inhabitants were Palestinian Arabs, a branch of the Arab races occupying all this quarter of Asia, but before the great dispersal under the Romans, it was of course the Kingdom of the Jews, the sacred land of Bible history, the Zion to which religious Jews all over the world hoped one day to return. It is a strange accident of history that this small but widely revered land, the home of three faiths, should fall under British rule.

In return for their aid during the war, the Palestinian Arabs naturally expected to be freed from foreign domination, and Palestine was freed, though at the cost of ten thousand British dead. We had also in 1917 promised our aid and sympathy to the Zionist movement, and the promises to Arab and Jew were not necessarily incompatible, for the Zionist cause was primarily religious in its inspiration, and there had always been both Jews and Arabs in Palestine, equally Semitic in blood, living contentedly side by side. It was the pressure of later events, largely beyond our control, which brought complications and trouble to Palestine. The original Balfour Declaration, embodied by the League of Nations in the mandate, read:

> "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine. . . ."

This obviously does not promise Palestine to the Jews, but only the setting up of a national home *in* Palestine—a prospect which indeed would have amply satisfied those pious Jews the world over whose faith and whose contributions formed the backbone of the Zionist movement, and who would have been content to settle down in their beloved Zion in amity with their Arab neighbours, as indeed the indigenous Jews had always done.

But there was also the legitimate and indeed praiseworthy desire to develop the country economically and to revive the original fertility of its soil which had deteriorated from long neglect. This was indeed done to such effect, under the security and impartiality of the British administration, by Jewish brains, energy and capital, and by the devoted labour of the young Jewish colonists, that in the short space

of twenty years Palestine was transformed, and incidentally the Arab inhabitants had greatly benefited. The story of those twenty years is a romance, shot unfortunately with tragedy.

The impatience of the Jewish temperament, contrasted with the relative lethargy and backwardness of the Arabs, would doubtless have been reconciled in time, but the German persecution of the Jews enormously complicated the problem and increased the pressure of immigration. This alarmed the Arab population, and added to the jealousies and intrigues of the Arab *effendi*, religious and nationalist fanaticism, actively fomented by foreign propaganda and funds, flared up eventually into armed insurrection and civil strife, which had to be put down by military force.

Left to themselves, without the incitements of extremists on both sides (for the Jews also were divided amongst themselves) and freed from outside pressure, the bulk of the people, both Arabs and Jews, would doubtless have found a workable solution. Even at the height of the troubles, Jews and Arabs worked amicably together, and the remarkable Jewish farm colonies at first got on admirably with their Arab neighbours. But suspicion and distrust did their fell work, and widespread bloodshed and loss ensued. Even so, many Arab villagers desired only to be left in peace, but were terrorized by armed bands across the borders. Though the back of the revolt had then been broken, it is noteworthy that, on the outbreak of war, all trouble in Palestine ceased, and both Arab and Jew rallied to the British cause, even enlisting together as volunteers. Those who love Palestine may well hope that the experience of the war will prove a happy augury for the future, and that Arab and Jew, united in the face of a common danger, may eventually find a successful *modus vivendi* as citizens of their common country.

Before the troubles came to a head, the development of Palestine had indeed proved a modern romance. The population is now roughly one and a half millions, two-thirds Arabs and about one-third Jews. In 1920, the Arabs were over 90 per cent, but it is to be noted that they have also increased in numbers consequent on the increased prosperity brought about by the Jews. The great Jewish city of Tel Aviv has risen from the bare sand dunes near Jaffa; Haifa, one of the terminals of that great engineering achievement, the Iraq oil pipe-line, has been immensely developed, both as regards the city and the fine new harbour; Jerusalem, the capital, has been greatly extended; flourishing industries have sprung up on every hand, potash from the Dead Sea, electric power from the Jordan, cement, petroleum, citrus fruits, tobacco and a host of others, all developed in the past two decades. The Gentile has long disbelieved in the Jew as an agriculturist, and his age-long divorce from any land of his own has lent support to the legend, but Palestine has finally exploded it, for there young Jews of both sexes, largely banded in co-operative communities, and working with devoted fervour, though by no means all Zionists, have really "made the desert to blossom as the rose." The story has been told in several books mentioned in the Bibliography and makes fascinating reading.

Before the war, the Mandatory Power made several attempts to find a basis for agreement between Arabs and Jews and to settle the future of Palestine, but was defeated by the irreconcilable attitude of the leaders on both sides. Finally the Palestine Royal Commission was driven to the desperate device of the "judgment of Solomon" and proposed to divide up a country only some 10,000 square miles in area between the two races, with a reserved enclave to protect British interests, but the Technical Committee appointed to work out the details of the plan found it

impracticable, and as the Arabs had rejected it and the Jews had agreed only reluctantly and under protest the scheme was tacitly dropped. Then while the pressure of Jewish immigration increased owing to the spread of persecution in Europe, the British Government, after a series of conferences with the neighbouring Arab States and with the Jewish Agency, announced its own policy in May 1939.

Briefly, this provided for the establishment within ten years of an independent Palestine State, under special treaty relations with Great Britain, in order to preserve permanent British interests in that region. Representative institutions were to be set up by agreement five years after the restoration of order which would safeguard both Arab and Jewish communities and would not exclude the possibility of federation between the Arab countries. Meanwhile, Jewish immigration was to be limited to an arbitrary figure of 75,000 annually, and further transfers of land strictly controlled. On submission of this scheme to the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League, there was disagreement as to whether it complied with the conditions of the Mandate, but before anything further could be done, war broke out and the position in Palestine was completely changed.

After the war it will probably be found that many hitherto conflicting elements have been fused, and that Arabs and Jews in active co-operation with Britain will be far more ready to build up together a future for their common country. For one thing, the refugee problem which so greatly aggravated the position in Palestine will obviously have to be tackled, in so far as it still exists, on quite other lines, by the restoration of the refugees as far as possible to their own countries or by their settlement in other lands. Moreover, there should then be greater hope of a federal association of neighbouring Arab countries which would satisfy Arab ambitions and afford scope for Jewish co-

operation. Some such federation is indeed the best solution for these countries, and only intense Arab individualism and internecine jealousies and suspicions have so far stood in its way. For it must be remembered that present-day Palestine is but a "geographical expression," and that Palestine, Syria and Transjordan are really parts of one whole.

TRANSJORDAN

Transjordan is more than double the size of Palestine, but it has a population of only about 350,000, almost wholly Arab, no Jews having been allowed to settle there. A large part of the land is desert, but the rest is certainly capable of further development, if both capital and settlers were available. Though the people are mainly primitive agriculturists and Transjordan is at present a poor country, it probably possesses dormant mineral wealth.

Like Palestine, it is an historic country and preserves many relics of former civilizations, especially in Petra, "the rose-red city," the Greco-Roman city of Serash, and the capital, Amman. Transjordan, or T.J., as it is often known, comes under the same mandate as Palestine, but here the Balfour Declaration does not apply and it is regarded as one of the countries reserved under the MacMahon pledges for Arab independence. The ruler installed by the British is the Emir Abdullah, brother of Feisal, the second son of King Hussein of the Hejaz, who was an ally of Britain during the first world war. He has proved on the whole a wise and cautious ruler, acting on the advice of the British Resident, and governing simply but firmly a primitive and conservative people.

The British have brought security and order to a somewhat turbulent land, but beyond improving public health

and communications, have not actively interfered in the details of administration. Furthermore, in accordance both with the mandate and with general policy, successive stages of self-government are being introduced, in the form of a cabinet of departmental heads, the appointment of representatives to neighbouring countries and other measures. A remarkable instrument in the peace and good order of Transjordan has been the Arab Legion, organized by a British officer, Peake Pasha. Britain maintains only a handful of officials in the country, but their influence upon the Arab population is considerable. Destined for independence, Transjordan would form a stable and progressive unit in any future Arab Federation.

ADEN

We come last to Aden and its Protectorate, forming a link between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, and guarding the entrance to the Red Sea as Gibraltar forms the western gateway to the Mediterranean. Although it has been a British possession since 1839, Aden ranks as the youngest British Colony, having been administered as a dependency of India until the passing of the Government of India Act of 1937 rendered it preferable to bring it under direct British control.

Aden itself stands in a commanding position on the south-west point of Arabia at the head of the Persian Gulf and looking across to the "horn" of Africa and British Somaliland. The peninsula forms a natural stronghold with rocks rising to nearly 1,800 feet, and two harbours, the more important, on the western side, being known as Aden Back Bay. The comparison with Gibraltar is obvious. Of importance in ancient times as the terminus of the caravan routes across Arabia, and a junction of east and west, Aden steadily declined after

the development of the Cape route, but recovered its prestige after the opening of the Suez Canal. It is now an important naval base, a coaling and oil-fuelling station, and a junction of the imperial cable system. Most ships on the Red Sea route call at Aden, and its free port is a busy distributing centre for the merchandise of Europe, Asia and Africa.

It was ceded to Britain by a local sultan in 1839, when it appeared of little value or importance. The Colony includes the islands of Perim and Karaman in the Red Sea, and has an area of 75 square miles with a population of about 50,000; but the Protectorate, extending from the Kingdom of the Yemen along the Southern Arabian coast to the sultanate of Muscat and Oman and including the island of Sokotra, has a total area of 112,000 square miles. It comprises a number of small sultanates in treaty relation with Britain, and in the western portion the Hadhramaut, a region made familiar to English readers by the writings of Freya Stark.

The Aden peninsula is sun-scorched but not unhealthy. Its chief difficulty is a scanty rainfall, but the water-supply has been greatly improved by storage and other measures in recent years. British protection also extends over the Bahrain islands and the Kuria Muria group in the Persian Gulf. In fact, British prestige and influence in all this coastal region has a steadying effect on somewhat unstable populations, and further guards the road to India and the East from the Suez Canal and the Red Sea.

III

The West Indies

The Caribbean Colonies are among our oldest and fundamentally most loyal possessions, and this despite grievances that have arisen out of grave economic difficulties. Suggestions have sometimes been made that the West Indies, or some of them, might prefer to be attached politically, since they are so near geographically, to the United States, but such suggestions could only have originated in complete ignorance of West Indian mentality and feeling. West Indians are proud of their membership of the British Empire, and their only desire, or that at least of the articulate and educated amongst them, is to attain a greater degree of self-government than they at present possess.

The British West Indies comprise the islands of Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, the Bahamas and the Leeward and Windward groups. These islands, as will be seen from the map, are more or less intermingled with others constituting the West Indies as a whole which sweep in a great semicircular curve from Florida to the South American continent, enclosing the Caribbean Sea. With the British islands are associated the mainland Colonies of British Honduras in Central America and British Guiana in South America. Bermuda, though for convenience it will be described at the end of this section, and is sometimes associated for certain purposes with the West Indies, is entirely

separate, and lies in fact over six hundred miles distant from the British West Indies.

The West Indies come into history from the discovery of individual islands by Columbus and other early navigators and their subsequent settlement by various European nations. Columbus landed on San Salvador in the Bahamas in 1492, and the "Indies" owe their name to his belief that he had reached India by a western route. English settlement began in St. Kitts in 1623. Many of them have changed hands several times in the struggle for power along what was once the Spanish Main. That struggle brought the West Indies prominently into English history, and the islands are associated with many battles and naval engagements, and with the names of Nelson and other commanders. We are concerned here only with the present British Colonies; the West Indian background as a whole must be sought in the general histories.

The islands had originally their own primitive inhabitants, but these have long since virtually disappeared, only small remnants of the Caribs, as they are called, being left to-day in one or two of the islands. In the days of slavery, many shiploads of Africans were poured into the West Indies to cultivate the sugar plantations (as another stream was directed to the cotton-fields of the Southern States of America) and it is their freed descendants, with many admixtures, who constitute the bulk of the West Indian population to-day. The population of all the British West Indies, including the mainland Colonies, totals less than three millions, but they are nevertheless a valuable and historic part of the Colonial Empire. Many of the islands are notable for their scenic beauty, and nearly all are fortunate in possessing fertile soils capable of growing a great variety of the "kindly fruits of the earth."

The groups will now be described separately: since some

of them consist of federations of which each unit possesses its own government, there are actually more governments concerned than there are separate Colonial groups.

THE BAHAMAS

This chain of coral islands, the most northerly of the British West Indies, has the distinction of including within it the land first discovered by Columbus in 1492, namely, San Salvador or Watling's Island. The principal islands besides are New Providence (containing the capital of the group, Nassau), Eleuthera, Grand Bahama, Abaco, Cat and Long Islands, Exuma, Andros, Acklins Island and Inagua. About twenty islands of the group are inhabited, and the total area is about 4,500 square miles, or half the size of Wales. The largest is Andros, 100 miles long by about 20 miles in breadth, but the most populous is New Providence, which is also about the centre of the group. The total population of the Bahamas is about 60,000.

In the early seventeenth century, the Bahamas were well known to the settlers of Bermuda, and in 1649 the Company of Eleutherian Adventurers was formed in London for the colonization and development of the islands. Before 1670 the colonists had organized a form of government including an elective House of Assembly and had selected as Governor Captain John Wentworth, an appointment which was afterwards confirmed. The settlement was sacked by the Spaniards on several occasions, and after being reformed from Jamaica, it was virtually destroyed in 1703 by the French and Spaniards, and later the islands became a resort of pirates; but in 1717 the government was resumed by the Crown, the British possession being finally confirmed by the Peace of Versailles, 1783. After the American Revolution, a number of Loyalists settled in the islands, and the mace formerly

used in the South Carolina legislature is still in the Nassau House of Assembly.

The present Constitution consists of the Governor aided by an Executive Council not exceeding nine members, a Legislative Council nominated by the Crown and a representative Assembly of twenty-nine members, elected for fifteen districts, which include all the principal islands. It was a great gesture, fully appreciated by the Bahamians, when the British Government, in the midst of the war, appointed the Duke of Windsor, formerly King Edward VIII, as Governor of the Bahamas.

The chief industry is sponge fishing, in which normally hundreds of small vessels are engaged, the sponge market here being the largest in the world. Other industries are, however, being developed. Turtles are another notable export. Nassau, the capital, is a very beautiful city, and is visited annually by large numbers of Americans and Canadians, for whom palatial hotels and other attractions have been provided. During the reign of Prohibition in the United States, Nassau grew rich on the revenue of liquor landed there, and was able to undertake a number of public works out of the proceeds, including a fine new harbour.

The story of the Bahamas has been well told by Major H. M. Bell in his book *Bahamas: Isles of June* (Williams & Norgate), which will be found in the Bibliography.

BARBADOS

The most easterly of the West Indian islands, Barbados, which is somewhat larger than the Isle of Wight, has been called "the garden of the West Indies" and is otherwise known as Little England, because it is intensely English in appearance and tradition. The landscape, with its small fields and trim cultivation, has all the appearance of the

English countryside. The Barbadians indeed affect to be altogether distinct from the other West Indian Colonies, but this may be taken as an extreme instance of the individualism characteristic of the Caribbean islands. Barbados, however, has always been an English possession since the date of the first settlement in 1627, although its ownership was disputed between various groups of proprietors until it was annexed to the Crown in 1662. An export tax was then imposed to satisfy the claims of proprietors, and despite protests from the colonists, this was not finally removed until 1838.

Bridgetown, the present capital, was founded in 1628, and during the civil war in England, a number of Royalists settled in the island. The present population of Barbados is about 180,000. The negroes, who constitute the great bulk of it, are intelligent and industrious and intensely loyal, but for the most part are desperately poor. The climate is bracing and the island is much visited as a health resort.

The local legislature consists of the Governor, the Legislative Council of nine members appointed by the Crown, and a house of Assembly of twenty-four members elected annually on a franchise which though modest still excludes the bulk of the people, there being only some five thousand electors. Barbados was once the premier Colony of the Windward group, but in 1885 it was separated from the others and made a distinct government.

Sugar is the staple product of the island, one half the acreage being under sugar-cane, Barbados sugar, like Demerara, being of distinctive quality. Codrington College is a well-known educational institution, giving an education of university standard to all, irrespective of colour. It is affiliated to Durham University. Some intimate glimpses of life in Barbados are given by Mr. Raymond Savage in his book on the island quoted in the Bibliography, wherein, though the charm of the island has conquered him as it does

so many who visit it, he does not hesitate to criticize economic conditions and the apathy of the ruling classes.

LEEWARD ISLANDS

This group comprises four presidencies: Antigua (with Barbuda), St. Kitts-Nevis (with Anguilla), Montserrat, and the British Virgin Islands. The islands belong to the chain of the Lesser Antilles, except the Virgin group which forms the eastern extremity of the Great Antilles. They were discovered by Columbus on his second voyage in 1493 and became British in the seventeenth century.

The islands were all colonized from St. Kitts (St. Christopher) as centre, and they have always since been associated politically. Since the Leeward Islands Act of 1871, there has been one Executive and one Legislative Council for the four presidencies, each of which, however, except the Virgin Islands, maintains a legislative council for local purposes. The general legislature consists of ten official and ten elected members, the latter being chosen by the unofficial members of the local legislatures, the Virgin Islands member being appointed by the Governor. The principal towns in the group are St. John (Antigua) and Basseterre (St. Kitts), and the total population of the islands is about 130,000.

Antigua is the principal island in the group, but St. Kitts has the distinction of being the oldest of the British Caribbean possessions, having been colonized by Sir Thomas Warner in 1623, who later sent his son to Antigua. The latter celebrated her tercentenary in British occupation in 1932. Barbuda was long owned by the well-known West Indian family of the Codringtons, founders of the college in Barbados.

Nevis, separated from St. Kitts only by a narrow sea passage, was united with it in 1882. It is known as Nelson's

Island, for here Nelson was married, although it was at Antigua, in English Harbour, that he refitted his ships prior to the battle of Trafalgar. Nevis, also, was the birthplace of Alexander Hamilton, the American statesman, author of the *Federalist*, who drafted the American Constitution. Montserrat has more than once changed hands between English and French, and having been originally colonized by the Irish, some of the negroes are still said to possess a noticeable Irish brogue! The Virgin Islands are now divided between England and the United States, the latter having purchased the former Danish West Indies in 1916. The British group number about thirty small islands, the chief being Tortola (containing the principal town, Road-town), Virgin Gorda and Anegada.

The Virgin Islands are probably the least known of all the West Indies. When asked where they were, an English Cabinet Minister could, it is said, only reply that they must be a long way from the Isle of Man. An interesting description of the islands was contributed by Miss B. Harper to *The Crown Colonist* in November 1937, and the American and British islands form the background of John Levo's *Virgin Islanders*, written from intimate knowledge.

The principal products of the Leeward group are sugar and sea-island cotton (the latter especially from Antigua), lime juice, from Montserrat, pineapples, coconuts and other minor produce.

WINDWARD ISLANDS

These islands consist of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica and Grenada, together with the islets of the Grenadines. Their total area is about 550 square miles, and the population, mainly negroes, is about 200,000. Although all four islands were first actually settled in the seventeenth

century by the English, who, however, had to contend with the fierce Caribs, St. Lucia and Grenada were for various periods in the possession of the French, with the result that, while English is spoken throughout the islands, a French *patois* still prevails among the peasantry of St. Lucia and Grenada.

The islands have one Governor, whose headquarters are at St. Georges, Grenada, but there is no common legislature, each island retaining its separate institutions. Formerly, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago were associated at different times with the group. Each island is presided over in the absence of the Governor by a resident Administrator who is also Colonial Secretary.

The constitution of Grenada dates originally from 1766, but has undergone many changes in the interim. A Legislative Assembly constituted under an Act of 1875 voted its own extinction, and Crown Colony government was established in 1877. Until 1924, the Legislative Council consisted of the Governor, six official members and seven unofficial nominated members, but in the latter year, the Council was made party elective, consisting besides the Governor of seven official members, three unofficial nominated members and five elected members.

St. Lucia was originally governed in accordance with French law: the Administrator now governs with a Legislative Council consisting of three ex-officio members, three nominated official and three nominated unofficial members, and three elected members. The Council and Assembly of St. Vincent passed through much the same vicissitudes as Grenada and the island is now governed, like the other two, by a partly elected Legislative Council comprising three ex-officio members, an official and an unofficial nominated member, and three elected members.

The islands are notable for scenic attractions. Mr. Owen

Rutter, in his travel impressions of the West Indies entitled *If Crab No Walk*, calls St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Grenada "the three lovelies" and has difficulty in awarding the palm. They are mountainous and volcanic in character, St. Vincent containing the famous crater Soufrière, of which there have been several violent eruptions. Grenada is known as the "Spice Island of the West," its chief products being cocoa and spices. St. Lucia has a more varied cultivation, the principal export being sugar, which, with sea-island cotton, arrowroot and other products, constitute also the exports of St. Vincent. St. Georges is the chief town of Grenada and seat of the Windwards Government, Castries of St. Lucia, Kingstown of St. Vincent, and Roseau of Dominica.

Dominica, formerly in the Leeward group, was transferred to the Windwards, with which it had been earlier associated, in 1939. This is the island, of which it is said that Columbus, wishing to demonstrate its shape to Queen Isabella, crumpled up a sheet of parchment and threw it on the table, but the same might be, and is, said of some other West Indian islands. There are still some descendants of the original Caribs on the island, and many of the inhabitants speak a French *patois*. Dominica has wonderful rugged scenery and luxurious vegetation.

JAMAICA

This is the largest island of the West Indies group in British possession, being some 145 miles in length and 50 miles in extreme breadth, and containing an area about half the size of Wales. The Cayman Islands, and Turk's and Caicos Islands, are dependencies of Jamaica. With its dependencies, it has a population of over 1,000,000.

Columbus in 1494 gave his discovery the name of the patron saint of Spain, St. Jago, but its present name is

derived from the native Xaymaca—well watered—which aptly describes this land of rushing streams, verdant scenery and thick forests clothing its central mountain range, the famous Blue Mountains. The island remained in Spanish possession for one hundred and sixty years, when it capitulated to a naval and military force sent by Cromwell in 1655. The old capital of Spanish Town, and for many years Port Royal, were the headquarters of the buccaneers, who contributed greatly to the wealth of the Colony, which was afterwards further augmented by the slave trade. After an earthquake had overwhelmed Port Royal in 1692, Kingston, the present capital, took its place, and has now a population of some 90,000. It was devastated by an earthquake in 1907. Other towns are Spanish Town, Port Antonia, Montego Bay, Falworthy, Port Maria and Savanna la Mar.

The original representative constitution, granted by Charles II in 1660, subsisted for over two hundred years, but after an insurrection violently suppressed by Governor Eyre in 1865, this was surrendered and Crown Colony government was established. As subsequently amended, the constitution consisted of a Legislative Council comprising the Governor (who still maintains the Spanish title of Captain-General) and five ex-officio members, not exceeding ten nominated and fourteen elected members.

In 1941, following upon the recommendations of the West India Royal Commission referred to later, a much more liberal constitution was introduced, based on universal adult suffrage. The Legislative Council is enlarged to comprise approximately double the former number of elected members, with nominated members representative of special interests, and the ex-officio members are reduced from five to three, the total membership of the Council to be not less than forty. On reduction of the official representation, the Governor's powers are slightly enlarged, but the special

provision of the constitution whereby the elected members can veto any financial measure is retained. The Governor withdraws from the presidency of the Legislative Council and his place is taken by a Speaker. The actual coming into force of the new constitution is dependent upon the taking of a census and the reorganization of local government, when elections will take place on the new franchise. There is a local demand for an even more liberal constitution.

Jamaica enjoys wide climatic variety, and its products are equally varied, the chief being fruit, especially bananas and citrus. Over 20,000,000 stems of bananas have been exported annually, but the fruit has to contend with the Panama disease, efforts to eradicate which are being strenuously made. Other important exports (besides grapefruit and oranges) are sugar, rum, coffee, cocoa, coconuts, pimento (all-spice), ginger and cinchona. Blue Mountain coffee fetches the highest price in the market. There is a Government railway, an extensive system of roads, an air service with America, and ample steamship communication with Canada, the United States and Europe.

Some impression of the charm of the island and its people, who are particularly loyal to the British Crown, may be gathered from the works on the West Indies cited in the Bibliography, especially perhaps from Lord Olivier's *The Blessed Isle* and Mary Gaunt's *Reflection in Jamaica*.

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

These constitute one Colony, Tobago (which is reputed to be "Robinson Crusoe's isle") having been united with Trinidad by Order in Council in 1888. Next in size to Jamaica, Trinidad is in many respects, owing to its varied resources and industries, the most progressive, prosperous and cosmopolitan of the West Indian Colonies.

Discovered by Columbus in 1498, its name is obviously Spanish, and the capital is Port of Spain. Both Trinidad and Tobago have a chequered history. Each was settled in turn by Spanish, English, Dutch and French, and all the colonists had to contend with the fierce Carib inhabitants, especially in Tobago. Trinidad was conquered in 1797 and finally ceded to the British Crown in 1802. Tobago, after being colonized by English, Dutch and French, was ceded by France to Great Britain in 1763, captured by France again in 1781, recaptured by a British force in 1793, restored to France, and finally ceded to the British Crown in perpetuity in 1814.

Trinidad lies nearest to the mainland of South America, being about 16 miles eastward of Venezuela, and it is about 50 miles long by 38 miles in average breadth, Tobago (21 miles north-east of Trinidad) being 26 miles long by 7½ miles at its greatest breadth. The population of both islands is over 400,000, of whom some 25,000 reside in Tobago. In addition to Port of Spain, with a population of 70,000, the principal towns are San Fernando, Mucurapo, Tunapuna, Princes Town, and Arima; and in Tobago, Scarborough. The climate of Trinidad is tropical and is divided into a dry (January–May) and wet season (June–December). That of Tobago is very healthy, and it has been called the "negroes' paradise."

From the economic point of view, Trinidad is more stable than many of the West Indies, because of its varied range of products, agricultural and mineral, and possibly also its proximity to the mainland. The Colony has also a greater racial admixture than the other islands, there being a larger proportion of persons of European, South American and East Indian birth or extraction.

Perhaps Trinidad's most valuable single asset is the famous natural pitch lake, and it has also large oilfields, being the

largest producer of mineral oil in the Colonial Empire. Its main exports are sugar, cocoa, coconuts, petroleum, asphalt, limejuice and grapefruit. Until recently, cocoa was the most important agricultural crop, but sugar now takes the first place, the output being the largest in the British West Indies. The Usine St. Madeleine is probably the largest sugar factory in the world. Another important institution in Trinidad is the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, which will be referred to again later. Though located in Trinidad, its work benefits all the West Indian Colonies and indeed the Colonial Empire generally.

The Government of Trinidad and Tobago was reconstituted by Letters Patent and an Order in Council in 1924. It is administered by the Governor with an Executive Council of seven members. Up to 1941, the Legislative Council consisted of the Governor, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney General, the Treasurer, nine nominated official members, six nominated unofficial members and seven elected members, six from Trinidad and one from Tobago. The franchise, however, was very restricted, representing only some 6 per cent of the population. Following upon the recommendations of the West India Royal Commission, the franchise is to be extended, the goal being universal adult suffrage, as already granted to Jamaica, but in Trinidad the extremely mixed character of the population makes it desirable to proceed by stages. In the meantime, the legislature is reformed. The official and nominated members are reduced from eighteen to nine, and the elected members are increased from seven to nine, the Governor possessing a casting vote. The Executive Council is increased from seven to eight members.

Trinidad, Tobago, and Grenada lie outside the hurricane zone, which has proved such a scourge to some of the other West Indian islands.

BRITISH GUIANA

We now come to the mainland Colonies, British Guiana and British Honduras, which are usually considered as belonging to the West Indian group. Both have rather a chequered history. British Guiana is the fabled land of El Dorado, which in the past attracted adventurers of all nationalities in search of its golden treasure and the mythical city of Manoa. Gold and diamonds British Guiana does possess, but it is no El Dorado, and has become better known for its Demerara sugar and other more humdrum but equally useful products.

There are three Guianas, British, Dutch and French, lying between the mouths of the Amazon and Orinoco rivers, and bounded by Venezuela and Brazil, but British Guiana is the largest of the three, comprising an area of nearly 90,000 square miles, or rather larger than Great Britain. British Guiana was first partially settled by the Dutch in 1616, and subsequently by the British at Surinam in 1650, but the territory passed more than once between Dutch and British hands before it was finally ceded to the British in 1814. Originally there were three separate colonies, Demerara, Berbice and Essequibo, named after the three rivers, but these were ultimately fused into the colony of British Guiana, their names remaining to designate the three provinces of the Colony. To its Dutch origin, the Colony owed several quaint survivals, including those peculiar institutions the Court of Policy, and Combined Court, which were only abolished in 1928, when the present Legislative Council was substituted for them. The Roman-Dutch law also survived in the Colony until 1917, when the present civil law came into force.

The Legislative Council consists of the Governor as president, ten official members and nineteen unofficial mem-

bers, of whom fourteen are elected and the remainder nominated.

The population of the Colony is about 320,000, of whom East Indians account for about 135,000 and negroes for 126,000. The capital is Georgetown with a population of 63,000, and some fine public buildings, and the only other town of importance is New Amsterdam, with less than 10,000. Most of the population is to be found in the coastal belt, the interior being almost uninhabited.

The chief industries are sugar and its by-products and rice ("Demerara Crystals" are world-famous), but it also has a growing gold and diamond industry, which hitherto has been sadly hampered by lack of transport, and a great wealth of timber, especially the famous Demerara greenheart, as well as growing coconuts, coffee, rubber and other tropical products. The Colony's chief handicap so far, however, has been a lack of communications. There are two short lengths of railways, some 60 and 20 miles respectively, and these are operated in conjunction with the steamer services on the Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice rivers and along the coast. The rivers, however, are not navigable very far inland owing to cataracts and waterfalls. On the Potaro river is the Kaieteur Fall, one of the greatest waterfalls in the world, and an increasing attraction to tourists, now that it is reached by the Berbice–Potaro motor road (and by air) which has also opened up part of the interior, and with its branch to Mazaruni, has rendered the diamond fields more accessible.

A great deal more road construction is needed, however, before the resources of the interior can be fully developed, though this is being undertaken with the aid of the Colonial Development Fund. British Guiana, by virtue of its geographical position, has been called "the gateway to South America," and undoubtedly, if communications could be

further developed, and its own great potentialities more fully exploited by capital investment, a prosperous economic future would lie before the only British Colony on the South American continent.

British Guiana indeed is the natural gateway to Brazil and the immense basin of the Amazon, which must one day be developed. Great Britain has a very great capital investment in Brazil and the development of her own Colony bordering that vast country should therefore be of special interest to her. With good sea communications and the construction of motor roads through the interior, British Guiana would provide ready access to Brazil and the rest of South America. The Colony itself, moreover, has wide productive powers and varied timber and mineral resources, besides very great hydro-electric potentialities, only awaiting exploitation.

It has lately been suggested that the interior, together with parts of the adjoining French and Dutch territories, should prove suitable for settlement by European refugees, and an Anglo-American commission reported in favour of the proposal in 1939. Such a settlement would certainly bring a welcome and much-needed influx of population, energy and capital enterprise.

BRITISH HONDURAS

This small Central American Colony, about the size of Wales, had its origin in the settlement early in the seventeenth century of tenacious bands of logcutters who, in spite of repeated attempts by Spain to drive them away, remained in possession, aided by the friendly Mosquito Indians, until 1798, when the last attempt to establish Spanish sovereignty was defeated by them in the "Battle of St. George's Cay." The whole stormy history of the Colony is told in the *Archives of British Honduras*, edited by the late Sir John

Burdon, at that time Governor, and its early ill-fortune pursued it in 1931, when Belize, the seaport capital, was visited by a hurricane and tidal wave which caused great damage and loss of life. Nevertheless, true to its historical tradition, British Honduras has again set out on the road to recovery, in which it will be aided by its valuable resources in timber, chicle and other products, and possibly also in minerals. The population, however, is only some 56,000, of whom about 17,000 are in Belize.

The Legislative Council, presided over by the Governor, consists of six official and seven unofficial nominated members, the Executive Council comprising the Governor, three ex-officio members and four appointed members. Since 1884, the Colony has been independent of Jamaica, to whose Captain-General, formerly its then Lieutenant-Governor, was subordinate.

The Colony's rich natural forest resources, largely in mahogany, are administered under a Forest Trust. British Honduras was once the seat of the old Maya Indian civilization. Its soil is fertile and the country is capable of great development. It has been suggested that British Honduras should be opened to Jewish settlement, for which the temperate and indeed bracing climate of its highlands renders it eminently suitable. Like British Guiana, it badly needs settlers and capital. In fact, British Honduras might well become a Jewish State, the Palestine of the West (for it is approximately the size of Palestine), under joint Anglo-American guarantee.

BERMUDA

As we have seen, the Bermudas form no part of the West Indies, but as the Colony has much in common with them, and for some purposes consults with them, it is convenient to consider it here.

The "still-vex'd Bermoothes" referred to in *The Tempest*, really consist of a group of between two and three hundred islets and coral reefs (of which, however, the total area is only some 20 square miles), lying in an irregular ring about 580 miles north of the nearest island of the West Indian group. They were discovered in 1515 by a Spaniard, Juan Bermudez, from whom their present name is derived. Formerly, they were also called Somers Islands, after Admiral Sir George Somers, who formed the first settlement here in 1609, and who died in Bermuda the following year.

Hamilton, the present capital, is situated on the main island, other principal islands being St. George, formerly the seat of government, Ireland island, containing the naval dockyard, Boaz, Watford, Somerset and smaller islands, all connected by roads, bridges and causeways with the main island, giving continuous communication for about 22 miles in length. The resident population, generally largely augmented by tourists, is over 30,000, about half of whom are white, mainly of English stock.

The islands were first granted by James I to the Virginia Company, who afterwards sold them to the Somers Islands or Bermuda Company. A form of representative government was introduced in 1620, but the Bermuda Company's charter was annulled in 1684, since when Bermuda has been a Crown Colony, but with a local legislature consisting of the Governor, the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly. The Legislative Council consists of nine members, three official and six unofficial nominees, and the House of Assembly of thirty-six elected members, four for each of the nine parishes. The Governor is assisted by an Executive Council of four official and three unofficial members.

In earlier days, the Bermuda people were active mariners, trading in their own small ships between America, the West Indies and Europe, but now this fleet has virtually ceased

to exist, and the tourist industry has become the main interest of the Colony. Bermuda is a favourite holiday resort for Americans and Canadians, mainly the former, and especially in the winter, owing to its mild and salubrious climate. Though Prohibition in the United States probably helped to swell the numbers, Bermuda retains its hold for other reasons, and it is also growing in favour with tourists from Great Britain and the West Indies. It caters for this traffic with many fine hotels and other attractions.

Besides this, it grows vegetables and flowers for the American and Canadian markets: the lily fields of Bermuda are a characteristic sight. Bermuda indeed with its succession of coral islets joined by bridges, and its sheltered harbours alive with yachting and other craft, is a very picturesque Colony. It is also a naval station. Its houses are beautifully built of soft stone, and its roads of coral limestone are bright and clean. Before the war, there was no motor traffic, horses, carriages and bicycles being the local means of conveyance. The history of Bermuda is told in books by Mr. H. Strode, Mr. H. Wilkinson and Mr. W. B. Kerr, noted in the Appendix, and some very attractive pictures of Bermudian life and scenery are given in Mr. J. J. Bushell's *Picturesque Bermuda.*

Strong individualism and "island mentality," combined with and largely caused by paucity of intercommunication, have hitherto militated against any closer union or federation of the West Indies beyond the grouping in which they are at present organized. The fact that all the islands are separated by wide stretches of sea, quite apart from their separate histories and local jealousies, renders any form of central government for the West Indies as a whole extremely difficult. On the other hand, the maintenance of all the elaborate forms of government in each of these small islands

and largely undeveloped mainland Colonies is a heavy collective burden and somewhat of an anachronism at the present day. It would seem that some form of centralization, together with local simplification, is inevitable, and the development of inter-island communication by air, sea, telephone and radio, as well as further education, by enlarging the mental horizon of the people, would undoubtedly help to bring this about. An all-West Indian Parliament, responsible to a wider and better informed electorate, and demanding a higher standard from its members, would probably rise above much of the parochialism which is at present too evident in some of the local legislatures. The difficulty would be to determine upon the location of the central government, but this might be overcome by dividing up the main functions and departments between two centres, say, Jamaica and Trinidad, and arranging for the legislature to sit alternately in each centre.

The Commission which reported in 1933 on closer union between Trinidad and the Leeward and Windward groups found little enthusiasm for the idea in any of the islands, and in the result only suggested tentatively a loose federation between the Leeward and Windward groups themselves. Nothing, however, came of this save the transfer six years later of Dominica from the Leeward to the Windward group, with which it has closer natural affiliations.

Some form of connective tissue is being built up. There is, first of all, the West Indian Conference, established in 1926 and designed to meet regularly in London and the West Indies alternately. This representative body has discussed matters concerning agriculture, education, public service, defence, trade and other subjects, and has made recommendations to the Secretary of State and the various West Indian Governments. Inter-Colonial Conferences have been held from time to time to deal with specific subjects,

such as agriculture, customs, etc., and both Bermuda and the mainland Colonies have participated in these conferences. The Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, as already noted, serves all the West Indian Colonies, and indeed other Colonies as well. West Indian interests at home are looked after by the West India Committee, a voluntary body, established prior to 1750, and incorporated by Royal Charter in 1904, to promote the agriculture, industries and trade of the British West Indies.

As the result of prolonged economic distress due mainly to the world depression in the prices of staple West Indian products, and the consequent discontents, a strong Royal Commission was appointed in 1938 under the chairmanship of Lord Moyne. After taking exhaustive evidence both in the West Indies and in London, the Commission reported unanimously and issued a series of drastic recommendations which were published in 1940, with an intimation that the Government intended to implement them as far as possible, starting during the war.

The recommendations cover a very wide field and may be briefly summarized. A West Indian Welfare Fund is set up, financed by the Imperial Exchequer with an annual grant of £1,000,000 for twenty years, the fund to be administered by a Comptroller independent of the local governments. The first Comptroller has been appointed in the person of Sir Frank Stockdale, previously Agricultural Adviser to the Secretary of State. Detailed recommendations are made for the improvement of education, public health and housing, for labour legislation and the setting up of trade unions, and for other social services. Increases in the export quotas of sugar and of supplementary preferences in the British market are recommended. In agriculture, the backbone of West Indian wealth, the Report recommends more intensive use of land, increased production of food

for home consumption, further agricultural research, appointment of an Inspector General of Agriculture for the West Indies, and other reforms. There are also proposals for land settlement and the improvement of communications.

In the politcail sphere, the commission declares West Indian Federation to be the ultimate objective and recommends various preparatory measures, including the local unification of services, extension of the franchise and reduction of official representation. The new constitutions for Jamaica and Trinidad mark a beginning in this process. The Commission recommends the amalgamation of the Leeward and Windward groups despite the failure of previous proposals. Many other detailed proposals are made covering a wide field, and progress is already being made in some of these directions.

Before leaving the British West Indies, it is appropriate to refer here to the leases for naval and air bases which were granted to the United States during the war, and which are likely not only to bring them into closer association with their great neighbour, but also to assist materially in the restoration of economic prosperity in the future.

On the initiative of the British Government, leases were offered on a ninety-nine-year basis of suitable sites for naval and air stations in Newfoundland, Bermuda and the West Indies. Those in Newfoundland and on the east coast and great bay of Bermuda were granted "freely and without consideration." The leases in the West Indies were granted in return for naval and military equipment. The West Indian bases are on the eastern side of the Bahamas group, the southern coast of Jamaica, the western coast of St. Lucia, on the west coast of Trinidad in the gulf of Paria, in the island of Antigua and in British Guiana within 50 miles of Georgetown.

The Prime Minister made it clear that there was no question of any transfer of sovereignty, or of anything being done without the consent or against the wishes of the Colonies concerned. Their Governments were indeed parties to the agreements, which provided for compensation for any rights or property affected. Naturally the status of the inhabitants as British subjects was in no way affected. Any problems affecting economic or social conditions to which these bases may give rise can safely be left to the Colonial and American authorities concerned, but there can be no doubt that they will increase the prosperity of the Colonies affected, and will enhance American interest in them.

Altogether, the West Indies should be facing a new and hopeful future, to which the comprehensive development plans, political enfranchisement, improved communications, the American bases and higher standards of living and education should materially contribute.

IV

West Africa

The British Colonies and Protectorates in Africa, even excluding the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, comprise in area over 80 per cent of the Colonial Empire as a whole. Extent of territory is not the sole measure of political or economic importance, yet Britain's African territories undoubtedly form a very important part of her Colonial Empire, and from the economic point of view (and therefore socially and politically) are still capable of considerable development.

It is no part of the purpose of this book to describe the African continent as a whole. Much has been written on that vast subject elsewhere, and the main sources of information are indicated in the Bibliography, as well as the principal works on individual British territories or territorial groups, but no student of Britain or indeed of Europe in Africa can afford to neglect Lord Hailey's great *African Survey*, which is likely to form the basis of all future development in that continent south of the Sahara.

Africa, it should be remembered, covers between one-fifth and one-sixth of the land surface of the globe, and the greatest Colonial Power in that continent is Britain, or rather the British Empire, which accounts altogether (if we include the Sudan) for nearly a third of the total of about 12,000,000 square miles, and on the same basis for considerably more than a third of the total population, the highest estimate of which is 163 millions. France comes

next with about 3,000,000 square miles of territory (excluding Madagascar) and a population of about 34,000,000, but the greater part of the land at all suitable for white settlement, and excepting the Mediterranean littoral, is within the British Empire, mainly of course in the Union of South Africa, the Rhodesias and the highlands of Kenya and Tanganyika. Some considerations applying to British African Colonies generally will conclude the chapter on "Other African Territories." Bearing the general background in mind, let us first look at our settlements on the West Coast, now the Colonies of the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Nigeria.

English traders have been active on the West Coast of Africa since the sixteenth century, but the British Government has not usually taken over territory until forced by circumstances to do so. In the race which took place between European Powers in the latter part of the nineteenth century to acquire spheres of influence in Africa, England might have obtained much more territory in West Africa, possibly joining the Gold Coast and Nigeria and stretching across to the Sudan, were it not for her reluctance to undertake further responsibilities, and it was chiefly due to the persistence of men like Goldie, apart from the pressure of events, that Great Britain acquired her present territories there.

Even the Congo was first offered to Britain, as well as parts of what is now French Equatorial Africa. That remarkable woman, Mary Kingsley, to whom West Africa owes so much, used to say that for forty years after Waterloo the whole of West Africa from the Gambia to the Congo was England's if she had chosen to take it. This may seem rank Imperialism, but unfortunately there was no question of West Africa being left to itself. Other Powers stepped in and seized what England refused. The history of that time is told in Mary Kingsley's *Story of West Africa.*

Our oldest (and smallest) territories in West Africa are the Gambia and Sierra Leone.

GAMBIA

The Gambia is a mere strip of red on the map, being a riverain Colony and Protectorate consisting of St. Mary's Island at the mouth of the Gambia, McCarthy Island about 160 miles up the river and of a protectorate extending over both banks of the Gambia for some 250 miles from its mouth. Bathurst, the seat of government, is situated on St. Mary's Island. The total area is a little over 4,000 square miles.

The Gambia was first discovered by the Portuguese, but the English were the first to trade, forming a succession of companies from 1588 to 1816. In 1821 the settlement was annexed to Sierra Leone and subsequently administered by a Lieutenant-Governor, but in 1843 it was created a separate colony, with a Governor and executive and legislative councils on the usual model. There was a later interregnum of twenty years when it formed part of the government of the West African Settlements, but it reverted to separate administration in 1888.

Compared with the other West African Colonies, the Gambia has received very little attention, although Mr. H. F. Reeve has told its history from the earliest times to 1912. Certainly it is the smallest and least important of the four, but though little more than a long wedge driven into French Senegal, it has its own character and history. The great highway of the colony is of course the Gambia river, which is navigable for nearly 300 miles from its mouth. The Protectorate extends to a depth of six miles on either bank. Early explorers believed the Gambia to be one of the branches of the Niger, until its separate source was

found. The wealth of the Gambia is based on ground nuts, which are the chief crop, although hides and palm kernels are also exported, and other products are grown for local consumption. Mr. Rex Hardinge gives an interesting account of the country, its inhabitants and their trade in his book *Gambia and Beyond.*

SIERRA LEONE

The name was given by the Portuguese possibly from the fancied resemblance of its coastal mountain to the form of a lion. It had its origin as a British Colony in the movement for the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery, whence its capital, Freetown, derives its name. In the central square of Freetown is still to be seen the tree at the foot of which slaves' shackles were struck off.

The Colony and Protectorate comprise an area of about 28,000 square miles, lying on the coast between Liberia and French Guinea. The Colony was first settled in 1785 and has grown by successive cessions of territory by native chiefs. It was settled chiefly with freed slaves and Africans rescued by British ships from slavers. In 1896, a Protectorate was declared over the hinterland of Sierra Leone, which was divided into Northern and Southern Provinces.

For some time Sierra Leone was administered as part of the West African Settlements with the Gold Coast and Lagos, and when these were separated, still in conjunction with the Gambia. In 1888 the Gambia was finally separated from Sierra Leone, and the latter, by successive ordinances, was given executive and legislative councils, consisting of officers of the Government and nominated members. Finally, an Order in Council of 1924 provided for a new and greatly enlarged legislative council, the introduction of an elected element and the direct representation of Protectorate interests.

The total population is under two millions, almost entirely African, and especially in Freetown and the coastal district they are among the most sophisticated on the West Coast. Sierra Leone, unlike the Gambia, does not lack historical and descriptive literature, and several works are noted in the Bibliography, besides a special bibliography compiled by Mr. H. C. Luke.

The principal exports of the country are palm kernels, palm oil, kola, piassava and ginger, but in recent years there has been a considerable development of iron ore for export from the Marampa mines. The Government railway, some 300 miles in length, was the first to be constructed in West Africa, and at Freetown the colony possesses one of the finest harbours on the coast. Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone is affiliated to Durham University.

GOLD COAST

The Gold Coast is the second largest British colony in West Africa. With Ashanti, the Northern Territories and British Togoland, it covers about 92,000 square miles, approximately equal in size to Great Britain. The first Europeans to settle on the Gold Coast were the Portuguese, who arrived in 1471 and built the castle at Elmina in 1482. They were followed in 1595 by the Dutch, who undermined the domination of the Portuguese and captured Elmina in 1637. Five years later, the Portuguese abandoned all their possessions on the Coast to the Dutch. The British and the Danes followed, the latter making their only appearance in Africa, of which Christiansborg Castle, Accra, now the residence of the Governor of the Gold Coast, remains as the sole relic. The British headquarters were at Cape Coast Castle. Then followed an internecine struggle, which resulted in the British finally displacing the others.

At first, the attractions of the Gold Coast were (as its name implies), gold, and also ivory and spices, but with the opening up of the new world, a demand arose for cheap African labour on the plantations in America and the West Indies. This was the origin of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, in which the Gold Coast played a prominent part until its decline and final abolition in the nineteenth century. Though gold is still an important export, and the mining industry has greatly developed in recent years, the prosperity of the modern Gold Coast is based largely upon cocoa, which accounts for nearly three-quarters of its total exports, thus providing an interesting example of complete economic transformation in the history of a country.

Besides cocoa, gold and diamonds, timber is also an important industry, the country possessing a great forest area of varied and valuable timber, especially mahogany. The "closed forest" region, in which cocoa farming is also prevalent, has a permanently protected area of approximately 7,000 square miles, and it has been estimated that there is an annual exportable surplus of about 5,000,000 cubic feet of merchantable timber of all kinds. The humid closed forest area is necessary to the continuance of the cocoa industry as a protection from arid conditions. Palm oil and kernels, kola nuts, copra and rubber also figure among exportable crops.

The country is divided into the Gold Coast proper in the south, about 24,000 square miles, Ashanti to the north, also some 24,000 square miles, and farther north still, the Northern Territories, 30,000 square miles in area, with on the east a strip of former German Togoland, about 13,000 square miles, now under British mandate and administered with the other provinces, the larger part of Togoland being under French mandate. This roughly oblong territory with a coast-line of about 340 miles, lies between the French

Ivory Coast on the west and French Togoland on the east, which with Dahomey divide it from the great British Colony of Nigeria.

Ashanti has a stormy history. In the coastal regions, the people, mostly immigrants, developed over long years into small autonomous units under European protection and without tribal tradition, but in the interior tribal organization, practically untouched by European influences, was strong and the most highly organized was the Ashanti federation, who began to harry their neighbours, especially the coastal peoples, and to demand a greater share in the trade. Continuous local conflicts led to the intervention of the British, and the bellicose spirit of King Prempeh brought about the Ashanti campaigns, including Sir Garnet (later Lord) Wolseley's campaign against Kumasi in 1874, and finally led to the annexation of Ashanti in 1901 and the deposition of Prempeh. He went into exile, but was allowed to return in 1924. Ten years later, the Ashanti Confederation was restored, and in 1935 Prempeh's successor under the title of Prempeh II was proclaimed Asantehene, or paramount ruler of the Ashanti tribes. The famous Golden Stool, the traditional abiding place of the soul of the Ashanti people, was at the same time restored.

Though Ashanti is now part of the Gold Coast and under the control of a Chief Commissioner, considerable local autonomy is enjoyed by the Ashanti people under their native administration, and Ashanti, once a battleground of fierce tribes, has made substantial economic and social progress, the once bloodstained city of Kumasi being now a progressive modern town, with electric light, water supply and other amenities of civilization.

The Northern Territories, which came under British influence in 1897, have also made great strides economically and it is in the Northern Territories, more than any other

part of the Gold Coast, that most progress has been made in the sphere of native administration. Direct taxation has been introduced, whereas elsewhere in the Gold Coast customs duties form the chief source of revenue, and its assessment and collection are entirely in the hands of the local native authorities, District Commissioners acting only in an advisory capacity. The native treasuries are well managed.

The German Colonies of Togoland and the Cameroons fell into Allied hands at the outset of the first great war practically without a struggle, and were afterwards mandated to the British and the French. The French, however, assumed responsibility for the greater portions of these territories, only strips of each being accepted by the British to round off their territories in the Gold Coast and Nigeria respectively. It is noteworthy that all this territory might easily have come under British influence originally, had not the Home Government been averse to undertaking such responsibilities, and a protectorate was indeed, after protracted negotiations, about to be proclaimed over the Cameroons when Germany stepped in and seized the territory. The administration of British Togoland is joined, as to the northern portion, with that of the Northern Territories, and as to the southern, with the Gold Coast Eastern Province, but a report on the whole is rendered annually to the League of Nations.

The Colony portion of the Gold Coast is divided into three provinces, and the Governor is assisted by a Legislative Council consisting of fifteen official and fourteen unofficial members. Provision is made for the election of six head chiefs as Provincial members, three municipal members representing Accra, Cape Coast and Sekondi, a mining and a mercantile member. The local affairs of these three municipalities are administered by town councils, partly official and partly elected, and those of Kumasi by a Public

Health Board. Educated Africans are taking an increasing part in the administration, and often rise to senior posts therein. There is a large and growing educated community on the Coast which is well represented in all the professions. The Gold Coast Regiment of the Royal West African Frontier Force, officered by Europeans, has a fine soldierly tradition.

Educational, medical and public health services are growing apace in the Gold Coast, and are absorbing an increasing number of trained African men and women. At the apex of the educational system stands that fine institution, Achimota College, founded by the Government in 1924 as an experiment in providing the African with the best possible education in his own country. It is an entirely independent institution under its own governing body, it provides instruction for both sexes up to university stage, the students take an active part in the affairs of the College and it has been a great success. There are other colleges, training, technical and secondary schools.

The Government railway system comprises 500 miles of line, there is a fine modern harbour at Takoradi, many hundreds of miles of motor roads and well-developed public services of all kinds. The total population is some four millions.

NIGERIA

Nigeria covers an area of nearly 373,000 square miles, that is, it is almost equal in size to the United Kingdom, France and Belgium combined. Since the Sudan with its million square miles falls into another category, Nigeria is practically the largest of the British Colonies, and is certainly the most populous, since its inhabitants number over twenty millions. Tanganyika is very slightly larger in area, but its

population is only 5¼ millions. These facts are not generally realized by the public in this country, who it is to be feared know little of this great territory. Moreover, it was the scene of our first experiments in Indirect Rule, or as it is now termed, Native Administration, and its foundation and development are associated with two great names, those of Sir George Goldie and Lord Lugard, founder and first Governor-General respectively. It was largely upon experience in Nigeria that Lord Lugard based his well-known work *The Dual Mandate*, which may be considered a classic of Colonial administration.

The history of Nigeria is bound up with British trading posts established at the mouth of the Niger since the seventeenth century, with explorations of the river by Mungo Park, the Lander brothers, McGregor Laird and other travellers, and especially with the formation of the Royal Niger Company by Sir George Goldie. In spite of many failures and constant hostilities, British traders persisted in their efforts to open up the interior to trade, and at the close of 1877, Mr. (afterwards Sir George) Goldie determined to try and amalgamate the various separate trading interests. Eventually he succeeded in forming the United Africa Company, which in 1886, on the long delayed Charter being granted, changed its title to the Royal Niger Company. The company was energetic in establishing trading posts, consolidating its organization, concluding treaties with native chiefs and tribes, vigilantly watching and outflanking French and German encroachments, and finally in fighting the great Fulani power centred at Sokoto.

These activities and operations first saw the emergence of Captain Frederick (later Lord) Lugard, at first in the service of the Royal Niger Company and afterwards as Commissioner and Commandant of the West African Frontier Force for the Imperial Government, which revoked the

Charter of the Company and transferred its rights and powers to the Crown at the end of 1898. Agreements for the delimitation of boundaries were arrived at with France and Germany, and the powerful emirates of the Hausa States and the kingdom of Bornu were finally brought under control with the occupation of Kano and Sokoto in 1903. The story is told in the authoritative work by Sir Alan Burns and other books cited in the Bibliography.

While these events were taking place in Northern Nigeria, of which Colonel Lugard had become High Commissioner, the rule of Britain was being effectively extended over the south, including the mouth of the Niger and the coastal region, known as the Oil Rivers Protectorate, the kingdom of Benin and Lagos. A treaty was first concluded with the King of Benin by Captain (later Sir Henry) Galway in 1892, but as this was ignored and the rule of Benin, whose influence was said to extend from Sierra Leone to the Congo, was accompanied by orgies of human sacrifice, massacres of Europeans and other atrocities, an expedition was finally sent against Benin City, which was found in an indescribable condition, and the King fled and finally died at Calabar in 1914.

The Colony of Lagos originated in efforts, ultimately successful, to suppress the slave trade on that coast. Other expeditions had to be undertaken in various parts of Southern Nigeria before law and order could be brought to the turbulent tribes of the region, but eventually all these districts were amalgamated into the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria in 1906. The Northern and Southern Protectorates pursued independent courses for some years, since conditions in each differed very greatly, but eventually, in 1914, they were amalgamated and the first Governor-General of the united country was Lord (then Sir Frederick) Lugard, who had taken an outstanding

part in building up the country. After the defeat of Germany in the Great War, the Cameroons became, like Togoland, a mandated territory, France being responsible for the major portion, and the strip to the west (about 31,000 out of the 306,000 square miles) being incorporated in Nigeria.

In spite of military operations and the unsettled state of a vast and almost unknown territory, development was steadily going on, roads and railways were being built, port works started at Lagos, trade opened up, and civil administration established. The Royal Niger Company, up to the year in which its jurisdiction was taken over by the Crown, had done wonderful work in opening up the country to peaceful commercial development, and laying the foundations of ordered rule.

Nigeria is now administered in three main divisions, the "Colony," the Northern Provinces and the Southern Provinces. The Colony comprises the former Colony of Southern Nigeria, while the Northern Provinces are Adamawa, Bauchi, Benue, Bornu, Ilorin, Kabba, Kano, Niger, Plateau, Sokoto and Zaria, and the Southern Provinces are Abeokuta, Benin, Calabar, Cameroons, Ijebu, Oyo, Ogoja, Ondo, Onitsha, Owerri and Warri. The general administrative headquarters are at Lagos, while the Northern and Southern Provincial centres are at Kaduna and Enugu respectively.

The principal groups of peoples in Nigeria are the Hausa or Fulani states of the north, and the Yoruba and Ibo tribes of the south, although there are many subdivisions, apart from the pagans of the hills. The introduction of Indirect Rule in Nigeria was largely due to, or at any rate was favoured by, the existence of powerful organized states, emirates or kingdoms, in various parts of the country, especially among the Mohammedan Hausas. All these native states have their own administration, courts and treasuries,

advised and assisted by British officers, but exercising their own jurisdiction and authority within the framework of the Colonial Government. Their rulers, whose status is fully recognized, have an important part to play in the future development of Nigeria, and this responsibility is fully realized. Abeokuta in the southern part of Nigeria, near Lagos, may be cited as one example of a progressive native state, whose Alake, an educated and enlightened African, represented his country in England at the Coronation of King George VI.

The principal exports of Nigeria are palm oil and kernels, tin, gold, coal, cocoa, mahogany and other timbers, cotton, groundnuts, hides and skins and other products. Nigeria, as well as Malaya, is an important tin exporter, the principal tin fields being situated on the Bauchi Plateau, of which the town of Jos is the centre. There are many minor products, apart from crops and stock raised for home consumption, and bananas are exported from the British Cameroons. There is a fine Government railway system, with its own extensive workshops at Enugu and Ebute Metta, and many hundreds of miles of motor roads traverse the country. The Rivers Niger and Benue are also in themselves great natural highways. The principal towns are Ilorin, Jos, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Maidugari, Sokoto, Yola, Abeokuta, Benin, Calabar, Enugu, Forcados, Ibadan, Onitsha, Oyo, Port Harcourt and Warri, but the largest is Lagos, the capital.

The Legislative Council, under the presidency of the Governor, consists of official members, including the chief officials, provincial commissioners, etc., and eighteen unofficial members both elected and nominated by various trading and other interests. The municipalities of Lagos and Calabar are thus represented on the Council and certain other towns through their Chambers of Commerce. Education, health, medical and other public services are making

steady progress, and the number of educated Africans employed in these services is increasing, although there is still plenty of scope for expansion in this respect.

Nigeria is a great country; it has been fortunate in the quality of its Governors and the high level of its administration; its natural resources are considerable, and there should be a great future before it.

The West African Colonies differ from other British territories in Africa in that they are not suitable for white settlement. In the old days, the West Coast had an evil reputation as "the white man's grave." This it has long outgrown. The advance of medical and sanitary science, of housing and social conditions, and the coming of many amenities of civilization, as well as the change in personal habits, have rendered the life of the European official and mercantile community as healthy as it can be under tropical conditions, and one of the latest boons, air-conditioning, is another contributing factor to health and efficiency. White women are also now able to live on the Coast and this has naturally made a great difference. But when all is said and done, white people cannot live permanently on the West Coast, and in any case land is not allowed to be alienated to Europeans.

The future of West Africa, therefore, lies with the African, and that is all the more reason why our policy should be steadily directed towards his advancement from every point of view, hygienic, agricultural, economic, educational, and above all towards progressive self-government. In this connection, we have a problem to solve in the preservation of what is good and natural in African institutions, whilst endeavouring continuously to adapt them to the increasing impact of modern conditions. We are producing a class of educated Africans who are largely emancipated from tribal

conditions. They become professional men of all kinds and civil servants, and we should give them all the scope possible in those directions, but we should also enlist their invaluable aid as the natural leaders of their own people, on the native administrations and councils, in teaching and in every way to bridge the gap between the old and the new. Especially should we avoid the creation of a discontented class of educated people, suspicious of or even hostile to our efforts, and with no natural or proper outlets for their knowledge and energies. These and other matters will, however, be referred to in a later chapter.

West Africa owes a great deal to the pioneer labours of Mary Kingsley, Mary Slessor, Mungo Park, Goldie, Lugard and a host of others, not forgetting the obscure traders who laid the foundations of the present organized and prosperous communities, and for the most part left their bones on the Coast. It is to be hoped that British West Africa in the future will prove worthy of these famous and obscure men and women and will build up progressive and prosperous African communities who will be proud of their British citizenship and of their association with the British Commonwealth. With the development of the individual Colonies, and with the growth of communications, especially by air, it may prove possible to revive under more favourable conditions the federation of British West Africa as a whole which was prematurely attempted in early days, or even perhaps a federation or at least economic union between British and French territories in West Africa.

V

East and Central Africa

British East and Central Africa comprises the territories of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, Zanzibar off the coast, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. Southern Rhodesia is a self-governing Colony and is not included in the territories coming under the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office, but for the sake of clearness, brief reference will be made to the history of Rhodesia as a whole. All these countries together (including Southern Rhodesia) cover a total area of over 1,180,000 square miles. There remain for consideration in the next chapter, which will also deal with some general matters of British interest in Africa, British Somaliland, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (not a colony but a condominium) and the Imperial Protectorates or High Commission territories in South Africa, namely, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland.

Kenya and Northern Rhodesia are Colonies (though the former includes a protectorate area), Uganda, Nyasaland and Zanzibar are protectorates (the last-named being ruled by its own Sultan, and the native kingdom of the Baganda being included in Uganda) and Tanganyika is a mandated territory.

British East differs widely from West Africa, in its history and development, in its physical features and in the character of its peoples. One significant difference is that large areas of East and Central Africa are suitable for white settlement, while West Africa is not. Nevertheless, European

settlement in Kenya and Tanganyika, as well as to some extent in Northern Rhodesia, has only been found successful at altitudes ranging from about 6,000 to 9,000 feet so near to the Equator, and it has not yet been established long enough for medical science to be certain of its effect on future generations.

Undoubtedly for a long time to come, European settlers may play an important and leading part in developing the great resources of the country, in setting standards for Africans to attain in agriculture and industry, and generally in leading the native peoples along the path to self-development and self-government, if they will recognize that duty as their principal rôle in Africa, co-operating loyally with the Colonial Governments to assist the African peoples to stand on their own feet, and thereby earning their undying gratitude and respect. But for climatic and geographical reasons, the future of Africa, except perhaps the sub-continent and the Mediterranean fringes, lies mainly with the African peoples, though the more advanced white nations can considerably help those peoples so severely handicapped in the past by natural and other causes.

Let us now look at the individual British territories in East and Central Africa. Four great names are associated with the development of British interests in these regions; they are David Livingstone, Cecil Rhodes, Sir John Kirk and Captain (afterwards Lord) Lugard, whose later work we have already seen in Nigeria. Since historically British influence in East Africa began in the Arab Sultanate of Zanzibar, whose rule formerly extended to the mainland, it is convenient to begin with that country.

ZANZIBAR

Zanzibar and its neighbour Pemba, once the centre of

the Zenj Empire, are two small islands off the East coast of Africa with a total area of 1,020 miles. They are ruled by the Sultan of Zanzibar, but the government is administered by the British Resident as a protectorate. Zanzibar's history goes back into the mists of antiquity, and it still has traces of earlier civilizations. The Zenj empire was founded from Shiraz in Arabia in A.D. 975, but it was already in decline when the Portuguese conquered the coast early in the sixteenth century They, however, gave way to the Imams of Muscat in the next century, and finally Seyyid Said transferred his capital to Zanzibar in 1832. At this time the Arab power was so strong that it gave rise to the saying "If you play on the flute at Zanzibar, everybody as far as the lakes dances."

In 1856 the Zanzibar sultanate was made independent of Muscat, Bargash in 1870 being the first to be known as Sultan of Zanzibar. British influence at this time was high, largely owing to the excellent work and wise Counsel of Sir John Kirk, friend of Livingstone, and later Consul-General, but the rivalries of European Powers in East Africa were now beginning, and France, Italy and especially Germany were active on the coast and in the interior, where Karl Peters in particular used unscrupulous methods to advance Germany's interests. Similar methods, as we have seen, were used in the Cameroons on the West Coast, and here as there the British Government was complaisant and slow to act, being unwilling to extend its responsibilities, although Kirk saw clearly what was happening.

In 1877 the Sultan had offered a British Company a lease of his dominions on the mainland, a wonderful opportunity, which, however, was declined. In 1884 Peters started travelling through the country concluding "treaties" with chiefs and raising the German flag, including territories such as Kilimanjaro and Uganda, which had already requested

British protection. These matters were cleared up in 1890, when agreement was reached between Britain and Germany, who in return for the cession of Heligoland, recognized the British protectorate over Zanzibar, and Uganda's being within the British sphere of influence. Five years earlier, the respective spheres of influence of Britain, France and Germany had been delimited by agreement, and this left a large tract of country in German hands, thus frustrating Cecil Rhodes's dream, which earlier could easily have been realized, of an "all-red route" from the Cape to Cairo.

Only after the first world war, long after Rhodes's death, did British and Egyptian territory become continuous and the "all-red route" possible, although in the event Cairo and the Cape were linked by air instead of by rail. Meanwhile German East Africa came into being and the corresponding British sphere became known as Ibea, the initials of the Imperial British East Africa Company. Their territory, when eventually taken over by the Crown in 1895, became British East Africa, later Kenya, including a coastal strip rented from the Sultan of Zanzibar. In the same year a separate protectorate was declared over Uganda, which had been the scene of some of Karl Peters's machinations.

In Zanzibar, since 1890, British influence has been supreme. Sir Lloyd Matthews was a worthy successor of Sir John Kirk. In 1893 difficulty arose through there being three claimants to the throne, but after trouble with one of them, Khaled, the rule of the British nominee was secured and since then peaceful progress has been made. Although Arabs are in control, the bulk of the population are Swahilis from the neighbouring mainland.

Zanzibar has almost a world monopoly of cloves, supplying about 90 per cent of the total crop, and it also exports copra. The clove industry was first established by Sayyed Said. The port of Zanzibar is also a busy centre for East

Africa. The old city of Zanzibar retains many interesting and picturesque relics of an earlier civilization, and the clove-scented islands are beautiful, though the climate is too hot and humid for Europeans to take an active part in the industry. Nearly 50,000 acres are devoted to clove growing, and there are estimated to be about 3,000,000 spice-bearing trees. Most of the cloves are exported to Great Britain, the United States and India, especially the last-named country.

KENYA

Kenya is probably among the best known of the Colonies because part of it, the higher plateau inland, has proved suitable for white settlement. For the same reason, and perhaps to some extent because of the character of the settlement, it has attracted disproportionate attention in the press and in political controversy.

This territory, roughly 225,000 square miles in extent, was, as we have seen, originally known as Ibea, later British East Africa, finally taking the name of Kenya from Mount Kenya, the second highest mountain in Africa, in 1920 when it was recognized as a Colony. The coastal strip leased from the Sultan of Zanzibar is a protectorate. The Colony, however, was once larger, for in 1924 the province of Jubaland was freely ceded to Italy. In the following year there was an adjustment of the frontier with the adjoining Uganda Protectorate.

Kenya really owes its present position to the construction of the Kenya and Uganda Railway. This great project was undertaken by the Imperial Government in 1895 to give the Uganda Protectorate, situated 500 miles inland, needed access to the coast. It was not expected that this tropical region would be suitable for white settlement, and the damp sultry heat of Mombasa, the principal mainland port, and

of the whole low-lying fever-haunted coastal strip confirmed this view. But as railway construction progressed, and the line reached the highlands, a dry bracing climate was found, at altitudes ranging from 3,000 to 7,000 feet, which was apparently quite healthy for Europeans. The completion of the line, which will be described under Uganda, therefore brought in its train a stream of white settlers for the highlands of Kenya, and the movement was actively encouraged by the British Government after the first world war.

The soil of the highlands was discovered to be eminently suitable for coffee planting, for farming and for stock raising, and as all these activities needed capital investment to be prosecuted on a large scale, the country attracted a class of settlers who were accustomed to similar associations at home, and who moreover saw opportunities for a more spacious life offering country pursuits and sports than were possible at home. There were many of the landed class, educated and accustomed to political activity and control, of whom perhaps the late Lord Delamere, whose life is a sort of epitome of Kenya history, may serve as an example.

There were also of course many of more modest means who sought in Kenya a healthy livelihood by hard pioneer work, raising coffee, sisal, maize, livestock, and later exploiting gold and other minerals, and who formed the backbone of the remarkable development of the country. They were all, however, of the same class as the officials sent out to administer the country, and being accustomed to active self-government, this led naturally to much political controversy. The opportunities of the new country also attracted a large Indian immigration in the form of merchants and traders, clerks, storekeepers and mechanics who came in the wake of the Kenya and Uganda Railway, and who stayed to take advantage of the commercial and other opportunities. Many of the skilled craftsmen and small traders are now being

displaced by Africans, but there is an Indian population of well over 40,000, in addition to which there are some 13,000 Arabs, mostly in the coastal regions. The European population in the highlands, with Nairobi, the fine capital as a centre, numbers in all about 19,000, including of course the officials. But the bulk of the $3\frac{1}{4}$ million inhabitants of the Colony are Africans of many races, Swahili, Bantu, Masai, Kikuyu and others, many of them formerly warlike tribes, now devoted to peaceful pursuits.

There have been several changes in the constitution of the Colony. The Legislative Council consists at present of eleven ex-officio members, not more than nine nominated official members, eleven European elected members, five Indian elected members, one Arab elected member, and two nominated unofficial members representing the African community. The elected element is also given further representation on the Executive Council, though official members necessarily predominate, and that element is also specially consulted in all financial measures. Although European interests come first among the non-native communities, nevertheless, under the principle of trusteeship, native interests must be paramount, and there is evidently scope for direct African representation in the future. Though the Africans in East Africa are not on the whole nearly so advanced as those in West Africa, steady progress is being made in the field of native administration through tribal organizations, and as experience is gained in local government, in the local civil service, and especially with the advance of education, Africans must be expected to take a growing part in the affairs of the Colony.

There have been many special commissions and reports on Kenya, particularly in the field of "closer union" between the several East African territories, but although there is a customs union between Kenya and Uganda which is of

great benefit to both, and these two countries are further linked by a fine system of communications, the differing circumstances and stages of advancement of the East African territories has not yet made possible any closer union between them, though this may come in the future when all the communities are further advanced politically and economically, and the respective rôles of the non-native and native communities are more clearly defined.

There is, however, already in being a very useful institution in the form of the East African Governors' Conference, now a permanent organization, to consider and settle matters of common interest to the respective territories, and this may in time form the nucleus for unified services. An East African Dominion, however, lies still in the future, and it cannot be a White Dominion. The European communities in these countries, which have done so much for their development, have still a very great part to play, possibly even a permanent part, in the leadership and guidance of the African peoples, and that is indeed a noble rôle and a great opportunity that may issue, both here and elsewhere, in lasting and fruitful co-operation between European and African in Africa.

Meanwhile both Kenya and its adjoining territories are making steady progress in economic, social and political development. Soil erosion and the ravages of the tsetse-fly are being vigorously combated, farming and stock-raising and crop production, both native and European, are being improved, new industries such a pyrethrum have been successfully introduced, gold-mining and the mineral industry generally is steadily growing in importance, Kenya coffee retains its high standard of excellence, and the standard of living of the people is being progressively raised. Much still remains to be done to improve diet, health and education, but these problems are being actively tackled, and in

the field of education especially, with the establishment of Makerere Higher College in Uganda, which is destined to attain university rank, a great forward step has been made. There is no justification for supposing that, as has been alleged, African intelligence and capabilities are in any way limited, given adequate opportunities for training, and this is attested by the progress made in a short time by Africans in skill and mechanical knowledge in occupations from which they are rapidly ousting Indians, as well as in more advanced spheres.

In Mombasa and Kilindini on the coast, Kenya possesses first-rate port facilities, and its communications are constantly improving, especially in the field of aviation, where it not only possesses good local services, but is on the direct trans-African air route from Cairo to Capetown, with stations at Nairobi and Kisumu. Through Khartoum, it is also connected with West Africa, and after the war air communications generally are bound to make a great stride forward.

The war indeed has brought both Africans and Europeans, but especially Africans, from all parts of the great continent, into close co-operation and the realization that they are fighting in a common cause which affects them directly as Africans as well as members of a greater commonwealth. The restoration of Abyssinia, the conflict of political ideas and systems, and the general course of events, are bound to have far-reaching repercussions on all African communities, a matter which will be alluded to again in the next chapter.

UGANDA

Uganda ranks as a protectorate, and its history, as contrasted with the picture of prosperity and peaceful progress which it presents to-day, is a somewhat stormy one. The

country is associated not only with the explorations of Speke and Grant, the former of whom discovered the source of the Nile in Victoria Nyanza, but also with the journeys of Dr. Livingstone. The present area of the Protectorate is some 94,000 square miles, including the great lakes, and its population $3\frac{3}{4}$ millions. The Nile issues from Victoria Nyanza at the Ripon Falls, flows through other lakes and into the Sudan at Nimule. The source of the Blue Nile is in Abyssinia at Lake Tana. The climate is varied but very tropical, and definitely unsuited for white settlement. Parts of the country are well watered and have good rainfall, especially in the lake region and round Mount Elgon in the Eastern provinces.

Before the advent of the Kenya and Uganda Railway which now runs from the ocean at Mombasa to the shores of Victoria, with many branches, the country was cut off from the sea, but with good rail, road and air communications is now very prosperous, the chief crop being cotton, the industry being largely in native hands. Trade also flows through the great lakes and the Nile to Egypt and the Mediterranean.

Captain (now Lord) Lugard, then acting for the Imperial British East Africa Company, first saw the great possibilities of the country over fifty years ago, but it was then the scene of constant strife and was nearly abandoned by the British before a protectorate was eventually proclaimed in 1894. Both Muksa and his son Mwanga, rulers of the Baganda peoples, were engaged in continuous warfare, and even after the protectorate was declared, the troubles continued until after the flight of Mwanga in 1897 and the subsequent suppression of a revolt among Sudanese troops employed in the country. Sir Harry Johnston was then sent out as special commissioner, and since then the country's record has been one of peaceful progress.

The garden city of Entebbe is the legislative centre, but the principal commercial towns are Kampala and Jinja. The country is now divided into four provinces, of which, however, Buganda is the largest and most important. The Baganda people, the most progressive in the country, are still under the direct rule of their own King, the Kabaka, assisted by his own officers and council. To-day Uganda has over 300 miles of railway and 2,000 miles of well-engineered main roads, apart from a great network of secondary roads. It has airports and river and lake navigations. Nearly 2,000,000 acres are under cotton, which forms 80 per cent of the value of all exports, coffee, tobacco and oilseeds being amongst the others. Great strides have been made in medical, social and educational work and at Makerere, on the outskirts of Kampala, Uganda possesses the nucleus of the future University of East Africa.

TANGANYIKA

Tanganyika, the largest British East African territory, 374,000 square miles in extent, is usually considered to be identical with the former German East Africa, but this is not strictly accurate, for the most populous and fertile region, the Ruanda-Urundi district, was mandated to Belgium and joined with the Belgian Congo, and the Rovuma river district to Portugal. Moreover, Tanganyika has now been longer under British control than it was formerly under German, and without entering into a comparison of the respective administrations, there can be no question which of them is preferred by the inhabitants of the territory, who are now in every way accustomed to British methods and traditions of justice.

Tanganyika is a permanent mandate and there is no provision for its transfer; nor should it be necessary to point

out that no extra-African nation has any moral claim to African territory save in so far as it can justify its stewardship by helping the indigenous peoples to fit themselves for eventual responsibility for their own affairs. Except for the rendering of an annual report to the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, Tanganyika is administered in every respect on similar lines to the adjoining British territories. As was pointed out earlier, the whole of this country (like similar areas in West Africa) might well have come under British protection originally.

The name Tanganyika is taken from the long lake on the western border, meaning "Great Meeting of the Waters." Lakes Nyasa and Victoria also form part of the boundaries, and the country has the distinction of including the highest mountain in Africa, Mount Kilimanjaro, 19,720 feet in height. The greater part of the interior is occupied by an elevated plateau, which, like the similar region in Kenya, was found suitable for white settlement. At one time there were stated to be more German settlers under British rule than there were originally under their own administration. The white population is now about 9,000, while the native peoples number over 5,000,000, largely of mixed Bantu stock.

The capital is Dar-es-Salaam on the coast below Zanzibar. Other towns include Tanga, also on the coast opposite Pemba, Usambari, Moshi, Tabora, Mwanza on Lake Victoria, and Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika, where Stanley discovered Livingstone. The railway system connects with that of Kenya and with the steamers on the great lakes. Amongst the exports are sisal, tea, coffee, maize, tobacco and minerals, and there are large timber reserves.

The natural resources of Tanganyika have been barely yet exploited, and a great future is possible for the country.

THE RHODESIAS AND NYASALAND

The last territories to be noticed in this section, strictly in Central Africa, are the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. Southern Rhodesia is a self-governing colony and does not come within the ambit of the Colonial Empire. As in the case of Newfoundland, its relations with the mother country are dealt with through the Dominions Office. Since the grant of responsible government in 1923, Southern Rhodesia has possessed its own Prime Minister and Cabinet, but is yet not quite a Dominion, since certain subjects, especially foreign affairs, are still reserved. Indeed, it is somewhat in the position of Mahomet's coffin, suspended 'twixt earth and heaven, or on the borderline between junior and senior partnership, and thus usefully points the way of transition between the Colonial and Dominion systems. Its government, moreover, does not conspicuously differ from that of the premier Crown Colony, Ceylon, described in a later chapter, which still comes under the Colonial Office, except that while the whole population of Ceylon possesses adult suffrage, in the case of Southern Rhodesia the franchise is in practice largely confined to the white settlers, though, under the constitution, Africans can acquire the franchise on the same conditions as Europeans. The European population is some 60,000, while the Africans number about 1¼ million.

The vast tract of country to which the name of Rhodesia was given in honour of its founder, Cecil Rhodes, was brought under British influence as the result of his dream of a continuous extension of British territory stretching from Cape Colony up into Egypt and united by a Cape-to-Cairo Railway. Before the international scramble for African territory had fairly begun, Rhodes foresaw the possibilities of expansion to the north, and to carry out his great project, he

formed the British South Africa Company in the latter half of 1889. Its realization was delayed by wars and rebellions, and apparently finally frustrated by the establishment of Germany in East Africa, as described earlier. Nevertheless, though long after Rhodes's death, the dream was realized, and British Empire territory does stretch from the Cape up into the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and so to Egypt; but despite railway development in all the territories concerned, a Cape-to-Cairo Railway is never now likely to be completed. Instead, the other part of Rhodes's dream has been realized in the air, British Overseas Airways' planes traversing the length of the African continent between Cairo and the Cape in a matter of hours rather than the days which rail travel would require.

Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland together may be said to constitute British Central Africa. The great ruins at Zimbabwe and other archaeological remains suggest that an earlier civilization was once dominant in these regions, and tradition has associated them with the days of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. In later times, the country was overrun by the Matabele, offshoots of the great Zulu race. That it has come under British rule is largely due to the activities of two very different men, to the explorations of David Livingstone, and to the ambitions of Cecil Rhodes.

Livingstone it was who explored all this country and the upper reaches of the Zambesi, discovering the falls of the "smoke that thunders" which he named the Victoria Falls. Here stands his statue, near the town of Livingstone that was named after him. Rhodes, looking to the north from the Cape, had a vision of British territory stretching up through Central Africa to the confines of Egypt. His great lieutenant Dr. Jameson, had cured King Lobengula of the Matabele of an illness, and Rhodes, having already secured Bechuanaland, persuaded Lobengula, through Jameson, to

grant no treaties or concessions to anyone but the British, though the Boers, Germans and Portuguese already had ambitions in the country. He then set to work to buy up all other claims and to consolidate British interests in the British South Africa Company, later known as the Chartered Company.

The next two or three years were occupied with the settlement of the country, but the first of the Matabele wars soon blazed up, in which a force under Dr. Jameson defeated Lobengula at Bulawayo, the site of the present city, though in the subsequent pursuit a small company under Major Wilson was caught and annihilated at the Shangani river. Later, Lobengula died and Matabeleland was reduced to order. Another uprising took place in 1896 after the unfortunate Jameson raid in the Transvaal, but this was settled by the personal courage of Rhodes who went unarmed to meet the Matabele impis in the Matoppo hills and gained their submission. He now lies buried there, together with Dr. Jameson, Major Wilson and others who rendered service to Rhodesia.

Progress was meanwhile made with the development of the country, with cultivation and mineral exploitation, railway construction and the settlement of towns, though all this was sadly held up by the South African and the first world war. In 1911, the vast tract of country under the Company's rule was divided into Southern and Northern Rhodesia, the latter being considerably the larger. After the first world war, the settlers began a movement for responsible government, and although offered the alternative of entering the Union of South Africa, they voted in 1920 for separate self-government for Southern Rhodesia, the rights of the Chartered Company having been bought out by the Crown in 1918.

Since 1923, Southern Rhodesia has carried on its own

government, but Northern Rhodesia, which is nearly double the size, has remained a part of the Colonial Empire. The two countries are indeed quite different, and the Northern territory, which covers an area of 290,000 square miles stretching from the Zambesi to the Congo, is primarily a black man's country. The European population is little over 12,000, though there is scope for further settlement, while the Africans number nearly 1½ millions. The capital, originally at Livingstone on the Zambesi, was later transferred to the more central site of Lusaka.

There has been a movement for the amalgamation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland into a Rhodesian or Central African Dominion, but the Bledisloe Commission, which reported in 1939, did not favour amalgamation within any definite period, though it recommended closer collaboration through an interterritorial council and suggested that the Home Government might accept the principle that identity of interests would lead eventually to political unity. In the meantime, the commission recommended amalgamation of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and contemplated the eventual inclusion within Southern Rhodesia of the northern portion of Bechuanaland.

In view of our policy of trusteeship, there would be need for much further advance in the native policy of both territories before amalgamation could be approved, and the Report urges the strengthening of native development, the setting up of Regional Native Councils, the wide employment of Africans in the public services and their educational advancement. The obnoxious "pass laws" and other disabilities would also have to disappear in time, and some practicable way be found for co-operation between the two races in these great territories. Granted such a solution a Rhodesian Dominion might yet form a connecting link between the Union of South Africa and the East

African and other Colonial territories of Britain in Africa.

Northern Rhodesia has great possibilities both for agricultural and especially for mineral development. Its chief crops are maize, tobacco, coffee and wheat, but further cultivation and settlement are needed. In mineral wealth, Northern Rhodesia is fortunate, for apart from vanadium, zinc, cobalt and tin deposits, the country may become the largest copper producer in the world. The Roan Antelope, Nkana and other copper mines in the northern part of the territory are associated with similar fields in the Belgian Congo, and there may well be closer economic and other co-operation between these adjoining countries in the future. Mineral exploitation has brought labour problems in its train, and these have already been the cause of difficulties and unrest, but an enlightened policy on the part of both the Government and the companies should result in improvement. Welfare measures, education, better living and wage conditions and the encouragement of trade unions will play their share in this improvement, and the increased prosperity and revenue which mineral development brings should enable the country to go ahead with many measures, especially for the advancement of its native inhabitants in the future.

The Administration consists of an executive council of five official members, and a legislative council, comprising the executive, four nominated official members and seven elected members. The Barotseland province is a native reserve, ruled over by a paramount chief assisted by a Khotia or Native Council.

NYASALAND

Nyasaland is a protectorate lying in a long narrow strip 38,000 miles in area along the western borders of Lake Nyasa. It is an equatorial region, and except on the Shiré

highlands is unsuited for white settlement. The country had a turbulent history in the past, the British settlers, who formed the African Lakes Trading Corporation, having to contend constantly against Arab opposition and the slave trade and native uprisings. Order and peaceful development were, however, eventually brought to the territory. Tobacco has become the principal export, and tea, coffee, cotton and other crops also flourish in a fertile soil. Most of the trade of all this region passes through the Portuguese port of Beira over the Zambesi Bridge. Nyasa natives often emigrate to work in other territories and a commission of enquiry has recommended the regulation of this movement in the interests of the territory.

The administrative centre is at Zomba, but the chief town is Blantyre. The native population is about $1\frac{3}{4}$ million and the whites number under 2,000. The Legislative Council consists of the ex-officio and nominated unofficial members.

This section should not close without reference to the East African Governors' Conference, set up and subsequently strengthened as the result of Parliamentary Commissions which followed upon a movement for closer union in these territories. The Conference has its own secretariat and is deemed to be in permanent session to deal with all matters of common interest to the East and Central African British territories, including communication, transport, customs, defence and other matters of common policy. The machinery of the Conference is being increasingly utilized to the mutual advantage of the territories represented, and it may well hold the germ of, or form the basis of, a future federal order or principle throughout these regions. A similar Governors' Conference has been formed in British West Africa, and such bodies may play their part in a new order for Africa as a whole, a question referred to at the end of the next chapter.

VI

Other African Territories

Having now dealt with the British Colonies in West and in East and Central Africa, it remains in this chapter to describe briefly the remaining British African territories and finally to touch upon certain matters concerning Africa generally. The territories now to be described are very diverse in character and situated in different parts of the continent: they are the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, British Somaliland and the Imperial Protectorates or High Commission territories in South Africa, namely, Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland.

THE SUDAN

As already indicated, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, that vast country covering more than a million square miles and stretching from the southern border of Egypt to the boundaries of Abyssinia, is not a Colony, but what is technically called a "condominium," that is, the flags of Egypt and of Britain there fly side by side, and the Governor-General, while nominated by Great Britain, is formally appointed by the King of Egypt. The Sudan Political Service, in which Egyptians and of course Sudanese are associated with the responsible British officials, is quite separate from the Colonial Service (though often appointments are made from one Service to the other) and functions under the Foreign Office; but in actuality the practical job of adminis-

tration is done by the British on closely similar lines to those adopted in the Colonies and inspired by the same principles.

The record and traditions of the Sudan Service stand very high, and we may be justifiably proud of having rescued this great tract of Africa from the incessant internal strife, desolation and fanatic misrule that disfigured it in the days of the Mahdi, which lasted from the early eighties of last century until the final overthrow of his successor, the Khalifa, by Kitchener at Omdurman in 1898. In that period, the population, originally between eight and nine millions, sank to two millions; it is now six millions and steadily increasing.

Britain's interest in the Sudan was due originally to her occupation of Egypt, in the corrupt regime of Ismail Pasha, when Britain, through Disraeli, also acquired the controlling interest in the Suez Canal. The Sudan, which had been conquered by Mehemet Ali, was being badly misgoverned by Egypt, and the constant disorders, including the slave trade amongst other evils, led to the appointment, by agreement of both countries, of General Gordon as Governor-General of the Khedive's dominions outside Egypt. He brought order into the country and initiated many reforms, but after his departure corruption crept back and the Mahdi raised the standard of revolt. Gordon returned at the head of an expedition but was himself caught in Khartoum and killed there in 1881 before relief could arrive. The country then relapsed into chaos until Kitchener's victory in 1898. After the Fashoda incident between England and France in the same year had been safely liquidated, the condominium of England and Egypt in the Sudan was inaugurated and has subsisted ever since, although Egypt, after being declared a British Protectorate in the first world war, became in 1922 an independent Kingdom.

Britain has heavy material commitments in the Sudan and an especial responsibility for the future welfare of the land and its peoples. Like Egypt, the Sudan is largely dependent for its fertility upon the Nile, both main branches of which traverse the whole country, the White Nile from Uganda and the Blue Nile from Abyssinia. The Atbara, or Black Nile, also flows in 200 miles below Khartoum. The modern Sudan, in the material sense, is virtually the product of British engineering and capital, just as, in the political sense, she is a product of British administration and justice.

Both to Egypt and to the Sudan, the skill of British irrigation engineers has brought certainty and plenty, where uncertainty and famine often reigned before. Great dams at Assuan, Assiut and Sennar now regulate the flow of the Nile and conserve its life-giving waters, and the Gezira and other irrigation schemes have brought former arid regions under cultivation. New crops have been introduced, especially cotton, now cultivated on a great scale, and sugar. Salt is produced by evaporation, durra or millet is grown as food, and the country is a great exporter of gum arabic.

The people are now peaceful and contented, and have made great progress in recent years. They are largely Arab, Nubian and Negro, some of the Nilotic tribes being of fine physique, though primitive in their habits. The defence and police forces are entirely composed of Sudanese, under British and Egyptian leadership. The Governor-General rules over the whole country, which is divided into eight provinces or mudiriyas, each under its own governor or mudir. The provinces are subdvided into districts under Commissioners, but the native authorities are in every way closely associated with the administration. Each area has its own native council, and the Governor-General is assisted by a Council upon which the principal native authorities are represented.

The Sudanese are largely Mohammedans and Islamic law is enforced in matters with which the religion is concerned, justice otherwise being administered by the officials. Education has made great strides as the result of the programme of expansion recommended by the De la Warr Commission in 1937, and the Gordon Memorial College at Khartoum is ultimately to become a university, ample provision being also made for technical education.

Khartoum is a fine, modern, well-planned city situated at the confluence of the Blue and White Niles. It is an ideal centre for the capital and is a great meeting place for traffic by rail, river, road and air. It is directly connected by rail with the well-equipped harbour of Port Sudan on the Red Sea, and has both rail and river connections with the Mediterranean through Egypt and with all Africa to the south. Moreover, it is a great air junction for British Overseas Airways flying between Cairo and the Cape and also across to West Africa. Through these and Egyptian and other airways, Khartoum will be connected not only with the rest of Africa, but also with Europe, India and the East, and with South America.

The Sudan has a great future before it, and with British help and guidance and Egyptian co-operation, it may look to play an important part in the progress of the African continent.

BRITISH SOMALILAND

This isolated British Protectorate on the Horn of Africa facing across to Aden, through which most of its modest trade passes, was temporarily evacuated during the second world war, but after a few months was restored to the Colonial Empire. It was first occupied by Britain as the result of a plundering raid by Somalis on a British ship in

1827, and after various agreements with local sultans in subsequent years, it was finally declared a British Protectorate in 1884, being first administered as a dependency of India through Aden, transferred to the charge of the Foreign Office in 1898, and to that of the Colonial Office in 1905.

Somaliland has a turbulent history. The Somalis are of Arab stock and nomadic habits, deriving their wealth mainly from cattle, sheep and goats, from the export of hides and skins, gum and resin and other products. The tribes are now peaceful and friendly, but there was formerly a strong fanatical element of dervishes who gathered under the banner of the "Mad" Mullah and for many years resisted successive expeditions sent against them, up to and during the first world war, until finally their strength was broken with the flight of the Mullah into Abyssinia and his death there in 1921. The friendly tribes who had sought British protection were glad to be relieved from the persecution of the dervishes, and the land settled down to peace and orderly progress, which was only disturbed by the temporary Italian occupation of 1940.

The Protectorate has an area of about 68,000 square miles. The climate is very hot, especially on the coast, though more bracing on the inland plateau, but there is little rain. The capital is Berbera, which has the only good harbour, and other towns are Zeilah and Hargeisa, the population of all fluctuating according to the season. Transport is chiefly by camel, though motor roads and transport are making headway. The defence of the country is mainly entrusted to the famous Somaliland Camel Corps, organized and led by British officers.

The administration was at first under a Commissioner, but is now under a Governor. Most of the trade, as stated, is with Aden. The future of the territory is dependent upon the permanent settlement of this part of Africa, including

the adjoining French and former Italian Somaliland and Abyssinia.

THE HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

Partially or wholly embedded in the Union of South Africa, the three High Commission territories of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland are still under direct Imperial protection, though their affairs are dealt with through the Dominions Office and not through the Colonial Office. The High Commissioner for the territories is also the representative of the British Government in South Africa, and is in turn represented in each territory by a Resident Commissioner.

Geographically and economically, the territories, especially the two latter, form part of the Union system, and in the South Africa Act of 1909 they were scheduled for eventual transfer to that country, subject to consultation of the wishes of the inhabitants. Conditions, however, have greatly changed in the interim, and since the Statute of Westminster of 1931, followed by the South Africa Status Act of 1934, the Union has become completely independent of the United Kingdom. The Selborne Committee of 1934 came to the conclusion that transfer could only be effected by agreement between the British and Union Governments, and though such transfer does not seem to require the formal consent of the Protectorate peoples, their wishes must certainly have great weight and it would be difficult to evade the moral responsibility assumed when treaties were made with their chiefs taking the countries under Imperial protection at their own request. The policy of trusteeship implies that native interests must be regarded as paramount in Colonial territories, and this must certainly have its influence upon other African peoples.

The natives of these territories had unfortunate relations with the Dutch republics in the past, and native memories are long and suspicions hard to eradicate. Nor are they satisfied with native policy in the Union to-day. By agreement, however, South African officials have been co-operating for some time with the British in the administration of the territories, and it is a question of gaining the goodwill and confidence of the respective peoples. The problem should not prove beyond solution if a sympathetic and statesmanlike approach is made on both sides.

Between them, the three countries cover a considerable area: Bechuanaland, by far the largest, extends over 275,000 square miles, Basutoland has 11,716 square miles and Swaziland 6,705 square miles. Including a considerable body of migrant labour among the Basutos who are always absent in Union territory, the total population of the three territories is probably about a million.

The countries have a troubled history. Bechuanaland was associated in early days with the missionary labours of Robert Moffat and afterwards of David Livingstone, as well as with the long rule of the great Bechuana chief Khama. The continuous incursions of the Boer republics into the territory, their persistent attempts to bring the Bechuanas under their rule, and finally the setting up of new republics in Bechuanaland, led to repeated appeals from the people for British protection. Danger of collaboration between the Germans in South West Africa and the Boers brought Cecil Rhodes on the scene, and eventually a move to establish a Transvaal Protectorate over Bechuanaland led to the despatch of an expedition under Sir Charles Warren in 1884, which gave the Bechuanas their wish and at last brought the country under British protection. Native affairs are left largely under the jurisdiction of the various tribal chiefs in association with the British officials. The

administration has its headquarters at Mafeking in Union territory.

Bechuanaland is largely a pastoral country, its wealth being chiefly in cattle, the slight and uneven rainfall making agriculture an uncertain and hazardous undertaking. The climate is healthy, but the country suffers greatly from erosion, part of it being the great Kalahari desert. Deforestation in the past is probably the cause of the deterioration of a once fertile land, and this has now to be combated.

Basutoland has been called the "Switzerland of South Africa." Situated among the Drakensburg range, this beautiful country is entirely surrounded by Union territory, in which it forms a native island, for neither here nor in the other territories are white people encouraged to settle. The Basutos, like most mountaineers, are an independent and warlike race. They owe their present existence to the qualities of their great leader, Moshesh, who fought off the Zulus under Chaka and Mosilikatze, and subsequently encouraged the work of the missionaries in his country, when many of them became Christians. The Basutos also had trouble with the Boers, and eventually Moshesh appealed to Britain, saying, "Let me and my people rest and live under the wide folds of the flag of England before I am no more."

The country was therefore annexed in 1868, and became British territory, the Basutos being received as British subjects and not as protected persons. It was only after an unsuccessful attempt to bring the land under the Cape Colony that the present Protectorate was declared in 1884. The Basutos have never been easy or tractable people to deal with, but they are so satisfied with their present status, in which they enjoy a large measure of liberty and self-government under British administration, that they are extremely reluctant to relinquish it for Union control, even

though their trade is entirely dependent upon the Union and a large number of their menfolk work in the Rand mines and other parts of South Africa.

The capital is at Maseru, which has rail connection with the Union system. There is a Native Council of 100 members with the paramount chief acting as Chief Councillor or Chairman. The country is very fertile and produces good grain crops. Cattle, sheep and goats, mohair and wool, wheat and hides are among the exports. The Basuto pony, which is also bred, is famous for strength and endurance.

Swaziland, the smallest of the three territories, lying between Natal, the Transvaal and Portuguese East Africa, also had much trouble with the Boers, who forced on the country many concessions. Siding with the British in the South African war, Swaziland was brought under British protection, and, at first administered with the Transvaal, it subsequently became one of the High Commission territories. The capital is Mbabane, and the people enjoy a large measure of tribal autonomy, though here there are between two and three thousand white settlers to about 160,000 natives. Like the Basutos, some of the latter also work in the South African mines.

Swaziland is largely pastoral, but maize, tobacco and cotton are also grown, and there are valuable mineral deposits, especially tin. There are excellent motor roads and motor transport is growing. The Resident Commissioner has an Advisory Council representing the Europeans and a Native Council composed of the indunas of the nation under the Paramount Chief.

Before the second world war, a series of economic investigations were carried out for the Home Government by Sir Alan Pim in the three territories, as the result of which various development measures were undertaken. The chief need of Bechuanaland was for an assured water-supply and

counter-erosion measures, and the latter were also necessary in Basutoland. Improvements in methods of cultivation and cattle-breeding, irrigation, marketing, medical and educational services were also started with the aid of Colonial Development funds, but the whole programme depends upon the willing co-operation of the native peoples, some of whom are intensely conservative, and it must be spread over a period of years. Good progress has, however, already been made, and there is scope for considerable further development.

Native policy and the co-operation of the Union will largely determine the future of the Protectorates, but even if Basutoland and Swaziland are eventually to be incorporated in the Union, this need not apply to Bechuanaland, the northern portion of which at least might alternatively be amalgamated with Southern Rhodesia or with a Rhodesian Union.

There remain various questions concerning Africa as a whole which should be briefly glanced at here.

As was pointed out at the beginning of Chapter IV, apart from the Union of South Africa, the African continent is largely divided up between various European Powers. The British Colonies in West Africa are embedded in French territory, British Somaliland is also isolated, and only the East and Central African Colonies form a continuous block. The boundaries both of these and of other Powers' territories are, however, largely arbitrary, and have little relation to physical or racial conditions in Africa, having been determined by political considerations in Europe.

Yet Africa is a whole and presents many problems which cut right across political boundaries. It is true that the same may be said in some measure of Europe, but there at least only the indigenous races are concerned, and matters

are not complicated by the possibly conflicting interests of outside Powers. Africa has had a "raw deal" from Nature, which accounts largely for the comparatively backward condition and the late emergence of the "Dark Continent." The soil is in many areas deficient in elements of fertility, which has led to shifting cultivation with its attendant evils, and many pests and diseases are widely prevalent. The locust and the tsetse-fly, to name only two, do not respect political boundaries. Slavery, internecine warfare, disease and low vitality have plagued its peoples, who, without such serious handicaps added to the fierceness of Nature, are as apt and intelligent as other people, as they have shown under favourable conditions. Added to all this has been their exploitation by Arab and European alike. Yet Europeans have an important part to play in Africa, and can justify their continued presence there by guiding and helping its peoples towards higher standards of life and mastery over the forces of Nature. The British Commonwealth in particular can do much for Africa, and so far as Great Britain is concerned, this is already her policy, but the task needs co-operation between all the Powers interested in Africa, if not of others also.

There will doubtless be further progress towards amalgamation or closer union between the various groups of British territories, but this will not be enough. Before the outbreak of war in 1939, there was a move towards closer co-operation between British and French Colonial territories, especially in Africa, and no doubt this could be extended to include at least the Belgian and Portuguese Colonies. Abyssinia will need international help and guidance for some time to come. Lord Hailey, in his *African Survey*, has shown in how many directions co-operative effort is needed in tackling the problems of Africa, in research, health, education, agriculture and so forth. The locust

menace has already had to be tackled by an international body, and similar methods will doubtless be needed for the tsetse-fly, for soil erosion, for problems of nutrition, cultivation, stockbreeding, economic development and many other questions which transcend present political divisions.

The many African peoples are looking very critically, yet with hope, at white dealings with their continent, and the problem of Africa will probably have to be envisaged as a whole. While each Colonial Power in Africa may continue to be responsible for the administration of its own territories, providing, however, for greater interchange of officials, data and methods, and for the admission of other nationals to a share in the work, there may have to be some superior authority, in the form of a Council of Africa or other international body, which could supervise African affairs generally.

Upon any such body, Africans themselves should undoubtedly be directly represented, for it must be recognized that the ultimate justification for all European or international intervention in Africa can only be to fit the African peoples by progressive stages to stand on their own feet in the conditions of the modern world, and eventually to govern their own affairs in the manner best suited to themselves. That is the declared policy of Great Britain in Africa as in the rest of her Colonial Empire. We may glance at Africa again when considering the future in the last chapter of this book.

VII

Ceylon, Malaya and the East

Leaving the continent of Africa and turning East, we come to a very important group of British Colonies. Relegating the numerous and scattered groups of islands in the Indian, Pacific and other oceans to a separate chapter on the Island Outposts, the group we have now to consider comprises Ceylon, the premier Crown Colony, British Malaya, the wealthiest unit in the Colonial Empire, three territories in Borneo (Brunei, Sarawak and British North Borneo), and Hong Kong, the gateway of China.

CEYLON

Ceylon is much more than the premier Crown Colony in the British Empire, already enjoying a large measure of self-government. Known in ancient days as Taprobane or Lanka, the island was the seat of a civilization which flourished centuries before Christ, and when Britain was still in a state of primitive barbarism, built its great cities and temples and irrigation works and carried the arts to a high degree of perfection. Its history was continuous, though punctuated by constant invasions and strife, down to 1505, when the Portuguese first came to the island and the modern history of Ceylon begins. The Portuguese were succeeded by the Dutch, who were ousted by the British in 1746. The

last, the hundred and eighty-sixth King of Kandy, was deposed in 1815.

Ceylon lies in the Indian Ocean below the southernmost point of India, from which it is separated by a comparatively narrow channel. It is possible that in some remote period of geological time, it was once part of the Indian continent or at least connected with it by a continuous chain of islands of which there are still traces, known as Adam's Bridge. But they have been separated long enough for quite distinct species of flora and fauna to have arisen peculiar to Ceylon, which also lacks some of India's animals. Indian racial and political influences, however, have continued to operate powerfully in Ceylon up to the present day.

The island covers an area of somewhat over 25,000 square miles, and its present population is 5½ millions, still steadily growing under British rule. The chief religion is Buddhism, but Hindus and Moslems are numerous and the Roman Catholic faith was introduced by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. The coastline of Ceylon is practically level or low-lying all round, the mountains being in the interior, rising at their highest point to Adam's Peak at 7,350 feet. Apart from the invasions from India, the greatest enemy of civilization in Ceylon has really been the jungle, which regains its tropical kingdom whenever man relaxes his ceaseless care and labour.

The aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon were a primitive people known as the Veddahs. The present principal inhabitants, the Sinhalese, descend from the invaders who swept down from Southern India in the fifth century B.C. and absorbed or destroyed all but a small remnant of the indigenous forest people. The name comes from *sinha*, the lion, and the Sinhalese are therefore the lion people, though the king of beasts is unknown in Ceylon. The Tamils, the race next in number, also come from South India, and together

these two races, the Sinhalese greatly preponderating, form considerably over 90 per cent of the population. The remainder is made up of Malays, Burghers (descendants of Portuguese and Dutch), Eurasians and Europeans. Of Europeans, there are only some 9,000.

Famed as the Isle of Spices, Ceylon has also been known from King Solomon's days for its precious stones, for Galle is reputed to be the Tarshish of the Bible, to which Solomon sent his ships to buy gems for the Queen of Sheba. Its scenery is varied and delightful, ranging from the sunlit tropic bays of the coast, each protected by its coral reef and rocky headland, the long sandy beaches overhung by coconut palms, to the hills and mountain ranges of the interior, clothed in virgin forest, enshrining lakes and valleys of surpassing loveliness. Most voyagers by sea, though they glimpse the lovely coastline and catch the scented breezes, judge Ceylon by Colombo. But Colombo, though a great port and commercial city, and the administrative capital of the island, is far from being typical of Ceylon. To appreciate its beauty, the traveller must go to the hills, must see Nuwara Eliya, with its famous lake nestling in the cup of the hills, and Royal Kandy, seat of the last Kings of Ceylon; Anuradhapura and the dead cities, whose ruins are still gigantic and beautiful, Ratuapura, the city of gems, the beautiful heights of Hatton, musical with cascades, the old dagobas or Buddhist temples, the picturesque villages hidden among the luxuriant greenery and the far-spread lush green tea-plantations climbing the hillside.

There were kings and cities in Ceylon long before the Romans discovered Britain. Rome indeed traded with Ceylon regularly in those distant days, and Ceylon sent its envoys to Rome and other countries. Merchants from all over the world traded their wares for the rubies, sapphires and pearls of Ceylon. The island which now imports food then grew

enough to support all its population and to export a surplus. A great city with millions of inhabitants, whose ruins now extend over miles of tangled jungle, flourished two thousand years ago.

About 543 B.C. the Sinhalese under their chief Wijayo first invaded Ceylon, and a century later, in 437 B.C., Anuradhapura was founded, remaining the capital of Ceylon for nearly twelve centuries. From the first, the Sinhalese saw the importance of water conservation and began the great system of dams, irrigation channels and tanks, some of which still remain to attest their skill. The city of Anuradhapura covered an area as large as modern London, and one of its streets was nearly 16 miles long. Its greatest building, the Brazen Palace, nine storeys high, was roofed with brass, the pillars supporting its 900 rooms were overlaid with copper, and the ivory throne was decorated with the sun, moon and stars, in gold, silver and precious stones. The great dagoba, containing relics of the Buddha, rose 50 feet higher than St. Paul's with a vaster dome.

This and other dagobas still survive in the ruins, as do the great baths of smooth granite, which have proved more lasting than those of Rome. Parks, hospitals, dispensaries, almshouses and other public institutions were provided for the people. A branch of the famous bo-tree, under which Gautama attained sanctity as Buddha, was brought from India and may still be seen growing in Ceylon, the oldest historical tree in the world. Giant statues of Buddha and of ancient Sinhalese kings, temples, palaces and other magnificent ruins scattered over Ceylon to-day, despite the encroaching jungle, attest the greatness of its ancient civilization.

Successive waves of warlike and savage invasion from India destroyed much, for the Sinhalese, peaceful and diligent in all the arts, were cursed by intrigue and internal

dissensions, and this proved their fatal weakness. In the seventh century A.D. Anuradhapura was destroyed, and Polonnarua succeeded it as the capital from the eighth to the thirteenth century. Of this city also, vast ruins remain to-day, as well as of the great rock fortress of Sigiriya, built by King Kasyapa in A.D. 470. After Polonnarua had shared the fate of the earlier city, the Sinhalese shifted their capital from place to place, until they came to Cotta, near modern Colombo, where the Portuguese found them, and the era of European domination began.

The Portuguese first discovered Ceylon in 1505, when the Sinhalese were hopelessly disunited and their civilization largely destroyed. The invaders seized all the maritime provinces, built castles and trading centres and governed all the lowlands until 1566, when they were driven out by the Dutch, who in turn ruled for 140 years, doing much to develop agriculture and trade, until the British came in 1796. But all this time, the highlands of the interior remained in the possession of the Sinhalese kings, until the last independent King of Kandy was deposed by his own subjects in 1815, and the whole island became British.

Kandy is still a beautiful city, with its artificial lake nestling in the bosom of the surrounding hills, and it is here that the great procession of the Sacred Tooth relic of the Buddha takes place annually. Nuwara Eliya, a lovely hill station, 6,200 feet above sea-level, is a refuge from the heat of the low country, where flowers bloom in profusion all the year round.

Britain has brought to Ceylon order and good government and great material prosperity. Education is spreading, provision is made for a university and the other public services are steadily improving. She has also a large measure of political freedom. As the result of the Donoughmore Commission, Ceylon was in 1931 granted a Constitution

which marked a great advance on the "Crown Colony" form of government, contained some novel features and was at the time a bold experiment, but which, after ten years' practical working and amendment, can be claimed as a success. It is based on adult suffrage of both men and women, though many of them are still illiterate, and has enfranchised over two million voters. Originally the State Council, as the governing body is called, resembled the London County Council in entrusting executive functions of the principal departments to committees of elected members each with its chairman, but as this was found eventually not to work well in practice, the committees were replaced by responsible Ministers of State on the Cabinet system, and the functions of the three principal Officers of State were considerably modified. Certain special powers were still reserved to the Governor, but the present constitutional system does in practice give Ceylonese of all races virtual control over their own affairs.

The principal industry is tea: coffee was first tried but failed, and after a while tea was successfully introduced in its stead. Now the tea plantations cover most of the island from sea-level up to about 6,000 feet, the best qualities growing above 1,500 feet, and tea exports represent about 63 per cent of the outward trade. Rubber is cultivated almost as extensively as tea, and the coconut, which covers considerably over a million acres, is the source of a great variety of products. Rice, cacao, citronella, cinnamon, areca-nut, cardamons and tobacco are other crops, and amongst the minerals, plumbago or graphite is important. Ceylon's gems are famous and include sapphires, rubies, topaz, amethysts and other stones, and there are also pearl fisheries.

Colombo, the capital, has a fine harbour and it is the centre of the Government railway system covering nearly

1,000 miles, and there are besides some 4,000 miles of motor roads. Other towns include Galle, Jaffna, Kandy and Trincomalee, whose great natural harbour is an important British naval base. The island is connected with India and the Empire routes by air.

The Maldive Islands, lying far out in the Indian Ocean, are a dependency of Ceylon, under their own Sultan, who resides in the island of Male and is assisted by a people's Assembly and responsible Ministers. The islanders, numbering over 80,000, are Moslem in religion and keen traders, and the islands export coconut oil, coir, tortoiseshell and other products.

Ceylon has a great future before it, not unworthy of its glorious past, and its people fully realize that that future is best assured within the wide ambit of the British Commonwealth.

MALAYA

British Malaya, the most prosperous unit in the Colonial Empire, comprises the Straits Settlements, and the Federated and Unfederated Malay States. The Straits Settlements consist of Singapore, Penang, Malacca and Labuan, with Christmas and Cocos islands attached. The Federated Malay States are Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang, and the Unfederated States, Johore, Kedah, Kelantan, Trengganu and Perlis. Malaya is also regarded as including Brunei, on the island of Borneo, to be referred to later. The total area is about 55,000 square miles, and the population, comprising Malaya, Chinese, Indians and Eurasians, with about 30,000 Europeans, numbers considerably over five millions.

Malaya will always be associated with the great name of Stamford Raffles, whose prescience first saw the potential

importance of Singapore, then an uninhabited island off the coast of Johore in the extreme south of the peninsula. In 1819 he persuaded the Sultan to cede it to Britain. Europeans had, however, obtained a foothold in Malaya in the sixteenth century, first the Portuguese at Malacca, attracted by the spice trade, and later, the Dutch in 1641. The British did not appear until 1786, when Penang was ceded by the Sultan of Kedah to the East India Company, and Malacca later fell to the British in war. In 1826 the three settlements were placed under the Government of India, being transferred to the Colonial Office in 1867. Later, Cocos and Christmas islands were added, and Labuan off the coast of Borneo.

In 1874 the state of Perak accepted British protection and this example was followed by Selangor, Pahang and a cluster of small states known as Negri Sembilan or the Nine States. These four units agreed to federate in 1896 for public services and matters of common interest, and a federal centre was set up at Kuala Lumpur in Selangor, which is also the seat of the Federal Council. Siam (now Thailand) was persuaded to transfer her suzerainty over the northern Malay States of Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah and Perlis to Britain in 1909, and Johore in the south voluntarily accepted protection in 1914.

Although geographically Malaya is a single unit, the various federated and unfederated States and the Settlements are intermingled over the whole peninsula, and this, it might be supposed, would lead to difficulties in administration. In actual practice, however, there are no such difficulties. The Settlements are directly controlled from Singapore by the Governor, who is also High Commissioner for the Malay States, both federated and unfederated. Ultimate unity is thus assured. The administrative services of the Federated States are centred at Kuala Lumpur, and

the rulers of the Unfederated States act in public matters in accordance with the advice of the British Residents. The Colonial Service in Malaya is one body acting under the Governor and High Commissioner, and matters of policy and methods of administration are naturally closely correlated.

So effective indeed was the administrative machine in the Federated States that it was thought some years ago to be the part of wisdom to introduce some measure of decentralization, as it was not desired to sap the initiative or to withhold practical experience in local self-government from the individual States, or for that matter to discourage the Unfederated States from discovering for themselves the advantages of federation. Accordingly, the office of Chief Secretary at Kuala Lumpur was abolished and greater latitude in various matters restored to the Federated States. Geographic and economic unity, together with constantly growing intercommunication, will undoubtedly lead to ultimate administrative centralization in Malaya, but it is felt to be desirable that this should not outpace the experience of the Malayan peoples in managing their own affairs, so that when the day comes for some larger synthesis than the present small States and Settlements, the peoples of the peninsula will be better prepared for an experiment in self-government on a larger scale.

At present, in the Colony constituted by the Settlements, the Governor is assisted by an Executive and a Legislative Council. The former consists of eleven members, three of whom are nominated unofficial members, and the latter comprises the official members of the Executive and five other official members, and eleven nominated unofficials, together with two elected by the Penang and Singapore Chambers of Commerce. In the States, both federated and unfederated, the rulers are of course assisted by their own

State Councils, upon which both the British Residents or Advisers and representatives of the various sections of the communities have their place.

Malaya, as may be seen from the map, is a long bulbous peninsula thrust out from the mass of Thailand (Siam), Indo-China and Burma above it. It has a mountainous backbone and is well irrigated by rivers from which the various Malay States take their name. Much of the interior is covered by impenetrable jungle, parts of which are still unexploited. Some primitive tribes still roam in these jungles, but the country is mainly inhabited by the Malays, who are believed to have made their way into the peninsula from the archipelago. Mohammedans by religion, they are expert fishermen and boatbuilders, living chiefly on the coasts and along the rivers, and have been greatly addicted to piracy and to internecine warfare in the past. The British have indeed brought law and order, progress and prosperity to a once primitive, though in many ways kindly land.

The Malays are a courteous, hospitable and attractive people, but they are somewhat indolently inclined, and the introduction of new industries has brought with it a large influx of industrious, hard-working Chinese, Indians and other races, so that the Malays are at the moment actually outnumbered in their own country. It is one of the responsibilities of Britain to hold the balance even, and to bear in mind that we are trustees for the Malay people, without doing injustice to the other races who have helped to build up Malaya.

The wealth of Malaya to-day is built up mainly on rubber and tin, yet these are both modern developments, although Chinese had been working tin on a small scale for centuries. The story of the introduction of rubber into Malaya (and Ceylon) from South America is a romance of science and commerce. It was due mainly to Sir Joseph Hooker, then

Director of Kew Gardens, and to Sir Henry Wickham. The plant grew in a wild state in the forests of the Amazon, and it was due both to good fortune and to perseverance that some of the seeds were successfully transplanted and cultivated, until now Malaya is the greatest rubber-producing country in the world, followed closely by the Netherlands Indies and Ceylon. The great development of plantation rubber is of course due to the tremendous expansion in the uses of the material, especially for transport. So great was the production before the war that restriction schemes had to be introduced, both for rubber and for tin, the former affecting Malaya and Ceylon, and the latter Malaya and Nigeria. Even so, before the war, Malaya exported over 360,000 tons of rubber in the year.

Malaya also produces about half the world's tin supply, the mines being mainly worked and owned by Chinese. The tin resources of Malaya are very great, and it is also producing other minerals such as coal, iron, manganese, lead and tungsten. The ancient staple industry of Malaya consisted in the products of the coconut, and this is still important, but it is now matched by the pineapple industry, Malaya being the second largest supplier in the world.

All these developments brought a large influx of workers from other lands, especially Chinese and Indians. The Chinese of Malaya (as indeed also of Hong Kong) are among the most enterprising, industrious, prosperous and loyal of British subjects. They have contributed greatly to the prosperity and to the public services of Malaya, and will continue to play their part, with the Malays, in the development of the country. After the Malays, the Indians come next in numbers, and work chiefly on the rubber plantations.

The oldest of the Settlements is Penang, consisting of Penang island and Province Wellesley on the mainland

commanding the western entrance to the Straits of Malacca. George Town is now a great free port like Singapore. Malacca was the first to attract Europeans, and the old town still holds many relics of Dutch and Portuguese days, though of late years its importance has relatively declined. The island of Labuan lies off the coast of Borneo, to which it was for a tine joined for administrative purposes. Christmas and the Cocos-Keeling islands, known for their phosphate and coconut industries respectively, have had a varied history, but are now annexed to Singapore.

Singapore is far and away the most important of the Settlements. Since its foundation by Raffles, it has grown, as he foresaw, to be one of the greatest ports in the world. As a free port, it is the entrepôt for all the transit trade of the East, and its harbour is always filled with the world's shipping. With a population of over 600,000 made up of every race, Singapore has become one of the great cities of the East, with a progressive municipality and Harbour Board, and many fine public buildings, including Raffles College, the nucleus of the University.

It is, however, the Singapore Base, constructed at a cost of considerably over £20,000,000, which has greatly enhanced the prestige of Singapore and its importance in Empire communications and defence. The "Gibraltar of the East," as it has been styled, is a naval, military and air base of surpassing strength, built out of the jungle, difficult of approach, impregnably fortified and equipped, possessing huge graving and floating docks, and facilities for repair, extensive military quarters and one of the finest air-bases in the world. The great civil airport adjoining is also an important junction for British, American and Dutch airlines connecting with England, Holland, India, the Netherlands Indies, Hong Kong, Australia and New Zealand.

Over 8,000 miles from England, Singapore is about 1,400

miles from Hong Kong, over 1,500 from Ceylon, 1,650 from Calcutta, and 1,900 from Port Darwin in Australia. Malaya, Hong Kong, Australia and New Zealand contributed substantially towards the cost of construction of the Base.

Malaya has a splendid system of communications in the Federated Malay States Railways which comprise over 1,000 miles of line connecting Singapore and Bangkok in Thailand and all the intervening States and centres. There are also several thousand miles of excellent roads. Besides Singapore, Penang and Kuala Lumpur, other large centres include Ipoh, in the mining district, Taiping, Seremban, Johor Bahru, and Port Swettenham, named after a great Governor of Malaya, Sir Frank Swettenham.

The wealth of Malaya, it will be seen, is laid on secure foundations, and its future, under British administration and protection, is equally secure. Our task is to guide and assist the Malay people to play their due part in the development and administration of their country, and at the same time to afford full and legitimate outlets for the energies of the other races in Malaya who must also play their part as citizens of a common country. Malaya is to-day a contented and peaceful country, and one of the most successful examples of British Colonial administration. Malaya and the Netherlands Indies have much to learn from each other, and much to gain from closer British and Dutch co-operation.

BORNEO

The great Island of Borneo is largely Dutch, but contains three British territories in the north and north-east, namely, British North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak. The trade throughout the archipelago was long monopolized by the Dutch, and the British did not secure a permanent foothold

in Borneo until the early nineteenth century. During the Napoleonic wars, Java and Sumatra themselves came for a time under British control and profited by the enlightened administration of Sir Stamford Raffles, but they were subsequently handed back to the Dutch.

Brunei, now the smallest of the three British Protectorates and administered like Labuan with the Straits Settlements, was once a great Bornean State and held sway over what are now British North Borneo and Sarawak, and over Labuan and other tributaries. But its power decayed, hastened by piracy and internal strife, and it lost control of all its territories, save a mere 2,500 square miles, in 1888, when it gladly accepted British protection.

It was piracy and rebellion in Borneo which first brought James Brooke upon the scene. A retired officer of the East India Company, he had inherited a fortune and decided to travel, fitting out a yacht for that purpose and voyaging through the archipelago. In 1839 he offered his help to the Sultan of Borneo in quelling a revolt in the Sarawak province and was so successful that he was appointed Rajah of Sarawak. He then set to work to introduce law and order into that country and to clear the seas of the ferocious pirates who made peaceful commerce impossible. This proved a formidable task in which he was allowed to receive the help of officers commanding British warships stationed in those waters, amongst whom was Captain, afterwards Admiral, Sir Harry Keppel. The campaign was fierce and protracted, but at last the pirates were destroyed in their lairs and in 1844 the seas were clear.

Rajah Brooke still had trouble with Chinese and some of the more turbulent tribes of the interior before he could settle down to peaceful rule. The province which he first took over was but 7,000 square miles in extent, but by successive concessions and purchases, Sarawak, whose com-

plete independence was recognized in 1864, is now some 50,000 square miles in area and contains a population of half a million. The Brooke family were recognized as hereditary Rajahs in 1904, a British Protectorate over the whole of North Borneo having been ordered in 1888. Sir James Brooke and his successors, notably Sir Charles Vyner Brooke, have always ruled the land in the interests of its inhabitants, and having been formerly assisted by an advisory council including native chiefs, they have recently instituted a Legislative Council, into whose hands much of the power hitherto exercised personally by themselves has now been resigned.

Sarawak is a mountainous country, much of the interior being covered by dense forests penetrated by numerous rivers which form the natural highways. The capital is Kuching, and other important towns are Sibro and Miri, the latter the headquarters of the oilfields district. The country has made steady progress in commerce and peaceful development. Rubber is cultivated, and sago, and coal and other minerals are worked, but the most valuable product is petroleum, the administration levying a royalty on the output. An excellent description of the country and the people is given in the Ranee Margaret's book and other works listed in the Bibliography.

The remaining British territory in Borneo is the State of British North Borneo, the only territory still administered by a Chartered Company. The British North Borneo Company was formed in 1878 by, amongst others, Sir Alfred Dent and Admiral Sir Harry Keppel, and received its charter in 1881. The original concession was granted by the Sultan of Sulu, and this was later added to by concessions from the Sultan of Brunei. The territory now comprises an area of about 30,000 square miles, the capital of which is Sandakan. Subject to the Court of Directors in

London, the country is ruled by a Governor and a Civil Service, the appointment of the Governor having to be approved by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. For a time, Labuan was under the Company's jurisdiction until transferred to the Straits Settlements. The population numbers some 300,000, mainly Malays, who are Mohammedans.

The principal industries of the country are rubber and timber, with copra, cutch and other products, and coal and iron ore are also worked. Besides Sandakan, the principal towns are Jesselton, the headquarters of the State railway, Beaufort and Melalop. Both Sandakan and Jesselton have good harbours.

HONG KONG

Hong Kong has been rightly styled "the gateway to China." Its position in relation to the mainland of China is as commanding as that of Singapore at the entrance to the China Sea, and its trade and future are indissolubly linked with the great country of which it forms a part. The importance of its spacious sheltered harbour was first seen during the war with China in 1839–42, but apart from its strategic position, the immense commercial possibilities of the place were soon realized, and the island of Hong Kong was ceded to Britain as one result of the war. Though thus born of conflict, Hong Kong has since rendered immense service to China, besides promoting Anglo-Chinese trade.

At the time of its cession, the island was practically uninhabited, except for a few fishermen, and is barren and mountainous, rising to a height of 1,800 feet in the centre. To-day the population of the colony, including the leased territory of Kowloon on the mainland, is over a million. The island has an area of only 32 square miles but the

Kowloon peninsula and the leased territory acquired for a term of ninety-nine years in 1898, bring the total area up to about 390 square miles.

Hong Kong is the name of the Colony, but the town on the island is Victoria. Seen from the sea, especially at night, Victoria is a fine spectacle, since it rises from the magnificent harbour in tier after tier up the slopes of Victoria Peak, the shipping, business and Chinese quarters encircling the harbour facing the mainland, then at a higher level the Government buildings, parks and gardens, and finally the residential quarters climbing to the hill-tops. When all these terraces and houses are lit up at night, they make with the shipping in the harbour a galaxy of light rising to the stars. Much has been done by afforestation to clothe the barren rock and improve climatic conditions, and Victoria to-day is a handsome modern city, a great free port like Singapore, and a fine naval dockyard and shipbuilding and repair base.

Its free port brings to and through Hong Kong much of the trade of China and Eastern waters. The Colony has had many ups and downs consequent upon economic and political conditions, but when peace returns to China, bringing with it inevitably an immense industrial expansion of that great country, Hong Kong is surely destined to play a great part in that future as it has done in the past.

Most of the trade is of course transit trade, the annual tonnage entering and clearing the harbour reaching to as high as 44 million tons, but there are large naval and commercial docks, and building, engineering and repairing facilities and many manufactures. Hong Kong is an unrivalled centre of communications, being a great cable and wireless terminal, having steamship connections all over the Pacific and the East, and railway, road and river connections with the rest of China. It is also a terminal for British Overseas and American airways.

The Governor is assisted in his functions by Executive and Legislative Councils with both official and unofficial nominated members, of whom several represent the Chinese communtity.

Hong Kong's contribution has not been only material in the promotion of trade; it has also brought settled order and good government to a prosperous and industrious Chinese community, and has an efficient educational system, crowned by the University of Hong Kong, which has done much not only for the people of the Colony, but also for students from the Chinese mainland. This was established in 1912, when Lord (then Sir Frederick) Lugard was Governor, and has flourishing faculties in Arts, Engineering and Medicine, receiving aid from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Rhodes Trust.

Great Britain has always had very great interests, both material and cultural, in China in the past, and Hong Kong may form an active link between the British Commonwealth and China, as well as perhaps with America, in the future.

VIII

The Island Outposts

We have left to the last the islands scattered all over the seven seas, except those which form part of definite geographical groups, such as the Caribbean and the Mediterranean, Zanzibar, which is an integral part of East Africa, or Ceylon which is an important colony in itself. The existence of so many of these island outposts in all parts of the world is no evidence of a spirit of "grab" or of an Autolycan tendency for picking up unconsidered trifles about the globe, but the inevitable result of world-wide sea-power, which needed convenient harbours, fuelling and watering stations, or to establish a line of communication with widely separated territories and later cable and telegraph terminals. Moreover, the unremitting activities and voyagings of sea captains and navigators from Elizabethan down to modern times, together with charting duties for the Admiralty, naturally brought many islands and other lands under the British flag. Many more came under our jurisdiction, or fell to us as prizes of war, than we eventually retained, being handed over or back to other Powers. Not a few besought our protection, as in the case of Fiji. Indeed, if we had been really an aggressive and consistently acquisitive Power, as we have commonly been represented, we might have reason (despite appearances to the contrary) to be astonished at our own moderation!

The islands to be noticed in this chapter include, in the

Atlantic, St. Helena and Ascension, Tristan da Cunha, "the loneliest isle," the Falklands and their dependencies stretching near to the South Pole: in the Indian Ocean, Mauritius and the Seychelles; and in the Pacific, the Fiji group, the Gilbert and Ellice islands, the British Solomons, Tonga or the Friendly islands, the Phoenix group, Pitcairn, Nauru and the New Hebrides.

ST. HELENA AND ASCENSION

St. Helena, with Ascension as its dependency, situated in the South Atlantic about midway between the African and South American continents, has had a prosperous and historic past. Both islands were discovered originally by the Portuguese, but no permanent settlement was founded until the East India Company took possession of St. Helena in 1659. In those days of sail and of the Cape route, the island was very conveniently situated on the trade route to India, and thousands of ships called there annually to take in fresh provisions and to refill. This was indeed the foundation of the island's prosperity, and a great trade sprang up in the supply of cattle, fruit, vegetables and other provisions in the days before refrigeration. Negroes were brought there to work the plantations, and some of their descendants are still there. But steam navigation and the Suez Canal brought about a steady decline in St. Helena's prosperity, until it and the sister island of Ascension were only useful as coaling and cable stations.

St. Helena is of course otherwise famous in history as the place of internment and death of Napoleon, during which period a large garrison was kept on the island. He lived at Longwood, three or four miles from Jamestown, the capital, and was at first buried there in May 1821 until the transfer of the remains to Paris in 1840. The house and

estate were later presented to the French nation. Other exiles later sojourned at St. Helena; Dinizulu and other Zulu chiefs, and during the South African war, Cronje and other Boer generals and officers. Whether or not the tale is complete, it is to be feared that St. Helena's great days are definitely past.

Nevertheless, a livelihood must be found for the present population of between four and five thousand of very mixed racial origins, and a phormium flax industry has been introduced from New Zealand, lace-making is carried on, cattle and sheep, and vegetable and other crops thrive. The climate is equable and healthy, especially at the higher levels, the scenery is pleasant, Jamestown is a quaint and peaceful little capital, and the island might well appeal as a place of retirement for those of modest means.

TRISTAN DA CUNHA

"The world's loneliest isle," as it is sometimes styled, though Pitcairn in the Western Pacific is in a sense a rival claimant, consists really of a small group of barren volcanic rocks in the South Atlantic some 2,000 miles from Cape Town. The group comprises Tristan da Cunha itself, Inaccessible, Nightingale and Gough's islands, and like Ascension, they are dependencies of St. Helena. Due to the persistence with which the sturdy community of British descent has clung to its inhospitable home despite several offers by the Union Government to settle them in South Africa, and to the occasional visit of a ship being quite an event, the Tristanians have attracted much attention in the news, and several books have been written about the little settlement. There is even a London fund to help them tide over occasional difficulties and to send them some of the more elementary amenities of civilization.

Tristan da Cunha was named after the Portuguese admiral who discovered the islands in 1506. There was no permanent settlement until 1816 when Britain took possession of the island and garrisoned it for a short while. On the withdrawal of the garrison in the following year, William Glass, an artillery corporal, and his wife, with several ex-naval men, elected to remain, and this small band being joined by shipwrecked sailors and getting wives from St. Helena, were the founders of the present community. It has had many ups and downs, being several times on the point of extinction, but has survived and now numbers just under 200 souls. Cattle are kept, potatoes (the staple food) and some fruits are grown, and fish is caught, but for everything else the islanders are dependent on rare ships' visits. Despite spare diet and intermarriage, the community is a healthy and normal one, and its affairs, temporal and spiritual, are mainly looked after by a pastor sent out from London.

THE FALKLAND ISLANDS

The Falkland islands and their outlying dependencies stretch from the toe of South America to the Antarctic circle. The main islands are East and West Falkland separated by Falkland Sound and lying about 480 miles northeast of Cape Horn and 1,000 miles south of Monte Video. There are two groups of dependencies, the first comprising the island of South Georgia with the South Orkney and South Sandwich groups, and the second consisting of the South Shetlands with Graham Land, which is part of the main Antarctic Continent.

Before the cutting of the Panama Canal, when all vessels from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the eastern and western seaboards of the Americas had to double Cape Horn, the Falklands were more important than they are

to-day. Their chief importance to-day derives from the sheep-rearing industry of the Falklands, and the largest whaling industry in the world, centred mainly in the dependencies, especially South Georgia.

All the islands and Graham Land were discovered by English navigators and explorers, the Falklands themselves first at the end of the sixteenth century, the dependencies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. French and Spanish settlements were attempted for a time, but these were driven out, and then the British for long neglected the islands, until 1820, when the Republic of Buenos Aires claimed them, but their settlers were driven out during trouble with the United States in 1831. Two years later effective occupation of the islands was resumed by the British Government and has continued until this day. A shadowy claim to the islands is maintained in Argentina, but is not seriously pressed.

The islands are bare and rugged, an unusual feature of the Falklands being the "stone runs," irregular masses of quartzite which choke the valleys and are believed to be due to glacier action. For the hardy islanders, who are largely of Scotch descent, the climate is healthy, and the extensive boglands of the Falklands are well suited to rearing sheep, which is the principal industry, wool, tallow, hides and skins being the chief items of export. Mutton and beef are a few pence a pound, and penguin eggs are plentiful, but most foodstuffs have to be imported from South America.

The population, which numbers only about three thousand for the whole group, is mainly concentrated in East Falkland, and about half live in the little capital of Port Stanley. There are many good harbours but few roads, and transport is mainly by sea and on horseback. High winds prevail all the year round, which make it difficult to grow any crop

unless it is well protected. The Governor is assisted by a small executive and legislative council, each with several unofficial members.

In the first world war, the Falklands were the scene of a naval battle, when a German squadron under Admiral Graf von Spee, which had defeated some old and slow British ships off Coronel and proceeded to attack Port Stanley, were caught there by fast British battleships despatched from England, under Admiral Sturdee, and sunk.

The great modern whaling industry which has grown up in the Falklands has its centre in South Georgia, and employs many Scandinavian as well as British seamen. Besides the whaling industry, sealing is also undertaken and considerable quantities of seal oil are exported. In South Georgia is the grave of the great Antarctic explorer, Sir Ernest Shackleton, who died in these latitudes in January 1922. Whaling research is actively supported by the Falklands Islands Government, which has fitted out several ships for the purpose. Captain Scott's ship *Discovery*, which was first used, was later presented to the London Sea Scouts and lies in the Thames, and the work is now being carried on by *Discovery II* and the *William Scoresby*. In early days, the Falklands settlement needed grants in aid from the British Treasury, but these were all subsequently paid off, the Colony is self-supporting, and has built up a substantial reserve.

MAURITIUS

Moving now eastward to the Indian Ocean, we come first to the island colony of Mauritius, about 500 miles east of Madagascar. Mauritius is a beautiful island, verdure clad, well-watered and mountainous in the interior, being volcanic in origin. It is about 39 miles from north to south,

and 129 miles from east to west, an area of 720 square miles. The climate is very moist and tropical, especially at sea-level, and the European residents mostly live in the hills. Its great industry is sugar, for the cultivation of which it is exceptionally well suited, and most of its more accessible surface is covered with sugar plantations. Owing to depression in sugar prices and the competition of beet sugar, Mauritians have, however, seen the evil of depending upon one crop and have latterly taken up secondary industries, such as aloes, rum, copra, coconut oil, tea and tobacco. The population of about 450,000 is composed of people of European, mainly French, descent, termed Creoles, and mixed Indian and African peoples. The capital is Port Louis, with an excellent harbour and considerable trade, but the Europeans live chiefly in Curepipe, at an altitude of 1,800 feet, connected with the capital by rail.

Mauritius has an eventful history. Discovered by the Portuguese in 1505, it was later colonized by the Dutch, who named it Mauritius after their Stadtholder, Count Maurice. In 1710, the Dutch abandoned the island, which was soon after taken over by the French East India Company and named Ile de France. About the same time the French colonized the neighbouring island of Réunion, then called Bourbon. In 1735, the French sent to the Ile de France its most famous Governor, Mahé de la Bourdonnais, whose fame is still perpetuated both in Mauritius and in the Seychelles. To the foresight and energy of La Bourdonnais, the island owed its later development and prosperity. He founded Port Louis, built roads and forts, cleared forests and above all introduced sugar planting. He settled the country generally, and as will be seen, was also responsible for much progress in the Seychelles, but enemies at home had him recalled, and he died eventually a prisoner in the Bastille.

In 1767 the island passed from the Company to the French Crown, and during the Napoleonic wars was used as a base from which to attack British merchantmen. Accordingly the British fitted out an expedition in India which captured it in 1810. By the Treaty of Paris, 1814, the Ile de France was formally ceded to Britain and its original name of Mauritius was restored. The French laws and customs, however, together with the language and the Catholic religion, were not disturbed, and Mauritius remains largely French in character to this day, though in every way loyal to the British Crown.

There are various scattered island dependencies, including Rodrigues, with a population of 10,000 and local industries, and the Chagos archipelago, of which the principal island is Diego Garcia.

Mauritius has suffered much from hurricanes, epidemics and other disasters, but despite these and the depression in its staple industry, has weathered every storm, and looks forward with some confidence to a more assured future.

THE SEYCHELLES

These "pearls of the Indian Ocean," as they are deservedly and appropriately called, widely scattered as if loosened from the thread, lie about 970 miles east of Zanzibar, the centre and largest of the group, which numbers over ninety islets, being Mahé, named after La Bourdonnais, the French Governor of Mauritius. The population of the group is a little over 30,000 and the capital is Port Victoria on Mahé, with a good harbour. Mahé is about 930 miles from Mauritius. The other islands include Praslin, La Digue, Silhouette, Félicité, Curieuse, North Island, Creticy and many other subsidiary groups.

The islands were first settled from Mauritius and Réunion

and have somewhat of the same French character, though the British element is stronger. The original settlers were later reinforced by negroes, many freed from slavery by British warships, and by Indians and Chinese. Since it was used like Mauritius as a French base during the Napoleonic wars, it was also captured by the British and ceded in 1814. The Seychelles were likewise fortunate in a French Governor, de Quincy, who was originally appointed by King Louis XVI, and not only remained at his post throughout the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods, but was actually confirmed in his post by the British, and eventually died in Mahé in 1827, having ruled the islands to their great benefit for thirty-eight years.

The islands, which are very lovely and fertile, have for the most part a healthy climate, and offer many attractions to the visitor or even for longer residence, since living is cheap. General Gordon once styled the islands "the garden of Eden," and certainly few who visit them fail to succumb to their charm. Their principal industry consists in the products of the coconut, and Praslin island grows the famous *coco-de-mer*, or double coconut, which is unique. The fisheries form another staple industry, and guano is largely exported from some of the islands, together with cinnamon, vanilla and other products, including tortoiseshell. Giant turtles are common in the Aldabra group.

The islands, which have been somewhat neglected in the past, have many potential resources, which would well repay active development, and this is likely to come under the schemes now receiving consideration. The Governor is advised by small executive and legislative councils, both of which have unofficial members.

FIJI AND THE WESTERN PACIFIC

The last outposts of the Colonial Empire which remain to be described are the islands of the Pacific. There are numerous groups scattered throughout that wide ocean, but the principal is Fiji, which is also the headquarters of the Western Pacific High Commission.

The Fiji islands are about 1,000 miles from Auckland, and 1,700 from Sydney. The two principal islands are Viti Levu, on which is situated the capital, Suva, and Vanua Levu, and these islands between them account for over 6,000 square miles of the 7,000 occupied by the whole archipelago, which comprises over 200 islets. In the past, the Fijians had a warlike and savage reputation, and were constantly engaged in intertribal warfare and in cannibalism which led to the group being long shunned by Europeans, though Tasman, Captain Cook, Bligh of the *Bounty*, and many other navigators visited them. They were, however, well situated for trade and sea communications, and during the American civil war settlers from Australia and New Zealand planted cotton and even attempted to set up a Government, for the islands enjoy a healthy climate, but the experiment was not a success.

Meanwhile, an outstanding chief had emerged in the person of Thakombau, who applied for British protection for the islands. This was at first refused, but on being more than once repeated, two commissioners were eventually dispatched to investigate. The chiefs offered to cede the sovereignty, and Sir Hercules Robinson, then Governor of New South Wales, went to the islands to negotiate the terms, with the result that a deed of cession was executed by Thakombau and other chiefs on October 10, 1874, transferring sovereignty of the whole group to the British Crown.

Since that day, the story of Fiji has been one of constant and remarkable progress. The Fijians, as soon as the curse of internecine strife was removed, responded to the new conditions, sloughed off their old savage practices and were largely converted to Christianity. An intelligent and adaptable people, they proved amenable to educational influences and training, being already good cultivators, skilled craftsmen and expert fishermen. Moreover, under British rule, they have always retained a large measure of self-government through their own chieftains, who assemble periodically in the great council of chiefs. Several of their representatives sit in the legislature, which besides officials comprises both elected and nominated unofficial members, representing Europeans, Fijians and the large Indian community.

The capital, originally Levuka, was early removed to Suva, which is now a handsome town with a fine harbour and good public buildings. The population is now over a quarter of a million, of whom the Fijians number over 100,000. After a relative decline, their numbers are now steadily growing. The next most numerous element are the Indians, totalling some 90,000, who were originally imported to cultivate the sugar plantations. Cotton was not successful (though attention is again being given to it) but the introduction of sugar was so successful that it rapidly became the leading industry. This is followed by copra and other coconut products, and by fruit, chiefly bananas; but gold, which was discovered in recent years, seems likely to take a leading place in the exports.

Owing to its prosperity and peaceful development, Fiji is not only self-supporting, but has built up a strong reserve fund, despite liberal expenditure on education, health and public works. Road construction has been greatly developed and a fine circuminsular scenic road has been built round Viti Levu, which with other amenities and good

hotels, should attract many tourists to these beautiful islands.

The Fijian standard of living and culture is steadily rising. They make excellent soldiers and are readily trained to skilled crafts and professions. The central medical school turns out native practitioners who do good work throughout the Pacific islands. The island of Rotuma, 300 miles distant, has also formed part of the Colony since 1880, being administered by a resident commissioner. It has a flourishing coconut industry.

Since Fiji was voluntarily ceded, Britain has a special trust for the Fijians, who are contented and loyal under British rule. With the development of air, sea and wireless communications, and the exploitation of its natural resources, Fiji is likely to grow in importance and to make even greater progress in the future than in the past.

As stated earlier, the Governor of Fiji is also High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, with headquarters at Suva, and the principal groups coming under the administration of the High Commission are the Gilbert and Ellice islands, the British Solomons, Tonga or the Friendly islands, the New Hebrides, the Phoenix group and Pitcairn. The New Hebrides, however, constitute a condominium with France. There is also Nauru, which is an Empire mandate. The various groups have Resident Commissioners who act under the authority of the High Commissioner or his deputies. The Chief Justice of Fiji and other judges of the Supreme Court of Fiji act as divisional commissioners throughout the Western Pacific, with appeal to the Supreme Court at Suva.

THE GILBERT AND ELLICE ISLANDS

The Colony, which besides the separate Gilbert and Ellice groups, includes Ocean, Christmas, Fanning and Washing-

ton islands, lies due north of Fiji. Originally a Protectorate, the islands were formally constituted a Colony at the request of the native chieftains, in 1915. The Gilbert group consists of some sixteen islands and the Ellice of nine small clusters. The total population is about 34,000, of whom only a few hundreds are Europeans, the native peoples being of Malayo-Polynesian race. The principal export is copra.

Each island has its own native council presided over by a native magistrate, and law and order are well maintained under the general supervision of the European officials. Much medical work has been undertaken, and a large central hospital is maintained at Tarawa in the Gilbert group, every island having its local hospital under the charge of a native student trained at Tarawa.

Ocean island, like Nauru, is rich in phosphates, and is worked by the British Phosphate Commission. Fanning island is the mid-ocean station of the Pacific Cable Board. Christmas island is leased to the Central Pacific Coconut Plantations Ltd. Communications between various groups are maintained by the vessels of Burns, Philp & Co., the Phosphate Commission, and others, and by wireless telegraphy and telephony.

THE BRITISH SOLOMONS

This Protectorate consists of a double row of islands, extending from the Bougainville Straits to the edge of the Santa Cruz group, a distance of 900 miles, the total land area being about 11,000 square miles. The native population, mainly Melanesians, number about 94,000. The seat of government is at Tulagi, and the Resident Commissioner is assisted by a small Advisory Council, executive functions being exercised by District Officers, who travel constantly

between the islands. The climate is rather damp and malarial, and not attractive to Europeans. Coconuts, sandalwood, rubber and fruits are the chief products.

TONGA

The Tongan or Friendly islands, the latter being the name given them by Captain Cook, form a native kingdom under British protection, the Protectorate being established in 1900. There are three groups of islands, but the centre of government is on Tongatabu, the largest island in the group. The Tongans are Polynesians, intelligent, courteous and hospitable people, who take life easily.

Though formerly turbulent, the islands in 1845 settled down under the rule of King Tubon I, who opened the country to various missionary bodies. One missionary subsequently became Prime Minister. King Tubon I died in 1893 and was succeeded by his grandson, Tubon II, under whose rule the islands were placed by consent under British protection. On his death in 1918, Queen Salote succeeded. The Queen governs through a Prime Minister (until recently the Prince Consort) and a cabinet council composed of Tongans and Europeans, with a small Legislative Assembly.

Life in Tonga is peaceful, the climate is healthy and there is no poverty or unemployment, since every Tongan is entitled to an allotment of land for his own cultivation and the soil is fertile. Education is compulsory, and medical work and the public services are well organized. The population of 32,000 is increasing. They are good agriculturists and fishermen, and the chief exports are copra and bananas. It is on the whole a model South Sea island community, pursuing a tranquil and ordered existence under the protection of the British flag.

THE PHEONIX GROUP

of eight small islands, east of the Gilbert and Ellice group, are not noticeable except that they happen to be well placed between Australia and America for air communication. The United States considered that they had some claim to certain of the islands, but by agreement between the two Governments, an Anglo-American joint commission was set up in 1938 in respect of Canton and Enderbury islands, which are suitable as air-bases. Some of the islands are leased to Burns, Philp & Co. for coconut cultivation.

PITCAIRN

Pitcairn, remote in the Pacific, is a rival to the claim of Tristan da Cunha to be considered "the loneliest island," and it is famous also as being the island chosen by the mutineers of the *Bounty* in 1789, after they had set Captain Bligh and a few companions adrift in the ship's boats. The whole story has been told in many memoirs, and is the subject of a trilogy by the novelists, Nordhoff and Hall, and of at least one film.

Under the leadership of Fletcher Christian, the mutineers first went to Tahiti, but to escape pursuit they eventually sailed, accompanied by Tahitian women, to Pitcairn, an island first discovered by a British ship in 1767. They reached Pitcairn in 1790 and remained undiscovered until an American ship found them in 1808, when most of the original mutineers were dead, but the little community had been brought through many privations by John Adams. The community was later increased by men from other British ships, and after many tribulations, including removal for a time to Norfolk island, the little settlement to-day numbers 200 odd souls, the leader, or chief magistrate, still

bearing the name of Christian, and managing local affairs, with a council of five elected by the people. The community is self-supporting.

NAURU

Though but a small island 12 miles in circumference, Nauru is valuable for its extensive phosphate deposits. Originally annexed by Germany, it was surrendered to an Australian warship in the first world war, and is now an Empire mandate, the administrator being at present appointed by Australia. The phosphate deposits, with those of Ocean island in the Gilbert and Ellice group, are worked by the British Phosphate Commission. They total some 500,000 tons annually, and go chiefly to Australia and New Zealand.

THE NEW HEBRIDES

Lying between the Solomons and Fiji, this group of islands is under joint administration by Britain and France according to the terms of the Convention of 1906. The arrangement in this instance has not been conspicuously successful, and the future regime of the islands is doubtful.

First discovered by the Portuguese, the islands were given their present name by Captain Cook. Owing to quarrels between British and French settlers and traders, a joint administration was decided upon as a way out of the difficulties. The total area of the group is about 5,700 square miles, but the climate is hot and damp and not very suitable for Europeans, though there are nearly 100 white people in the islands, mostly French subjects. The native people, about 50,000, are Melanesians. Sandalwood, coffee, copra and other tropical products are exported, but the islands need further development and a more settled form of administration.

These widely scattered outposts, amongst which many individual or isolated units have not been specifically named, complete the description of the British Colonial Empire. It is beyond the scope of this work to describe the dependencies, protectorates or mandates of the Dominions or India, for which Great Britain has no responsibility, just as at present the Dominions on their part share no responsibility for the lands and peoples enumerated in the foregoing chapters. Whether those conditions will be in any way modified in the future must receive some consideration in the concluding chapter. Meanwhile, it may suffice to state briefly what are those territories within the Empire which bear some relation to the other members of the Commonwealth.

Australia is responsible for Papua (formerly British New Guinea) and the territory of New Guinea (formerly German), the latter under mandate. The two countries together form the eastern half of the great island of New Guinea, the western half of which is Dutch. Excluding Australia itself, New Guinea is the largest island in the world, its total area being about 235,000 square miles. Australian territory, together with a number of islands off the New Guinea Coast, forms about half this area. Australia also controls Norfolk and other small islands and a wedge of Antarctic mainland territory.

Canada has no dependencies. There have been in the past tentative moves for the union of Newfoundland with the Dominion, and these might take shape again if sufficient support were found on both sides. New Zealand administers under mandate the territory of Western Samoa (formerly German) and she is also responsible for the Tokelan group of islands off Samoa, and for the Ross dependency in the Antarctic. South Africa controls the mandated territory of South West Africa (formerly German), about 318,000 square miles in extent, which is now virtually part of the Union.

IX

Colonial Central Administration

The Colonial Empire is not governed from London; nevertheless the Colonial Office is in a sense the heart of the Colonial Empire, for ultimate responsibility to the British Parliament and people for all Colonial affairs rests, on behalf of the Cabinet, with the Secretary of State for the Colonies. So that it will be profitable first to examine the central machinery of Colonial administration in London, before dealing with the Colonial Governments and the Colonial Service generally.

The principal departments in London concerned with the Colonies are the Colonial Office itself, the Crown Agents for the Colonies and the Colonial Audit. Though quite separate, they all come under the authority of the Secretary of State. The Department of Overseas Trade also appoints representatives in the Colonies, and grouped around the departments or independent thereof there are numerous advisory committees, institutions and voluntary bodies which are also concerned wholly or in part with the Colonies. Reference to all these will be made in the following pages.

A general view of the machinery of central and local government and of ancillary organizations is shown in diagrammatic form in the accompanying chart (at end). A detailed account of the Colonial Office is given in the book by Sir George Fiddes noted in the Bibliography, and a shorter one in Mr. Chas. Jeffries' work on the Colonial Service.

The Colonial Office can boast a fairly respectable antiquity since it is the successor of earlier bodies which go back to 1660. In that year, the Privy Council set up a "Committee for the Plantaçons" which blossomed out before the end of the year into a separate "Council of Foreign Plantations." Twelve years later, in 1672, this body was combined with the Council for Trade under the title of the "Council of Trade and Plantations." With one interval between 1677 and 1695 when, overcome by lethargy, it sank back into the Privy Council, the joint body continued in existence until 1782, the affairs of India being also committed to its charge in 1748. Shortly before its demise, however, an additional Secretary of State had been appointed, in 1768, for the American or Colonial Department, and the two authorities co-existed until they were both abolished in 1782 on the loss of the American Colonies.

After a short interregnum, a new "Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations" was organized in 1784, to which Colonial affairs were for a time committed, but in 1794, Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, who was acting as Secretary for War, also became nominally Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the Committee for Trade and Plantations gradually ceased to have any connection with Colonial affairs and became the Board of Trade. The War and Colonial Departments were united in 1801, but after the conclusion of the French wars, the Colonies became the principal concern of the Secretary of State, and in 1854 the War Department was finally separated from the Colonies. The India Office was organized under a separate Secretary of State.

From 1854 the organization of the Colonial Office continued to expand steadily but slowly until after the first world war. The great change in the status of the self-governing Colonies, which had then become Dominions,

necessitated an entirely different handling of their relations with Great Britain, and accordingly in 1925 the Dominions Office was set up, with a new Secretaryship of State. For a time the two offices were held by the same Minister, but later this practice was discontinued, although there is still a close association between the clerical staffs of the two Departments, and some common services, notably the Library. The Colonial Office to-day, therefore, has no concern with the Dominions or India, but only with the territories described in the foregoing chapters of this work.

Like other British Government departments, the Colonial Office is presided over by two political chiefs, the Secretary of State and the Parliamentary Under Secretary, who are Minister and Deputy Minister respectively for the Colonies. The Secretary of State is always a member of the Cabinet, and it is usual to arrange that one Minister should sit in the Commons and the other in the Lords, although this depends upon the balance of the members of the Government as between the two Houses. As the Commons is the more important Chamber, it is preferable for the Secretary of State to be a member of that House, although this arrangement has more than once been reversed. Naturally the political chiefs change with the Government, although there is an increasing tendency for Colonial policy to be continued without material change irrespective of the party in power. An outstanding Colonial Minister from 1895 to 1903 was Joseph Chamberlain, and amongst other holders of the office in more recent days have been Winston Churchill, J. H. Thomas, L. S. Amery, Sidney Webb (Lord Passfield), Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister (Viscount Swinton), W. G. Ormsby-Gore (Lord Harlech) and Malcolm MacDonald.

The organization of the Colonial Office is generally similar to that of other Executive departments of State, but unlike the others, which for the most part deal with particular

functions of Government, such as foreign or home affairs, education, health, trade, etc., it must be recognized that the Colonial Office is virtually an *imperium in imperio*, for it has to concern itself with every aspect of the administration of the Colonial Empire as a whole. The head of the office is the Permanent Under Secretary of State, and he, under the Minister, is the head of the Colonial Service. There are four Assistant Under Secretaries of State (one of them acting as Deputy Under Secretary) who divide the principal business of the office between them. Apart from the principal officials and the expert Advisers to the Secretary of State, the Office is organized in departments covering the main geographical divisions of the Colonial Empire, and a general and a personnel division, to which are attached special services such as library, registry, accounts, legal, public relations and so forth. The seven geographical departments each take the business of a group of Colonies under their charge, but the distribution is not ideal, and will certainly need reorganization in several respects after the war.

The general division includes economic, social services and welfare departments, and the personnel division comprises recruitment and training, and Colonial Service departments. Each department is under the charge of an assistant secretary or officer of equivalent rank. The other grades are principal, assistant principal, staff and clerical officers. To assist him to deal with certain aspects of his work, the Secretary of State has in recent years appointed various Advisers who are experts in their special fields, such as law, medicine, finance, agriculture, education, labour, business, etc. Behind these there are certain special committees which will be glanced at later.

The Colonial Office does not attempt to interfere with the administration of any Colonial territory in detail (that

is, of course, the function of the individual Colonial Governments) but rather to lay down general lines of policy and to set up a body of precedents and practice for guidance, and generally to co-ordinate the affairs of the Colonial Empire as a whole. Through its control of recruitment and training, and the functioning of the unified Colonial Service which operates throughout the Colonies, it does of course exercise considerable direct influence upon Colonial administration generally, and there is frequent interchange between officers of the Colonial Service and the staff of the Colonial Office with much advantage to both. Moreover, the Colonial Office is able through the advisers and advisory committees and other special institutions to offer much valuable assistance and advice to Colonial Governments, and through the development and welfare funds made available by Parliament, it gives more substantial help in Colonial development and public services.

Public interest in and responsibility for Colonial affairs is manifested through Parliament, which can call the Government or the Colonial Secretary to account through a debate upon a particular question, or once a year by a general debate upon the estimates (in the Commons) or by questions to Ministers. Members of the public and of voluntary or other bodies both at home and in the Colonies have also of course access to the Minister or to Parliament in special circumstances, and for the investigation of particular questions from time to time it is usual to appoint Departmental or Parliamentary Committees, or Royal Commissions such as those on Palestine and on the West Indies. Before the interruption caused by political crises and the second world war, a Colonial Office Conference, which it was hoped would be triennial, was held in London, presided over by the Secretary of State, and attended by Colonial Governors and other representatives of the Colonies, and by the principal

officials of the Colonial Office, advisers and other Colonial authorities.

While the Colonial Office represents the authority of Parliament and therefore of the people of Great Britain in relation to the Colonial Empire, and its staff act as interpreters and administrators of that authority as between the British Government and the Colonial Governments, there is another department in London, equally under the authority of the Secretary of State although separate from the Colonial Office, which stands in a fiduciary relation to both, and acts as a link between the two, and that is the office of the Crown Agents for the Colonies.

The three Crown Agents who are at the head of this office are appointed by the Secretary of State, but their Department acts not for the British Government but directly for the individual Colonial Governments and for various Colonial municipal and harbour authorities besides. The expenses of the Department are borne proportionately by those for whom it acts, the rates of commission charged for these services being fixed by the Secretary of State, who is also generally responsible for the staff. The arrangement is therefore in a sense a triangular one, but it functions very well. The Crown Agents carry out all the business contracts, technical work and financial operations of some sixty Governments and various other public authorities, and the office is housed in a spacious building at Millbank near the Houses of Parliament. In a single year, stores and machinery totalling over £12,000,000 in value may be purchased, tested and shipped overseas, and more than 400,000 tons of cargo are normally handled in the same period. Moreover, loans amounting to considerably over £100,000,000 are administered by the Department, and many other functions are carried out.

As the present efficient system is the result of a process

of gradual evolution and change extending over a century, it may be of interest to glance at the history of the Department and to examine its present organization in some detail.

In early days, individual Colonies maintained their own purchasing and contract agents in London, and they very often acted as political and general agents also. The British Empire of those days was of course very different from what it is now. There were then no Dominions; all were Colonies. In the European zone the Empire comprised Heligoland, Gibraltar, Malta and the Ionian islands. British Africa comprised only the Gambia, Sierra Leone, some trading posts on the Gold Coast, St. Helena and Ascension and the Cape of Good Hope. Certain parts of India were under the rule of the East India Company, and in the Indian Ocean were Ceylon, the Seychelles, Aden and Mauritius. Farther east were Singapore and the Straits Settlements, New South Wales (including the present State of Victoria), Tasmania and the Swan River Colony. On or near the shores of the American continent were Newfoundland (the oldest Colony), the eastern portion of what is now known as Canada, the present West Indies, and the Falkland islands far to the south.

Communications were then a matter of slow sailing voyages, irregular and frequently interrupted. As a result, the Home Government possessed but limited control over these distant settlements, and the rulers of the outposts enjoyed a considerable measure of freedom of action. "John Company" of course looked after its own business, but the Governors of the other Colonies appointed their own agents, who were almost ambassadors in their duties. Later, however, the Secretary of State gained further control, and although formally appointed by the Governor, the agents were nominated at home and their duties restricted purely to commercial matters.

For the most part, however, these agents continued to act independently of each other and to build up their own methods of business and impose their own requirements irrespective of what was being done elsewhere. Moreover, the purchases of single Colonies were relatively small and they competed more or less in the same markets. As the Colonies developed and important public works and railways were undertaken, the consequences of this lack of system and uniformity became increasingly serious. Railways were built to different gauges, specifications for locomotives, plant and mechanical parts were almost as numerous as the different contracts, which of course meant unnecessarily heavy costs, different consulting engineers were employed, each with their own standards, and purchases of stores were erratic and uneconomical. This state of things soon brought about "frequent and grave complaints" by the Colonial Governments as to the management of their affairs and the Home Government intervened.

After a searching inquiry, a consolidated agency was established in 1833, under the title of the Agents General for the Crown Colonies, and from that year onwards things began to improve. As the self-governing Colonies (the present Dominions) developed, they established their own Agents General, but meanwhile the Colonial Empire greatly expanded, and eventually the Department became the Crown Agents for the Colonies.

Broadly speaking, the work of the Department to-day may be grouped into finance, appointments, stores and general supplies, engineering contracts and designs, shipping and insurance, and certain miscellaneous services. All loans raised and other financial operations by Colonial Governments and certain municipal and harbour authorities are handled in this country by the Crown Agents, who have a City office in Moorgate. To this Department also falls the

payment of salaries to Colonial officers on leave and of pensions on retirement, as well as the management of certain pensioners and dependents' schemes.

Appointments for the main branches of the Colonial Service are of course made by the Colonial Office, but a great many technical and subsidiary posts are filled by the Crown Agents on behalf of the Colonial Governments. They include all varieties of staff for railways and for public works and surveys, accounting, marine, printing, wireless, motor, sanitary and other services and police appointments. Many a career spent in distant parts of the Empire has started with an interview on Millbank.

But the great bulk of the Crown Agents' work is concerned with engineering contracts, designs and technical consulting work, with the ordering of supplies of all kinds, their inspection and testing, and their shipment overseas. The Crown Agents supply everything from bridges to drawing-pins. They may have to undertake the clothing and equipment of a native regiment or the construction of a railway extension, or at the other end of the scale they may receive an indent for a few buttons or a bag of nails. Certain kinds of supplies of trifling amount are of course purchased on the spot and thus benefit local trade. There is naturally a long-standing controversy in some Colonies on this point, but on the whole it has been found more efficient and economical to order most supplies through the Crown Agents, who have standing instructions to prefer wherever possible goods of British manufacture. The result of long experience has shown that this system of ordering everything through one centre with expert staffs and high standards, is on the whole, though by no means free from defects, better on balance than any practical alternative. The old unregulated, individual way which was tried first broke down in complete confusion and nobody would now advocate returning to it.

Moreover, the Crown Agents are much more than mere purchasing and shipping agents. They have generally brought order and simplicity into a wide engineering field where confusion reigned, where every locomotive was an individual design with its own special parts only to be obtained in one quarter, manufactured and stocked for the purpose and charged for accordingly, and on the top of this, having to be approved by a particular consulting engineer. The Crown Agents have now built up a complete and simplified system of standards covering railways, rolling stock, bridges and so forth down to the smallest replacement. They have worked out designs for a great variety of conditions, so that it is now possible, for instance, to send a telegram home giving certain letters and numbers and a complete bridge will be shipped with every bolt and nut to be erected in position. The technical staff of the Crown Agents are always ready to give skilled advice on every subject coming within their province. Duplicates of all drawings and designs are kept at Millbank and indexed so that it is never necessary to pass these to and fro, with consequent delay, but only to give their reference number.

Another important service rendered by the Crown Agents is the rigorous and expert testing, often at the manufacturers' own works, of all classes of goods supplied, from steel girders to uniforms. It is obvious that the knowledge required to test and pass all the many hundreds of supplies that pass through the Crown Agents' hands calls for a wide range of craftsmanship, for apart from engineering and machinery of all kinds, there may be medical supplies, boots, tents, small-arms, tropical kit, scientific apparatus, petrol, cement, paint, china, glass and cutlery, stationery and printing, coal, furniture, and even statuary, pedigree livestock, street decorations and fireworks!

One of the Crown Agents' functions that will appeal to

philatelists all over the world is the design and printing of postage stamps for all Colonial Governments for both regular and special issues. Great care and secrecy has to be exercised over every stage of this work, preparation of designs, making and issue of special water-marked paper, gumming and perforating, and especially meticulous scrutiny to detect any defects, for "freak" stamps which escape into circulation acquire great philatelic value. Quite an appreciable revenue accrues to Colonial funds from the stamp trade and mutual benefits result from the arrangement whereby the Office acts as intermediary for the sale of stamps.

The Crown Agents also undertake the sale in this country of all Colonial Government publications, of which there is a wide range. The various Colonial Currency Boards are housed at Millbank, and the Office undertakes the supply of coin to all Colonies that have not their own currency boards. Many other miscellaneous duties also fall to its share, such as, for instance, the arranging of passages of Colonial officials, their wives and families, and of special missions, by sea and air, to every quarter of the globe.

Notwithstanding the multifarious duties which they thus perform, the cost of these services to the Colonial Governments, if worked out at a flat rate of the whole turnover annually, forms only a fractional percentage on the total, and it is safe to say that, taking everything into account, with the accumulated tradition and experience of the Office, the same result could not be achieved with equal security, efficiency and economy in any other way.

Every Colony in these days has its public works, transport, medical, agricultural, educational, judicial, prisons, police, posts and telegraphs, customs, secretarial and many other departments, some of these services in the more important Colonies being on quite a large scale, and all these depart-

ments and their staffs can, and indeed must, indent on the Crown Agents for practically everything they require. They can do this knowing that the Department has no other interest than to serve them to the best of its ability, that it knows all about their requirements and the local conditions, and that in many cases it was itself responsible for building up the practice or technique upon which the orders are based.

Another department in London which may be briefly glanced at is the Colonial Audit. As it is desirable in the interests of financial efficiency that the task of auditing Colonial accounts and expenditure should be carried out by an independent body, not in any way subject to those immediately responsible for the expenditure, the Colonial Audit Department has a central office in London under a director, who appoints directly all audit officers in the Colonies. They work under his instructions and not those of the local authorities or of the Colonial Office. The Director renders his report to the Secretary of State, and the expenses of the office are defrayed, as in the case of the Crown Agents, by the Governments affected, a trifling sum in each case. All these arrangements make for economy and financial integrity.

To look after Colonial trade and British interests therein, the Department of Overseas Trade appoints Trade Commissioners in important Colonial groups such as East Africa and Malaya, and in the smaller Colonies officers of the local Government act also as Trade Correspondent for the Department, which on its part does everything possible to foster trade between Great Britain and the Colonial Empire. Some of the Colonies also maintain trade representation and offices of their own in London, Malaya being a notable example, but this practice could be extended with advantage. The Trade Commissioners provide valuable annual reports

on trade and industry in their areas, and these are reinforced by general reports on each Colony issued annually by the Colonial Office (those for mandated territories being addressed to the League of Nations) and in particular by a most useful and compendious *Economic Survey of the Colonial Empire* prepared by the Economic Department of the Colonial Office. Here one may also mention the annual survey of developments in the Colonial Empire prepared primarily for the information of Members of Parliament in discussing the estimates, but available also to the general public.

In addition to the expert Advisers to the Secretary of State, various committees and other bodies render assistance in special aspects of the work of the central administration, or direct service to the Colonies themselves. There are for instance the Currency Boards for the West African and East African Colonies and for Palestine, which have their headquarters at the Crown Agents' Office, and whose business it is to provide for the supply and control of currency in those countries. Three important bodies, whose work is indicated by their titles, are the Colonial Advisory Medical Committee, the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies and the Colonial Advisory Council on Agriculture and Animal Health. They are presided over by the respective Chief Advisers to the Secretary of State and command the services of many other experts.

Amongst other bodies concerned with the Colonies are the Survey and Geophysical Committee, the "Discovery" Committee, which deals with whaling and other marine research in the South Atlantic and Antarctic, the Colonial Forest Resources Development Department, and the Colonial Development Advisory Committee which is responsible for the administration of the Colonial Development Fund. As this work will be greatly extended under

the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, 1940, the function of this Committee will merge in those of the two special Development and Welfare and Research Committees appointed under the Act.

There are also various bodies whose activities cover the Empire as a whole, including of course the Colonies, and amongst these are the Imperial Economic Committee, the Imperial Agricultural Bureaux, the Imperial Institute of Entomology, the Imperial Mycological Institute, the Imperial Forestry Institute and Empire Forestry Conference, the Imperial Communications Advisory Committee, the London and Liverpool Schools of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, the School of Oriental Studies, the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, the Overseas Nursing Association and similar bodies.

Two institutions which deserve special mention are the Imperial Institute in London and the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, for these carry out varied and valuable research and information work for the Colonies, the Imperial Institute through its Plant and Animal Products and Mineral Resources departments, its laboratories, library, exhibition galleries, etc., and Kew Gardens through its extremely important work in all branches of economic botany, continued now for more than a century. Kew is of course known in all quarters of the world, but amongst many other examples of its work for the Colonies in the past have been its introduction of breadfruit in the West Indies, for which purpose Captain Bligh of the *Bounty* was commissioned, and the introduction of rubber into Malaya and Ceylon. Less spectacular but equally valuable work is going forward continually to-day.

Although it is not in London but in Trinidad, the work of the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture should be mentioned here, for it far transcends the geographical limits

of the West Indies, and like the work of research stations such as that at Amani, Tanganyika, its results are available to the Colonies as a whole.

The work of the various voluntary societies and organizations in the Colonial sphere will be referred to in a later chapter.

X

Colonial Government and the Colonial Service

Having seen the nature and functioning of the central machinery for co-ordination and control in London, we must now turn to the actual form of government in the Colonies and to the Colonial Service which carries this government into effect.

Since the Colonial Empire has grown up in all sorts of ways, there is naturally no uniformity in the systems of government of the individual Colonies, Protectorates and mandated territories; nevertheless, Colonial government in general does follow certain broad lines which can be described irrespective of variations in particular instances. There is a general form of administration loosely referred to as "Crown Colony Government," but it is best not to use that now obsolete or obsolescent term, which was originally introduced to distinguish between self-governing Colonies (the present Dominions) and the non-self-governing and dependencies of the Crown. Several of the latter already enjoy varying measures of self-government and as that is the objective contemplated for the Colonial Empire generally, it is best to refer to them all simply as Colonies *sans phrase*. This applies also to mandated territories, though Protectorates are judicially on a different basis, their lands not being technically an integral part of British territory, and their peoples being "protected persons" and not British subjects. There is, however, very little difference in practice.

In both Colonies and Protectorates, the authority of the Crown is exercised through the Governor, who is the King's representative. In some cases, he is called the High Commissioner, and in Jamaica, for example, he is styled Captain-General, following old Spanish usage, but his authority and functions are virtually the same in all cases. The Governor is selected by the Secretary of State, usually from the Colonial Service, and is appointed by the King. He receives his Commission in the form of "Letters Patent" under the Great Seal, which are supplemented by "Instructions" under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet. These are terms going far back into English history, but in practice the "Letters Patent" and "Instructions" form together a sort of organic or basic law of the territory.

These instruments generally define the boundaries and status of the territory; empower and command the Governor to do all things proper to his office, after taking in prescribed form the oaths of allegiance and for the due execution of his office and impartial administration of justice; define the composition, constitution and powers of Executive and Legislative Councils; reserve power to the Crown to disallow ordinances and to legislate by Order in Council in emergencies; confer on the Governor the exercise of the prerogative of mercy; define the procedure of assent to or reservation of Bills; empower him to suspend public officers, to make provision for the administration in his own absence, and so forth.

All Governors are assisted by Executive Councils, and the great majority by legislative councils also, although in a few of the more primitive territories authority is exercised directly through the executive council. This body acts as a privy council and is normally composed of the chief public officers, such as the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Treasurer, and possibly certain heads of depart-

ments, together with in many cases some "unofficial" members, prominent in or representative of the community and nominated by the Governor.

The legislative body, whatever may be its local title, varies in composition in different Colonies, and as the general policy of the British Government is to encourage progress towards self-government, Colonial Constitutions are from time to time revised in the direction of greater liberality and enlargement of the franchise. This has been seen recently in Jamaica, Trinidad and other instances. In Ceylon, where there is virtually complete self-government and adult suffrage, there is not even an Executive Council, for this is constituted by the responsible Ministers of the Government or State Council. In certain West Indian Colonies, the legislatures date from as far back as the sixteenth century, and have their own distinctive features. In both the Bahamas and Barbados, the legislative body has two Chambers, namely, the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly, and in Barbados a sort of buffer is interposed between the two in the shape of an Executive Committee. This device was due to Sir Conrad Reeves, a distinguished African who was Chief Justice of the Colony, and in practice it has greatly improved the working of the Constitution and the relations between the Governor and the Assembly.

In general, however, the Legislative Council is composed of an official majority made up of members of the Executive Council and some additional heads of departments, and of a minority of unofficial, nominated and sometimes also elected members. The official majority has generally been regarded in the past as the essence of "Crown Colony Government," for by its operation all real power is retained in the hands of the Government, but even where it functioned in its "purest" form, a wise Governor, if he wished the affairs of the Colony to proceed smoothly, seldom failed

in practice to consult the general feeling of the community directly or through the nominated or elected members; and even officials did not always confine themselves to acting as automatic "yes-men," but often expressed views that were in the true interests of the community. Besides, there was always in the background the watchful eye of the Secretary of State and his staff in London, who was of course subject to the pressure of public opinion at home through Parliament and the Press.

Not infrequently, whatever the precise form of government, it has turned out that "what is best administered is best." That is not to say, of course, that there are not many imperfections in Colonial as in other forms of government, but the so-called "Crown Colony" form, and modifications or improvements of it, are in process of experimental evolution and gradual transition to more responsible forms of government. Several Colonies have at present representative institutions without responsible government in the full sense, and more primitive communities are still in a state of tutelage, but there is nothing necessarily fixed or procrustean about Colonial administration, and experiment and improvement are constantly going on. The actual constitution of many of the individual legislative bodies has been indicated under the geographical heading in the earlier part of this book.

Before passing on to the organic structure of government, it is desirable here to glance at the operation of Indirect Rule or Native Administration, although further reference to this subject will be made in a subsequent chapter when considering Colonial Policy. In various territories, especially in tropical Africa, native or tribal institutions were found to be functioning fairly satisfactorily. This was the case, for example, in some of the Hausa States in Nigeria, in certain areas of the Gold Coast and Ashanti, in the kingdom of

the Baganda in Uganda, and to take quite a different example, in the Malay States. Both for reasons of expediency and economy in administration, and later as a deliberate policy with constructive aim, it was decided, particularly in Africa, to continue these indigenous institutions in being, though in some cases certain features repugnant to civilized ideas had to be corrected, to strengthen and improve them, and as far as possible to work through them in the government of the people.

This system of Indirect Rule owed much to Sir George Goldie and Lord Lugard in West Africa, and to Sir Donald Cameron. It has many obvious advantages and certain drawbacks which will be discussed later. But in the result many African peoples continue to live under institutions which are familiar to them, and Native Administrations enjoy considerable autonomy in the conduct of their own affairs, having their own treasuries and public services, administering justice, collecting their own revenues and so forth, with the assistance and advice of British officers. Thus, to cite but a few examples, the Emir of Sokotra, the Alake of Abeokuta, the Asantehene of Ashanti, and the Kabaka of Buganda rule over their own territories and peoples within the boundaries of Nigeria, the Gold Coast and Uganda. There are other examples of native administrations in Basutoland, Bechuanaland and other African territories, and there are of course many native states under our protection with British residents as in Malaya, Zanzibar, Tonga and so forth, as well as those instances where native assemblies have their place in the structure of government, like the great council of Chiefs in Fiji. There is indeed room and opportunity for the development of every form of government in the Colonial Empire.

Turning now to the normal structure of administration in a Colony, a typical Colonial establishment is shown on

the accompanying administration chart (at end). The principal Officer next to the Governor is the Colonial Secretary, who presides over the Secretariat and normally administers the government in the Governor's absence. The Secretariat is the central administrative office of the Colony, and the Colonial Secretary is usually an officer of wide experience who may normally expect promotion to a Governorship. His office is the regular channel of approach to the Governor, and it also deals with all the other departments. It may be noted here that "Colonial Regulations," a lengthy code of rules dealing with matters of appointments, discipline, salaries, leave, precedence, correspondence, etc., provide that every individual in a Colony has the right to address or petition the Secretary of State in London, but he must forward his communication through the Governor, so that the latter may accompany it with his report or observations.

The other principal departments in a Colony may be classified as administrative, legal, financial and technical, varying in extent and complexity with the size, importance and development of the particular territory. The judiciary is headed by a Chief Justice, with puisne judges and magistrates, and often there are native courts also whose jurisdiction is defined. Appeal usually lies to the Supreme or High Court of the Colony, with first resort in certain cases to the judicial committee of the Privy Council in London. The legal side is represented by the Attorney-General and sometimes also by a Solicitor-General and Crown Counsel and there is usually ample scope in the judicial and legal branches for indigenous talent. It may also be remarked that in many Colonies, especially in Africa, the inhabitants seem to display a decided taste for litigation. Police and Prisons branches also, of course, come under this Department.

If there is a provincial organization, it is headed by Provincial or District Commissioners, but the backbone of

all British Colonial administration is the District Officer, who has to discharge almost every civil function in the often large area over which he practically rules, and in primitive communities is father and mother to his people. Chiefs and Headmen and Village Councils act under his supervision.

The financial branches include the Treasury, the Customs (from which the main Colonial revenues are drawn), and the Accounts of the independent Audit. Other usual Colonial departments are Medical and Public Health, Education, Agriculture, Public Works, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs (railways are generally Government-owned in the Colonies), Land and Surveys, perhaps Mines, Forestry, and so forth. The Defence Force will be under a commanding officer or officers, and it must be remembered that the Governor is always Commander-in-Chief. The organization of each Colony is given in the annual *Dominions Office and Colonial Office List*.

In many Colonies there is also a Native Commissioner charged with the special care of native interests, and there will be other departments varying with the special conditions of individual Colonies. All these departments have directors or chiefs, the principal of which are members of the Executive or Legislative Councils. Some Colonies also have municipal and port authorities and other special bodies.

A detailed account of the working of all the organs of government in the Colonies is to be found in Sir Anton Bertram's excellent book on *The Colonial Service*, but whilst this account will remain true in essentials for a very long time, it must be remembered that Colonial administration is undergoing a constant process of evolution and development.

THE COLONIAL SERVICE

All these offices are staffed by Civil Servants, and some brief account should now be given of this Service. Like those other great bodies, the Home and Indian Civil Services, of which Britons are justifiably proud, the Colonial Service, though much younger than the other two, has now built up a corporate tradition and practice second to none, and adequate to the performance of its immensely important and responsible task.

Yet it is only within recent years that it has become unified into a single Service. In earlier days, of course, the various Colonial Services included what are now the completely independent Civil Services of the Dominions, but we are concerned here only with the Colonial Empire. Like many a junior "Collector" in the early days of British India, a young "assistant district officer" in the Colonies may virtually rule over a very wide area, and may have many and varied responsibilities for the community under his charge, with the important difference, however, that communications have vastly changed since early days in India, and he is always in close touch with superior authority. This may not necessarily lessen the difficulty of his task. There is in fact no finer field for the talents of youth, no better scope for the development of character and the qualities of decision, judgment and leadership, no more worth-while career than is offered by the Colonial Service to-day.

At first each Colony recruited its own civil service on its own conditions, appointments being entirely in the hands of the Governor. The great bulk of the minor posts are still recruited locally, the rule being that the Governor appoints to all posts whose emoluments do not exceed £200 a year entirely at his own discretion. For posts between £200 and £400 he makes provisional appointments which must be

reported for the Secretary of State's confirmation, in practice usually forthcoming without question. Selections for posts above that figure, and to all posts within what are now the "unified" as distinguished from local services, rests with the Secretary of State. The term "selection" is used advisedly, for although the Secretary of State, through the Colonial Service Appointments Board, selects officers for the Service, the appointment to the actual post is made by the Governor.

The Colonial Service to-day comprises over 200,000 men and women, but less than 10,000 of these are in the "unified" branches, the members of which are selected at home, all the others being recruited locally.

From the early days when the choice of men to assist him in his task of ruling a Colony was left entirely to the Governor, who of course was nominated by the Secretary of State for appointment by the King, the Colonial Office gradually began to gain more control over the selection of men for the higher or special posts, although up to fairly recent times these were still chosen purely on personal qualifications. They were in fact the subject of "patronage" by the Minister, and he was advised on the selection of candidates for first appointment by his private secretaries. Even then, however, the effect of the intervention of the Colonial Office, which of course was responsible for all the territories, was to introduce some small measure of uniformity in regard to pay and conditions of work, subject to local differences, into services which had grown up in a haphazard and unrelated way.

After the first world war, when many special problems had to be dealt with, it became necessary to strengthen the organization at headquarters for the recruitment and training of candidates. In 1927, the first Colonial Office Conference studied the problem especially in relation to the require-

ments of scientific posts for which special training was needed, and through departmental committees they reached the decision to unify the Agricultural and Veterinary services throughout the Colonial Empire and base them on special training and scholarship. A wider organization, the Warren Fisher Committee, presided over by the then Secretary of the Treasury, was appointed to consider the Colonial Service as a whole, and it is as the result of the report of this Committee, which was adopted by the Colonial Office Conference in 1930, that the present system of unification has been carried out. The Committee dealt with every aspect of the Service, including recruitment, status, pay, conditions, leave, pensions and so forth, and in the result, unified administrative, legal, medical, agricultural, veterinary and forestry services were set up, and others have since been completed. The Administrative service, for example, comprises over 1,500 persons, but this does not include holders of minor administrative posts who are still appointed locally.

The Secretary of State at the time emphasized that unification did not mean uniformity. The primary objects of the change were to raise the standards of the Colonial Service, to provide a career worthy both in its opportunities and in its reward of the best talents of youths from the Home country and the Dominions, and to some extent from the Colonies themselves, and to offer to all the Colonies, the smallest and poorest equally with the larger and more prosperous, a choice of the best human material for their service, such as many of them could not secure locally. The fact that the whole of the Colonial Empire is open to candidates entering the unified Colonial Service makes it possible to attract the best men and women for the purpose.

At the Colonial Office itself, a strong organization exists in the Personnel Division, which is divided into Recruitment

and Training, and Colonial Service departments. The primary duty of the Recruitment Department is to find suitable candidates for the Service and to present them for selection to the Colonial Service Appointments Board, a body consisting of Civil Service Commissioners and other specialists, upon whose recommendation the Secretary of State nominates to the Service. The department brings the opportunities offered to the notice of suitable candidates by the issue of memoranda, contact with the Universities, and in other ways; it examines applications, takes up references and conducts interviews preparatory to the decision of the Board. A high standard of education is essential. Whilst a University degree is not absolutely indispensable, candidates selected in recent years have nearly all been in possession of a degree, usually with honours.

In former years, candidates for what was termed the Eastern Cadet services had to undergo a stiff competitive examination, but when the Colonial Service was to be unified, the Warren Fisher Committee reported that the balance of advantage lay in favour of a stringent method of selection, with safeguards of course in regard to standards of education, for the Colonial Service required something more than the ability to pass an examination. Character and judgment were also necessary, and even when the Board has formed its opinion on all the evidence available, including of course a personal interview, successful candidates are only appointed at first on probation. They are also given a special course at Oxford or Cambridge in subjects including anthropology, native languages, law and Colonial history, the results of which are tested by examination and a certain standard required to be reached before actual nomination.

Scholarships are also available in Agricultural, Forestry and Veterinary science for candidates in those branches, and all this as well as the holding of "refresher" courses for

serving officers, is also the business of the Recruitment and Training department.

Selected candidates, after successfully passing the year's course at Oxford or Cambridge, are assigned to the Colonies in which vacancies exist, regard being paid as far as practicable to individual preferences. The actual appointment to the post is made (on probation) by the Governor of the territory. Most first appointments are to Africa or Malaya, a few being to Hong Kong, Fiji, the Western Pacific, Palestine and Cyprus. For the first few years, the young officer (not being a specialist) is generally employed in district administration; later may come periods of attachment to the Secretariat or other departments, or even perhaps to the Colonial Office in London, officers of which are also on occasion transferred for a period to the Colonies.

The unification of the Service does not imply that inter-Colonial transfer is the lot of every officer, or even of the majority. Generally speaking, the Colonies which employ large staffs, mostly engaged in actual district or provincial administration, provide within their own borders a satisfactory career, while for many of the higher posts local knowledge and experience are essential. Most officers will therefore find that their careers lie in the same dependency throughout their service; at the same time, there is in the unified service a considerable number of Secretariat and other posts filled by selection from the Service as a whole. This is where the Colonial Service department at the Colonial Office comes in, for it keeps personal records of all officers serving, including confidential reports received from the Governor of each territory, and notes of the officers' own wishes as to the work or the Colony they prefer. These reports are studied as the basis of lists available for consideration in connection with vacancies, promotion, etc. The Colonial Service department also deals with regulations and

conditions of employment, leave, pensions and so forth throughout the Service.

While the junior officer may in any case fairly look forward in due course to doing responsible work in his own territory, he may also legitimately feel that he carries a Colonial Secretary's pen, or even a Governor's cocked hat, in his knapsack. In the higher appointments indeed there has been some criticism that officers who have become thoroughly familiar with one territory are then transferred to a quite different one and so in a sense have to start all over again in a different environment, but this is the other side of having a larger field of talent to select from, and wider opportunity for promotion. Similar criticism has also been applied to Governors appointed to another Colony just when their work is beginning to bear fruit, but the alternative might be stagnation and consequent lowering of standards. The interests of the territory should be paramount, but these undoubtedly include a first-class Colonial Service.

Members of the local services, usually residents within the Colony, are by no means debarred from entry into the unified service; in fact every encouragement is given them, and it is the policy in several Colonies, as eventually it should be in all, to encourage native-born people of whatever race to enter the service of their country and gradually to fill more and more of the higher posts. This is already being done in such Colonies as Ceylon.

It should be here recalled that many specialist appointments, such as engineers, technicians, police officers, etc., are made not by the Colonial Office but through the Crown Agents for the Colonies, as noted in the section on the work of the Crown Agents. Again the Colonial Audit Service has been unified since 1907, under a Director in London, to whom all audit officers report, though they work as part of the Civil Service in the Colonies.

The standard work of reference on the subject is *The Colonial Empire and its Civil Service* by Chas. J. Jeffries, C.M.G., C.B.E., of the Colonial Office, and in speaking of the work of the Service he says: "that work lies mostly, though not exclusively amongst peoples in a more or less primitive state of development, and its object is to assist such peoples towards self-realization and self-sufficiency within the framework of the British Commonwealth of Nations. To those who have faith not in old-fashioned imperialism, but in the belief that we British have something of value to pass on to others, this mission cannot fail to appeal. Granted such a faith and a spirit of sympathy with the aspirations of the smaller communities which share with us the privilege of citizenship, anyone entering the Colonial Service may hope to have opportunities for constructive work, within the sphere of his particular profession or vocation, such as are hard to meet with elsewhere. He will be dealing not so much with paper problems as with men and women; he will be entrusted with responsibility, and will be able, according to his position in the Service, to reach decisions for himself, to take practical action on his decisions, and to see the results of his work."

Reference should be made in conclusion to the Defence Forces of the Colonies. Most of the Colonies raise and maintain their own troops and are responsible for their own defence, "behind the sure shield of the Navy." The "fortress" Colonies, Gibraltar and Malta, and to some extent Aden and Bermuda, are of course in a special position, since they form important Imperial naval and military bases, and this applies also to Singapore, although Malaya itself contributed materially to the construction and equipment of the base. The Governors of Colonies like Gibraltar and Malta are usually distinguished military commanders. In the second

world war, the Colonies have played a great part in the battle and in Empire defence. In addition to regular regiments, which have been greatly enlarged, the Colonies have also raised Volunteer Corps.

Amongst other famous Colonial forces may be mentioned the West India Regiment, which in the past saw much active service, though it was disbanded after the first world war, those famous African corps, the King's African Rifles and the Royal West African Frontier Force, the Malay Regiment, regiments in Malta, Cyprus, Hong Kong and other Colonies. Indeed, every Colony, perhaps particularly those in Africa and the Mediterranean, has played its full part in the war, and it is perhaps invidious to mention particular units. It need not be added that Colonials of all races, colours and creeds enlisted freely in all three of the armed forces of the Crown, as well as in auxiliary services, and many of them have held commissioned rank. The Colonial Office has a small Defence department of its own to co-ordinate all these activities.

XI

Colonial Pioneers and Organizations

This chapter is in the nature of an interlude on a more personal theme. So far, we have surveyed the Colonial Empire as it exists to-day, and have examined its organs of government and the Colonial Service which is responsible for its administration. But though the Colonial Empire, like Topsy, undoubtedly "growed," it is not to be supposed that it did so without active and indeed decisive human agency. Less than any other Colonial system is it the result of abstract Government action or policy, but rather the creation of a succession of enterprising, far-sighted and largely public-spirited individuals, missionaries, explorers, administrators, soldiers, even business-men and traders, who forced recognition and eventual support for their pioneer endeavours upon a reluctant Home Government.

It is not possible within the brief limits of this book to tell the story of the building of the Colonial Empire through the labours of these pioneers, but at least some of the more outstanding names must be recorded, with the briefest reference to their sphere of action, so that those who may wish to pursue this fascinating aspect of the growth of Britain's Colonial Empire may have recourse to the tale of their lives and exploits as recorded in the biographies and other memoirs of which a selection is given in the Bibliography.

Moreover, as in every British field of action, voluntary

effort and organization has played its essential part, and since the various official bodies and committees have already been described in Chapter IX, some reference must be made here to the voluntary societies which function in the Empire and Colonial sphere.

Necessarily the achievements of many of these pioneers belong to the Empire as a whole, for all the Empire outside Britain, except possibly India, was once regarded as consisting of Colonies, but though the Dominions must now be excluded and India is an Empire in itself, some of our oldest overseas territories, such as the West Indies, still form part of the present Colonial Empire.

In the Caribbean, the founders of the Colonial Empire may presumably be said to begin with Columbus, and to have continued with the Elizabethan captains and explorers, with Raleigh and the pursuit of the fabled El Dorado in British Guiana, with merchant and other venturers from Bristol and London to Bermuda and "Eleuthera" in the Bahamas, and even with the buccaneers who made these islands their resort, and one of the most famous of whom, Sir Henry Morgan, became a very efficient Colonial Governor! The islands are also associated with Nelson, who was married in Nevis, where Alexander Hamilton, the American statesman, was born. Well-known West Indian families who did much for the settlement of the islands were the Warners and the Codringtons, by whom Codrington College in Barbados was founded. Many other picturesque personalities are recorded in West Indian annals, noted in the Bibliography, including Lord Olivier's history of Jamaica and Sir John Burdon's Archives of British Honduras (both authors West Indian Governors), during the centuries of British occupation down to recent days, when men like Sir Edward Davson rendered outstanding service to the West Indies and to the Colonies generally.

Africa necessarily bulks largely in the story, since the greater part of the Colonial Empire is contained in what was once the Dark Continent, and therefore the explorers and missionaries such as Livingstone, Stanley and Mungo Park, the soldiers such as Gordon and Kitchener, and the statesmen like Rhodes and Lugard, rank among the founders of the Colonial Empire. In a wider realm, Captain Cook may also be claimed, for apart from Australia, he added many Pacific islands to the British flag, and lost his life upon one of them.

One of our greatest Empire builders, Sir Stamford Raffles, is the founder of British Malaya; and might have given us another Empire in the East Indies, had we not refused the responsibility. Raffles, who was only forty-five when he died in 1826, was not only a great administrator but also a statesman of far-reaching vision, with ideals as to the government of native peoples well in advance of his time. Like many other great Englishmen, he spent his early and strenuous years in the service of the East India Company, who sent him to Penang in Malaya in 1805. There he studied native languages and customs, and in a region where Dutch and British were then keen political and commercial rivals, he built up and strengthened the British position. When the East Indies came for a time under our control, he was made Governor of Java, and there laid the foundations of what might have been the British East Indies, and set a standard of enlightened government to which the Dutch have since acknowledged their indebtedness. The Home Government, however, gave no encouragement to Raffles's great projects and restored the islands to the Dutch.

Raffles thereafter filled other posts, but it was to his prophetic vision of its future that we owe the foundation of Singapore and of the Straits Settlements, upon which has been built the prosperous Malaya of to-day. Like so

many other Empire builders, Raffles was discouraged and his greatness unrecognized in his day, but though his projects have since been carried out by others, his life makes an inspiring story and remains a shining example to his countrymen. Many able Governors have followed Raffles in Malaya and consolidated his work, among whom perhaps only Sir Frank Swettenham, who is commemorated in Port Swettenham, and Sir Hugh Clifford need be named here.

Africa claimed many lives in the opening up of its vast and mysterious interior, and amongst all those who blazed early trails the name of Mungo Park, the young Scottish explorer, stands out prominently. Born in 1771, he became a surgeon and went out to West Africa, where his account of his *Travels in the Interior* aroused wide interest, and he returned to conduct further explorations along the Niger, in whose waters he was drowned on his return journey in 1806. Twenty years or so after, a fellow-countryman, McGregor Laird, carried on the work of exploration, and between them these two did much to open up West Africa and what is now the great British Colony of Nigeria.

The lives and achievements of David Livingstone and Sir Henry M. Stanley are too well known to need recapitulation here, but many followed after them and built upon their sure foundations. Apart from exploration and missionary effort, the true founder in the Imperial sense of Nigeria is a man whose name and fame, owing largely to his own shrinking from publicity, is insufficiently known in this country, Sir George Goldie. He it was who created the Royal Niger Company and formed and advocated far-reaching plans for the extension of British rule and influence in West and Central Africa, which gained but partial and tardy support from the British Government. Goldie laid down the broad principles of "indirect rule," which were developed and applied with genius by a young military

officer who ranks as one of the foremost of our Colonial statesman.

Lord Lugard has devoted the whole of his life's work to Africa and to the Colonial Empire generally. He built up Nigeria, of which he became first Governor-General, and did much valuable pioneer work in Uganda and other parts of Africa. As Governor of Hong Kong, he founded the University there, and also served on the Permanent Mandates Committee of the League of Nations. Equally eminent, like Marshal Lyautey of France Outremer, as a soldier, administrator and statesman, Lord Lugard became in honoured old age the Grand Old Man of the Colonial Empire. His ideals and principles are recorded in his classic work, *The Dual Mandate.*

One of his outstanding successors, Sir Donald Cameron, also did notable work both in Nigeria and in Tanganyika. Mention of another notable West African Governor, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, whose beneficent work lay chiefly in the Gold Coast, reminds us that Africa herself may add great names to the chronicle if others of her sons follow in the footsteps of Dr. Aggrey, whose life devoted to the welfare of his fellow-Africans is associated with the foundation of Achimota College. Perhaps also the name of Lord Hailey, whose laurels were gained in the Indian Empire, should fitly find place for his great work *An African Survey*, which is likely to prove the basis of much future development in the Continent.

In the African story there are many other great names, but none shine more brightly than that of Mary Kingsley, who may well typify the women who have helped to build the Colonial Empire. As a young Victorian girl she left a sheltered life in an English country rectory, and went straight out to the then unknown wilds of Africa, where, armed only with an umbrella and clad in voluminous

Victorina feminine garments, she braved incredible dangers and hardships, and lived and traded alone with pagan and even cannibal tribes of the interior, as recounted by Mr. Stephen Gwynn in the remarkable story of her life. She added to her other qualities such practical statesmanship that British West Africa still owes much to her pioneer work, and the Royal African Society was later founded in her honour.

General Gordon, amongst many other exploits of a remarkable life ending in a tragic death, may be regarded as the founder of that great country, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and as the Memorial College at Khartoum is a tribute to Gordon, so the country itself is a monument to the practical genius of the British people exemplified in that fine body, the Sudan Political Service, which in its comparatively short history has thrown up so many capable and selfless administrators.

Foremost among the followers of Livingstone was Sir John Kirk, who probably did more than any man to put down the slave trade in East Africa (in which connection not only Wilberforce but Zachary Macaulay should be named) and as Consul-General for many years at Zanzibar won a commanding position throughout East Africa and did much to consolidate our rule there, though German intrigue lost us what should have been originally, and subsequently became our territory in Tanganyika.

Probably the greatest of all Empire builders in Africa was Cecil Rhodes, and though his fame belongs to the Empire as a whole, and perhaps mroe particulaily to South Africa, his name is enshrined in the Colonial Empire in the vast and potentially great territories of the Rhodesias, which are inheritors of his vision. Though Rhodes's project of the Cape-to-Cairo route was realized in another way, one must not forget the labours of men like Sir Robert Williams, who

brought about the completion of railway communication across the continent between East and West.

One can but glance at the romantic story of the White Rajahs of Sarawak, a beneficent rule founded by Sir James Brooke and still carried on by his successors; nor must we forget the labours of the scientists, doctors and other specialists, who must here be represented by only one great name, that of Sir Ronald Ross, the pioneer and discoverer in malaria research.

This has necessarily been but a bare and partial catalogue of a few outstanding names of the great roll of men and women, some prominent, many obscure, whose lives and work have helped to build up a Colonial Empire which, however diverse its origins, is to-day broad-based on principles of freedom, justice and trusteeship. Memoirs of some of these lives will be found in the biographical section of the Bibliography, but the achievement of the great majority is hidden away in obscure and prosaic Service records, or as with many early traders and pioneers, lies buried in nameless graves in Africa or around the seven seas. Only in so far as they laid the foundations for those who came after does their work survive. It is heartening to know that the Colonial Service to-day, and many outside official ranks, are carrying on this work and building up on a tradition worthy of the greatest names and achievements of the past.

Turning now to the sphere of voluntary organization, reference must be made to the work of various societies in the Empire and Colonial field. The voluntary principle allied with individual initiative has played a prominent part throughout British history, and these societies have done much which in other countries would be undertaken directly or indirectly by the State.

The leading Society in this field is the Royal Empire

Society, which was founded in 1868 as the Colonial Society and later became the Royal Colonial Institute. At that time a movement was growing up at home, with some support overseas, for "throwing off the burden of the Colonies," and the decade from 1860 to 1870 may well be said to mark a turning point in the history of the Empire. There can be little doubt that the pioneers of the Society played an important part in turning the Empire away from disintegration, and although the movement for federation was rejected, the way was taken towards free development which led to the present British Commonwealth.

The early history of the Society is to be found in the memoirs of Major James R. Boosé, who was long associated with its development, and in a work by an American student, Dr. Folsom, noted hereafter. Occupying a handsome building in Northumberland Avenue near Trafalgar Square, the Society has a membership of about twenty thousand scattered throughout the Empire, and maintains various provincial and overseas branches. An important feature of its work is a magnificent library which has been exhaustively catalogued, and includes files of the principal newspapers and journals from the Dominions, India and the Colonies. This collection,[1] together with the Colonial Office Library and that at Rhodes House, Oxford, constitute the principal repositories of Colonial history in this country.

The Society holds frequent meetings, conferences and other functions at which Empire subjects are discussed, forms groups for the study of special subjects, acts as an Empire centre in London and publishes a monthly journal, *United Empire*. There is also the work of the Empire Studies Committee, which publishes valuable monographs on Empire history from time to time.

The Overseas League, the other great Empire body, was

[1] Damaged by enemy action.

founded during the first world war by Sir Evelyn Wrench, who is also the founder of the English-Speaking Union. The League has a more popular and social trend than the older body, and its fifty thousand members are to be found not only in all Empire countries, but wherever there are British communities overseas. Its spacious national headquarters at St. James's in the heart of London's West End are a hive of multifarious activities, and there are also provincial and overseas branches. The League publishes a bright monthly magazine *Overseas*, which forms an almost personal link between its widely scattered membership.

In many ways the work of these and other Empire societies, while in some respects complementary, necessarily overlap, and although there is ample scope in the Empire field for all the voluntary effort and enthusiasm that can be given to it, the general Empire movement still tends to suffer somewhat from duplication and dispersal of effort, and without ruling out healthy emulation and individual initiative, there is room for closer co-ordination between the various bodies and even for some measure of federation or amalgamation. Other similar bodies include the Victoria League, which specializes in arranging hospitality in this country, particularly for students from all over the Empire, the British Empire League and Club, and such territorial bodies as the West Indies Club, the Association of British Malaya and so forth. Several Empire societies have combined to form a Joint Hospitality Committee which to some extent co-ordinates social functions and especially co-operates in the holding of an annual Empire Day Banquet in London.

The Royal African Society, as its name implies, is concerned with the affairs of the continent of Africa, mainly though not exclusively those of British African territories. It was originally founded in memory of that remarkable

woman, Mary Kingsley. A somewhat more specialized body is the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.

The Corona Club is a unique institution, but is a club only in name. It was founded in the Colonial Office by Joseph Chamberlain and its membership is strictly confined to the Colonial Service. There is also a Women's Corona Club, and the sole function of these two bodies is to hold each an annual dinner at which members of the Colonial Service and their wives can forgather and meet the active and retired heads of the Services.

The West India Committee is a voluntary organization founded originally in 1750 to look after the economic and other interests of the West Indian Colonies and merchants. It has offices in London, with a library, and publishes a fortnightly journal. There is also a Ceylon Association in London on somewhat similar lines. There are hostels in London, such as London House in Bloomsbury, forDominion and Colonial students of white race, the India Hostel, Student Movement House, Aggrey House, named after Dr. Aggrey, for students from all Africa and the West Indies, and Africa House, the West African Students' Union. The League of Coloured Peoples naturally includes many British Colonial subjects. In the Social Services department of the Colonial Office, there is a Welfare Officer whose duty it is to look after the interests of Colonials in London.

In the list of Empire societies, it will be noticed that strangely enough there is no body concerned exclusively with the Colonial Empire as a whole. The larger Empire bodies are naturally concerned mainly with the Dominions and India. This undoubted need was intended to be met by the Colonial Empire Union formed shortly before the second world war under the presidency of Lord Lugard, and though its activities are for the present suspended,

there will obviously be an even greater need for such a body after the war.

In the international field, there is the International Colonial Institute, with headquarters at Brussels, which normally holds triennial conference in various capitals, and publishes reports and summaries of Colonial laws and other documentation.

Lastly, in the sphere of voluntary organization, it may not be inappropriate to mention *The Crown Colonist*, the only journal covering the British Colonial Empire as a whole. The suggestion originated in 1930 with Mr. J. A. Kay, who had earlier been impressed with the growing importance of the Colonies, and to whom and to Mr. George Rollason the present writer as first editor is deeply indebted. The task of launching it was undertaken at a time when the separate existence of the Colonial Empire was scarcely recognized, and the journal may fairly claim its share in making that Empire better known both at home and overseas. Any value this book may have is greatly enhanced by the unique Map of the Colonial Empire and the Colonial Administration chart published by that journal, permission to include which here with the frontispiece the author gratefully acknowledges.

XII

Other Colonial Systems

Besides the British, the principal Colonial Powers are the French, the Dutch, the Belgians and the Portuguese, and it may be of interest to compare their Colonial systems with the British Colonial Empire, both in their resemblances and their differences. In earlier days, as we have already seen, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French (not to mention the Spanish) were greater Colonial Powers than the British, who came late on the scene.

FRANCE

France is the largest Colonial Power next to Britain; indeed France Outremer is actually greater in land area than the British Colonial Empire alone, for, including Algeria (which is a part of metropolitan France), it comprises some 4½ million square miles, though this includes the Sahara desert. The total population of the French Colonial territories is estimated at more than 60 millions.

Once, France had great territorial ambitions on the North American Continent: Canada was French, and Louisiana, both in those days vague and ill-defined territories; and much later, she also sent the ill-starred Maximilian to Mexico. To-day, most of the French, as of the British Colonies, are in the continent of Africa. They comprise,

in North Africa, Algeria (which however counts as a *department* of France and comes under the Ministry of the Interior), Tunis and Morocco, the great divisions known as French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa, and off the coast of Africa Madagascar (the third largest island in the world), and the small island of Réunion. French West Africa comprises Senegal, Mauretania, French Sudan, French Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey and Niger Colony, and French Equatorial Africa consists of Gabun, the Middle Congo, Ubangi-Shari and the Chad territory. At the moment the future of French Somaliland is uncertain.

In the east, there is Indo-China, besides New Caledonia, and the New Hebrides (a condominium with Britain) and other scattered islands in the Pacific. Indo-China comprises Cambodia, Cochin China and other provinces. In the western hemisphere, France has St. Pierre and Miquelon, Martinique and Guadeloupe, and in South America, French Guiana. There remain also isolated stations in India, of which the chief is Pondicherry. France exercised mandates for Syria and the Lebanon (which are now, however, to receive their independence) and most of the former German Togoland and the Cameroons in Africa, strips of which come under British mandate.

The broad difference between the French and the British Colonial systems may be said to be that while the British have always encouraged local autonomy, France favours a rigid centralization, the keynote of which is the dominance of the interests of the mother country. In his *History of French Colonial Policy*, Mr. Stephen H. Roberts presents the difference in the following terms:

"The British system assumes that the distance of the Colonies necessitates a larger scope for the individual official and consequent freedom from supervision; whereas the French hold that distance, inasmuch as it permits

officials to abuse power the more easily, should necessitate a stricter control, if that were possible. It is realized that the factor of distance makes a greater concentration of power in the hands of individuals absolutely necessary, but the argument is that the greater the power, the more stringent the control. To them power means potential corruption, hence the need for checks (such as a vigilant travelling inspectorate) to prevent abuse or to restore the damage. On the other hand, power in the English system means opportunity for the individual. Thus, in the Pacific, the junior resident in the Solomons is practically an untrammelled potentate in his district if affairs go well; whereas in New Caledonia, he is but a cog in a machine, and is powerless as a clerk in a *mairie* in France."

In theory, natives of the French Colonies are citizens of France, but in practice this applies only to the *élite*, who are selected for education and training in French culture and institutions. The older French Colonies send delegates to the French Chamber of Deputies, where, however, they are of course greatly outnumbered, and others are grouped for indirect representation. There is a Council Supérieur des Colonies, a permanent clearing-house or conference of experts on Colonial administration, but it is a purely advisory body and has no executive powers. These are exercised by the French Parliament and are translated into effect by virtue of decrees promulgated by the Ministry of the Colonies, which, unlike the British Colonial Office, does in practice very largely govern the French Colonial Empire, there being little real local autonomy. Besides the Colonial Ministry, there is another centralizing institution, the Inspection des Colonies, a permanent department which maintains an army of officials directly under the Ministry who act as checks on and critics of local administrators.

Apart from North Africa, which is really an integral part

of the French Mediterranean littoral, there are comparatively few Frenchmen in her great Colonial Empire. The average French Colonial official, though of course there have been many exceptions, regards his period of Colonial service as an exile from the mother country and is anxious to get back. At the same time, the French mix with native races much more easily than do the British; there is virtually no colour prejudice in France. A Senegalese has been Under Secretary for the Colonies in a French administration. Her African Colonies, moreover, have always been regarded as an important reservoir of man-power for the French armies.

French commercial policy in her Colonies has always been monopolistic in tendency and directed towards securing the paramountcy of French metropolitan interests. To this has been largely due the economic backwardness of many French Colonies. In a study of the French Colonial system purely from the economic point of view, Dr. C. Southworth, an American investigator, comes to the conclusion that the French Colonies, considered of course only from the economic standpoint, have been an unprofitable venture for France. This, however, is naturally not the whole of the story.

French methods of colonization have undoubtedly in some respects brought about favourable results, and the labours of men like Gallieni, Sarraut and Lyautey have shown them to be great administrators. Generally, the contrasted methods and principles of French and British Colonial administration have much to learn from each other. Before the war, a close liaison was begun between the French and British Colonial systems, and both at headquarters and in the Colonies, especially in Africa, it was intended to promote progressive co-operation and exchange of information and even of officials.

The events of the second world war have had a far-reaching effect upon the French Colonial Empire. The

defeat of France caused some parts of it to throw in their lot with Britain and the free French force, while others remained nominally under the jurisdiction (not always effective) of the defeated French Government. The Germans naturally secured a dominating influence in French North and West Africa. The mandated territory of Syria and the Lebanon was occupied after a struggle by British and free French Forces and independence was promised to these countries. The Japanese occupied French Indo-China. French territory in the Western hemisphere, by resolution of the Pan-American Congress, was declared to be under American protection. There is no question that, with the rehabilitation of France after the war, the future of the French Colonial Empire will have to be determined afresh, especially in Africa, where indeed the Colonies of all European Powers must enter upon a regime of co-operation and probably of mutual adjustment largely in the interests of the African peoples.

THE NETHERLANDS

The Dutch were formerly, like other sea powers, great colonizing people, and once occupied or set up trading stations at many places which are now British territory. On the other hand, Britain for a short time occupied the East Indies, but returned them later to Holland.

The Dutch Colonial system now consists of the Netherlands Indies and small territories in the Western hemisphere, namely, the Curaçao group of islands off the coast of Venezuela, and Surinam or Dutch Guiana, between British and French Guiana in South America. Strictly speaking, the Dutch oversea possessions are not Colonies, but integral portions of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, but in practice they may be regarded as a Colonial system. Actually, they

are much larger than the mother country, for the Netherlands East and West Indies together cover nearly 800,000 square miles of territory, and the population exceeds 60 millions, all but 250,000 or so being in the East Indies and mainly in Java. The population of the motherland is only about 8 millions, with an area of about 13,000 square miles.

The Netherlands Indies comprise Java, Sumatra, Celebes, the Moluccas, parts of Borneo and New Guinea, and other islands of the Malay archipelago. Java is very densely populated, but the other islands very much less so, and Sumatra in particular is still capable of considerable development. The Indies are great producers of oil, rubber, coffee, rice, tea, sugar, tobacco and other tropical crops, and they have almost a world monopoly of cinchona (quinine). They have been greatly developed mainly by Dutch and other European capital. The administrative capital and seat of the Governor-General is at Batavia in Java.

The Dutch originally pursued a policy of exploitation under official control and trade monopoly in their overseas possessions, but as serious abuses developed, these practices were later modified, and the more liberal regime originally introduced by Stamford Raffles in Java during the English occupation was gradually reverted to. For a long period, the "outer possessions" beyond Java suffered from neglect, especially Sumatra, and a forward policy led to a protracted war with the Achinese, which dragged on intermittently from 1871 to 1904, when Sumatra was at last brought under effective control.

Up to the first world war, the whole idea inspiring the government of the Dutch East Indies was that of benevolent bureaucratic despotism. A strong European civil service was directed from Batavia. The Governor-General assisted by the Council of the Indies, which was purely an advisory body, was directly responsible to the Home Government.

This was the mainspring of the administration, which so far as the Indies was concerned, was absolute, though a number of small native principalities, especially in Java, had been preserved in being and given certain local powers and jurisdiction.

During the present century, however, owing to the awakening of nationalism, particularly among the Javanese, various reforms and a certain degree of decentralization were carried out. In 1918 a Volksraad was instituted at Batavia, partly official and partly elective: it now consists of 30 "Indonesian" members, 25 Dutch and 5 foreign Asiatics; of these 20, 15 and 3 respectively are elected. The Governor-General submits legislation and the annual budget for its approval, but if this is withheld he can legislate after the lapse of a period and the budget can be passed by Parliament in Holland. Regional and municipal councils have also been set up, but the power of the bureaucracy has not in practice been greatly diminished. It has been stated that, owing to the high technical development of administration in a densely populated country like Java, whose life is bound up with the social services, and the supervision of production and of public health, the transfer of real authority to inexperienced local bodies is fraught with difficulty; but obviously they can only learn by actual practice.

The Netherlands Indies naturally bulk much more largely in Holland than do the Colonies to Britain. A great many Hollanders can look forward to a life career in the Indies as officials, merchants or producers; trade connections with the mother country are intimate and important, and Dutchmen take out their families or set up permanent establishments in the East Indies. The Dutch mix more easily with the native peoples than the British, and intermarriage is not uncommon. There is indeed a large and growing community of Eurasians

in the Indies, who fill all the lower grades of the Civil Service, and can and do rise to the higher ranks. There are nearly a quarter of a million Dutch and Eurasians in the Indies, and also 1¼ million Chinese, who, as in British Malaya, largely monopolize trading enterprise.

A free trade policy has long been pursued by the Dutch Government as generally beneficial to the East Indies, although this had to be modified in certain respects during the great depression after the first world war, which also led to the growth of the Netherlands Indies' national debt. Steady progress has been made with social and educational services throughout the islands in recent years, and more is being done to associate the people with local affairs, although self-government is not envisaged as an objective.

There is no doubt that many useful lessons can be learned from each other by British Malaya and the Dutch East Indies, and closer association between the respective administrations is likely to come about after the war.

BELGIUM

As with Holland, Belgium presents the case of a small mother country governing a large Colonial territory. In this instance, indeed, there is only one Colony to be considered, the Belgian Congo, but this occupies over 900,000 square miles of Central Africa (eighty times the size of Belgium) though the population is not more than 10 millions, with about 25,000 whites, mostly officials and merchants.

The Belgians are not normally a colonizing people and the Congo came into the hands of the Belgian State only through a personal adventure of its monarch Leopold II. The opening up of the Congo was largely due to Stanley the explorer, who made treaties with many native chieftains and urged the British Government to undertake its pro-

tection. On its refusal, Stanley came to an agreement with King Lepolod of the Belgians who became the personal head of the Congo State, with Stanley as his principal adviser. Other British subjects also helped, for Sir Francis de Winton was its first Governor-General, and in later years the Colony owed much to the railway enterprise of Sir Robert Williams and to the commercial development of Lever Brothers.

During the direct rule of King Leopold, the Arab slave trade was suppressed, but many other serious abuses grew up which were largely exposed by the Irishman Roger Casement and Mr. H. W. Nevinson, and as a result of the so-called "red-rubber" scandals, a commission of enquiry was set up by the Belgian Government and the Congo was taken over as a Colony in 1908. Since that date great progress has been made in the development of the country and the improvement of the welfare of the people.

Some thousands of miles of railways and roads have been built and there is steamer transport on the rivers and lakes. Rail connection is now established with the Congo across the Continent from Beira to Lobito Bay, and also with Rhodesia and South Africa. Motor transport has developed considerably and the discovery of the rich Katanga copperfield near the Northern Rhodesian border has greatly enhanced the mineral wealth of the Colony in recent years. Formerly, the Congo was largely dependent upon rubber and ivory; now it looks chiefly to minerals, which beside copper include gold, tin and diamonds; palm-oil and its products, coffee, cotton and other agricultural products. Trading is largely monopolized by Belgian companies. The territory includes the Ruanda-Urundi province, once part of German East Africa.

In the Congo, the Belgian administration, though much more centralized, is following British Colonial methods in

Africa. It favours indirect rule, co-operation of the native chiefs and maintenance of native institutions. Much good work has been done in fighting disease such as sleeping sickness and malaria, in raising the standards of hygiene and living and in promoting education and agriculture. The officials are much more numerous and the native peoples less advanced than in some British African Colonies, but the administration is beginning to associate natives with local affairs.

It is recognized that the Congo is primarily a black man's country, and therefore there is neither colour-barrier nor native reserves. The Congolese is freely employed in all work which he proves fitted to do, and his land is fully protected. Mineral rights belong to the State, which holds a substantial proportion of stocks and shares in mining companies, and the profits therefore help to provide social services for the people. The mining and railway companies have established industrial schools and are training artisans, and the native standard of living is steadily rising. The Belgian system may fairly be regarded as one of benevolent exploitation and tutelage.

During the war the whole resources of the Congo have been fully at the disposal of Britain and her allies, and it may be assumed that after the war this close collaboration will be maintained.

PORTUGAL

Together with Spain, the Portuguese were a pioneer nation of explorers and navigators, and their trading stations and Colonies were once spread over the globe. The great state of Brazil is Portuguese in origin, as the rest of South America and much of the Caribbean is Spanish. To-day, there is comparatively little left of the once great Portuguese

Empire, but it still comprises some 800,000 square miles with a population of about 10,000,000.

Madeira and the Azores are not Colonies, but integral parts of Portugal itself. In India, there still remain three small enclaves, of which the chief, Goa, provides many native clerks and workers in British Africa. These stations naturally depend entirely on British protection, as in a sense does Macao, the Portuguese outpost in China at the mouth of the Pearl River opposite Hong Kong, which is now in a state of decline. There is also the Eastern portion of the island of Timor in the Dutch East Indies, but all these outposts are really anomalies at the present day.

The main Portuguese possessions are in Africa and consist of the Cape Verde islands, S. Thomé and Principé in the gulf of Guinea, Portuguese Guinea embedded in French West Africa, and Angola and Mozambique, Portuguese West and East Africa respectively, her two most important Colonies. The Cape Verde islands produce little and are chiefly of value as a refuelling station on the route to South America. S. Thomé and Principé are fertile and produce caçao, coffee and cinchona bark for quinine. Portuguese Guinea, one of the oldest Portuguese Colonies, 14,000 square miles in area, with a population of 375,000, is economically very backward and undeveloped, though it has considerable potentialities.

Angola or Portuguese West Africa is the largest Colony, with an area of 487,000 square miles and a population of over 3,000,000. The country has rich potentialities in the production of wheat, sugar, tobacco, caçao, palm oil, rubber, cotton and other crops and livestock, and it also has an extensive elevated inland plateau which might be suitable for cultivation and settlement by at any rate Southern Europeans. Mozambique, or Portuguese West Africa, while smaller in area (300,000 square miles), has a population of

4,000,000, and this country is equally rich potentially in most tropical and subtropical products, while certain areas are high enough to permit the growing of wheat and the raising of cattle.

Angola and Mozambique are Portugal's most promising and valuable Colonies, but they suffer, like the rest, from lack of development. Some progress has been made in recent years, but the task in its entirety seems to be beyond the resources of a small mother country of only six million people. Indeed, these two Colonies in particular owe most of their present development to British investment and enterprise, and the fact that they act as coastal channels of export and import for British regions in the interior. The port of Beira on the East Coast has been almost entirely built up on British trade and much the same may be said of Lobito Bay on the west coast. The Benguella railway was built and is owned by the British, and the Nyasaland railways and the Zambesi bridge equally serve to feed the port of Beira, as Transvaal trade feeds Lourenço Marques. It is estimated that British investments in the Portuguese Colonies total in the aggregate some £25,000,000. Portugal imposes various restrictions on Colonial trade and seeks to develop them through the agency of chartered companies.

Since it is obvious that the Portuguese Colonies are largely dependent from the economic point of view upon British assistance, it is clearly to their advantage that there should be the closest co-operation between the two Powers in Colonial policy, especially in Africa, where any improvement must be designed primarily for the benefit of the inhabitants.

As regards *Spain*, there is little to be said. Her racial and cultural descendants may be said to be the South and Central American and Caribbean republics, whose language is Spanish and who still look to Spain as in a sense their

motherland, though they have long since attained national maturity and independence. The only remnants to-day of the once vast Spanish possessions consist in the Protectorate of Spanish Morocco, opposite Spain (the city of Tangier being under international regime), the Rio de Oro on the north-west African coast, the Rio Muni on the Gulf of Guinea and various small islands in the Gulf. The total area of these possessions is about 130,000 square miles. The Canary islands, off the African coast, like the Balearics in the Mediterranean, are considered part of Spain. Rio de Oro, an arid region, is of little importance, but the other territories, though to-day very backward, have possibilities of future development.

It is difficult to say what is to be the future of Italian Libya, the only African territory facing Italy across the Mediterranean, upon the conquest, defence and exploitation of which so much blood, labour and treasure has been poured out. Italy's East African Colonies, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, have been completely lost by her, and with the reconstitution of Abyssinia or Ethopia as an independent country, some rectification of the coastal areas here may be assumed: Jubaland, as already noted, was once part of Kenya. Since Albania will presumably be restored to its pre-war position, pending a new order in Europe, there remain only the Aegean islands, Rhodes and the Dodecanese, but these countries are really part of the European rather than a Colonial problem.

As to American extra-continental territories (omitting of course Alaska), comprising at present Puerto Rico, the American Virgin islands (formerly Danish), Hawaii, the Philippines and Guam, and leased bases in the West Indies, these also can scarcely be said to form a Colonial system. The Philippines were to receive their independence in 1946, although it remains to be seen what, if any, effect the war

may have upon their decision. American administrative experience in the Philippines has been described in a series of lectures in London by Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, a former Governor-General. These are reprinted in book form.

The question of former German Colonies is not raised here, since obviously the phase of Colonial "possession" or exploitation is definitely past, and the Colonial problem to-day, as already indicated, is one of Colonial responsibility or trust, the "dual mandate," a responsibility in which the German people can bear a part as well as other non-Colonial Powers. Japanese occupation of mainland territories and mandates of former German islands are obviously for purposes of exploitation in the interests of Japan.

Generally it will be seen that none of the Colonial systems here described, although caring for the welfare of the inhabitants, follow Britain in declaring their objective to be self-government for Colonial peoples.

XIII

Colonial Policy and Problems

The British Colonial policy of Trusteeship has for its declared objective the fitting of Colonial peoples for eventual self-government. As in the relationship of guardian and ward, the attainment of the latter's majority is to be steadily kept in view; he is to be educated, trained and assisted towards the gradual and progressive taking over and ordering of his own affairs, and meanwhile his estate is to be administered primarily in his own interests, though with due regard to the "dual mandate."

Moreover, native institutions must, where possible, be strengthened and adapted to the task of associating the people with the practice of local government, for not in every case will the pattern of the self-governing institution which may eventually emerge prove to be necessarily modelled on those which have been found suitable in this country, though where that is really desired, the transition stage must be provided for. "Indirect rule" or "native administration" has therefore an important and necessary part to play in the further political evolution of Colonial peoples, especially in Africa; and at the same time, means must be found to utilize the talents of Western educated elements both in the councils of native administrations (which their influence may gradually transform) and in direct association with European officials.

In case of conflict between white and native interests in

Africa and other Colonial territories, it has long been declared that the latter must be considered paramount. In West Africa, indeed, no European is allowed to hold or acquire any land. Conditions naturally differ greatly in the various Colonial territories, according to the race, degree of advancement and local institutions of the people (which include such extremes as the Mediterranean Colonies or Ceylon and, say, the South African Protectorates), but the same general objective applies to all, though it must necessarily be realized in widely different stages and ways. Permanent Imperial or Commonwealth interests, as in the case of fortresses like Gibraltar, Malta, Aden and Singapore, or as in Palestine, have also to be borne in mind, but these will to some extent be dependent upon the future of the Commonwealth in a new world order.

The same objective is indicated in the case of mandated territories by the provision for their good government and protection until their peoples are able to "stand on their own feet in the conditions of the modern world," a principle which already implicitly governed British Colonial policy. Thus the distinction between permanent and terminable mandates, so far as Britain is concerned, becomes merely a matter of time and political and economic evolution. In the latter category, Iraq, a British mandate after the first world war, has long become an independent country.

This policy of trusteeship with the declared objective of self-government for Colonial peoples, a process of evolution already followed by the white communities of the Dominions, and now being applied in India and Burma, is as noted confined to Britain among Colonial Powers. Moreover, an outstanding step towards actively implementing this policy has been taken during the second world war.

The Colonial Development and Welfare Act, 1940, was perhaps the most far-reaching piece of Colonial legislation

passed during the present century, and may be said to mark a new era in British Colonial development. Though actually placed on the statute book during a grave crisis of the war, it was in no sense a war measure, since it had been in preparation long before, and may be regarded as the logical culmination of the policy of trusteeship already enunciated and adopted in practice. Under the Act, this policy was now to take a long step forward.

The Act carries a long stage farther the policy initiated by the establishment in 1929 of the Colonial Development Fund. This fund provided up to £1,000,000 a year by way of loan or grant for approved schemes limited to capital expenditure for purposes of material development. Despite this limitation, and the fact that the individual schemes were not necessarily part of a systematic plan of development, and although the maximum sum specified was not always reached, a great deal of useful and constructive work had been carried out in various Colonies during the decade in which the fund had been in operation. The 1940 Act, however, provided for a ten-year period of planned development and welfare work throughout the Colonial Empire, for which purpose a sum of £5,000,000 a year was to be allocated from the British Exchequer, and the restriction to capital expenditure for purely material development was swept away, enabling money to be spent where necessary for recurring expenditure, and on education, health and social services as well as other schemes. In addition, a sum of £500,000 a year was allocated for purposes of research. Moreover, if experience proved that either the total sum or the period was insufficient, Parliament could at any time increase them.

In order that the whole field should be systematically surveyed, not only was each Colonial Government asked to prepare development and welfare plans which would involve

the co-ordination of all their departments, but a strong Committee was set up in London consisting of both official and unofficial expert members, provided with adequate staff for planning and reviewing the whole field in the United Kingdom as well as in the Colonies and for regular liaison between the authorities at home and overseas. A separate Research Committee was also established. It was, however, emphasized that there was no intention to impose a set pattern from Downing Street, but each Colonial Government was to prepare, according to local circumstances, long-range and comprehensive plans which would be reviewed by the Central Committee who could keep the requirements of the whole Empire in mind.

At the same time, the Royal Commission on the West Indies, referred to in an earlier chapter, had presented its report and recommendations, and the Government decided to take action upon these concurrently and as a matter of urgency. Not only were the West Indies to share proportionately in the benefits of the Development and Welfare Act, but a special extra sum was allocated to their immediate needs, and development in their case was to extend over a period of twenty years. The principal heads of the report have been indicated in the section on the West Indies.

Altogether, it was estimated that the total expenditure from the British Exchequer provided for under the Act, and including the extra cost of the West Indian recommendations, would amount to about £70,000,000, even if no increase or extension was later contemplated. Furthermore, the larger part of the indebtedness of the Colonies to the British Treasury, totalling about £12,000,000, was subsequently remitted and this in itself proved a great relief and stimulus to the Colonies concerned.

There is a great deal both in the text of the Act and in the Statement on Colonial policy which preceded it deserv-

ing of study. The first emphasis in this policy is laid upon improvement in the economic condition of the Colonies, since this is the necessary foundation upon which all other development must be built. It is stressed that the new policy involves no derogation from the rights and privileges or responsibilities of local legislatures, and the fact that a Colony receives assistance does not entail upon it any measure of financial control such as is associated with grants-in-aid. There is assistance and guidance from London, but no dictation.

It was not contemplated, when the measure was in preparation, that it would have to be launched in war-time when the Empire was fighting for its life, but this fact was not allowed to interfere with its promulgation; and although the exigencies of warfare necessarily affected the rate of progress by limiting both personnel and material, the Government resolved that, notwithstanding its serious preoccupations, everything possible should be done to expedite the preparation and consideration of plans and the putting into execution of such measures, especially in the West Indies, as would not interfere with the war effort. In 1941, plans involving an expenditure of considerably over £1,000,000 had already been approved or were in process of authorization, a great many more were in active preparation, and advances had been made in many other directions. Although the Act was in no sense a "reward for good conduct" or less still a bribe for its continuance, since nothing could be farther from the spirit and temper of the Colonial peoples, nevertheless their spontaneous and wholehearted response to the challenge of the war well merited this undeterred resolve of the Home Government to proceed with its Colonial development plans in spite of everything.

It may be noted here that the British Colonies have been and are greatly indebted for valuable co-operation in the

spheres of medicine, education, social services and economic development on the part of American institutions such as the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation and the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and to missionaries, business enterprises and individuals; and special steps were taken in 1940 and later to inform the United States of these Colonial plans. It is to be hoped that such co-operation may develop over an even wider field in the future.

The goal being thus declared, and the means for attaining it determined and provided, what are the difficulties which have to be overcome on the way? It is not possible to indicate here all the problems which await solution in the Colonial Empire. Apart from those of a general nature which affect all or most of the territories, individual Colonies have their own particular problems, some of which have been noticed in the chapters describing the various countries. Reference must, however, be made to some of the more important questions which confront us in the Colonial sphere generally.

STANDARD OF LIVING

The fundamental problem is the low standard of living which obtains throughout the Colonial Empire, and with that is bound up questions of nutrition and health. Standards of life are of course relative to the community under consideration, its habits, environment, and the stage of social and economic development reached. It would obviously be absurd to apply the same standards to a primitive African tribe or to South Sea islanders whose wants are few and easily satisfied as to an industrialized community in Europe. Nevertheless it remains broadly true that the standards of living and nutrition are unduly low in most of the Colonies, and although this was equally true in most cases

(especially in Africa) before the British appeared on the scene, and much progress has been made since, a great deal has still to be done, particularly in view of the increasing impact of Western civilization upon these communities.

In the case of the Caribbean Colonies, a former period of relative prosperity was succeeded by acute depression in the world price of their staple products, but conditions may now be on the upgrade again and this time the improvement should bring with it more permanent amelioration in the lot of the labouring classes, especially if the population question can be satisfactorily dealt with.

Not every Colony has valuable mineral resources to be developed, and chief reliance must be placed upon the improvement of agriculture, dairying and livestock, both for consumption and for marketing, in order to provide revenues to raise the standards of living, nutrition and social services. It is obvious, however, that even a comparatively small rise spread over some sixty millions of people would make a great difference not only to the health and efficiency of the people themselves and to the development of their countries, but also to British and world trade, and there is no question that the Colonies possess the natural resources and human capacity to effect that improvement.

NUTRITION

Just before the outbreak of war a valuable report upon Nutrition in the Colonial Empire was issued by the Colonial Office, and an organization had been set up to carry out nutritional surveys in the various Colonies, one such study having been completed for Nyasaland. The Committee, presided over by Earl De la Warr, came to the conclusion that the two main causes of malnutrition, apart from the prevalence of weakening diseases, were the low standard of living

due to the poverty of the community (not necessarily in money) and to ignorance, coupled in many cases with prejudice. They set forth many practical recommendations for tackling the problem, of which the most important was increased home production of foods for family consumption, including greater variety in diet, better methods of animal husbandry, and of storing and cooking foods, and education in domestic science of women and children.

Many of these remedies can be and are being applied now, and greater progress must be made after the war, but the necessary improvement in the standard of living must rest upon the general economic development planned under the 1940 Act.

HEALTH

Reference to the prevalence of weakening diseases brings up the question of the health of Colonial peoples. Poverty, malnutrition and disease are generally bound up together, but some diseases are endemic in the soil, especially in Africa, where nature has given a "raw deal" to the African. These will be presently alluded to, but apart from such diseases, there is wide scope for effort in matters of elementary hygiene and in the provision of health and medical services. Public health and personal hygiene are evidently the product of education, engineering and medical science, for it is a question not only of training people and especially children in elementary rules of health and feeding, and combating superstition and prejudice, but also of providing sanitation, pure water supplies, drainage and sewerage, and on the medical side, clinics, health visitors, nurses, hospitals and medical supplies and services generally.

It is only necessary to peruse one of the valuable annual reports issued by the Bureau of Hygiene and Tropical

Diseases, summarizing medical and sanitary progress in all the Colonies, to see both what is being done, often with exiguous resources under most difficult conditions, and also the vast amount of leeway still to be made up. Here is an immense field for training men and women of the Colonies, particularly in Africa, for nursing, health and medical work among their own people. It is being done already in West and East Africa, in the South Seas, in Ceylon and elsewhere, but the trickle needs to become a flood. Coupled with health work, and as a necessary basis for action, is the need for further and fuller vital statistics.

EDUCATION

Like the standard of living, nutrition and health, education is one of the fundamental problems of the Colonial Empire. It is of importance in practically all the Colonies, and indeed these basic questions of living, nutrition, health, and of education in the widest sense, including agricultural, technical and domestic training, are all inextricably bound up together. Much has been done and is now being attempted in all spheres of education, but it has to be recorded that all this hopeful and interesting work, carried out both directly by Colonial governments and especially by missionary and other voluntary agencies, represents but a small percentage, even at the elementary stage, of the vast field still to be covered, and that education, hampered in the past by lack of funds as well as of trained personnel, should particularly benefit from expenditure under the Development and Welfare Act. An authoritative view of the whole field will be found in Mr. Arthur Mayhew's *Education in the Colonial Empire*: here only a few outstanding points can be briefly touched upon.

The humble but potent basis of all educational effort in

the Colonies, especially in Africa, is the "bush" school or its equivalent. It is an encouraging portent for the success of all such work that the African as a rule is eager for education and will go to any trouble and effort to obtain it. Moreover, many native teachers are found who give themselves with wholehearted and selfless devotion to the work of teaching not only children but often their elders also in these bush schools, and it must be our endeavour greatly to increase the supply of such teachers. It is a very good sign too that native administrations are often keen to provide facilities and pay for such work out of their own treasuries. The education of women and girls, especially in all matters concerned with domestic science and health, is also of the greatest importance.

Powerful aids to popular and adult education can be enlisted in broadcasting and the cinema, and much valuable experimental and propagandist work has already been done in these fields in Africa, Malaya and elsewhere. This raises of course the question of the numerous vernacular tongues (and all elementary teaching is best in the vernacular), but such difficulties are fully worth the trouble and cost of surmounting, and as the knowledge of English (particularly basic English) spreads, as it is bound to do, the radio and the sound picture will become tremendous vehicles for its further dissemination. The good work that can be done in the early stages, by radio at least, is exemplified by the rise of communal village radio in India. It may be noted that almost all fields of Colonial educational effort are indebted to American funds and other aid, notably by the Carnegie Corporation and the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

Colonial educational policy has a relatively short history. As a coherent whole, it may be said to take its rise from the appointment by the Secretary of State in 1923 of an Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa, the

scope of which was extended in 1929 to the Colonial Empire as a whole. This Committee of experts working in London, with its joint secretaries Major Hanns Vischer and Mr. Arthur Mayhew, has done valuable co-ordinating and directive work for education throughout the Colonies. and it also publishes a useful quarterly review *Overseas Education.* On the retirement of the secretaries, an Educational Adviser has now been appointed by the Secretary of State on the same basis as his other Advisers, but the labours of the Committee continue as before. It might be opportune and helpful at the end of the war to call a Colonial Educational Conference in London.

A great deal still remains to be done in the elementary field. It has been estimated that out of some 5 million children in British Tropical Africa only 30 per cent are receiving instruction of any kind whatever. Such education is still largely in the hands of missionary and other voluntary bodies; much of it is good, some of it is indifferent or poor. One thing is certain, that popular education is not a matter for education departments alone, but for the concerted effort of all departments concerned with the improvement of the people, health, agriculture and so forth, and that much of it must be given by way of practical demonstration rather than formal instruction.

It might be considered that in view of the incompleteness of the foundations, the amount of attention that has been given to Higher Education throughout the Colonial Empire involves a danger of rearing a top-heavy structure, but there is some justification for this seeming anomaly. In the first place, there is the urgent need for the training of large numbers of native teachers as a prerequisite for any considerable expansion of primary education; again we have special obligations to train the sons of chiefs for their duties in leadership as well as recruits for the local civil service

and native administration, and finally there are the legitimate aspirations of many keen students for the full provision of educational facilities up to university standard.

In all the Colonies this higher educational provision is being steadily improved and strengthened, and several recent commissions of enquiry, such as those on Higher Education in East Africa and in Malaya, have put forward far-reaching recommendations. The general intention is to provide facilities in all the larger Colonial groups from the primary school up to the university. Colleges exist in the principal Colonies which are capable of being developed into institutions of university rank and this is the objective. Amongst these are the famous Achimota College in the Gold Coast, founded by Sir Gordon Guggisberg and owing much to the example of Dr. Aggrey, which occupies a unique position in African education, and caters for every branch of training and instruction, practical and theoretical, and from the kindergarten upwards; Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone; the new Makerere College in Uganda, which has a great future before it; the Jeanes school in Kenya, a development which is greatly indebted to the Phelps-Stokes Fund; and Tabora School in Tanganyika. The work done at Fort Hare in South Africa is outside the Colonial sphere, but has much influence on African education.

In the Sudan, a complete scheme of educational development is being put into execution, reaching up to the Gordon Memorial College at Khartoum, which is also destined to attain university rank. In time, there will be such institutions in each part of British tropical Africa, so that Africans desiring university education will no longer necessarily have to leave their country to obtain it.

In other Colonies, too, similar provision exists or will be available. There is the old established Codrington College in the West Indies; in Ceylon the university is being estab-

lished; Raffles College in Singapore and the Medical School are to form the nucleus of a university for Malaya, and as already noted, the University of Hong Kong has already done splendid work not only for the Colony but for Chinese students on the mainland. Malta has its own university, founded over one hundred and seventy years ago.

PESTS AND DISEASES

The Colonial Empire being mainly tropical or subtropical, it naturally has its full share of pests and diseases, and the war against these must be waged unceasingly. With the success of that warfare is closely bound up the health and efficiency of the Colonial peoples. Great strides have been made, especially in the present century, in combating the more serious pests and diseases, but many difficult problems remain to be tackled.

Some of the worst diseases of the past, such as the dreaded "yellow jack," have now been largely conquered, and the conditions which earned for West Africa in the old days the unenviable name of the White Man's Grave no longer obtain in any serious degree. But the most widespread of tropical diseases, malaria, still takes its heavy annual toll not only in lives but in impaired health and efficiency, though the fight is on to reduce its ravages.

Malaria is caused by a germ carried by the female of the *Anopheles* mosquito. This was the great discovery of Sir Ronald Ross, and he also discovered the means of attack by draining away stagnant waters and pools, or oiling their surface where drainage was not possible, thus preventing the mosquitoes breeding. This obviously requires constant vigilance and expenditure, large-scale operations which cannot yet be undertaken everywhere, but all care and expenditure in this direction is amply repaid by improved

health and working efficiency. On many tea, rubber and other plantations, drastic campaigns have been carried out, but much more remains to be done, for there are still epidemics, such as the one which occurred a few years ago in Ceylon and caused heavy loss of life. Quinine dosage is extensively used as a remedy, and so that there shall be further supplies available within the Colonial Empire, the cinchona, from the bark of which quinine is extracted, is being cultivated in several of the Colonies.

Then there is the dreaded sleeping sickness, carried by the tsetse fly, which attacks both man and animal and has rendered large tracts of Africa practically uninhabitable. A vigorous concerted campaign has been undertaken against this pest in several African territories, which has taken many forms, even to the wholesale evacuation of inhabitants of infested areas, with their livestock, until the bush country which the fly frequents is cleared and cleaned. Steady headway is being made in Tanganyika, Nigeria and elsewhere, but the campaign is a long one, and like the locust pest, it really requires international action in Africa.

The swarms of locusts which periodically destroy great areas of crops and do enormous damage, have by patient research in which several countries have co-operated, been traced to their breeding grounds, and the only effective action is to destroy them before they start to migrate. An international organization has been set up to prosecute this work, and international co-operation is equally needed for carrying out much other similar work in Africa.

Rinderpest, for example, attacks the native's cattle, often his chief form of wealth. Leprosy is still a scourge, though yielding to treatment and better conditions, and other diseases still require vigilant and sustained effort.

EROSION

Then there is the growing threat of soil erosion, largely a man-made problem. Many tracts of the earth which are now desert and sterile, as in Mesopotamia, the Sahara and certainly the "dust-bowl" region of the United States, were once fertile, but their protective covering having been steadily denuded by reckless exploitation or the effects of shifting cultivation, rainfall has washed away the top soil and erosion has set in. In Africa, the process is still continuing; the area of the Sahara, for example, is gradually extending, and drastic efforts must now be, and are being, made to halt it and reverse the cycle.

There are many lines of attack. Shifting cultivation, for example, must be discouraged and new methods of agriculture introduced. Roving herds of cattle must be controlled and reduced, and improved methods of breeding livestock inculcated amongst native peoples. Where trees and bush have been extensively burned or cut down, afforestation must be started. Ridge drainage and terracing must be undertaken where the top soil has been washed away by heavy rainfall.

These and other measures are now being actively carried out in many parts of Africa and in other Colonies, but in Africa especially concerted effort on a large scale is required if effective results are to be secured and serious erosion averted, and this means intercolonial and indeed international action, to support and supplement, not to supersede, all the individual effort that is being undertaken.

The field for forestry work in most of the Colonies, and for irrigation and water-supply in some, is a very wide one, and means more staff and increased expenditure, but it is essentially reproductive work which in time will amply repay all the labour and money spent upon it. The same

is even more true of agricultural methods and research, and improvements in veterinary science and animal health, to say nothing of fisheries in those Colonies which are in part dependent on the harvest of sea and river. The work of bodies like the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, of Amani and other research stations, and especially of the new Colonial Research Fund and Committee, will be of enormous importance to the future of the Colonial Empire.

There are many problems associated with economic, social and political development in the individual Colonies, some of which have already been referred to. In so far as they can come under the Development and Welfare programme, they will have been surveyed by the various Colonial Governments, and where schemes are proposed, will come under review by the Development and Welfare Committee and the Colonial Office. But Lord Hailey has reminded us in his Romanes Lecture of 1941 on the Place of the Colonies in the British Commonwealth that there are problems inherent in our declared objective of self-government for the Colonies which will demand increasing attention as that policy is progressively implemented.

The free and voluntary association of equal partners in the present Commonwealth was made easier by the fact that these communities were of similar racial and cultural origin, with similar traditions, sentiments, political and social institutions all deriving from the mother country. This will not be so in the case of either India or the Colonies. Political enfranchisement in these cases involves differences of kind rather than of degree, and introduces many complications absent from the present system. To state these difficulties is certainly not to imply that they cannot be solved (indeed the example of New Zealand in successfully solving the problem of the relations of indigenous and immigrant peoples is proof to the contrary) but only to recognize that

their handling will require time, patience and practical statesmanship.

In some cases there is no natural cohesion or homogeneity in a given Colonial area, and adjustment of boundaries or federation may be necessary. There is the outstanding problem of white minorities in black or coloured communities, such as exist in the Rhodesias and East Africa, to say nothing of the politically independent Union of South Africa, whose native policy naturally affects other African territories. The policy of "parallelism" which is being tried in Southern Rhodesia is of dubious practicability or justice in the Colonial sphere. Indeed it has yet to be discovered what is the permanent rôle of Europeans in countries which are primarily the natural habitat of the coloured races. That for some time to come they have a great part to play in leadership and guidance to those races is indisputable, and co-operation between them on this basis is all to the good, but when, with that aid, the coloured peoples have attained political maturity, a serious problem will have to be faced.

Then there is the wider question of the best form of self-government for peoples unfamiliar with Western traditions, the progressive adaptation of indigenous institutions to the requirements of modern life, and the suitability of representative or parliamentary institutions on the Western model, which, be it remembered, are regarded as legitimate political objectives and tests of our sincerity by many African and other peoples. A problem which affects the Commonwealth as a whole and not merely Britain is the crucial relationship of self-governing Colonial communities within the British Commonwealth, but by the time this becomes of practical urgency, the present Commonwealth may itself have changed or become part of a larger synthesis or world order.

Meanwhile, there are considerations affecting the central machinery of Colonial government and its progressive adaptation to keep step with political and economic developments in the Colonies themselves. We have seen in Chapter IX that the Secretary of State and the Colonial Office have devised machinery intended to meet changed conditions in the Colonial Empire, but as further developments take place so the central machinery must be adapted to keep pace with them. There is need for the closer association of Parliament with the affairs of the Colonial Empire, and before the outbreak of war it was proposed to provide for this by setting up a Parliamentary Joint Committee of both Houses. This will undoubtedly have to be proceeded with, but quite apart from this and from occasional Colonial Office Conferences, as the Colonies develop political consciousness, there will assuredly be a demand for a Colonial Council in some form to assist the Secretary of State, which in addition to experts on Colonial affairs at home will increasingly contain nominated or elected representatives from the Colonies themselves.

One day it may be hoped there will be a Colonial centre in the heart of London, representing the Colonial Empire as worthily as the Dominions and India are already similarly represented, bringing together the various individual Colonial Agencies and Committees, and standing for the British peoples as a visible embodiment of their Colonial heritage and trust.

XIV

The Future

What of the future?

The British Colonial Empire is a living and developing organization which must take its place in any new world order. Its diverse peoples, bound together only by their common membership of the British Commonwealth, are on their way to full nationhood. Within the Commonwealth, they are at present "junior partners," but they will in time qualify either singly or more probably in natural groups, for full membership of that league of free peoples. There is, however, one anomaly in their present position in that they owe allegiance to and are in direct relation with only the senior member, Great Britain, and not the Commonwealth as a whole.

While other members have dependencies and mandates of their own, there can be little question that it would be desirable for the peoples of the Dominions to take a collective interest in, and some degree of responsibility for, the welfare of all the Colonial peoples under the British flag, that they should approve the principle of trusteeship as applying to all dependencies without distinction, and should accept its implications in regard to the association of Colonial peoples with the Commonwealth. At present, the Dominion peoples know comparatively little of the British Colonial Empire, and the first need therefore is an educational one, as indeed it must be confessed it still is with the British

people themselves. Apart from this elementary need, the best way to stimulate interest would be to invite the co-operation of Dominion citizens in the ranks of the Colonial Service, and also perhaps to arrange for the seconding of Dominion administrative officials for terms of service at the Colonial Office. If a Colonial Council were formed, it should certainly include representatives of the Dominions and India, to broaden its basis.

Economic relations of the various units of the British Empire are also of great importance, and Colonial trade, both with Britain and the rest of the Commonwealth, and with the world generally, is bound to become an increasingly prominent factor in the future. The Colonial Empire was represented at the Ottawa Conference, and it is represented with Britain and the Dominions and India on the Imperial Economic Committee, though the representation is necessarily effected at present through the Colonial Office.

The policy of Imperial Preference is bound to undergo considerable modification in conformity with the future replanning of the world economic system. In view of the alleged grievances of certain nations before the war, due primarily to their militaristic policies, and of the great need of the post-war world to free the channels of international trade to assist in economic recovery, the trend will undoubtedly be in the direction of freer trade between all peoples, the lowering of trade barriers and restrictions on production, and the fullest possible exchange of raw materials and products and of manufactured goods.

The British Colonies were never exploited primarily for the benefit of the mother country. Over great areas of them, by international agreement apart from mandatory obligation, free trade exists for all on equal terms, and even where preferences were given to British goods, these seldom had

the effect of excluding those of other nations. Responsible Colonial statesmen like Lord Lugard, however, advocate a return to our earlier practice of equal economic opportunity for all throughout the Colonial Empire, and this would certainly be in accordance with the principle of the "dual mandate." On the long view, and in a world economic order freed from artificial barriers and restrictions, it would probably also be best for the Colonial peoples themselves, although we have to remember that we stand in a fiduciary relation to them, and under present conditions they may want to retain some bargaining power in their own hands. It must probably be assumed, however, that in future economic arrangements, the general interest must take precedence of those of individual peoples.

But quite apart from economic relations, the future status of Colonial peoples is a matter which concerns the world at large; it is indeed a collective responsibility of civilization, while the political future of the British Colonies is primarily a domestic issue between themselves and the other members of the Commonwealth. There are other Colonial systems, and progress by one group cannot leave the others unaffected, more especially in Africa, where a common policy and co-operative action, if not actual territorial adjustment, is urgently needed.

It must indeed be recognized that under any new world order the fact that certain peoples still remain in varying stages of tutelage and under foreign government, however well intentioned, is one that calls for international recognition and possibly regulation in the interests both of the Colonial peoples themselves and of the general comity of nations. The world has now to realize that the Colonial relationship, which has subsisted more or less unquestioned for centuries past, can no longer be recognized as necessary and permanent, but is essentially transitional and terminable,

and should therefore in the general interest be subject to some form of international agreement.

As we have seen, Great Britain has already explicitly declared that the aim of her Colonial policy is the eventual independence of the Colonies, since self-government naturally implies that they will be free like the Dominions to choose whether they wish to remain associated with the Commonwealth or not; though by that time the British Commonwealth may itself be merged into a larger comity of peoples. This British declaration is however "unilateral"; no other Colonial Power has declared a similar objective, and save as regards mandated territories, upon the administration of which annual reports are made to the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, no international body has yet been set up to take cognizance of such matters.

So far as Great Britain is concerned, there seems no valid reason why she should not submit her trusteeship generally to the scrutiny of an enlarged Mandates Commission or similar international body, say, a World Colonial Court; but in such a case obviously the same requirements must equally apply to the Colonial systems of other Powers, and the principle of trusteeship and the objective of self-government must be laid down for all, though not necessarily the methods of achieving the end.

Not only the Colonial Powers themselves but all the more advanced peoples should hold themselves morally responsible for the welfare and attainment to political maturity of the Colonial peoples of the world. Collective responsibility for the Colonial Problem being thus formulated, countries other than the present Colonial Powers might be expected to play their part where necessary in the practical task of assisting the Colonial peoples towards full nationhood, as for example by the floating and guaranteeing of inter-

national Colonial loans and in other ways. Since the "possession," or rather the administration and guidance of Colonies, would under these conditions become not a peculiar asset or privilege, but an onerous responsibility, and as, subject to the rights of the Colonial peoples themselves, their resources would be open on equal terms to all, there would obviously be nothing inequitable in the sharing of the burden amongst all self-governing peoples until the day (perhaps not so far distant in a more civilized world) when the last Colonial people were able to stand on their own feet.

Such international recognition of Colonial responsibility does not, however, imply international *administration* of Colonies. This would not prove workable in practice, nor would it be in the interests of the Colonial peoples themselves, which must of course be the governing consideration. In all cases Colonial peoples have become accustomed to the methods and traditions, to the laws, customs and even language of their rulers, their thoughts and aspirations have been formed in a particular mould, and even where their own culture and civilization persist, to attempt to replace the institutions and administration with which they are familiar by an impersonal body of international personnel owning no common tradition, and even possibly with conflicting ideals and methods, would be something totally beyond the grasp of most Colonial peoples, who need personal guidance and an example upon which they can model their own action. Moreover, it must be remembered that the process of fitting Colonial peoples for self-government necessarily implies the progressive and increasing association of the people themselves in the task of administration at all stages, until eventually they take over completely. This process would be rendered more difficult by the relative inelasticity, complexity and remoteness of an international administration.

That does not mean that, in the present stage and perhaps for some time to come, there is not scope for the co-operation of other nationals, especially technicians of all kinds, in the work of the various Colonial administrations, provided the claims of the indigenous peoples be always borne in mind, and in this way, strictly within the framework of the particular Colonial administration, the special talents of various nationalities, Colonial and non-Colonial, American, German, Russian, Italian, Scandinavian, Spanish, Chinese and so forth, might be harnessed to the worthwhile task of helping some of their less favoured brethren. Between the Colonial Powers themselves there might well be arranged a constant interchange of Colonial officials, administrative and technical, as well as of information and statistical data and the results of research and practical experience. In this way, Colonial administration might well become increasingly cosmopolitan to the benefit both of rulers and of ruled without breaking the national mould or spirit, or impairing the responsibility of individual Colonial Powers.

Certainly in the case of Africa, a continent somewhat arbitrarily parcelled out amongst various European Powers, some such basis of international co-operation and adjustment will have to be found. There may have to be in some form a Council of Africa, representative not only of the Powers directly concerned but also of others such as the United States, and upon which the emergent African peoples in turn shall find their rightful place. Such a Council might be either separate from or subsidiary to the World Colonial Court. There should be a co-ordinated scheme of development for the Continent or at least for tropical Africa based on Lord Hailey's Survey or some wider plan, backed by international agreement and guarantee, including the provision of necessary funds. This would be essential for such

countries as Abyssinia, Portugal and perhaps Belgium, whose unaided resources might well be unequal to the task of development. Even Britain or France might welcome financial aid, but the primary responsibility for the discharge of the trust, subject to international scrutiny, would nevertheless rest with the individual Colonial Power until the task was finally accomplished.

Coming back now to the British Colonial Empire, it is plain from all we have seen in surveying, however superficially, its history, administration, problems and resources, that there is a great task before the British people, or rather the British peoples, and equally that there is a great future before the peoples of the Colonial Empire. That task can only be accomplished and that destiny assured if the British and Colonial peoples work together in friendly co-operation for the common end. The basis of goodwill and mutual respect is fortunately already there. In spite of many shortcomings and mistakes, our Colonial peoples on the whole have been content to accept our rule and their status as British subjects and, until they can take over their own affairs, have no desire to change their allegiance. Even then, they would probably prefer to remain in the British Commonwealth of free peoples if it should still exist in that form. There is a story told that, at the time of the Moroccan crisis in 1908, when Cambon, then French ambassador to Berlin, was instructed by his Government to protest to Prince von Bülow, the German Chancellor, the latter said to him, "My dear Ambassador, why all this fuss about Morocco? Let us be frank. You know very well that if we both were condemned to spend the rest of our lives in a Colony, you wouldn't live in a German one, and I certainly shouldn't live in a French one. We would both choose an English one!"

That story may be apocryphal, but if the impartial reader would wish to learn something beyond this introductory account of what life in the British Colonies is like, of its difficulties and drawbacks and equally of its compensations, of human imperfections and human greatness, and of how Britain's Colonial task is being accomplished without concealment or mitigation of faults, yet not without evidence of good qualities, he may be recommended, short of going to see for himself, to read some of the books listed in the following pages which give the results of first-hand experience or observation of the Colonial scene. Much of it is critical and no small part of the criticism (and by no means the least trenchant) comes not from foreign or native sources, but from British writers, official and unofficial, some of whom have had personal experience and some not, but who all enjoy the truly British privilege of self-criticism or self-depreciation. Then there are the straightforward accounts of things seen or done by travellers, settlers, explorers or officials, which bring the country or the people vividly to life; or the mature reflections of those who have borne heavy responsibility in the Colonies, which may give us some understanding of the magnitude of the task.

In any case, here is work waiting, in all branches of the Colonial Service and in many unofficial capacities, for the best of Britain's sons (and daughters), and here too is a high and inescapable responsibility for the British peoples as a whole, no matter in what measure they may share it with others, and best of all with the Colonial peoples themselves. The Colonial Empire will pass: the Colonies will become nations. Britain has willed it so, has willed the end and the means, but here and now, and in the testing years to come, there is a great and worth-while task to be accomplished for humanity.

Bibliography

Since this book can claim to be but an introduction to the British Colonial Empire, an attempt is made here to furnish those who may wish to study its history and government and Colonial life generally in greater detail with the principal sources of further information. This Bibliography, though far from exhaustive (for that would take a large volume in itself), is believed to be the first of its kind to be compiled on a fairly comprehensive scale, and it is hoped that it will be found to include all those references, whether to official publications or to general works, that may be desired by the ordinary reader or even by the serious student.

Apart from certain standard works of reference or historical research, the great majority of the titles are of books published within the last two decades, for the Colonial Empire as a separate entity is a recent conception, and conditions in the Colonies are constantly changing. The *Cambridge History of the British Empire* has extensive bibliographies attached to the several volumes, and these include many Colonial references, especially in vol. 2, covering both earlier and later periods.

Technical works on agriculture, forestry, medicine and so forth are not as a rule included, and those who need to prosecute research in particular fields must be referred to such collections as the Libraries of the Colonial Office, the Royal Empire Society, or the Rhodes Trust, Oxford. The Empire Society's Library, alas, has suffered severely in the war, but its published Catalogue by Mr. Evans Lewin in several large volumes is an important bibliographical aid. Detailed bibliographies have been compiled for many Colonies, and one or two of these have been included here as examples, but a fairly complete list of such sources will be found under the head of Bibliography in the Subject Catalogue of the Colonial Office Library.

PERIODICALS

Apart from books, the best means of keeping up to date in Colonial affairs is afforded by the annual and other reports of the Colonial Office, Overseas Trade and other Departments, the publications of the various societies and other organizations and especially the Colonial Press.

Official publications are listed below; those of societies include the journals of the Royal Empire Society, the Royal African Society, the Institute of African Languages and Cultures, the Overseas League, the Imperial Institute, and occasional special memoirs and bulletins of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

First place amongst the periodicals must be given to *The Crown Colonist* (monthly) which is the only journal covering the Colonial Empire as a whole. Other papers published in London are: *African World, East Africa and Rhodesia, West Africa, West African Review, West India Committee Circular, Great Britain and the East* and *British Malaya.* Besides the above, each Colony has of course its local press, some outstanding examples of which are the *Daily Gleaner* (Jamaica), *West Indian Review East African Standard, Times of Ceylon, the Straits Times* and the *Fiji Times and Herald.*

There are also special reviews devoted to Colonial Education, Tropical Agriculture, Medicine, Forestry, Surveying and so forth, generally published under official auspices. All British official publications can be obtained from H.M. Stationery Office and Colonial Government publications from the Crown Agents for the Colonies.

GENERAL WORKS

COLONIAL OFFICE.

The Dominions Office and Colonial Office List (annual).
Economic Survey of the Colonial Empire (annual).
Annual Reports of the various Colonies, etc.

COLONIAL OFFICE—*continued*

Customs Tariffs of the Colonial Empire (latest edition).

Conference Reports, 1927, 1930.

Regulations for H.M. Colonial Service, and Recruitment pamphlets.

Conditions and Cost of Living in the Colonial Empire (latest edition).

DEPARTMENT OF OVERSEAS TRADE. *Commissioners' Reports* (annual).

INTERNATIONAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE. *Yearbook of Compared Colonial Documentation and Records of the Conferences.*

ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. *The Colonial Problem, Raw Materials and Colonies*, and other Information, Dept. Papers and Special Memoirs.

COLONIAL EMPIRE MARKETING BOARD. *Story of the Colonial Empire* (economic).

BUREAU OF HYGIENE AND TROPICAL DISEASES. *Medical and Sanitary Reports of Colonies* (annual).

FIDDES, SIR G. *The Dominions and Colonial Offices* (Whitehall series), 1925.

BERTRAM, SIR A. *The Colonial Service*, 1930.

HILL, W. C. *Overseas Empire in Fiction*; Bibliography, 1930 (see other Bibliographies in C.O. Library).

KEY, H. *The New Colonial Policy*, 1930.

SARRAUT, A. *Grandeur et Servitude Coloniales*, 1932.

WYNDHAM, H. A. *Problems of Imperial Trusteeship; Native Education*, 1933.

HOLMSTROM, J. E. *Railways and Roads in Pioneer Development Overseas*, 1934.

GREAVES, I. C. *Modern Production among Backward Peoples*, 1935.

CLARK, GROVER. *Balance-sheets of Imperialism; Facts and Figures on Colonies*, 1936.

CLARK, GROVER. *A Place in the Sun*, 1936.

ST. JOHNSTON, SIR R. *Life in the Colonial Service*, 1936.

ST. JOHNSTON, SIR R. *From a Colonial Governor's Notebook*, 1936.

INTERNATIONAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE. *Organization Politique et Administrative des Colonies*, 1937.
MACAULAY, N. *Mandates; Reasons, Results, Remedies*, 1937.
KUCZYNSKI, D. *Colonial Population*, 1937.
JEFFRIES, C. J. *The Colonial Empire and its Civil Service*, 1938.
FLETCHER, B. A. *Education and Colonial Development*, 1938.
MAYHEW, A. *Education in the Colonial Empire*, 1938.
CLARK, C. *The Crown Colonies and their History*, 1939.
PAPI, G. U. *The Colonial Problem*, 1939.
VILJOEN, S. *The Economics of Primitive Peoples*, 1939.
MURRAY, A. V. *The School in the Bush*, 1939.
JACKS, G. V., & R. O. WHYTE. *Rape of the Earth; Survey of Soil Erosion*, 1939.
SCOTT, H. H. *History of Tropical Medicine*, 2 vols., 1939.
COLONIAL OFFICE. *Report on Nutrition in the Colonial Empire*, 2 pts., 1939.
MERESCO, E. *Colonial Questions and Peace*, 1940.
TROUP, R. S. *Colonial Forest Administration*, 1940.
LUGARD, LORD. *Federation and the Colonies*, 1941.
HAILEY, LORD. *Place of the Colonies in the Commonwealth*, 1941.

THE MEDITERRANEAN

NEWMAN, E. W. POLSON. *The Mediterranean and Its Problems*, 1927.
WILSON, SIR ARNOLD. *The Suez Canal; Past, Present and Future*, 1934.
PENDER, MAJOR S. E. G. *Mediterranean Memories*, 1937.
MARTELLIE, G. *Whose Sea?* 1939.
WILLIAMS, KENNETH. *Britain in the Mediterranean* (Intro. W. E. Simnett), 1939.
EAST, G. *Mediterranean Problems*, 1940.

GARRATT, G. T. *Gibraltar and the Mediterranean*, 1939.
MACMILLAN, A. *Gibraltar and Malta* (latest edition).

ZAMMIT, SIR T. *Malta; the Islands and their History*, 1926.

SHEPHARD, E. *Malta and Me*, 1926.
FIELD, B. *Grand Harbour*, 1934.
GATT, MAJOR J. E. H. *Guide to Gozo*, 1937.
BROCKMAN, E. *Maltese Memories*, 1939.

PETO, G. E. *Malta and Cyprus*, 1927.

CYPRUS GOVT. *A Survey of Rural Life in Cyprus*, 1927–28.
OAKDEN, SIR R. *Report on the Finances and Economic Resources of Cyprus*, 1935.
STORRS, SIR R., and B. J. O'BRIEN. *Handbook of Cyprus*, 1930.
KNITTEL, R. *Cyprus Wine from My Cellar*, 1933.
GUNNIS, R. *Historic Cyprus*, 1936.
CHAPMAN, O. M. *Across Cyprus*, 1937.
CASSON, S. *Ancient Cyprus*, 1937.
HILL, SIR GEORGE. *A History of Cyprus*, 1940.
NEWMAN, P. *A Short History of Cyprus*, 1940.

HYAMSON, A. M. *Palestine, Old and New*, 1928.
THOMPSON, E. *Crusaders Coast*, 1929.
SIMPSON, SIR J. HOPE. *Report on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development*, 1930.
ANDREWS, F. F. *The Holy Land under Mandate*, 2 vols., 1931.
BENTWICH, NORMAN. *Palestine*, 1934.
ERSKINE, S. *Palestine of the Arabs*, 1936.
MACHOVER, J. M. *Governing Palestine*, 1936.
KAHN, D. *Spring up, O Well!* 1936.
FARAGO, L. *Palestine on the Eve*, 1936.
SMILANSKY, M. *Palestine Caravan*, 1936.
Palestine Royal Commission Report, 1937.
Palestine Technical (Woodhead) Commission Report, 1938.
Crown Agents' Reports on Agricultural Development and Land Settlement (L. French).
LUKE, SIR HARRY, and E. KEITH-ROACH, *Handbook of Palestine and Transjordan*, 1939.
STORRS, SIR RONALD. *Orientations*, 1938.
MAIN, E. *Palestine at the Crossroads*, 1938.

COCKBURN, J. *Gates of Jerusalem*, 1938.
SIDEBOTHAM, H. *Great Britain and Palestine*, 1938.
PEARLMAN, M. *Collective Adventure*, 1938.
KISCH, F. H. *Palestine Diary*, 1939.

INGRAMS. W. H. *Report on the Social, Economic and Political Conditions of the Hadhramaut*, 1937.
STARKE, FREYA. *Seen in the Hadhramaut*, 1939.
IRELAND, P. W. *Iraq; a Study in Political Development*, 1938

THE WEST INDIES (INCLUDING BERMUDA)

Yearbook of the Bermudas and the West Indies (annual).
ASPINALL, SIR A. *Pocket Guide to the West Indies* (latest edition).
ST. JOHNSTON, SIR R. *A West Indian Pepper-pot*, 1928.
COLONIAL OFFICE. *Report of the Closer Union Commission*, 1933.
NEWTON, A. P. *The European Nations in the West Indies*, 1933.
ASPINALL, SIR A. *The Wayfarer in the West Indies*, 1934.
MANINGTON, G. *The West Indies*, 1934.
RUTTER, OWEN. *If Crab No Walk . . .*, 1934.
MACMILLAN, W. M. *Warning from the West Indies*, 1936.
BURN, W. L. *Emancipation and Apprenticeship in the British West Indies*, 1938.
HURSTON, Z. *Voodoo Gods*, 1939.
MAKIN, W. J. *Caribbean Nights*, 1939.
GROUSE, N. M. *French Pioneers in the West Indies*, 1941.
COLONIAL OFFICE. *Report of the W. India Royal Commission*, 1941.
DEFRIES, A. D. *The Fortunate Isles* (*Bahamas*), 1929.
BELL, MAJOR H. M. *Bahamas; Isles of June*, 1934.

HARLOW, V. *History of Barbados*, 1926.
SAVAGE, R. *Barbados, B.W.I.*, 1937.

CROWN AGENTS. *Handbook of the Leeward Islands* (F. H. Watkins) (latest edition).

LEVO, JOHN. *Virgin Islanders*, 1929.

COLONIAL OFFICE. *Report on Education in the Windward Is.*, 1938.

CROWN AGENTS. *Jamaica Handbook* (annual).
GAUNT, MARY. *Reflections in Jamaica*, 1932.
OLIVIER, LORD. *The Myth of Governor Eyre*, 1934.
OLIVIER, LORD. *Jamaica, the Blessed Island*, 1936.
CUNDALL, F. *Lady Nugent's Journal; Jamaica 130 years ago*, 1936.
CUNDALL, F. *Governors of Jamaica in the 17th Century*, 1936.
CUNDALL, F. *Governors of Jamaica in the First Half of the 18th Century*, 1937.
MATHIESON, W. L. *Governor Eyre and the Sugar Colonies*, 1936.
OLLEY, P. P. *Guide to Jamaica*, 1937.

CROWN AGENTS. *Trinidad and Tobago Yearbook and Handbook* (latest editions).
REIS, C. *History of the Constitution and Government of Trinidad*, 1929.
CALDER, A. MARSHALL. *Glory Dead*, 1939.

BRITISH HONDURAS. *Report of the Commission on Financial and Economic Position*, 1934
BURDON, SIR JOHN. *Archives of British Honduras*, 3 vols., 1934–7.
CLEMENTI, LADY. *Through British Guiana to the Summit of Roraima*, 1920.
WEBBER, A. R. F. *Centenary History and Handbook of British Guiana*, 1931.
CLEMENTI, SIR C. *Constitutional History of British Guiana*, 1937.
AHMED, R. *I Rise; Story of a Negro* (B.G.), 1938.
MITTELHOLZER, E. *Corentyne Thunder*, 1941.

CROWN AGENTS. *Bermuda Handbook* (J. J. Bushell), latest edition.

BUSHELL, J. J. *Picturesque Bermuda* (Yearbook).
HAYWARD, W. B. *Bermuda Past and Present*, 1923.
STRODE, H. *The Story of Bermuda*, 1932.
WILKINSON, H. *The Adventurers of Bermuda*, 1933.
KERR, W. B. *Bermuda and the American Revolution*, 1937.

AFRICA

(GENERAL WORKS)

CLOUGH, OWEN. *African Affairs Yearbook* (Empire Parliamentary Association).
SMITH, REV. E. W. *The Golden Stool*, 1926.
BUELL, R. L. *Problem of the African Peoples*. 2 vols., 1928.
EVANS, IVOR L. *British in Tropical Africa*, 1929.
FITZGERALD, W. *Africa*, 1931.
LUGARD, LORD. *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, 1932.
WIENER, L. *Chemins de fer Coloniaux de l'Afrique*, 1932.
MANSON, R. A. *Across Africa on Foot*, 1932.
DUFF, SIR HECTOR. *African Small Chop*, 1932.
TREVOR, MAJOR T. G. *Forty Years in Africa*, 1932.
BRADLEY, K. *Africa Notwithstanding*, 1932.
STRICKLAND, C. F. *Co-operation for Africa*, 1933.
DAVIS, J. MERLE. *Modern Industry and the African*, 1933.
ORDE-BROWNE, G. ST. J. *The African Labourer*, 1933.
WILLIAMS, HOWARD. *Something New out of Africa*, 1934.
WORTHINGTON, S. & E. B. *Inland Waters of Africa*, 1934.
WERNER, DR. A. *Bantu Legends*, 1934.
STONEHAM, C. T. *Africa All Over; Hunting, Trading, Transport*, 1934.
REYNOLDS, A. J. *African Passage*, 1935.
GORER, G. *Africa Dances*, 1935.
PERHAM, M. *Ten Africans*, 1936.
MAIR, DR. L. P. *Native Policies in Africa*, 1936.
BLIXEN, KAREN. *Out of Africa*, 1937.
LUDWIG, E. *The Nile from the Source to Egypt*, 1937.
MELLAND, F., and CULLEN YOUNG. *African Dilemma*, 1937.

YOUNG, T. CULLEN. *African Ways and Wisdom*, 1937.
BALFOUR, P. *Lords of the Equator*, 1937.
NOTCUTT, L. A., and G. C. LATHAM. *The African and the Cinema*, 1937.
ROBERTS, C. C. *Tangled Justice*, 1937.
TILMAN, H. W. *Snow on the Equator*, 1937.
TROWELL, M. *African Arts and Crafts*, 1938.
HOBLEY, C. W. *Bantu Beliefs and Magic*, 1938.
HAILEY, LORD. *An African Survey*, 1938.
Supplementary vols.: WORTHINGTON, S. B. *Science in Africa*, 1938; FRANKEL, S. H., *Capital Investment in Africa*, 1938.
ROYAL AFRICAN SOCIETY. *Summary Review of An African Survey*, 1938.
MACMILLAN, W. M. *Africa Emergent*, 1938.
MARTENS, O., and DR. KARSTEDT. *The African Handbook and Travellers Guide*, 1938.
LEITH-ROSS, MRS. *African Women*, 1939.
JUNOD, H. P. *Bantu Heritage*, 1939.
WESTERMANN, D. *The African To-day and To-morrow*, 1939.
PERHAM, M. *Britain in Africa*, 1940.
PERHAM, M. *Africans and British Rule*, 1941.
FORBES, M., and E. EVANS-PRITCHARD. *African Political Systems*, 1940.
PIM, SIR ALAN. *Financial and Economic History of the African Tropical Territories*, 1941.
CARY, JOYCE. *The Case for African Freedom*, 1941.

WEST AFRICA

CROWN AGENTS. *West African Pocketbook* (latest edition).
KINGSLEY, MARY. *West African Studies*, 1899.
NEWLAND, H. O. *West Africa; a Practical Handbook*, 1922.
MCPHEE, A. *Economic Revolution in British West Africa*, 1926.
MARTIN, E. C. *The British West African Settlements* (early history), 1927.
ORMSBY-GORE, RT. HON. W. *Report on Visit to W. Africa*, 1929.

BUTT-THOMPSON, CAPT. F. W. *West African Secret Societies*, 1929.
SCHWEITZER, DR. A. *The Primeval Forest* (*W.A.*), 1928 and 1931.
JONES, G. HOWARD. *The Earth Goddess*, 1937.
STEBBING, PROF. E. P. *The Forests of West Africa and the Sahara*, 1937.
BLAKE, J. W. *European Beginnings in West Africa*, 1938.
MEEK, C. K., W. M. MACMILLAN and E. R. J. HUSSEY. *Lectures on European Impact on West Africa*, 1940.

REEVE, H. F. *The Gambia; its history ancient and modern*, 1912.
HARDINGE, R. *Gambia and Beyond*, 1934.
GRAY, J. M. *A History of the Gambia*, 1940.

CROWN AGENTS. *Handbook of Sierra Leone* (T. M. Goddard), latest edition.
BUTT-THOMPSON, CAPT. F. W. *Sierra Leone in History and Tradition*, 1926.
LUKE, H. G. *A Bibliography of Sierra Leone*, 1926.
MIGEOD, F. W. H. *A View of Sierra Leone*, 1926.

CROWN AGENTS. *Gold Coast Handbook* (latest edition).
CARDINALL, A. W. *Natives of the Northern Territories*, 1921.
RATTRAY, CAPT. R. S. *Ashanti*, 1923.
RATTRAY, CAPT. R. S. *Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, 2 vols. 1924.
CLARIDGE, W. W. *History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti*. 2 vols., 1925.
CARDINALL, A. W. *In Ashanti and Beyond*, 1927.
CARDINALL, A. W. *The Gold Coast*, 1931.
CARDINALL, A. W. *Bibliography of the Gold Coast*, 1933.
CARDINALL, A. W. *Tales Told in Togoland*, 1933.
FIELD, M. J. *Religion and Medicine of the Ga People*, 1937.
REDMAYNE, P. *The Gold Coast Yesterday and To-day*, 1938.

CROWN AGENTS. *The Nigeria Handbook* (latest edition).
MEEK, C. K. *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, 2 vols., 1925.

TALBOT, P. A. *Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, 4 vols., 1926.
GEARY, SIR W. M. N. *Nigeria under British Rule*, 1927.
HOGBEN, S. J. *Mohammedan Emirates of Nigeria*, 1930.
WILSON-HAFFENDEN, CAPT. J. R. *The Red Men of Nigeria*, 1930.
HASTINGS, A. C. G. *Nigerian Days*, 1931.
MEEK, C. K. *Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria*, 1931.
TALBOT, P. A. *Tribes of the Niger Delta*, 1932.
HAIG, E. F. G. *Nigerian Sketches*, 1932.
OAKE, M. E. *No Place for a White Woman* (Cameroons), 1932.
HIVES, F., and G. LUMLEY. *Ju-Ju and Justice in Nigeria*, 1932.
MELLOR, F. H. *Sword and Spear* (*N. Nigeria*), 1935.
BURNS, SIR A. C. *History of Nigeria*, 1942.
CROCKER, W. R. *Nigeria and British Colonial Administration*, 1936.
MEEK, C. K. *Law and Authority in a Nigerian Tribe*, 1937.
PERHAM, M. *Native Administration in Nigeria*, 1937.
DELANO, I. O. *The Soul of Nigeria*, 1937.
CAMERON, SIR D. (*My Tanganyika Service*) *and some Nigeria*, 1938.
RUDIN, H. R. *Germans in the Cameroons*, 1938.
PRICE, H. L. WARD. *Dark Subjects*, 1939.
EAST, R. (trans.). *Akija's Story*, 1939.
MILLER, W. *Yesterday and To-morrow in N. Nigeria*, 1939.
BASDEN, G. T. *Niger Ibos*, 1939.
KUCZYNSKI, R. R. *The Cameroons and Togoland; a Demographic Study*, 1939.
ANDERSON, D. *Surveyor's Trek*, 1940.
BERRY, E. *Mad Dogs and Englishmen*, 1941.

EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA

East African Red Book (annual).
ROSCOE, JOHN. 25 *Years in East Africa*, 1921.
East Africa Parliamentary Commission Report, 1925.
CHURCH, MAJOR A. J. *East Africa, a New Dominion*, 1927.
WILSON, SIR SAMUEL. *Report of Visit to East Africa*, 1929.

Closer Union of the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa, Report, 1929.
Closer Union in East Africa, Report of Joint Select Committee, 1931.
Justice in East Africa, Report of Commission of Enquiry, 1934.
JOELSON, F. S. *East Africa To-day and To-morrow*, 1934.
CULWICK, MR. & MRS. *Ubena of the Rivers*, 1935.
THURNWALD, R. C. *Black and White in East Africa*, 1936.
SWYNNERTON, DR. C. F. M. *The Tsetse Flies of East Africa*, 1937.
COUPLAND, R. *East Africa and its Invaders*, 1938.
COUPLAND, R. *Exploitation of East Africa*, 1939.
Report of the Bledisloe Commission on Amalgamation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, 1939.
HUXLEY, ELSPETH. *East Africa*, 1941.

ORDE-BROWNE, MAJOR G. ST. J. *The Vanishing Tribes of Kenya*, 1925.
BUXTON, M. A. *Kenya Days*, 1928.
HOBLEY, C. W. *Kenya from Chartered Company to Crown Colony*, 1929.
WELLER, H. O. *Kenya without Prejudice*, 1931.
Kenya Land Commission Report, 1933.
MOCKERIE, P. G. *An African Speaks for his People*, 1934.
BACHE, EVE. *The Youngest Lion*, 1934.
STRANGE, N. K. *Kenya To-day*, 1934.
HUXLEY, ELSPETH. *White Man's Country* (Lord Delamere), 2 vols., 1935.
BRETON, J. G. LE. *Kenya Sketches*, 1935.
LEAKEY, L. S. B. *Stone Age Cultures and Races of Kenya*, 1935.
WATTEVILLE, V. DE. *Speak to the Earth*, 1935.
FORAN, W. R. *A Cuckoo in Kenya*, 1936.
Kenya Finance and Taxation, Report by Sir Alan Pim, 1936.
LEAKEY, L. S. B. *Kenya Contrasts and Problems*, 1936.
LEAKEY, L. S. B. *White African*, 1937.
SIMPSON, A. *The Land that Never Was*, 1937.
DILLEY, DR. M. R. *British Policy in Kenya Colony*, 1938.

KENYATTA, J. *Facing Mount Kenya; tribal life of the Kikuyu*, 1938.
CRANWORTH, LORD. *Kenya Chronicles*, 1939.
PERISTIANY, J. G. *Social Institutions of the Kipsigis*, 1940.

JONES, H. G. *Uganda in Transformation*, 1926.
DAY, A. J. *Sunshine and Rain in Uganda*, 1932.
MAIR, DR. L. P. *An African People in the Twentieth Century*, 1934.
THOMAS, H. B. *History of Uganda Land and Surveys*, 1938.
THOMAS, H. B. and R. SCOTT. *Uganda*, 1935.
O'BRIEN, T. P. *The Prehistory of the Uganda Protectorate*, 1939.

JOELSON, F. S. *The Tanganyika Territory*, 1920.
ORDE-BROWNE, MAJOR G. ST. J. *Labour in Tanganyika Territory*, 1926.
SAYERS, G. F. *Handbook of Tanganyika*, 1930.
Tanganyika Finances, Report by Sir S. Armitage-Smith, 1932.
BOYD, JOYCE. *My Farm in Lion Country*, 1933.
REID, E. *Tanganyika without Prejudice*, 1934.
RICHTER, D. J. *Tanganyika and its Future*, 1934.
BROWN, G. G., and A. M. B. HUTT. *Anthropology in Action*, 1935.
ALEXANDER, G. *Tanganyika Memories*, 1936.
THORNHILL, C. J. *Taking Tanganyika*, 1937.
CAMERON, SIR D. *My Tanganyika Service*, 1938.
RAUM, O. F. *Chaga Childhood*, 1940.

CROWN AGENTS. *Handbook of Northern Rhodesia* (J. C. Coxhead), latest edition.
SMITH, REV. E. W., and CAPT. A. M. DALE. *The Ila-speaking Peoples of N. Rhodesia*, 2 vols., 1930.
HOLE, H. M. *The Making of Rhodesia*, 1926.
DOKE, DR. C. M. *The Lambas of N. Rhodesia*, 1931.
MEIK, V. *Zambesi Interlude*, 1936.
ROBERTSON, W. *Zambesi Days*, 1936.
ORDE-BROWNE, G. ST. J. *Report on Labour Conditions in N. Rhodesia*, 1938.

RICHARDS, A. I. *Land, Labour and Diet in N. Rhodesia*, 1939.

CROWN AGENTS. *Handbook of Nyasaland* (S. S. Murray), latest edition.
JOHNSON, VEN. W. P. *Nyasa; the Great Water*, 1922.
SAVILE, F. *The High Grass Trail*, 1924.
NORMAN, L. S. *Nyasaland without Prejudice*, 1934.
MAUGHAM, R. C. F. *Nyasaland in the Nineties*, 1935.

PEARCE, F. B. *Zanzibar*, 1919.
INGRAMS, W. H. *Zanzibar; its History and its People*, 1931.
SHELSWELL-WHITE, G. H. *Guide to Zanzibar*, 1932.
PIM, SIR A. *Report on Finances and Economics of Zanzibar*, 1932.
CROFTON, R. H. *The Old Consulate at Zanzibar*, 1936.

OTHER AFRICAN TERRITORIES

NEWMAN, E. W. POLSON. *Britain and North East Africa*, 1940.

HAMILTON, J. A. *British Somaliland*, 1911.
RAYNE, MAJOR H. *Sun, Sand and Somals*, 1921.
DRAKE-BROCKMAN, R. E. *British Somaliland*, 1932.

PIM, SIR A. *Reports on the Economic Conditions in the S. African Protectorates*, 1933–5.
HOLE, H. M. *Passing of the Black Kings*, 1933.
CURTIS, L., and M. PERHAM. *The Protectorates of S. Africa*, 1937.
MERWICK, B. A. *The Swazi; an ethnographic study*, 1940.
SCHAPERA, L. *Married Life in an African Tribe* (Bechuana), 1940.

FOREIGN OFFICE. *Handbook on the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (latest edition).
MARTIN, P. F. *The Sudan in Evolution*, 1921.
DUGMORE, A. A. R. *The Vast Sudan*, 1924.
MAFFEY, SIR JOHN. *Report on the Finances, Administration and Conditions of the Sudan*, 1932.

SELIGMAN, C. D. & B. *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932.
MACMICHAEL, SIR H. *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, 1934.
CRABITES, P. *The Winning of the Sudan*, 1934.
WYNDHAM, R. *The Gentle Savage*, 1936.
BERNATZYK, H. A. *Gari-Gari*, 1936.
HAMILTON, J. A. DE C. *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan from Within*, 1937.
"IRISH BLOOD," *Everyday Life in the Sudan*, 1937.
EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. *The Nuer*, 1940.

CEYLON, MALAYA AND THE EAST

CROWN AGENTS. *Handbook of Ceylon* (latest edition).
Ceylon; its History, People, Commerce, Industries and Resources, 1924.
Ceylon Constitution, Report of the Donoughmore Commission, 1930.
STILL, JOHN. *The Jungle Tide*, 1932.
JONES-BATEMAN, *A Refuge from Civilization*, 1932.
SMYTHE, P. R. *A Ceylon Commentary*, 1932.
MILLS, L. A. *Ceylon under British Rule*, 1933.
VIJAYA-TUNGA, J. *Grass for My Feet*, 1935
TOUSSAINT, J. R. *Annals of the Ceylon Civil Service*, 1935.
HOCKLEY, T. W. *The* 2,000 *Isles* (Maldives), 1935.
PIERIS, DR. P. E. *Portugal in Ceylon*, 1937.
PIERIS, DR. P. E. *Letters to Ceylon*, 1814–24, 1938.
MUIRHEAD, T. *Strange to Relate*, 1938.
HOLDEN, LORD. *Ceylon*, 1939.
KEBLE, T. W. *Ceylon, Beaten Track*, 1940.
SHENOY, B. R. *Ceylon Currency and Banking*, 1941.
SPITTEL, R. *Savage Sanctuary* (Veddas), 1941.

MAKEPEACE, W., Brock and Braddell. 100 *Years of Singapore*, 2 vols., 1021.
WINSTEDT, R. O. *Malaya*, 1923.

SONG ONG SIANG. 100 *Years History of the Chinese in Singapore*, 1923.
ENRIQUEZ, MAJOR C. M. *Malaya, its People, Flora and Fauna*, 1927.
ORMSBY-GORE, RT. HON. W. *Report on Visit to Malaya, Ceylon and Java*, 1928.
SWETTENHAM, SIR FRANK. *British Malaya*, 1929.
WILSON, SIR SAMUEL. *Report on Visit to Malaya*, 1933.
BILAINKIN, G. *Hail, Penang!* 1933.
COLONIAL OFFICE. *Report on Decentralization in Malaya*, 1934.
BRADDELL, R. *The Lights of Singapore*, 1934.
AINSWORTH, L. *Confessions of a Planter in Malaya*, 1934.
FORAN, W. R. *Malayan Symphony*, 1935.
BURKILL, I. H. *The Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula*, 2 vols., 1935.
LOCKHART, R. B. *Return to Malaya*, 1936.
EMERSON, RUPERT. *Malaysia*, 1937.
COLONIAL OFFICE. *Report of the Commission on Mui Tsai in Hong Kong and Malaya*, 1937.
FAUCONNIER, H. *The Soul of Malaya*, 1937.
MALAYAN GOVT. AGENCY. *Handbook to British Malaya* (Capt. R. L. German), 1938.
EVANS, IVOR. *The Negritos of Malaya*, 1938.
STOCKDALE, SIR F. *Report on Agriculture in Malaya, etc.*, 1939.
MCLEAN, SIR W. *Report on Higher Education in Malaya*, 1939.
MIDDLEBROOK, S. M., & A. W. PINNICK. *How Malaya is Governed*, 1940.

RUTTER, E. O. *British North Borneo*, 1922.
HARRISON, T. (ed.). *Borneo Jungle; Oxford Expedition*, 1939.
SARAWAK, RANEE MARGARET. *My Life in Sarawak*, 1913.
SARAWAK, RANEE MARGARET. *Good Morning and Good Night*, 1935.
SARAWAK, RANEE SYLVIA. *Three White Rajas*, 1939.
KEITH, A. *Land Below the Wind*, 1940.

Hong Kong Directory and Chronicle (annual).

SAYER, G. R. *Hong Kong, Birth, Adolescence and Coming of Age*, 1937.
COLONIAL OFFICE. *Report of the Commission on Mui Tsai in Hong Kong and Malaya*, 1937.
MACDONALD, T. *The Peak*, 1941.

THE ISLAND OUTPOSTS

Fiji and the Western Pacific :

CHAPPLE, MAJOR A. J. *Fiji, its Problems and Resources*, 1921.
BREWSTER, A. B. *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, 1922.
CROWN AGENTS. *The Colony of Fiji*, 1874–1931.
HENDERSON, G. C. *Fiji and the Fijians*, 1931.
HENDERSON, G. C. *Discoverers of the Fiji Islands*, 1933.
FOSTER, H. L. *A Vagabond in Fiji*, 1934.
WALKER, N. *Fiji, People, History and Commerce*, 1936.
BREWSTER, A. B. *King of the Cannibal Islands*, 1937.
THOMPSON, LAURA. *Fijian Frontier* (Inst. Pacific Relations), 1940.

CROWN AGENTS. *Handbook of the British Solomon Islands* (latest edition).
HUMPHREYS, C. B. *The Southern New Hebrides*, 1926.
WOOD, A. H. *History and Geography of Tonga*, 1932.

The Pacific Islands Yearbook (annual).
ST. JOHNSTON, SIR T. H. *Islands of the Pacific*, 1921.
ST. JOHNSTON, SIR T. R. *South Seas Reminiscences*, 1922.
GREENBRI, S. *The Pacific Triangle*, 1922.
PUXLEY, W. L. *Green Islands in the Glittering Sea*, 1925.
MCCLURE, H. R. *Land Travel and Sea Faring*, 1925.
COLLINETTE, C. L. *Sea Girt Jungles*, 1926.
BROWN, J. MACMILLAN. *Peoples and Problems of the Pacific*, 1927.
ALEXANDER, G. *'From the Middle Temple to the South Seas*, 1927.

IVENS, W. G. *The Island Builders of the Pacific*, 1930.
CHEESMAN, E. *Backwaters of the Savage South Seas*, 1933.
BELLAMY, R. R. *The Real South Seas*, 1933.
BEAGLEHOLE, J. C. *Exploration of the Pacific*, 1934.
HOGBIN, H. I. *Law and Order in Polynesia*, 1934.
CROMER, J. *Jock of the Islands*, 1935.
BERNATZYK, H. A. *Sudsee; travels in the South Seas*, 1935.
ANDREWS, C. F. *India and the Pacific*, 1937.
VANDERCOOK, J. W. *Dark Islands*, 1938.

Mauritius and the Seychelles :

CROWN AGENTS. *Mauritius Handbook* (annual).
CROWN AGENTS. *Seychelles* (latest edition).
PHILOGENE, R. *The Island of Mauritius*, 1928.
REID, T. *Report on the Financial Situation of the Seychelles*, 1934.
TOUSSAINT, A. *Port-Louis; Deux Siècles d'Histoire*, 1937.
BRADLEY, J. T. *History of the Seychelles Islands*, 1937.
OZANNE, E. *Coconuts and Creoles*, 1937.

Falklands :

BOYSON, V. F. *Falkland Islands*, 1924.
GOEBEL, J. *The Struggle for the Falkland Islands*, 1927.
MATTHEWS, L. H. *South Georgia*, 1931.
OMMANEY, D. *South Latitude*, 1938.
RYMILL, J. A. STEPHENSON, and H. R. MILL. *Southern Lights* (British Grahamland), 1939.

Tristan :

GANE, D. M. *Tristan da Cunha*, 1932.
CHRISTOPHERSON, E. *Tristan da Cunha, the Lonely Isle*, 1940.
BRANDER, J. *Tristan da Cunha*, 1940.
CRAWFORD, A. H. *I Went to Tristan*, 1941.

Pitcairn :

NORDHOFF, C., and G. L. HALL. *Mutiny, Men against the Sea, and Pitcairn Island*, 3 vols., 1935.
SHAPIRE, DR. H. L. *Heritage of the Bounty*, 1936.

New Hebrides :

HARRISSON, T. *Savage Civilization*, 1935.
MARSHALL, A. J. *The Black Musketeers*, 1937.

Solomons :

COLLINSON, C. W. *Life and Laughter Midst the Cannibals*, 1926.
DICKINSON, J. H. C. *A Trader in the Savage Solomons*, 1927.
KNIBBS, S. C. G. *The Savage Solomons*, 1929.
FIRTH, R. *Primitive Polynesian Economy*, 1939.
HOGBIN, H. I. *Experiments in Civilization*, 1940.
PHILLIPS, J. S. *Coconut Quest*, 1940.

BIOGRAPHY AND ORGANIZATIONS

HARLOW, V. *Christopher Codrington*, 1928.
SMITH, E. J. *Aggrey of Africa*, 1929.
MAUROIS, A. *Marshal Lyautey*, 1931.
MOFOLO, THOS. *Chaka*, 1931.
GWYNN, S. *Life of Mary Kingsley*, 1932.
LOCKHART, J. G. *Cecil Rhodes* (Great Lives), 1932.
ALLEN, B. M. *Gordon of the Sudan*, 1932.
MEGROZ, R. L. *Ronald Ross; Discoverer and Creator*, 1932.
SYMONS, A. J. A. *H. M. Stanley* (Great Lives), 1933.
THURM, SIR EVERARD IM. *Thoughts, Talks and Tramps*, 1934.
GIBBON, L. G. *Niger; the Life of Mungo Park*, 1934.
WARNER, A. *Sir Thomas Warner; a Pioneer of the West Indies*, 1934.
ELIBANK, VISCOUNT. *A Man's Life*, 1934.
COUPLAND, R. *Raffles*, 1781–1826, 1934.

WELLESLEY, D. *Sir George Goldie, Founder of Nigeria*, 1934.
HIRD, FRANK. *H. M. Stanley*, 1935.
GWYNN, S. *Mungo Park and the Niger*, 1935.
NTARA, S. YOSIA. *Man of Africa*, 1935.
ALLEN, B. M. *Gordon* (Great Lives), 1935.
GOULD, R. T. *Captain Cook* (Great Lives), 1935.
CRUICKSHANK, E. A. *Life of Sir Henry Morgan*, 1935.
HUXLEY, ELSPETH. *White Man's Country* (Lord Delamere), 2 vols., 1935.
LYNE, R. N. *Apostle of Empire, Sir L. W. Mathews of Zanzibar*, 1936.
SOMERVELL, D. C. *Livingstone* (Great Lives), 1936.
FARAN, W. R. *African Odyssey; Vernon Lovett-Cameron*, 1937.
DIXON, C. W. *Colonial Administration of Sir Thos. Maitland*, 1940.

BOOSÉ, J. R. *Memory Serving;* 50 *Years of the Royal Colonial Institute*, 1928.
FOLSOM, A. *The Royal Empire Society*, 1933.

FOREIGN COLONIAL SYSTEMS

SCHNEE, DR. H. *German Colonization, Past and Future*, 1926.
FRASER, D. C. *Through the Congo Basin*, 1927.
JASPERT, W. *Thro' Unknown Africa* (Portuguese West), 1930.
SOUTHWORTH, C. *The French Colonial Venture*, 1931.
ROBERTS, W. *History of French Colonial Policy*, 2 vols., 1932.
SARRAUT, A. *Grandeur et Servitude Coloniale*, 1932.
TANSILL, C. C. *Purchase of the Danish West Indies*, 1932.
LABOURET, H. *Le Cameroun*, 1937.
ROOSEVELT, T. *Colonial Policies of the U.S.A.*, 1937.
MUMFORD, DR., and MAJOR ORDE-BROWNE, *Africans Learn to be French*, 1937.
CARLIN, JOHN. *Gulla the Tramp* (French Cameroons), 1937.
THOMPSON, V. *French Indo-China*, 1938.
HOWE, S. F. *The Drama of Madagascar*, 1938.

LEWIN, EVANS. *Germans and Africa*, 1938.
STEER, G. L. *Judgment on German Africa*, 1938.
AMERY, L. S. *Germany's Colonial Claim*, 1939.
JOELSON, F. S. *Germany's Claim to Colonies*, 1939.
WHYBROW, S. J. B., and H. E. EDWARDS. *Europe Overseas*, 1939.
LE NEVEU, C. A. *Les Empires Coloniaux*, 1939.
QUARANTE, F. *Ethiopia, an Empire in the Making*, 1940.
PICK, F. W. *Searchlight on German Africa*, 1940.
MOORE, M. *Fourth Shore* (Italian Libya), 1940.
DAVIS, W. E. *Congo Doctor*, 1941.
HOLLIS, C. *Italy in Africa*, 1941.

There are many titles on other Colonies, including those of the Dominions, and of the latter, the following may be given as examples:

CHAMPION, I. F. *Across New Guinea from the Fly to the Sepik*, 1932
MONCKTON, C. A. *New Guinea Recollections*, 1934.
KEESING, F. M. *Modern Samoa; its Government and Changing Life*, 1934.
CHEESMAN, E. *Two Roads of Papua*, 1935.
HIDES, J. G. *Through Wildest Papua*, 1935.
HIDES, J. G. *Papuan Wonderland*, 1936.
DEMAITRE, D. *New Guinea Gold*, 1936.
Official Handbook to the Territory of New Guinea, 1938.
LEAHY, M., and M. CRAIN. *The Land that Time Forgot*, 1939.
VEDDER, DR. H. (trans. C. G. HALL). *South West Africa in Early Times*, 1939.

Index

Abeokuta, 79
Achimota College, 76, 182, 214
Aden, 43
Africa, 68
Africa, Central, 83, 96
Africa, Council of, 226
Africa, East, 83
Africa, West, 68; future, 81
African problems, 110
African Survey, 68, 182
Aggrey, Dr., 182
Aggrey House, 187
Amani research station, 162, 218
American bases in West Indies, 66
American help, 207, 212
American oversea territories, 201
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 101
Angola, 199
Antigua, 50
Arabs and Jews in Palestine, 38
Ascension, 132
Ashanti, 73
Association of British Malaya, 186

Bahamas, 47
Barbados, 48
Bases, American, in West Indies, 66
Basutoland, 108
Bechuanaland, 107
Belgian Congo, 196
Bermuda, 61
Bibliography, 229
Bledisloe Commission, 98
Borneo, 125
Britain in the Mediterranean, 25
Britain's Colonial policy, 22
British Empire League and Club, 186
British Guiana, 57
British Honduras, 60
British North Borneo, 127
British Solomon Islands, 143
British Somaliland, 104
British South Africa Company, 95
Brookes of Sarawak, 126, 184
Brunei, 126
Bureau of Hygiene and Tropical Diseases, 210

Cameron, Sir Donald, 182
Cameroons, 76
Caribbean Colonies, 45
Cayman islands, 53
Central Africa, 83, 96
Ceylon, 113
Ceylon Association, 187
Codringtons and Codrington College, 49, 179
Colonial Advisers and Advisory Committees, 160
Colonial Audit, 159
Colonial Central Administration, 148, 220

Colonial centre in London, 220
Colonial Council, 220
Colonial Defence, 176
Colonial Development and Welfare Act, 204
Colonial Empire described, 15
Colonial Empire Union, 187
Colonial Governments, 163
Colonial mission to America, 7, 204
Colonial Office, 19, 149
Colonial periodicals, 230
Colonial pioneers and organizations, 178
Colonial policy, 22, 203
Colonial problems, 5, 203
Colonial Service, 170
Colonial Societies, 184
Colonial students, 187
Colonial welfare, 187
Colonies and Dominions, 218, 219, 221
Corona Club, 187
Crown Agents for the Colonies, 153
Crown Colonist, 188
Cyprus, 31

Davson, Sir Edward, 179
Defence Forces of the Colonies, 176
Delamere, Lord, 88
Department of Overseas Trade, 159
Development and Welfare Act, 204
Diseases, Colonial, 215
Dominica, 53
Dominion Dependencies, 147
Dual Mandate, 182, 203, 223
Dutch Colonial Empire, 193

East Africa, 83; closer union, 89
East African Governors' Conference, 90, 100
Economic opportunity, equal, in Colonies, 222
Education in the Colonial Empire, 211
Eleutherian Adventurers, 47
Empire Societies' co-ordination, 186
Erosion, 217

Falkland Islands, 134
Federated and Unfederated Malay States, 119
Fiji and the Western Pacific, 140
Foreign Colonial systems described, 189
Forestry, 217
Fort Hare School, 214
Fourah Bay College, 72, 214
French Colonial Empire, 189
Future of the Colonies, 221

Gambia, 70
German Colonies, 202; former, 74, 76, 93, 147
Germany in Africa, 85
Gibraltar, 26
Gilbert and Ellice Islands, 142
Gold Coast, 72
Goldie, Sir George, 76, 181
Gordon, General, 183
Gordon Memorial College, 104, 214
Grenada, 52
Guggisberg, Sir Gordon, 182

Hailey, Lord, 68, 182, 218
Hamilton, Alexander, 50, 179

Health in Colonies, 210
High Commission Territories, 106
Hong Kong, 128
Hong Kong University, 130, 215

Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, 161
Imperial Institute, 161
"Imperialism" dead, 7
Indirect Rule, 166
International Control of Colonies, 223
Iraq, 37
Italian Colonies, 201

Jamaica, 53
Jeanes School, 214
Jeffries, C. J., 176
Jewish National Home, 38

Kay, J. A., 188
Kenya, 87
Kenya and Uganda railway, 87
Kew Gardens, 161
Kingsley, Mary, 180, 182
Kirk, Sir John, 85, 183

Lagos Colony, 78
Laird, McGregor, 181
Leeward Islands, 50
Leprosy, 216
Locusts, 216
London Colonial centre, 220
Lugard, Lord, 76, 182

Makerere College, 93, 214
Malaria prevention, 215
Malaya, British, 119
Maldive Islands, 119
Malta, 28
Mandates, 204, 224, and see under individual countries
Matthews, Sir Lloyd, 86
Mauritius, 136
Mediterranean Colonies, 25
Montserrat, 51
Mozambique, 199

Native administration, 166
Nauru, 146
Netherlands Indies, 194
New Hebrides, 146
Niger Company, Royal, 77
Nigeria, 76
Nile, 103
Nutrition in Colonial Empire, 209
Nyasaland, 99

Overseas League, 185

Palestine and Transjordan, 36
Palestine Royal Commission, 40
Park, Mungo, 181
Parliamentary Colonial Committee, 220
Periodicals, Colonial, 230
Pests and diseases, 215
Phoenix islands, 145
Pitcairn, 145
Portuguese Colonies, 198
Preference, Imperial, 222

Raffles College, 215
Raffles, Sir Stamford, 119, 180
Rhodes, Cecil, 95, 183
Rhodesia amalgamation, 98
Rhodesia, Northern, 98
Rhodesias and Nyasaland, 94
Rollason, George, 188

Royal African Society, 186
Royal Empire Society, 184
Ruanda-Urundi, 93, 197

St. Helena and Ascension, 132
St. Kitts—Nevis, 50
St. Lucia, 51
St. Vincent, 52
Sarawak, 126
Seychelles, 138
Sierra Leone, 71
Singapore, 120, 124
Sleeping sickness, 216
Solomons, British, 143
Somaliland, 104
South African Protectorates, 106
Spanish Colonies, 200
Standards of living, Colonial, 208
Statute of Westminster, 16
Stockdale, Sir Frank, 65
Straits Settlements, 119
Sudan, Anglo-Egyptian, 101
Swaziland, 109

Tabora School, 214
Tanganyika, 93
Tobago, 55
Togoland, 74
Tonga, 144
Trade, Colonial, 20, 222
Transjordan, 42
Trinidad and Tobago, 55
Tristan da Cunha, 133
Trusteeship, 6, 22, 203
Tsetse fly, 216
Turks and Caicos islands, 53

Uganda, 91

Victoria League, 186
Virgin islands, 51

War effort of Colonies, 7
West Africa, 68
West India Royal Commission, 64
West Indian Federation, 65
West Indies, 45
West Indies, American bases in, 66
West Indies Club and Committee, 186, 187
West Indies Comptroller, 65; Conference, 64
Western Pacific, 140
White communities in Africa, 88, 90, 219
Williams, Sir Robert, 183
Windward Islands, 51
World Colonial Court suggested, 224
Wrench, Sir Evelyn, 185

Zanzibar, 84

OVERLEAF

particulars of publications
of similar interest
issued by

GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD
LONDON: 40 MUSEUM STREET, W.C.1
CAPE TOWN: 58–60 LONG STREET
SYDNEY, N.S.W.: 65 YORK STREET
TORONTO: 91 WELLINGTON STREET WEST
BOMBAY: 15 GRAHAM ROAD, BALLARD ESTATE
WELLINGTON, N.Z.: 8 KINGS CRESCENT, LOWER HUTT

Plan for Africa

by Rita Hinden

With an introduction by A. Creech Jones, M.P.

Cr. 8vo *Maps by J. F. Horrabin* *7s. 6d. net*

Looking back on the last twenty years, our sins as an imperial power appear to have been sins of omission rather than sins of commission. Our fault is that we have been too easy-going and thoughtless, rather than deliberately brutal or malicious. *Plan for Africa* illustrates this theme by exposing the lack of plan under which the British African colonies have been allowed to develop. Two colonies are taken as examples—Northern Rhodesia, until recently one of the poorest territories in Africa, and the Gold Coast, one of the richest and most successful. In both countries, a policy lacking direction and purpose and a careless tendency to let private interests have their way, have held up progress; and African interests have been subordinated to the interests of European capitalists, settlers and traders.

Dr. Hinden contends that there must therefore be a "plan for Africa." Large sums of money must be spent boldly in providing backward countries with their basic public services, and this money must be given as free grants from the British Exchequer on the lines already accepted in the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940, but on a much larger scale. The money must also be spent purposefully, to develop a balanced economy in the colonies, and not to maintain them as mere feeders to the European economic system.

India: The Road to Self-Government 1908-1940

by John Coatman

Cr. 8vo *Maps and Illustrations* *5s. net*

The subject matter of this book shows the general progress of India between 1908 and the present time. The most spectacular and easily demonstrated progress has been in the political field, but progress has been very great in economic and general social conditions also. The greatest emphasis is laid on political progress because this is, after all, the governing condition of any people's status and capacity for self-help and self-government, and, in this particular case, is the best possible test of the kind of relations which exist between India and Great Britain.

LONDON: GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD

GIBRALTAR

SARAWAK

GOLD COAST

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

NIGERIA

ST. VINCENT

NYASALAND

PALESTINE

MALAYA

WINDWARD ISLANDS

HONG KONG

CYPRUS

TANGANYIKA

FALKLAND ISLANDS

JAMAICA

CEYLON

MAURITIUS

FEDERATED MALAY STATES

LEEWARD ISLANDS

SEYCHELLES

UGANDA

BAHAMAS

BRIT. HONDURAS

ST. LUCIA

NORTHERN RHODESIA

ZANZIBAR

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

KENYA

SIERRA LEONE

ST. HELENA

NORTH BORNEO

GAMBIA

BRITISH GUIANA

MALTA

GILBERT AND ELLICE ISLANDS

BERMUDA

BRITISH SOLOMON ISLANDS

FIJI

ADEN

BARBADOS