

1931

Kenya

No. 17105

SUBJECT: CO 533/408

*Facilities for, and treatment of, natives
on the Railway.*

Previous

Subsequent

FILE C.

(1410) W-21107-1 1-20-4/1
U.S. GPO: 1931

1 Canon Leakey
submits comments on an article in "Country
Review" for February on the treatment of
rates on the railways

2 minute by 1. 11. 1

I have sent an appreciative
ms. note thanking Canon
Leakey for his trouble -
relying him that the answers
will be sent to S.J.

x making whether he wd. have
any obj. to a copy being
sent to him by me personally
if S.J. so wishes.

Subject to Canon Leakey
having no obj. as at x,
I think it wd. be well to
send to Sir Byre copy
of the article & Canon
Leakey's memorandum
explaining how we got
the memorandum - the
obj. that we shall be
glad to have any further
comments Sir Byre
may wish to make -
and if he wishes also

are wiki of an act
in practical and bin
to consider as the
what can be done on
to a sub in p 5 of the
means as for
as to C.

All Parkmen
12.3.31

We obtained the consent of the Secretary of State to this being delayed until we could get Canon Koakey's views, and I feel sure that the delay has been well worth while. I am becoming reluctant to refer to my own experience of East Africa, but I can testify to the excellent spirits of natives whom I saw crowded ~~at~~ together on a train, and also to the entire absence of any side-walk nonsense in Nairobi.

I agree as to action.

W.S.S. 4.3.31.

Sec of State.
(through D. Shields)

I am glad that you agreed to get Canon Koakey's views on this very misleading article.

I did all my travelling during the short time I was in Kenya

by rail and I must confess that I saw no great difference in the way natives are treated on the railways there to the way they are treated on the railways in the other colonies that I know, viz West African and West Indian Colonies.

G.H.B.

6.3.31.

I think the fortnightly article a very good one and Canon Koakey's apology not quite so convincing as I would like it to be. I agree that it would be well for both articles and memo to go to Sir J. Byrnes. I am not in favour of an extra class on the railways.

J.S.S. 9.3.31.

As proposed.
(Something will have to be done in the way of improvement)

P 20/3

Draft has been sent to the Library and getting another copy of the fortnightly. The

Use skill come from line 1.

Assembly a Mr. Parkman

Journal 13/3/31

Recd 13.3.31

3 Honor Lady _____ 6 March
business addendum to memorandum.

4 To Sir J. Byrne (w/c 14 addendum) - Gmo-s.o 17 MAR 1931
(w/c 2 "Fortnightly")

5 Sir J. Byrne 5/0 _____ 29 May
business comments by general manager on
allegations in portions of the article in
"Fortnightly" review which refer to railways.

6 Sir J. Byrne 5/0 _____ 2nd June
reply to allegations re illegal beatings and
treatment of natives on railway.

One is very glad to learn from
Pg. X, Y & Z in no. 5 - that there is
no racial barrier or discrimination
under the regulations of the railway.
The Govt. in no. 5 did not deal
with the point at P, namely that
even though there were nothing in
the regulations, there is a
row if eg. a black man wanted
to dine in the restaurant car. One
is glad to see this point met in no. 6.

The Govt. deals with the special
points mentioned in no. 4 quite
effectively.

I ack. & thank for the
trouble taken to deal so fully
with an article which was
clearly full of inaccuracies.

J. G. D. 29.6.31

It is likely enough that a
certain type of white resident
in E.A. would object to
a native occupying the
same compartment or
rallying a meal in the
dining car. The Administration
cannot be held responsible
for the personal prejudices
of individuals.

In general, the Government
sends a very satisfactory
reply to this article.

? as proposed.

re: Parkman
2.7.31

W.C.S. 2.7.31

Sec of State

(through Dr. Shields)

Just should see. Thank it well

be sufficient of a reply as
suggested by the Eastwood is
sent.

B.H.G.

2.7.31.

I agree! I would be very glad if it is true
that natives travel 2nd and 3rd class and
can drive in the Restaurant car. The Post
says a number travel 2nd, and that it is
"not unknown" for a native to use the restaurant
car. I wonder who the hero was!
Nevertheless, I think a pretty good defence is
made, and any proper points of criticism
in the article will no doubt be noted. I
must say I don't like the paper even if they
are thought necessary.

T.S. 15.7.31.

As proposed

P 147

It is true I might perhaps write
that Mr Pennington says the other
day that when Soriano Kukulbiza
went to Jerusalem in 1927 he
travelled 2nd class across Kenya
or rather started 2nd class,
but was bumped out of a
crowd of toughs on the way.
C. P. 15.7.31

To: Sir J. Byrnes (not answered) 17 JUL 1931
(1931)
DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KENYA

2nd June 1931
26 JUN 1931
P.O. OFFICE

My dear Bottomley,

No. 5

This is in continuation of my letter of the 29th May in which I enclosed a memorandum from the General Manager of the Railways dealing with certain allegations made in the "Fortnightly" by one Captain Hichens who by the way is not known to anyone here. I will deal with the various points separately:-

Illegal beating. On page 230 Captain Hichens says, "It is accepted as a matter of course that farmers, planters and estate managers shall on occasion inflict corporal punishment". This gives quite a wrong picture. It is not accepted as a matter of course. I am assured by the Acting Chief Native Commissioner that there is every reason to believe that the practice has rapidly decreased, is still decreasing and is now almost non-existent. It is not of course possible to prove this as if a native labourer were to accept a beating in preference to being taken to Court on some criminal or civil charge he would not be likely to complain and the employer would not be likely to report the incident. Labour officers, however, who are.....

Answered - 17 JUL 1931

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KENYA,
EAST AFRICA.

2nd June, 1931.

who are always touring the country and visiting farms and plantations get a pretty good idea of what is going on and are generally able to appreciate any developments in the relations between employers and employed and particularly in the mentality and general outlook of the native labourers. Their observations and reports are to the effect that beatings must now be very rare. Both employers and employed know that they are quite illegal, and the former are as reluctant to have recourse to such a punishment as the latter are to undergo it. As a matter of fact relations between employers and employed in this country are usually of a most friendly nature and are based on a good deal of mutual affection and esteem. I doubt if they are better anywhere in the world.

Participation in public and social services:
Page 231. This statement is definitely untrue.

It has for some years been part of the Railway Administration's settled policy to train Africans to participate in the working of the Railways and Harbours. Provision is made in the Estimates not only for their training but also for their employment in many capacities.

African.....

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KENYA,
EAST AFRICA.

2nd June, 1931.

African clerks are employed in many Government offices. There is an Arab and African Clerical Service which has at present 200 members, while probably another 100 are serving on similar terms though not actually members.

Apprentices are trained by the Medical, Agricultural, Veterinary and Education Departments and there is hardly a department of Government in which Africans are not given employment in accordance with their capabilities.

To encourage Africans to take their part in public and social services is a very definite and prominent part of this Government's policy.

Racial Equality: page 231. There is no racial discrimination on the Railway. At Depot Stations the Administration provides shelters for the protection of third class passengers, in which seating accommodation is provided. These shelters are fenced, and close-by latrine accommodation as well as water is provided. A refreshment stall is also adjacent to the shelter. It is true these shelters are at times crowded, but not as a result of a herding movement except on the part of those intending passengers.....

2nd June, 1931.

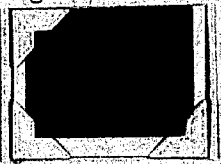
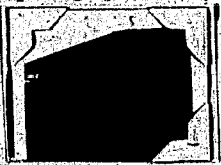
passengers who are at liberty to stay outside the shelter if they wish to.

As soon as the train by which these passengers intend to travel arrives the natives are shown to the coaches they are to travel in. No other way of dealing with third class passengers on a busy platform is possible and in the case of Native third class passengers, it must be remembered that they generally travel with a head load. Were such passengers allowed on the platform immediately they had purchased their tickets, it would only create confusion and annoyance to every class of passenger. A native who purchases a second or first class ticket can go on the platform immediately he purchases his ticket and enjoy the same facilities as are accorded to other first or second class passengers. At Depot stations visitors entering on the platform have to take out a platform ticket. There is no racial distinction in the issue of platform tickets. At wayside stations, where the issue of platform tickets is not in force, native passengers and visitors to the platform have the same freedom as Europeans; in fact, it has been found.....

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KENYA,
EAST AFRICA.

2nd June, 1931.

found necessary to ask the local Administrative authorities to use their influence to discourage native visitors from overcrowding the platform at certain stations. Discrimination between the nature of the facilities provided for the varying classes of passengers is a world-wide practice. That discrimination is based on business principles, having due regard to the customers' mode of life, and ignores all racial distinctions. This is a common sight at Railway stations in all countries. You may be interested in these two photographs of the so-called "cages".



No one is ever shut up in them. They are always open to the outside world and the crowding is quite voluntary and for the purpose of securing the best seats when the doors open.

Obscene altercations: page 232. The General Manager comments as follows:-

"I am.....

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KENYA,
EAST AFRICA.

2nd June, 1931.

"I am perfectly sure that were such a state of affairs
"as is suggested in this paragraph, or anything even
"approaching it, actually to exist, representations would
"have been made locally by the numerous persons and bodies
"who have the welfare of the native at heart. I am aware
"of no such representations. In regard to the sanitary
"facilities for native female passengers, the remarks of
"the Railway Medical Officer probably will be of interest.
"He reports :-

'It is difficult to offer serious comment upon
'an article so crowded with inaccuracies and
'mis-statement as that in question.

'The Native sanitary arrangements are not
'invariably by nature of a dilapidated corru-
'gated iron hut": in most cases native
'latrines are constructed of concrete, and all
'the older type are being replaced by convenien-
'ces approved by the authorities as conforming
'to the standards of present day sanitation.
'The condition of their interiors is clean at
'least.....

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KENYA,
EAST AFRICA.

2nd June, 1931.

'least once a day; at other times their
'cleanliness depends on the habits of their
'users.

'The tone adopted throughout the article
'makes one wonder whether even the author
'could expect that it should be regarded
'seriously!'

Refreshment stalls: page 233. Refreshment
stalls, catering for native requirements, exist at all
stations where there is any demand sufficient to warrant
such facilities. These stalls are leased and the prices
charged by the lessees obviously must be such as to secure
custom and there is no reason to believe such prices are
unreasonable.

NBX Trucks: page 233. The practice of making
third class passengers travel in an NBX except in case of
emergency no longer exists. It was common in 1925 and
1926. The majority of third class passengers are now
conveyed.....

*Possibly these have no
lavatories. But they are
only recent at home -8-
W.S.*

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KENYA,
EAST AFRICA

2nd June, 1931.

conveyed in the new long electrically fitted coaches with baggage and lavatory accommodation and the rest in the smaller ones. "NBX" are used for working gangs, Railway or Post Office, with their equipment, and for natives who travel on goods as opposed to mixed or passenger trains. If natives care to pay first or second class fare they are treated just like other passengers of these classes.

Quite a number travel second now-a-days and it is not unknown for a native to travel first class to eat his meals in the dining car together with everybody else. But it will of course be a long time before the average native thinks it worth while to pay Shs. 4/- for a Railway dinner.

Intermediate Class: The question of providing an intermediate class has already been carefully considered by the Railway authorities and has been noted for introduction when the financial position permits.

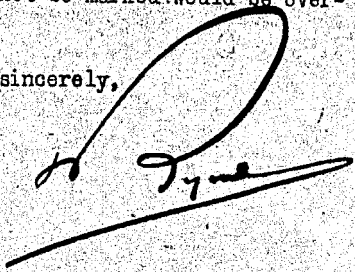
Women Only Carriages. I am not so convinced of the necessity for a supply of compartments marked "for women....."

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KENYA,
EAST AFRICA.

2nd June, 1931.

"women only". I think that for the present at least the demand for such carriages must be very limited and I cannot help feeling that if they were provided they would often be empty while those not so marked would be overcrowded.

Yours sincerely,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink, possibly reading 'H. D. Jones', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

155

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
NAIROBI,

KENYA

29th May, 1931
RECEIVED
25 JUN 1931
COL. OFFICE

My dear Bottomley,

No. 2 on 14083/31

Reverting to the last para of your personal letter of the 4th March (No.17083/31), the Secretary of State might be interested to see the enclosed comments of the General Manager on the allegations made by the writer of the Article in the February "Fortnightly Review" entitled "The Rise of the Black People".

Yours sincerely,

Sir W.C. Bottomley. K.C.M.G., C.B., O.B.E.
The Colonial Office.
London.

Answered. 17 JUL 1931

Telegraphic Address:
RAILWAYS NAIROBI
 P. O. Box No. 121.
 TELEPHONE No. 600.

GENERAL MANAGER'S OFFICE
 NAIROBI, 19th May 1931.
 KENYA COLONY.

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR TRANSPORT.

SUBJECT: THE RISE OF THE BLACK PEOPLE.

**HIGH COMMISSIONER'S
 DECISION.**

MINUTE.

With reference to the article which appeared in the February issue of the "Fortnightly Review" under the title "The Rise of the Black People", and to which His Excellency the Governor's attention was drawn by the Secretary of State, I subjoin, in juxtaposition, those portions of the article which refer to these Railways, together with my remarks thereon:

Extracts from Article.

Remarks.

Despite the insistence upon paramountcy and equality of native interests, no provision has yet been made, nor has any, apparently, been anticipated as essential, either by settlers or government, for the native's participation in these very public and social services in which we have been most urgent in persuading the native to appreciate and to co-operate.

It has for some years been the Administration's settled policy to train Africans to participate in the working of the Railways and Harbours. Reference to the Estimates of expenditure will shew that provision is made, not only for their training but also for their employment in many capacities.

That main public service, the railway, affords an outstanding case in point, for it brings within the general focus a great number of points of social and economic contact between white and black which have their counter-

So far as the African (qua African) passenger on these Services is concerned, there is no racial discrimination.

between

and

At most of the East African Railway stations may be seen any day ribald and disgusting stultification of all efforts to raise the native standard, and a short train journey evidences at every turn the wide distinctions between black and white. So far as racial equality goes, the black's race-barrier on the railroads is made literally of tempered steel. It consists of a steel grille, like a cattle-pen, to herd the blacks from propinquity with the whites. Into these cages - there is no other word for them - on Nairobi, Mombasa and other stations, native passengers are crowded before the train arrives; they are not allowed on the platform. Europeans are, of course, admitted to the platform and as a rule whether they are intending passengers or not, the white man's baggage, and baggage is usually considerable on long East African train runs, is allowed to be put, by his black servant, into the coach, in which the white passenger may elect to sit until the hour of departure; or he may stroll and chat on the platform, visit the buffet and dining room, enjoy a drink or a meal in well designed, clean, airy buildings in which his culture and comfort are especially catered for. If he is hot and dusty, a well-appointed toilet room is available to him, equipped with suitable sanitary arrangements. Waiting rooms and station seats are also provided for his convenience. We assume these conveniences as a matter of course. In contrast, none is provided for the black. One may remark here that the native contribution to the finances of the railways, both in fares and in general votes through the Treasury, is considerably in excess of the white man's proportion so that upon financial grounds alone the native is in a position to claim major and not minor consideration.

At Depot Stations the Administration provides shelters for the protection of 3rd class passengers, in which seating accommodation is provided. These shelters are fenced and close by latrine accommodation as well as water is provided. A refreshment stall is also adjacent to the shelter. It is true these shelters are at times crowded, but not as a result of a herding movement except on the part of these intending passengers who are at liberty to stay outside the shelter if they wish to.

As soon as the train by which these passengers intend to travel arrives the natives are shewn to the coaches they are to travel in. No other way of dealing with 3rd class passengers on a busy platform is possible and in the case of Native 3rd class passengers, it must be remembered they generally travel with a head load. Were such passengers allowed on the platform immediately they had purchased their tickets, it would only create confusion and annoyance to every class of passenger. A native who purchases a 2nd or 1st class ticket can go on the platform immediately he purchases his ticket and enjoy the same facilities as are accorded to other 1st or 2nd class passengers. At Depot stations visitors entering on the platform have to take out a platform ticket. There is no racial distinction in the issue of platform tickets.

At wayside stations, where the issue of platform tickets is not in force, native passengers and visitors to the platform have the same freedom as Europeans; in fact, it has been found necessary to ask the local Administrative authorities to use their influence to discourage native visitors from overcrowding the platform at certain stations.

Discrimination between the nature of the facilities provided for the varying classes of passengers is a world-wide practice. That discrimination is based on business principles, having due regard to our customers mode of life, and ignores all racial distinctions.

This is a common sight at Railway stations in all countries.

Quoi qu'il en soit, he is thronged into the grilled station room, men, women and children, and there he must stay with his baggage, his worrying wife or wives, his hot, whimpering, children.

Usually a violent and obscene altercation goes on between the (Indian) babu station staff and indignant natives. The babus lose no opportunity to place native passengers under ridicule, obloquy and every trivial, loutish inconvenience of the most exasperating kinds, such as only the babu mind can machinate. Baggage is deliberately damaged or muddled; the native is told he has too much baggage; if he wants a ticket, he must come to the box later: when he comes later he is cursed for not coming earlier. In many cases he is given wrong change, or refused change for notes and told to get small cash; trouble is made about his wives and children; are his wives prostitutes, fugitive from the police? Is he abducting someone else's wife? Where is he going? Has he permission to go? What is he going for? And so on.

To the native, who like the rest of us, is apt to arrive at the railway station in a hurry, somewhat hot and bothered, harassed with his family and concerned about his baggage, the treatment meted out on the average East African station is literally provocative of murder. Assuredly no white man would stand it; the station would be strewn with dismembered babus! Even the placid, good-tempered African disposition, which

I am perfectly sure that were such a state of affairs as is suggested in this paragraph, or anything even approaching it, actually to exist, representations would have been made locally by the numerous persons and bodies who have the welfare of the native at heart. I am aware of no such representations. In regard to the sanitary facilities for native female passengers, the remarks of the Railway Medical Officer probably will be of interest to the High Commissioner. Dr. Wallington reports :-

It is difficult to offer serious comment upon an article so crowded with inaccuracies and misstatements as that in question.

The Native Sanitary arrangements are not "invariably by nature of a dilapidated corrugated iron hut": in most cases native latrines are constructed of concrete, and all the older type are being replaced by conveniences approved by the authorities as conforming to the standards of present day sanitation. The condition of their interiors is clean at least once a day; at other times their cleanliness depends on the habits of their users.

The tone adopted throughout the article makes one wonder whether

and indignity of this should - be simple matter of buying a train ticket; and the railway native grille is one of the few places in East Africa where the native completely loses his temper. Moreover, no provision whatever is made for the toilet of his women-folk and children, who like most women and children get hot and dusty travelling and require facilities for washing. The native sanitary arrangements, too, are invariably by nature of a dilapidated corrugated iron hut whose interior is foul beyond words, an ironic stultification of the authorities' efforts to teach sanitation to the native.

No adequate provision is made for the black to obtain refreshments. There may be a tea or fruit stall, run by an Indian, where those commodities may be had at exorbitant prices, and at stations up country along the line, itinerant natives visit the coaches selling fruit, milk, eggs, fowls and so on. But no room is provided where the native may sit to eat a meal in peace, and in the clean orderly surroundings, that the Education and Medical Departments have told him he should strive for.

A few natives travel second-class, mainly servants, for whom their masters have paid, chiefs, headmen, native gentlemen and traders; but the great mass of the native passengers travel third, in trucks of two kinds, one a wooden built truck, long and corridor-like, with a long wooden form down each side as seating provision; the other, known as an NKK, and iron truck, just an open metal truck intended for goods and becoming as hot as Hades after a short run under the tropic sun. In neither of these is there any lavatory accommodation, and the native passenger who desires this convenience must needs hold his soul in peace until the next station stop, a mile or maybe twenty miles ahead. No provision whatever is made for native passengers' meals or refreshment on the train during the journey, so that a native travelling from, say, Mombasa to Kisumu, or from Dar-es-Salaam to Tabora, is faced with the prospect of two days without cooked, hot food, and must subsist, with his women-folk and children, upon such cold viands as he can carry with him or buy by the wayside. Neither is a proper water supply provided. The natives may obtain hot water from an obliging engine-driver, or cold from the station

Refreshment stalls, catering for native requirements, exist at all stations where there is any demand sufficient to warrant such facilities. These stalls are leased and the prices charged by the lessees obviously must be such as to secure custom and there is no reason to believe such prices are unreasonable.

The great bulk of our native traffic is conveyed in bogie coaches, electrically fitted and with seating and baggage accommodation and lavatories. Conveyance of natives and goods trucks has practically ceased.

The Government Labour Inspector, who has been consulted in regard to the conditions under which natives travel on these services, is generally satisfied with our arrangements.

There appears to be no definite restriction against a native dining in the train's dining saloon nor at a dak bungalow; it does not seem to have been contemplated that a black would do any such thing. But it is certain that were an ordinary native to take a seat in the station meal room and order dinner, amongst European passengers, he would be "removed". The majority of Europeans would object to eating in company or rather eating in equality of circumstances with a black. They have no objection, per se, to the presence of natives in the dining room, for the table boys are natives. But the sight and thought of a black sitting down to dine with them would exasperate most settlers to the point of ejecting the black man with such vocal or physical force as might be requisite. Settlers would doubtless be puzzled to give logical reasons for their objection. They would probably find no fault with the black diner's behaviour; they would probably admit that he was "a decent enough fellow; but, hang it all, he's a native!"

Equally, the spectacle of a native, however well comported, educated and dressed, and though he might be the chief of a tribe drawing a government honorarium- the spectacle of him dining in dinner dress at one of Nairobi's European hotels would be a public and Press sensation.

Generally, the author of this article appears to have been inspired by a desire not so much to help the native as to create in native circles a feeling of discontent based upon alleged racial distinctions which do not exist; and, for purposes best known to himself, to indulge in inexactitudes which can only create in the minds of his readers an entirely erroneous impression of this Administration's attitude towards the aborigines of these territories.

Edwards

15 MAR 1944

Mr. C. ...
Mr. J. ...
Mr. G. ...
Foreign ... U.S. of S.
Party ... U.S. of S.
Secretary of State

W. H. ...
... to ...
... to ...

... for ...
... Army's ...
March 23

My dear Byrnes

DRAFT

St. E. ...
...
Keng ...
CS

I enclose a copy of the
... in February. On page
229 to 230 you will find
an article by one Capt. W.
Hickens about the application
of the principle of "native policy"
in Kenya, particularly as
regards road facilities on
the railway.

The Sec of State
admits that the statements
made might be required
into & we ^{thought at least} ~~are~~ ~~get~~
way ~~to get~~ ~~to get~~
Canon ... (let us have
his comments in a memo.
I enclose
A/copy of this with a
supplementary note ...

~~Intelligence~~
~~... by ...~~

~~... of Canon ...~~
~~... to ...~~
~~... to ...~~
~~... to ...~~

C. O.

Mr.

Mr.

Mr.

Mr. Tomlinson

Sir C. Bottomley.

Sir J. Shuckburgh.

Sir G. Grindle.

Perm. U.S. of S.

Parly. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State.

DRAFT.

illegal breeding
 the point about ~~some~~
 of water by private individuals, the
~~product~~ at the end of
 the memo. & an idea one is
 nothing more that can possibly be
 true? anything else? done to
 prevent ~~the~~ ^{this?} ~~infection~~
 { private individuals? }

Yours sincerely

(Signed) W. O. BOTTOMLEY

ack'd accept
73-21

23
/

4 Catharine Villas,
Oopse Hill, S.W. 20.
March 6, 1931.

Dear Mr. Larkinson,

I should not only be willing but even pleased to have my memo sent on to Sir Joseph Byrne if the Secretary of State thinks it can be of any use, as by this means my own little axe - the need for better accommodation for the educated Africans - would get a little grinding perhaps.

Will you please be so good as to see that the enclosed addendum is pinned on to the memo.

Yours sincerely,

Harry Berkeley

Believes handwriting in
K. U. H. writing

Copy addendum to Sir J. Byrne
3/31/31

Addendum to the Memo on the Article on East Africa in the Fortnightly Review of Feb. 2nd. 1981.

Since writing my memo. I have been told by my son that he believes there is a clause in the K.U.R. Regulations which permits a station-master to send a batch of Africans who are travelling on a cheap Concession Ticket in an open goods van if it is important that they should proceed at once and no third class carriages are available.

If this is correct such an alternative might be a great boon to all concerned on a bright fine day for a short day journey: but on the other hand, if it should be a cold wet day or a night journey the consequences might be very serious for the ill-clad natives. If again it is left to the judgment of a babu to decide I should not much trust his discretion in such a matter when Natives were concerned.

Harry Mackey

RECEIVED
-5 MAR 1951
COL. OFFICE

Memorandum on the Article in the Fortnightly Review, February, 1951, (2)
The Rise of the Black People. 25

- Note. In criticising this article I wish it to be remembered :-
- (1) that the writer of it is comparing Railway facilities to, extended to Europeans with those to ordinary African Natives, viz. the raw native. Were he comparing with those extended to the detribalized African who has taken a considerable upward step forward in the march of civilization, and yet is treated in exactly the same way as the raw native, my criticisms would be quite different.
 - (2) that the article deals with Tanganyika Territory as well as with Kenya and that anything which I say only applies to Kenya as I have no first hand knowledge of T.T.

The writer of the article is evidently a keen observer and he has during his sojourn in East Africa noticed a sight which does often sadden anyone who cares about the welfare and comfort of the black races. Unquestionably one often sees Natives who have paid their fare herded together ^{on the railings} in a way that is disgraceful. Yet this is not done intentionally to annoy, but for the same reason that thousands of persons are forced every morning and evening to 'strap hang' in the outskirts of London, if they fail would reach their destinations.

It is also true that the Natives have to wait behind an iron gateway, 'the steel grille' referred to, at big stations like Nairobi and Mombasa, until ^{with} a reasonable time of the departure of the train, while Europeans, with travelling or platform tickets, walk straight on to the platform as early as they like. On a busy day when there happens to be an abnormally large number of native passengers, and this place, specially reserved for the purpose, proves uncomfortably small, it is in truth a gruesome sight. But this whole question of barriers is really only much the same as the way in which a 'rough' or unrefined crowd has often to be controlled by cordons of police, or a balliade, at a Cup Tie Match, lest they ^{spectators} should trespass beyond where they have a right to go, while the large crowd of visitors to the Eton and Harrow Cricket Match merely show their tickets and walk about at liberty. It is

Copy (w/ Addendum) to Brig. Gen. Byrnes, S.O. 17 MAR 1951

just a matter of education. The ones can be trusted not to rush the pitch or interfere with the players, because they have learned how to behave, while the others at present have not.

As long as the African is uneducated, and as long as he behaves in an untutored way, so long must he, unfortunately, be treated as an irresponsible child; though of course this should always be done as kindly as possible.

It appears fairly obvious from his article that the writer has never come into really close contact with the raw native in his village life, and therefore cannot see things quite from the Native point of view, but looks at them all from his own. As an example of this we read of his complaint that cold water from the station hydrant is all that is provided for him, or rather available for him to use. As a matter of fact special drinking taps are supplied at certain stations, but I can guarantee that if there were half a dozen well kept filters on the platform, and also a large flow from the engine-filling hydrant, there would be a delighted crowd revelling in the abundant supply of the one, and there would be no one at the filters. It would be like offering a navy beer in a liqueur glass! For if it were cold they would not touch water at any price, while if it were warm they would delight not only in drinking the water to their hearts content - such beautiful clear water as they never see in their own villages - but also in bathing their heads and faces and hands and feet.

Again on page 233, he speaks of the foul state of the latrines. Quite true, and he was a brave man if he made a personal inspection! But he probably does not know that the untutored native has not the vaguest notion how to use such a place, but, if forced to go inside at all, he will foul every possible part of the inside except the right one.

Once more, on page 233, he speaks of the lack of accommodation for native women to perform their toilet. Is he aware, I wonder, that on principle, because it is 'native custom' (a term much used now as something sacred to be retained at all cost!) a raw Kikuyu woman does not wash herself, that is to say, have anything which could correspond in effect to what we call taking a bath, from the day she is married, or anyhow classed as a matron, until her death! Surely to provide the amenities of what we consider essential for 'ladies'

toilet in a specially constructed lavatory should hardly be expected !
 Such things as are sold by the itinerant vendors at the carriage doors, or provided on tables at some of the stations are bought by some of the native travellers much in the same way that a European will buy chocolate or fresh fruit. But the real provision for the inner man during the journey he prefers to provide for himself before the start, and not to pay the fancy prices which would be asked if sold en route.

With regard to the rolling stock accommodation for the third class passengers the carriages have been very miserable uncomfortable places in the past. But as a matter of fact they have always reminded me of the third class on the old S.E.R. when I was young ! Really no worse in themselves. But the overcrowding I admit was often painful to behold. (In fact nearly as bad as their own huts at times !) However this overcrowding is probably more or less inevitable at times, and the passengers who had taken their tickets (like the modern strap-hanger) much preferred to be allowed to get in than wait for the next train, which would not be "in three minutes time", but at the same time to-morrow" very likely ! And so genial and hospitable is the African that the others inside would never think of objecting to one more getting in and crowding up the carriage. The bars at the windows and the locking of the carriage doors between the stations must be considered to be as much for the safety of the passengers as for the convenience of the guard~~s~~ and those responsible for the train. I am very glad to be able to report that a very fine new type of ~~xxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ saloon carriage with a lavatory attached has now been constructed for third class passengers; but there are not a great number of these yet.

With regard to the remark that Africans are not forbidden, and yet do not attempt to mix with Europeans at meals, at present the African does not wish to do so, but as soon as he is qualified by cleanly habits and clean garments, and is furthermore willing to pay for a meal which at the moment would be quite insufficient for his appetite, no one will prevent his doing so. However, all that is said in the article about the feelings of the average European in the Colony if they saw a Native presuming to 'meet on equal terms socially....' one of themselves is only too true. The possibility of such a thing, within a future worth considering, seems absolutely ridiculous to him. This is because

only comes into close contact with his servants, or his 'labour', or maybe his squatters. But missionaries and Government officials who have close dealings with the Native Clergy, leading school masters and educated headmen and clerks do know that the time is fast approaching when this ~~ixia~~ will be inevitable and the Europeans or 'majority of settlers' who consider this as 'visionary and an impracticable idea' ... 'repugnant to their personal pride' will have to put up with it, and put that pride in their pockets, for it can no more be stopped than the incoming tide of the sea.

The reference to the iron trucks called NBX, I do not understand. I feel pretty sure, however, that the writer, if he is referring to something he has seen in Kenya, has mistaken ^{for ticket holding passengers} the common sight on the railway of a huge gang of 'coolie' labour for the railroad work, or a contract party for a fuel camp, being given an unpaid-for lift to their destination, for ~~ticket holding passengers~~. To the best of my knowledge no regular passenger is permitted to mount into one of these 'open trucks intended for goods'. These people are generally talking and laughing and in the heat of spirits and at getting a ride gratis!

The Indian 'babu' comes in for a considerable share of condemnation. He poor fellow has a pretty hard time of it himself. The African has absolutely no respect for him whatever, and treats him in a way he would dream of treating a European. The Indian soon loses his temper because a noisy crowd of natives will not listen to what he is telling them, nor obey him. Then, of course, there is trouble. While the article says, page 228, that the station would be strewn with 'dismembered babus', if the Indians were to behave to the white man as he does to the African, it is equally true that the station would be strewn with a good many dismembered Africans if they ventured ^{to behave} to the white man as they do to the Indian babu!

Much of the trouble described in the second half of page 232 is because the Indian works to his instructions, like a machine; and the African does not understand the reason-forred tape regulations which annoy him, and he thinks the babu is doing it for that purpose, hence quarrels arise.

On the whole, the article, while bringing out much that is very true, and making very interesting reading, exaggerates the picture of raw natives' discomfort while travelling. If, on the other hand, it referred to the unhappy semi-educated natives who are not yet differentiated by many from their unsophisticated and uncleanly confreres, because their

skin is black, it would ventilate a real grievance.

An intermediate class between second and third is greatly needed for the use of these. In reply to a question which I put to the General Manager of the K.U.R. in Legislative Council, during the debate on the 1931 Estimates, he assured me that the construction of such carriages had been begun, but that on the ground of reducing expenses the work had been stopped. Personally I would like to see this most necessary addition to the railway's rolling stock pushed forward, even at the expense of improvements which are contemplated in the first and second class corridor compartments.

A

Another great need, not touched upon in the article under review, is a supply of compartments marked 'for women only' in the third class. Conditions are fast changing and to-day scores of unmarried girls come down to Mission schools near the Capital from squatter families in the Njoro and Elmenteita districts, returning from time to time to visit their friends, and these have to be herded into carriages with males, even on night journeys.

B

The reference in paragraph two of Chap. II conveys a somewhat wrong impression. It is inclined to lead one to suppose that ~~things~~ the state of things in the streets of Nairobi are similar to that of certain cities of South Africa. This is not the case. European ladies may be seen any morning threading their way among crowds of natives walking along the side walks of the main street where it is realized they have as much right as any one else to be.

What is said about private individuals inflicting corporal punishment is unfortunately true. But it is known to be illegal, and any complaint brought by a native to the notice of the D.C. would be taken cognizance of. But what usually happens is that a native who has seriously offended is given the choice of being taken to the Foga, or, of receiving a whipping on the farm, or wherever it may be, and it is constantly stated that the man invariably chooses to have the whipping, and get the thing over! Unless it be made punishable to chastise a man at his own request this will continue. However ^{when it} ~~that~~ is said that resentment about this state of things will be felt, and that it will be actively opposed the writer has rightly sensed the feelings of the 'young nationals' community, and I myself have heard questions asked as to why a white man should be allowed to treat a black man in the way that a black man cannot treat a white man.

See letter to Comm. L. 10/2/31
6/3/31
Harry Lamb

THE RISE OF THE BLACK PEOPLE

BY CAPTAIN W. HICHENS

"The gods have made no man despicable."
—African Native Proverb.

I

A NEGRO was baked alive in a cell in a Texas gaol a few months ago, while a mob of white men—and women—fought against the tear-bombs and guns of the police in their frenzy to tear a black man to pieces.

Such outbreaks of the race-hatred which permeates the whole of American contact between black and white, are more than significant at the moment when Britain, in recasting her native policy for the East African colonies, has not only reaffirmed the paramountcy of native interests, but has declared that where black and white interests conflict, "the former should prevail."

To-day we may look with revulsion on the lynchings of blacks in America. Our contact with blacks is wider; yet we avoid that degradation of national emotion. In Eastern Africa some thirty thousand whites live cheek by jowl with fifteen million blacks: in houses, shops and offices, on farms and plantations, in the street and the home, white and black men and women contrive to live and work upon terms of close industrial contact, but in amity. There are no lynchings, and as yet there is no active or vocal expression of racial antagonism to embitter their everyday relations. As a race the natives respect the whites; as a class, the white settlers do not disrespect the blacks. To a great degree the settlers associate themselves with the broad outlines of the Government's policy of trusteeship. They are tolerant of the native's vagaries and shortcomings, critical and corrective of his worst vices, not unappreciative of his virtues and ambitions, and not unwilling that he

should progress towards civilisation by learning a lesson from contact with white standards of life, industry and thought.

II

At the same time, settlers are conscious and proud of being quite distinct from the natives. They are members of the dominant white race and they regard themselves not only racially, but individually, as the superiors socially, economically, and mentally of the blacks. That they have neither desire nor intention to relinquish this dominant status is made evident by the strenuous opposition levelled by the settlers at the native policy now reaffirmed in the recent White Papers, which they describe as "retrogressive" and "anti-pathetic to the European population," and by no means do they contribute to the "ideal" that white and black can "some day meet upon equal terms intellectually, socially, and economically," the hope of the Hilton Young Report. Indeed, the majority of settlers may be said to regard black and white racial equality not as an ideal, but as a visionary and impracticable idea, not only subversive to their national prestige, but repugnant to their personal pride. It is here that there gapes the first fissure of a colour chasm, even were it not for the fact that barriers bristling with racial jealousies have already been raised as foundations to an edifice of racial conflict of the acutest kind.

Everyday life in the streets of Nairobi or Darassalaam can instance many of these racial crevasses, small but like cracks in ice, of imminent portent. The native, for instance, is expected and he at present concurs, to make way for the white man on the footpath, not to sit until given permission, and, if sitting, to stand in the white man's presence, to come at a run when he calls, and to respond if he beckons, though he may be an utter stranger. It is accepted as a matter of course that farmers, planters and estate managers shall on occasion inflict corporal punishment, usually with a whip of rhino-hide, upon native labourers for insolence, theft, desertion, laziness, breakages, or what not. At present this dominant attitude over the unsophisti-

cated native, who is new to both the liberties and the restrictions of the white régime, may even be claimed to be of a beneficial and disciplinary nature. But it does not conform to the principles of racial equality of Britain's native policy, and although no very active resentment is yet shown by the mass of the natives, yet the time is now come when the native will definitely resist and actively oppose this dominant stance of the white; and that, not only in minor matters of everyday public contact, but in the much more acute field of those social and public amenities which are oil to the cogs of convenable daily life.

III

Despite the insistence upon paramountcy and equality of native interests, no provision has yet been made, nor has any, apparently, been anticipated as essential, either by settlers or government, for the native's participation in those very public and social services in which we have been most urgent in persuading the native to appreciate and to co-operate.

That main public service, the railway, affords an outstanding case in point, for it brings within the general focus a great number of points of social and economic contact between white and black which have their counterparts in social and industrial contact between the two races in the everyday course of life in the home, the office, the workshop, the hotel and so on.

At most of the East African railway stations may be seen any day ribald and disgusting stultification of all efforts to raise the native standard, and a short train journey evidences at every turn the wide distinctions between black and white. So far as racial equality goes, the black's race-barrier on the railroads is made literally of tempered steel. It consists of a steel grille, like a cattle-pen, to herd the blacks from propinquity with the whites. Into these cages—there is no other word for them—on Nairobi, Mombasa and other stations, native passengers are crowded before the train arrives; they are not allowed on the platform. Europeans are, of course, admitted to the platform and as a rule whether they are intending passengers or not: the

white man's baggage, and baggage is usually considerable on long East African train runs, is allowed to be put, by his black servant, into the coach, in which the white passenger may elect to sit until the hour of departure; or he may stroll and chat on the platform, visit the buffet and dining room, enjoy a drink or a meal in well designed, clean, airy buildings in which his culture and comfort are especially catered for. If he is hot and dusty, a well-appointed toilet room is available to him, equipped with suitable sanitary arrangements. Waiting rooms and station seats are also provided for his convenience. We assume these conveniences as a matter of course. In contrast, none is provided for the black. One may remark here that the native contribution to the finances of the railways, both in fares and in general votes through the Treasury, is considerably in excess of the white man's proportion, so that upon financial grounds alone the native is in a position to claim major and not minor consideration.

Quoi qu'il en soit, he is thronged into the grilled station room, men, women and children, and there he must stay with his baggage, his worrying wife or wives, his hot, whimpering, children.

Usually a violent and obscene altercation goes on between the (Indian) *babu* station staff and indignant natives. The *babus* lose no opportunity to place native passengers under ridicule, obloquy and every trivial, loutish inconvenience of the most exasperating kinds, such as only the *babu* mind can machinate. Baggage is deliberately damaged or muddled; the native is told he has too much baggage; if he wants a ticket, he must come to the box later; when he comes later he is cursed for not coming earlier. In many cases he is given wrong change, or refused change for notes and told to get small cash; trouble is made about his wives and children; are his wives prostitutes, fugitive from the police? Is he abducting someone else's wife? Where is he going? Has he permission to go? What is he going for? And so on.

To the native, who like the rest of us, is apt to arrive at the railway station in a hurry, somewhat hot and bothered, harassed with his family and concerned about his baggage,

the treatment meted out on the average East African station is literally provocative of murder. Assuredly no white man would stand it; the station would be strewn with dismembered *babus*! Even the placid, good-tempered African disposition, which will stand a good deal of affront in white contact, is riled by the trouble and indignity of this should-be simple matter of buying a train ticket; and the railway native grille is one of the few places in East Africa where the native completely loses his temper. Moreover, no provision whatever is made for the toilet of his women-folk and children, who like most women and children get hot and dusty travelling and require facilities for washing. The native sanitary arrangements, too, are invariably by nature of a dilapidated corrugated iron hut whose interior is foul beyond words, an ironic stultification of the authorities' efforts to teach sanitation to the native.

No adequate provision is made for the black to obtain refreshments. There may be a tea or fruit stall, run by an Indian, where those commodities may be had at exorbitant prices, and at stations up-country along the line, itinerant natives visit the coaches selling fruit, milk, eggs, fowls and so on. But no room is provided where the native may sit to eat a meal in peace, and in the clean orderly surroundings, that the education and medical departments have told him he should strive for.

A few natives travel second-class, mainly servants, for whom their masters have paid, chiefs, headmen, native gentlemen and traders; but the great mass of the native passengers travel third, in trucks of two kinds, one a wooden-built truck, long and corridor-like, with a long wooden form down each side as seating provision; the other, known as an NBX, an iron truck, just an open metal truck intended for goods and becoming as hot as Hades after a short run under the tropic sun. In neither of these is there any lavatory accommodation, and the native passenger who desires this convenience must needs hold his soul in peace until the next station stop, a mile or maybe twenty miles ahead. No provision whatever is made for native passengers' meals or refreshment on the train during the journey, so that a native travelling from, say,

Mombasa to Kisumu, or from Daressalaam to Tabora, is faced with the prospect of two days without cooked, hot food, and must subsist, with his womenfolk and children, upon such cold viands as he can carry with him or buy by the wayside. Neither is a proper water supply provided. The natives may obtain hot water from an obliging engine-driver, or cold from the station hydrant, unless and until the station babu raises the all too frequent objection.

There appears to be no definite restriction against a native dining in the train's dining saloon nor at a dak bungalow: it does not seem to have been contemplated that a black would do any such thing. But it is certain that were an ordinary native to take a seat in the station meal room and order dinner, amongst European passengers, he would be "removed." The majority of Europeans would object to eating in company or rather eating in equality of circumstances with a black. They have no objection, *per se*, to the presence of natives in the dining room, for the table boys are natives. But the *sight* and *thought* of a black sitting down to dine with them would exasperate most settlers to the point of ejecting the black man with such vocal or physical force as might be requisite. Settlers would doubtless be puzzled to give logical reasons for their objection. They would probably find no fault with the black diner's behaviour; they would probably admit that he was "a decent enough fellow: but, hang it, all, he's a native!"

Equally, the spectacle of a native, however well comported, educated and dressed, and though he might be the chief of a tribe drawing a government honorarium—the spectacle of him dining in dinner dress at one of Nairobi's European hotels would be a public and Press sensation.

IV

The possibility of the native in the garb of his new education, culture and self-respect that we have tailored for him, entering into normal public life as a normal member of society, to enjoy the quite common and ordinary social amenities that all whites regard as necessary factors in daily

life, is a contingency which neither settlers nor officials appear to have contemplated despite that it is the alpha and omega of the native policy. In so many words the Hilton Young Report states, "*If white and black can some day meet on equal terms, intellectually, socially and economically, their racial and economic antagonisms may be merged in a community of interests.*" It is to that end that most of the native tribes have been given literal self-government upon a tribal basis which absorbs European ideas of progress into the mould of all that is sound and progressive in the tribal régime. The enthusiasm which the various tribes have directed towards the enlightenment of their tribesfolk, the development of their lands and herds upon up-to-date scientific, economic and industrial methods; their willingness, indeed, anxiety to embrace the white man's systems of education, child welfare, public hygiene and sanitation, agricultural, veterinary, transport and other methods, has been a dual source of official gratification not unmingled with unofficial consternation during the past few years. This intensive "civilisation" is being avidly assimilated by the younger natives of the rising generation. The widespread adoption of European clothing, the increasing desire to build houses in European style, if smaller in scale, and to equip the native home with furniture; the new and keen interest of the native in magazines and newspapers, cinemas and other public recreations and events; these are but a few indications which show that the day has come when the native will try his prentice hand at living up to a civilised scale. But the white community evinces no preparation for the admission of the native into their plane of life.

On the contrary, the attitude of the mass of the whites is that the black "should be kept in his place." His attempted incursions into the social and public arenas of the white is regarded as more than an intrusion. It is looked upon as a trespass upon the racial preserves of the white and as a kind of racial indecency on the part of the black, which calls for prevention and correction, by penalty if necessary, not only in the interests of white prestige but in the interests of black prestige; because it "takes

the native out of his proper sphere," to use the common phrase.

The merest approach of the native to white standards, except in case of white convenience or conviction, is indeed a source of irritation to many settlers. A native, for instance, is expected to wear a shirt and shorts if he walks in Nairobi's streets, and if he strolls nude, except for a windblown blanket as the Masai are apt to do, settlers write to the Press and complain that such things are subversive to public decency. On the other hand, if the native out of working hours discards his khaki shirt and shorts and dons a smart European suit, with collar and tie, socks, shoes and gloves, then the irked settler complains that the black is "apeing" the white and that there is in this a risk of the native becoming "too familiar" and "lacking in respect." In the same way the white objects to the insanitary state of native kraals: but he objects much more forcibly to any idea of natives being permitted to reside, at white standards, in white residential quarters.

Nothing could be more evident than that this race-conscious and race-jealous attitude cannot go hand in hand with any policy of black and white racial equality. While at present there is only a small minority of the native population either able or desirous of sharing the public status, rights, conveniences, pleasures and privileges of the white, it is only too obvious that the coming generation of natives will strive earnestly to set themselves in the higher plane of the white man's daily standards. Either that, or the native policy will be a failure, or its principles will be shown to the native as false and hypocritical to the point of viciousness.

It is equally evident that with his active intention to live to a higher standard, the enlightened native will be impatient, and rightly so, of inconvenient racial distinctions and disadvantages which in the past his forebears have placidly endured. The railway, for instance, was a marvel to the pre-war native: a rail journey was an adventure. The war, however, showed its easy and practical utility. To-day, natives regard the railway as quick, cheap, convenient transport. They are by far the largest users of it.

To the native of the new policy the railway will be an economic necessity, as necessary to him and his tribe as spears and shields were thirty years ago. It is not likely, in the trend of human nature, that the native educated at a government college, trained in standards of self-respect, hygiene, comfort and business, and who embarks, say, upon coffee planting at Moshi (where the natives have already a great planting industry with its native planters' association), will be content, on a business trip, to travel in a sweltering iron NBX truck, with no seats, no meals, and nothing to sleep upon except the metal floor. What was tolerable to his father will be exasperating to him. He will demand and will be willing to pay for the same amenities of public service enjoyed by the average white.

We need not anticipate that the cultured African of the new régime will seek to travel with whites in the same coach, or dine with whites in the same hotels or clubs, or sit with whites in the same rows of theatre stalls, nor, indeed, even transact business in pseudo-white environment. The native, like us, much prefers his own colour. He is not, and has no occasion to be ashamed of being black; he enjoys the social pleasures and intimacies of the folk of his own race, who share his mental and psychological outlook.

It is noteworthy that eminent Africans to-day in East Africa do not seek to obtrude themselves upon white society: and this applies not only to the now many cultured Africans of the coast, but to the more "primitive" up-country chiefs and members of the kindly and aristocratic tribal families, whose comportment and culture, although peculiar to the African environment, invariably bears the irrefutable hall-mark of good taste and gentility.

But the enlightened native will not, of course, be obtuse to the aura of racial hostility, whatever its political or social veneer, that the white community sets against the incursion of the black into the preserves of the white standard. The native feels very much that way himself: he dislikes the white man butting in upon tribal privacies and privileges. As the tendency of the existing native associations and social organisations in East Africa shows, the native, like

the white, tends to keep within his own social circles. He already has his own clubs; his own small restaurants, his own political, agricultural and industrial societies, whose interests are solely black. Their power is as yet small; but it needs no imagination to perceive, with the rising generation of educated and enlightened natives, all blessed with the benison of our native policy of equal racial privilege, that black organisations with a populace of fifteen millions behind them could argue very forcibly about dominance and status and social and public privilege, against the negligible minority of settlers who in all East Africa do not yet number fifty thousand.

V

However cultured one is, however willing to pursue racial harmony, one must live. And the majority of us must work to live: and in this plain fact considerable conflict of racial interest is already imminent in East Africa. The trained educated native has now invaded the realm of the unskilled white worker with such success that this venue of the labour market is already closed to whites. It is but a matter of a few years when qualified native doctors, lawyers, surveyors and other professional men will be practising in the tribes, as pioneers in the white professional field.

The growth of native planting and farming industries is being watched with considerable consternation and alarm by whites engaged in those pursuits, for the native has already shown—as instance cotton on the Rufigi, which has increased from £3,000 a year to £50,000 a year, in five years, and coffee at Moshi, which has grown from nothing to £40,000 a year in like time—that black industry can produce economic crops of world importance on a scale and at a price that are both a serious menace to white enterprise.

The tribal system of self-development, moreover, tends to turn the tribes into enormous co-operative societies for industrial and productive effort directed towards the production, perfection and marketing, in bulk and with the

merest margin of expenditure, of specific commodities under non-competitive conditions. Such conditions are the antithesis of the risks, hazards, and obstacles which beset the white man's individual enterprise, and present a factor threatening the submergence of the white farming, planting, and commercial community, which cannot be disregarded in the economics of African enlightenment.

Physical and physiological factors, too, would appear to operate adversely to the white in his struggle to maintain a dominant status against the up-trend of black standards. Apart from the various tropical diseases which harm the European, but against which the black would seem to have acquired, in many cases, either immunity or at least considerable resistance, it is more than a moot point whether the white can survive a decade in the tropics. By this is not meant whether he can spend part of his life under tropical conditions; but whether as a permanent resident in the tropics he will be able to propagate and perpetuate his kind up to the present physical, mental and psychological standards which are commonly accepted as those of the white man to-day.

Despite vigorous contra-assertions, it is well known that residence over a comparatively short period in Kenya produces a state of memory-lethargy known locally as "Kenya memory." This would not seem to be an impairment of the intellect, but merely a slowing down of the recollective process. Again, while residence on the lowland coast of Kenya produces a markedly easy-going placid outlook, residence in the highlands around Nairobi produces a type antithetic to an equally marked degree.

On leave at home most East Africans will admit to the exaggeration of viewpoint, the distortion of critical faculty, the lack of perspective and proportion, that are the results of residence in the highlands. On minor as well as major issues, both social and political, East Africans as a community may be described as hyper-sensitive. And paradoxically though it may seem, there is also a tendency to sub-normal sensitivity in matters of social régime. Conduct which would be scowled upon at home is glossed over as being in some way excusable in the tropics; intemperance of habit,

dress and appetite, and incontinence of person and speech, being the outstanding instances. Psychologically this tropical hyper-sensitiveness on the one hand is complementary to subnormal sensitivity on the other, and the quotient of this ratio is found in the factor of general degeneration of standard. In purely physical factors, white life in East Africa has been over too short a period for any reliable data to have been collated, but South Africa instances the production of a "type" which departs from the standard that the East African would himself set as typical of the "white man." South African born, speech, countenance and personal deportment are typical of themselves only; they are a production of South African conditions. Similarly, it is only to be anticipated that East Africa will evolve its white type, and, ethnologically, it is likely to trend more towards the negroid than towards the white type. Apart from any intermingling of the racial bloods, it has been fairly conclusively shown that life under tropical conditions modifies physical structure. For instance, whites with thin, narrow noses are less likely to survive than those with broad, thick noses, since the latter type of nose is the suitable organ for a hot, moist climate. An expressed swarthinness may also be postulated in the future generations of whites in the tropics; for the pigmentation of the negro skin is, of course, an environmental characteristic. Equally, the tropical heat and ultra-rays and changed atmospheric conditions, quite apart from the dependence of the white upon black labour for many activities that he would otherwise discharge himself, will inevitably be reflected in a general slowing down of nervous and mental processes, with a corresponding diminution of control over the natural appetites. This tendency towards and menace of degeneration has not been overlooked by those whose concern it is to apprise white settlers of such factors in the development of tropical white society. "One objective," says a recent Rhodesian Educational Commission Report, "must be to develop in the white youth of the country the moral stamina to overcome strong and subtle influences which in a mixed society are constantly at work to sap the energies and weaken the moral tenacity of the privileged European. We

found among witnesses everywhere a lively and almost alarmed sense of the danger of moral degeneration which threatens the youth of the country where the services of others are so easily come by. The danger lies in the fact that in the ordinary routine of daily life he (the white) can shift to the shoulders of others that burden of the arduous and irksome which, in countries where conditions are sterner, affords the main discipline of character."

Linked with this tendency of the white to rely upon the black in routine service is the vital factor that the white economically and industrially is not self-provident in the larger issues of labour. Planters and farmers and, to a major extent, industrially-engaged whites are dependent for labour upon the black to a degree, as already stated, of ousting the not highly skilled white from the labour market.

Natives have already taken up work as clerks, shop assistants, bar-tenders, factory hands, carpenters, black-smiths, fitters, masons, engine-drivers, motor-drivers, station masters, warehouse-keepers, laboratory assistants, and so on; and their industrial education is now advancing to equip them for positions as farm, plantation and factory operatives, overseers, and managers, posts hitherto the prerogative of whites. But in the enormous field of unskilled farm, plantation and manual labour the black is labour-dominant: here he discharges an industrial function which the white is physically, by reason of tropical conditions, and economically, by reason of the low wage-rates, unable to discharge himself. We dare not postulate that under the attractions of high and profitable tribal productivity on the one hand and advantages held out to the educated native by more skilled labour on the other hand, the fount of native labour will run dry under the sun of "civilisation."

While the self-supporting settler as well as the employed white are faced with this dual prospect of degeneration from standard and closure from industry, the oncoming generation of whites is by no means exempt from undesirable influences.

In many of the scattered farming areas much of the white children's time is spent in native company and this to

a degree that not only definitely impresses the white child's mind in a pseudo-native cast, but, in several cases known to the writer, was evidenced by children of seven and eight being able to converse fluently in the native tongue, and with advanced sophistication, whereas they could barely express a coherent notion in the comparatively unfamiliar English.

The vast area and consequently scattered nature of white settlement naturally deprives settlers' children of the social contacts which are such important factors in the cultural education of a child, and at the same time it complicates the problem of school education. At present, many settlers send their children to schools in England or to boarding schools in the larger East African towns; but, with the expansion of settlement the number of settlers who are able to adopt this expedient is likely to be in the minority as it is now in South Africa, and the problem of providing suitable education for white children will be an acute one in these colonies.

It is the more acute in that such education must, by the factor of black progress, be of a high standard. "The only opportunities for Europeans apart from farming," says the Hilton Young Report, "will be found in the professions and in positions of management and oversight . . . since all unskilled and increasingly the greater part of the skilled labour will be performed by natives." In the light of this certainty, and despite the advocacy of farming as the white's recourse, it must not be overlooked that but a small percentage of settlers' children will be either desirous or financially able to buy land for farming. A settler parentage is no criterion of like disposition in the child: and there is no indication, even if it were, that the oncoming generation of white children will be blessed with an adequate ability for settlement or that they will do other than follow the trend in South Africa towards the industrial centres of the towns. In this aspect alone there is the incipient danger of the creation of a race of inefficient "poor whites," incapable of filling the social and industrial niche set for the white standard.

At the best, in the face of these few amongst many other

factors operating adversely to him, the white will have a strenuous fight in maintaining his prestige, his personality, and indeed, his physique and mentality, if he is to march ahead, and not fall into the rear, of this trek of black progress.

We must be prepared, and within this generation, for an African renaissance—if we think with Mr. Leakey, perhaps, we should term it a great renaissance—not only social and industrial, but cultural. It will contact the white not only with black leaders of industry and trade, but with black leaders of thought, arbiters of new standards of native intellectual life. Twenty years back we whites who lived in the Kenya of then, would have thought it impossible for a Kikuyu native—a "Kuke," just a "Kuke"—to have put into words, "The paramount duty of our leaders in Africa should be to see that their children are well equipped with the weapons, not such as the swords, spears, or guns which our ancestors inherited, but with the trained heart, head and hand, which will enable them to improve their country and find their places in the world. Let us educate the mothers of our nation, because it is through the women that Nature writes on the hearts of men."

So speaks the son of a Kikuyu chief, a young man now at college. He is typical of the rising generation of Africans who are keeping abreast of the wave of progress: he is typical of the unprecedented awakening in native life. Yet he is a member of a tribe whose mental, moral and social horizons, before the war, were walled in with the phantasies of superstition, with the horrors of black magic, and with the hostility of barbarous and irrefragable customs.

There is little to guide us in this process of metamorphosing our inter-racial outlook. There is no record in history upon an applicable scale of the white and black races having met upon common grounds of equality. There are many, indeed, who regard the idea as so impracticable and visionary that they can only foresee the doom of white dominance in the goal of the native policy. In the words of one witness before one of the Kenya Commissions the white man's influence in East Africa can be but "a ripple on the sands of time. The future landscape of Africa will be

coloured black and we shall be submerged as a white speck in a black ocean."

We may rather believe, however, that in the wider issues of racial economy the standards and precepts of white races will be sought by the native as potent factors in the rise of his people. A racial clash is not inevitable, for we have yet a free hand to correct the errors that exist and to avoid those which have led other countries into racial conflict, and by sound British sense, goodwill and tolerance we may thus maintain that prestige which has always commanded the respect and admiration of the black and which is a far more valuable national asset than the transitory pomp of colour dominance.

FOR AN INDIAN HOT WEATHER.

—BBB—

Now does the koël split the tortured air
 With shriek on shriek from shrill and rasping throat ;
 Across the plain the shimmering heat-mists float,
 And rain-starved, close-cropped fields lie brown and bare.
 Dumb is the music now, for blazing there,
 Where rang the jingling river's laughing note,
 Are sun-bleached sands ; only the vultures gloat,
 For Death moves swiftly, and there's none to care.
 The nights are breathless with the creeping flame
 Of each new dawn, and sleep is scared away
 As moon and stars give comfort-light in vain . . .
 It seems that God has hung His head in shame
 At the unhindered clutch of Indian May,
 When day is horror and the night is pain.

A. R. URSDELL.