INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

Working Paper No.78

THE SPATIAL DYNAMICS OF TRADE AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA DURING THE EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD UPTO 1915

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January 1973

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The aim of this paper is to examine the factors that pre-empted towards the beginning of the 20th century the rise of Mombasa as the entrepot for East Africa: as the headquarters for the location of mercantile firms whose activities directed and were to a large extent a reflection of the spatial patterns of mercantile trade that were emerging in East Africa then.

The chief factor that brought about the shift of the mercantile entrepot functions from Zanzibar to Mombasa (both of which are coastal urban centres) was not so much the building of the Uganda Railway *per se* from Mombasa to Kisumu during 1895-1901 and the reduction of the freight costs between the interior and the coast, as much as the extension of the Kisumu terminus of the Uganda Railway further westwards to other portions of the Lake Basin located in German East Africa and Uganda by the establishment of a regular shipping service in February 1903 on Lake Victoria. This effectively brought the markets in Uganda and German East Africa part of the Lake Basin within Mombasa's hinterland - thus marking the beginning of a new era. The Lake region was the traditional market for the Zanzibar firms during the precolonial period which maintained their contacts with it by means of porter caravans through German East Africa from the mainland port of Bagamoyo on the Mrima coast which lay directed across from Zanzibar and then across Lake Victoria by indigenous dhows. Hence, re-exports from Zanzibar to Mombasa from September 1, 1891 to August 31, 1892 amounted to only £32,000,[1] while re-exports from Zanzibar to the German East Africa ports amounted to £450,000. More reliable statistics available since February 1, 1892 show that from this date to the end of 1892, 48 percent of the imports of Zanzibar from the East African Mainland came from German East Africa (having been mainly obtained from the Lake region), only 8 percent from the IBEA (Imperial British East Africa) Company's territory (subsequently British East Africa), 38 percent from the sultanate itself and 6 percent from the southern ports of East Africa (now Portugese East Africa). Similarly, the island of Zanzibar consumed only 43 percent of its total imports from abroad during this period, 56 percent being re-exported to German East Africa for ultimate destination chiefly in the Lake Region while only 12 percent were sent to IBEA's territory, 17 percent went to the other places in the sultanate and 15 percent to the south.

Thus, commercial relations between Zanzibar and British East Africa were never of such great importance as those which existed

1. No figures are available for the exports to the northern coastal ports along the Kenya coast.

between Zanzibar and German East Africa during the period when Zanzibar was the entrepot for East African trade. This state of affairs is largely explainable in terms of the relative spatial juxtaposition of the two mainland territories in relation to the entrepot of Zanzibar and the spatial patterns of trade flow in the area then. As pointedout above, the mercantile houses located in Zanzibar found it far more convenient to use Bagamoyo as the coastal terminus for the porter caravan route that stretched across German East Africa to a rich hinterland around Lake Victoria. The reason for the popularity of the "German road" to the south share of the lake was that it was cheaper compared to the caravan road through the British sphere of influence (the "English road") though the latter was shorter in distance.[1] The German road was also more frequented, porters more easily available and food more abundant than along the English road. Hence Arab abd European traders coming from the German territory bought their ivory and slaves in Buganda, Bunyoro and Toro in exchange for cotton cloth and took down their caravans to the German coast ports, all this trade being carried on without the knowledge of the authorities, thus avoiding payment of any duty to British authorities. Even the Uganda chiefs preferred to send their ivory secretly across the lake for sale to Arabs in the German territory.[2] Mombasa's hinterland, on the other hand, was far less attractive as the Taru desert and the Masai constituted difficult barriers for the diffusion of caravan trade from the British coastal ports.

The wealth of the British sphere of influence lay during this period, prior to the building of the Uganda Railway, more in its tropical coastal belt[3] where Malindi and Lamu had risen to be flourishing ports dependent chiefly on grain trade. Lying nearer to Arabia in the north, they enjoyed a direct trade, chiefly in grains with Arabian and Persian Gulf ports. Contemporary observers report that about 20,000 slaves cultivated "shambas" around Malindi

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1 The caravan journey from the coast to Uganda took about 3 months and cost £8 per load of 65 lbs. by the "English" road and £4 10 by the "German" road.

2 Report by Sir Gerald Porter on the future of Uganda and British East Africa, submitted to the British Government in 1894. Africa No. 2, 1894. Quoted in M.F. Hill, Permanent Way: The Story of the Building of the Kenya-Uganda Railway (Nbi: EAR & H 1949) p.120.

3. This was also the perception of early administrators like Sir A. Hardinge (Sir A. Hardinge, Report on the British East African Protectorate for the year 1897-8). The H.M.'s commissioner saw the greatest prospects for development along the narrow coastal strip, which was then occupied and cultivated by Arab slave owners. The previous year Sir Hardinge had described the north coast of Mombasa District as being "occupied by a series of villages and plantations at short distance from one another, all of which (were) inhabited and cultivated by slaves of Mombasa Arabs.

anc on an average 3-4,000 dhows a year left that port for the north with about 15,000 tons of grain.[1] Zanzibar, however, acted as the commercial centre of all the produce which was in demand in the European markets and supplied most imported articles required for the mainland trade.

The dismemberment of Zanzibar's commercial hinterland into European protectorates after 1880 and the subseqnent delimitation in 1885 by Britain and Germany of Sultan of Zanzibar's possession to the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba and the Lamu archipalego plus a ten mile belt along the coast from Tunghi Bay to Kipini precipitated a chain of events which brought about a re-orientation of the spatial patterns of trade in the area. This had important implications for the subsequent location patterns of mercantile firms which was reflected in turn in changes in the relative importance and growth of urban centres towards the end of last century and beginning of 20th century. As can be witnessed from Table 1, there was a marked decline in the dependence of the mainland territories of German East Africa and British East Africa on the island of Zanzibar as the East African entrepot centre for channeling the export and import trade of these mainland territories.

While Germany made positive attempts to develop German East Africa after 1885 by reducing German East Africa's dependence on Zanzibar, British East Africa essentially continued to depend, for a while, both economically and politically on Zanzibar. In 1890, Germany established direct shipping service between Hamburg and the ports of Dar-es-Salaam and Tanga[2] while in 1892, direct shipping communication with India began. In 1890, a cable line connected Zanzibar and Bagamoyo. An important step in the attempts at economic separation of Zanzibar and German East Africa was the severance of monetary system in 1903 when the German mark was introduced in the latter territory, while rupee continued to be the main currency in the rest of East Africa.[3] Earlier on, in 1891,

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1 Broade H, British and German East Africa: Their Economic and Commercial Relations (London: Edward Arnold, 1911). The Kenya coast was thus referred to as the "Granary of Arabia."

2 This was the Deutsche Ost Afrikanische Line which was reportedly subsidized by the German Govt. to further German trade to the tune of £90,000 p.a. Legett, E.M. "The Economic Dev. of British E. Africa and Uganda," Royal Soc. of Arts, Journ.Vol.63,1915,pp209-20.

3. Besides this, there were also 105,256 rupees issued by the IBEA and a few German rupees and some Maria Theresa dollars which had been introduced by the Arabs at the end of 18th century from Constantinople via Muscat, long before the Indian traders introduced the rupee in 1835? Use of coinage as late as 1897 was reported to be confined to the coast and to the few European stations along the caravan road to Uganda. All the other transactions were carried out in barter, beads, clothes and ivory being the chief media of exchange.

the head quarters of the German East African Company[1] had been transferred from Zanzibar to Dar-es-Salaam and in 1897, the German East African Line also followed suit. In the course of time, other important trading firms also established branches in German East African parts of Dar-es-Salaam, Tanga and Bagamoyo.[2]

Realising the danger the above events posed to the commercial position of Zanzibar, the British in 1892, to enable Zanzibar to retain its commercial hegemony over East African trade, declared it a free port.[3] The same year also saw the first chamber of commerce in East Africa being established at Zanzibar at the instigation of the British Consul General in Zanzibar then, while in the same year also, the Bank of India[4] opened its first branch in Zanzibar.

While in the German shpere of influence, the imperial German Government took over the administration of its territory from the German East African Company soon after the London agreement of 1890[5], the Imperial British African Company continued to administer the British territory until 1895, when it had proved itself a complete failure.[6] During its reign, the Company had concentrated on the development of Uganda in preference to British East Africa and besides having established a modicum of administration, had done very little to develop its territory.[7] Moreover, when the British Government took over the administration of British East Africa in 1895, the Consul General at Zanzibar continued to serve as Her Majesty's commissioner for British East Africa until 1903 when a separate commissioner was appointed with headquarters at Mombasa.

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1 The Deutsche-Ost Afrikanische Gesellschaft.

2 For reasons pointed out later, however, the European firms did not adandon Zanzibar.

3 Financial difficulties caused a reimposition of a 5 percent ad volarum import duty in a few years time. Hollingsworth, L.W. Zanzibar Under Foreign Office 1890-1913 (London: McMillan, 1953). Zanzibar Protectorate, Annual Report, 1892.

4 A British bank which for the past 3 years had been represented in Zanzibar as an agency by Smith Mackenzie and Co.

5 The 1890 Treaty signed between Great Britain and Germany delimiting their respective protectorates in East Africa and when Great Britain also established a protectorate recognized by Germany over the rest of Sultan's possessions.

6 The shareholders in the company received a little over 10/- for each pound share they held. The firm ruled British East Africa from 1888 to 1895, quoted in the book by the Directors, The History of Smith Mackenzie & Co. Ltd. (London: Smith Mackenzie & Co., 1938).

7 De Kiewiet, M., History of the Imperial British East Africa Company 1876 to 1895, Unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1955.

Whereas the Germans had already appointed trading vice-consuls at Mombasa in 1899 and at Entebbe in 1901, a reflection of the German mercantile interest in the development of the mainland which was soon to be reflected in the dominance by German firms of the British colony's trade.[1]

The final decision by the British Government to build a railway from Mombasa to Lake Victoria was taken in 1895. Though the early motives for building the railway by the British largely indicated a desire to suppress slave trade, subsequent arguments after 1894 for the building of the railway were based not so much on suppression of slave trade or on the protection of the missionaries but more on economic prospects, administrative necessity and international rivalry.[2] The route between Mombasa and Kisumu, a distance of about 600 miles, was the shortest distance between the coast and the Lake[3] while Mombasa's choice as the terminus was largely determined by its excellent harbour facilities at Kalindini.

The revolutionizing influence of the Uganda Railway on the emerging patterns of areal functional organization of mercantile trade in East Africa was that it reduced the cost of transportation of goods between the Lake and the coast from an astronomical figure of £180 per ton charged by porter caravans to £17 perton by the railway. Naturally the building of the railway killed the former caravan mode of locomotion and re-oriented to existing spatial flows of trade along this newly created more competitive transportation corridor. Mombasa, located at the seaward terminus of the Uganda railway emerged as the 'natural' locational centre for merchant firms formerly located in Zanzibar that were involved in

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1 The existence of a branch of Hansing & Co. and of Societa Coloniale Italiana, both Zanzibar firms, was reported in Mombasa as early as 1897, trading mainly in coastal products. Report by Sir A. Harding on the Conditions and Progress of the E. African Protectorate from its establishment to the 20th July 1897. Whereas Ainsworth reported that upon his arrival at Mombasa in about 1890, "there were no Europeans in Mombasa or its vicinity besides a representative of Smith Mackenzie and Company, whose main office was in Zanzibar, and one or two missionaries." He also reported the presence "of a number of Indian traders (who) had residences and stores in the main street." Indian trade, it seems, was then mainly dependent upon the earnings of IBIA and other caravan porters who used to be paid in Mombasa. Goldsmith, F.H. (ed.) Memoirs of John Ainsworth: Pioneer Kenya Administrator 1864-1946 (London: McMillan & Co. 1959). In 1897, the number of representatives and employees of European firms had grown to 24, 20 missionaries and 39 officials, and the number of Indians (excluding soldiers and coolies) to 863. Sir A. Harding, op.cit.

2 Hill, M.F., op.cit.

3 Prior to 1898, Port Victoria on Berkeley Bay was to be the lake terminus but Kisumu (Port Florence) on Kavirondo Gulf was chosen in 1898 by the Chief Engineer of the Uganda Railways as the subseqnent terminus because it cut down the distance to the lake by 75 miles, though the country in Uganda through which the railway now passed was much less fertile. Hill, M.F. op.cit.

organising the Lake Basin long distance export-import trade. Similarly, the reduced transportation costs along the new corridor also enabled the maximum range (effective demand) of many items of trade to increase beyond their critical threshold levels, by reducing the threshold and increasing their range levels, thus increasing the volume and diversity of trade, leading to increased flow of mercantile export and import trade handled by Mombasa firms. About the only two commodities that could fulfill this basic tenant of Christallers central place theory before the railway was built were ivory slaves and cotton cloth. Trade in these was complementary. Cotton cloth could afford to pay high transportation costs by porter caravans leaving from Zanzibar because in relation to ivory, which it was primarily exchanged for in the interior, it was a very high valued article of trade.[1] The margin of profit obtained from this barter trade was sufficient to pay the extremely high transportation cost from the coast into the interior, which few other items of trade could afford. On the other hand, the ivory which was carried back to the coast, virtually did not have to pay any transportation costs because the captured slaves, another "commodity" in demand at the coast, besides providing their own locomotion, also provided the locomotion for ivory. In order to make it profitable, the coast caravans had to deal in both of these export commodities, as trade in one, without dealing in the other, would not be profitable. The maximum range for obtaining ivory from the interior by Zanzibar merchants was infinite, as long as slaves were available to carry it. Hence, Zanzibar served as the centre of ivory trade for ivory brought from as far as the Congo. Thus, the entire mercantile trading system was a relatively close knit one and the trade in the three main items of this trade: cotton cloth, slaves and ivory, interdependent. Any temperance with one of these items could lead to the disruption and modification of the entire system as was to happen when Britain, together with other European powers declared slavery illegal and built a railway to replace caravans towards the end of 19th century. Slavery disappeared, ivory was soon replaced by other commodities as the leading exports thus widening the number of long distance commodities of trade which was achieved as a result of reduced transportation costs, which in turn increased the amount of trade per capita, by enabling more African peasants, as producers of exports and consumers of imports to participate in this long distance trade. The effect of these forces was cyclical in nature, reflected in a gradually increasing monetization of the traditional African subsistence economy by bringing it within the orbit of the emerging mercantile colonial economy which was focussed on Mombasa, the seaward terminus of the Uganda Railway, as its main organizing node.

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1 For instance, it was reported in 1885 that ivory was bought in the interior for 1/- to 2/- per lb. worth of cloth or trade goods and sold at the coast for 6/- to 10/- per lb.

African trade, consisting of production of commodities that were in demand in other countries in exchange for inexpensive import articles was to constitute the basis of the development of British East Africa (as Kenya was then known) for nearly two decades after the Uganda Railway had been built. Even though the future of Kenya as primarily a colony of European settlers had been earmarked as early as 1904[1], Kenya cannot be described as a true settlers' colony from an economic-commercial viewpoint until about 1920 when European agriculture had become firmly established, reflected in its dominance of the economy of the country. Long distance African trade thus constitutes the chief independent variable in explaining the patterns of economic areal functional organization of the emerging Kenyan spatial urban system during the first two decades of 20th century. Functional organization of the country in the economic sense was relatively weak during this pioneer period of settler colonialism and primarily externally oriented based on long distance mercantile trade.[2] The conomial administration, preoccupied with the need to raise sufficient revenue from custom duties and the Hut Tax imposed on Africans in order to balance the budget of the newly established colony, also saw in the long distance external trade, the major spatial synamics of the development of the colony then and at the same time providing an outlet for British industry and enterprise.[3] However, several factors set distinct limits to the possibilities for development of African trade during this period in Kenya: the small size and largely subsistence nature of the majority of the indigenous population[4] and the fact that the resources of the technical departments of the Kenya Government, which were supported by general taxation, mainly

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1 Elliot, Sir Charles, The East African Protectorate (London: Edward Arnold, 1905).

2 Thus it is stated in the Annual Report of the Uganda Railway, for 1908/9 that "E.Africa differs from most new countries in which no sooner is a railway constructed, then a large volume of traffic flows in for export. Here, up to the present, little has been produced."

3 East African Protectorate, Annual Report, 1911/12. The Railway administration also had a similar concern in order to encourage downward traffic in cheap agriculture products such as food and oil grains because in 1904, the "down" traffic (5,704 tons) was only half of "up" traffic (10,666 tons).

4 An Estimate of 13.4 million people only living in the four territories of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar was given in 1948 - the first accurate estimate available. Overseas Economic Surveys: British East Africa (London HMSO, 1948)

supported by the African peasants in the form of Hut Tax and custom duties,[1] were largely used for the development of European areas.[2]

As in the precolonial period, the densely populated lacustrine lowlands of Lake Victoria, which were not politically fragmented among the three colonial territories of German East Africa, Uganda, and British East Africa, constituted the major suppliers of exports and the main market for disposal of imports. The lake districts of Uganda and Tanganyika provided the bulk of exports and acted as the main consumer of imports that were handled by Mombasa mercantile firms (Table 2) during this period. The relative extent of Tanganyika's dependence during this period on the Mombasa firms as a source of imports can be judged from the fact that in 1911, of the total fabric imports into Tanganyika of 635,986 marks, 155,000 marks worth were obtained directly from Germany, 130,000 marks worth from India, 102,000 marks worth from rest of Europe, 40,000 marks worth from U.K., 140,000 marks worth from Mombasa based firms and 52,500 marks worth from Zanzibar based firms. This demonstrates the relative importance of the re-export trade function of Mombasa and Zanzibar merchant firms for the German East African market.[3]

There was a depression among Mombasa's traders soon after a temporary boom caused by the building of the railway from Mombasa to Kisumu between 1895 to 1901.[4] As soon as the Indian railway coolies left after that, a lull in trade was experienced. By 1899, the building of the railway had stimulated substantial imports, most of which were, as pointed out above, related to the requirements

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1 As in German East Africa and Uganda, the African indirectly contributed most of the custom duties accrued. There was a 10 percent ad valorem duty on most consumer imports; there were no export duties on plantation products. The chief items of export duty were the natural raw products of the country - ivory, hides, skins, gum copal, wild grown rubber and shells.

2 Report of the East African Commission, otherwise known as the Ormsby-Gore Commission, April 1925, Cmd. 2387. Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into and report on the financial position and system of Taxation in Kenya 1936.
A slightly later estimate available which makes comparisons possible indicat[illegible] six British d[illegible]ya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia) just exceeded £14½ million compared to the volume of trade (£43½ million) enjoyed by the four British West African dependencies. Report of the East African Commission op. cit.

3 Foreign Office, Trade of German East Africa, Diplomatic and Consular Reports, 1909-12, London, HMSO.

4 In March 1901 there were 19,742 Indian coolies working on the line and practically all their food requirements had to be imported from abroad by Mombasa traders. East African Protectorate, Annual Report 1903/4.

of railway or its builders; as a result the 'up' traffic on the railway amounted to 91,235 tons. But the 'down' traffic amounted to only 470 tons consisting chiefly of ivory, hides, skins and horns; this represented little more than previously carried by the porter caravans. It was not until 1903, when the railway terminus on Lake Victoria was connected to the lake parts of Mwanza, Bukoba[1] and Entebbe by the establishment of a regular shipping service on Lake Victoria which thus diverted the trade of the Lake Basin from the German East African route to Mombasa that Mombasa's role as an entrepot became firmly established, its future prosperity ensured and the merchant community began to expand.[2]

The reorientation of the Lake Basin trade to Mombasa was reflected in Zanzibar firms opening up branches in Mombasa after the railway had been built. Re-orientation of Mombasa's future function as a major colonial entrepot centre from a pre-industrial city was accompanied by a re-structuring and expansion of the internal landuse patterns within the urban centre. Because of the force of inertia, the "old" town facing the Mombasa channel still housed the merchant firms and their warehouses until as late as 1910,[3] all of which were huddled close to the "old" port. It was only later, when the new functions of Mombasa had been well established that a slow migration of merchant firms and their warehouses to Kilindini (the New Harbour) began and where most of the new arrivals also located. There were 9 mercantile firms established in Mombasa by 1904,[4] all of which had their own series of branches or agents in the main centres of trade: Kisumu, Lamu and Nairobi - in order of importance (Map 1). There were also about 75 Indian "merchant"

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1 Formerly trade from this area was oriented to Tanganyika caravans. The first German station on Lake Victoria, Bukoba was founded in 1890 by Emin Pasha. In the following year, the station at Mwanza was established and in 1898 a sub-station was established at Schirati. In 1893, the HQ of the district was transferred from Bukoba to Mwanza. Some indication of the extent of trade in this portion of the Lake Basin can be obtained from a report that in 1893, the Irish trader Stokes who had a settlement at Mwanza, sent from there to the Tanganyika coast ivory worth £20,000 which he had brought from the Congo. In 1899, it was reported that 520 caravans with 3149 porters passed the station of Bukoba on their way to and from western provinces of Uganda. Brode, op.cit.

2 As soon as the railway reached its destination on the lake, Mombasa soon began to be served by direct steamers from Europe: the German East Africa Line in 1899, the Austrian Lloyd Line in 1900 and the BISN in 1901, while the National Bank of India and the chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, located in Zanzibar, opened branches in Mombasa in 1896.

3 East African Protectorate, Annual Report 1908/9 and 1909/10. The old Harbour was preferred still because of its proximity to the business quarter of the town notwithstanding inadequate accommodation and the fact that new custom warehouses at Kilindini were ready and lying unused.

4 The chief ones were Societa Coloniale Italiana; Hansing & Co., Boustead and Clark; Allidina Visram; Haji Adam & Sons; A.M.Jivanjee & Co., Suleman Virjee & Co., East African Stores; Smith Mackenzie & Co. All of them were then branches of Zanzibar firms.

firms listed in Mombasa, most of whom were probably small scale wholesale/retail traders.[1]

Unfortunately, distinction between the exports and imports of Uganda and Kenya is not possible for this very early period. But the remarkable expansion in trade which was caused by the commencement of the steamer service on Lake Victoria and reported for German East African ports of Mwanza and Bukoba[2] was probably also experienced in Buganda.[3] In 1903, most of the transit imports from German East Africa through the British colony (£6,107) came from Moshi in the Kilimanjaro area because as yet no shipping service had been established on Lake Victoria.[4] Subsequently, however, most of the transit imports and exports of German East Africa through British East Africa were channelled through Kisumu and the German lake parts of Mwanza and Bukoba (Table 3).[5] The exports were mainly hides and skin destined primarily for the American market and groundnuts, with lesser quantities of coffee, ghee and rubber. It is very interesting to note that export of ivory from the German lake ports through British East

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1 This data was obtained from the "Mombasa Street Directory" in the Handbook for East Africa, Uganda and Zanzibar 1904 (Mombasa Govt. Printing Press, 1904).

2 Borde, op.cit. He reports that the trade in hides and skins had already caused by 1904 two European firms at Mombasa to appoint agents at Schirati and the German East African Gesellschaft had settled in Mwanza since 1898 and had transactions to the extent of Rs. 250,000 a year. The firm of Allidina Visram, which used to open branches at every promising place in the interior was estimated to do at Mwanza a yearly business of Rs.200,000. Of the 'down' traffic carried (14,364 tons) by the Railway in 1905/6, over 10,000 tons were brought by steamers to the lake terminus at Kisumu.

3 In 1904, the chief commissioner for the East African Protectorate remarked that "the progress of the railway as a commercial venture bears eloquent testimony to the far seeing policy of the statesmen who were so persistent in advocating its construction, for there is little doubt that within a year or two, owing mainly to the great increase of the native trade of the Lake Basin the working expenses will be covered by receipts. East African Protectorate, Annual Report 1903/4. Similarly the general Manager of the Railways described in 1905/6 the steamer service as "the real feeding ground and mainstay of the Railway."

4 Previous to August 1899, no goods had to be declared at Mombasa for transit to German East Africa. However, until the Lake service was established, the transit traffic was minimal. Foreign Office Trade of German East Africa for the Year 1901. Diplomatic and Consular Reports: 1900 and 1901. HMSO London. Drode op.cit.

5 In 1907, Mwanza exported through Kenya £44,863 worth of hides and skins, Bukoba £22,052 and Schirati £3,188. The value of groundnut exports from Mwanza were £1,754 (1904), £4994 (1905), £16,613 (1906), £5,172 (1907), £10,502 (1908).

Africa never reached a high figure because it always followed the caravan route through German East Africa to Zanzibar,[1] which retainted its importance as the world ivory market despite the loss of other entrepot functions to mainland coastal centres - an indication of the role of inertia and contact in location of mercantile firms.[2]

Mombasa, however, had clearly emerged as the "natural" location centre by 1911 for mercantile firms involved in the trade of the Lake Basin which is indicated by the fact that, while before 1911, most of the trade with Tanganyiks was channelled through Mombasa as direct transit, after 1911 there was a significant rise in the re-export of Mombasa to Tanganyika,[3] (Table 4) and a similar decline in the transit trade. This is accounted for by the fact that since the passing of the Customs Ordinance of 1910, the whole amount of duty was returned on re-exports of goods from Mombasa, less a small handling charge. Hence, the re-export trade handled by Mombasa firms increased while transit trade decreased since the former was found to be a more convenient method of importing and exporting goods by Mwanza and Bukoba firms. It is significant that the value of re-export trade by Mombasa firms rose strongly after 1910, despite the effects of rail building in the German territory - another indication of inertia ties that were being already developed with firms.

While the growth of Mombasa as an entrepot centre during the first decade of the twentieth century was heavily dependent on catering for primarily extra-national markets in Uganda and Tanganyika, from 1908 onwards, there was also a gradual increase in Kenya African participation in this long distance trade. Map 2, showing the distribution of Asian traders in the various urban centres in Kenya in 1912 serves as a very good indicator of the extent to which trade had diffused into the country, while Map 3, which shows the distribution of Indian population by districts in 1911 also points to a similar conclusion. Growth of African participation in the colonial economy in Kenya was primarily a result of the establishment and growth of trading centres in African areas of Kenya towards the end of the first decade of 20th century. This move was a part of the then prevailing colonial policy for stimulating

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1 Zanzibar was also the destination of ivory from British East Africa - this being the leading export from British East Africa to Zanzibar during the first decade of this century (Table 3b). Thus in 1911/12, ivory accounted for only 4.7 percent of total exports, (compared to 60 percent of which was sent to Zanzibar for re-export East African Protectorate, Annual Trade Report 1911/12.

2 Beare, D.R. "The Ivory Trade of Zanzibar" Travel and Exploration May 1909, pp. 370-75.

3 Note that the figures in the above table also include Italian East Africa, Congo and Sudan - but trade with these countries was insignificant, compared to that with German East Africa.

the production of exports from African reserves[1] with the objective of deriving increased government revenue to support the colonial establishment[2] and thus reduce dependence on the British taxpayer as well as to raise the African standard of living. This objective was achieved by levying a Hut Tax on Africans from 1902 onwards at the rate of Rs 2 to Rs 3 per hut. It was assumed that as the African peasant came to acquire a taste for and dependence on inexpensive imported goods, he woule be forced to produce more cash crops for sale or to migrate in search of work to acquire the monetary resources to satisfy his newly acquired tastes. The imposition of the hut tax was supposed to have a chain effect on the traditional African economy: to pay the tax, the African peasant would have to produce more crops for sale; this would increase trade; increased trade means a greater dependence on imported goods which wauld force the person to produce even more crops for sale than before and so on. Hence, with this in mind, Governor Girouard[3] in his circulars during the period 1909-11 to his provincial and district officials greatly stressed the need to develop trade in African areas.[4] The officials were instructed to encourage trade by every means in their power: to establish new trading centres wherever an opening for developing trade existed and to exclude them and the roads leading to them from the closed districts and Reserves so that alien Indian traders could reside there. Hitherto, persons not natives of these districts were allowed to reside and trade only in the (main) townships, that is only in the district and provincial headquarters where such had been established by then; they could only go out of these into the countryside ("closed Districts") after having obtained a permit from the officials and having deposited a certain sum of money as a guarantee of good conduct. As a result of Girrouard's directives, the African Areas were opened up to Indian traders as long as they did not wander away from gazetted townships and trading centres and the roads leading to them. The officials were also instructed to encourage trade by informing people during <u>barazas</u> of the nearest trade centres and the products they should bring to market; by promoting road making in

1 For instance, the General Manager of the Railways reported in his 1905/6 Report that "it has been our policy to reduce downward rates as much as possible in order to encourage exports and thereby bring money into the country...it is our obvious policy to foster exports" and that he "did not expect any exports from the European Highlands" for some time.

2 As has been pointed out, this revenue obtained from the African population was largely used to provide services to the European settlers in Kenya.

3 Sir Percy Girouard, Governor of Kenya from 1909 to 1912.

4 KNA DC/EBU S/4, Secretariat Circulars. Circular Nos. 28 and 80 of 1911.

their districts and provinces and by including in their annual reports suggestions and proposals to increase trade, nature of requirements of people, facilities for or improvements in means of transport of produce, reports on market attendance and openings for new trading centres; seeds were issued for crops like simsim, maize and potatoes and the chiefs and headmen were instructed to impress upon their people the need to cultivate and sell the surplus crops to the Indian traders in the nearby trading centres. During the early years of the colonial rule the responsibility for the establishment and regulation of trading centres lay mainly with the administration; but instances have also been quoted of Indian traders in Nyanza Province canvassing local chiefs with gifts to establish trading centres after which the administration would be approached by both the parties to gazette the centres.

Similarly, the early years of railway building had also encouraged Indian traders to penetrate inland to some extent along the railway line and to the early administrative stations, as reported in 1897:

> Two Indian merchants have this year opened shops at Machakos and the rupee currency is beginning to be understood and used by the Wakamba as a medium of exchange. A Swahili township, intersected by regular roads and lit by lamps, with a population of about 200, is now springing up around Machakos station. The township is being laid out in plots, which are being leased by the government to the occupants, and the fact that the Indian and Swahili traders are building a mosque there is an evidence of their intention to stay. Indian traders have also begun to settle at Voi, in Taveta, the terminus of the first section of the Uganda Railway and at Kibwezi, and will doubtless establish themselves permanently at all the larger railway centres.[1]

Sir Guildford Molesworth, commissioned by the Uganda Railway Committee in 1898 to inspect the line also had similar comments to make:

> The civilizing influence of the railway is most marked even on the unpromising region which it has hitherto traversed. The tribes in contact with it have already commenced to trade and a demand for European goods is springing up amongst them. Traders are beginning to settle round the different stations and at Voi there is quite a flourishing bazaar.[2]

Similarly, the Report of the Railway Committe for the year ended 1899 recorded that

> "the majority of the traders and petty contractors who have opened shops and started bazaars seem to have settled in the country and their numbers are steadily increasing... So far as the rails have advanced, rupees are rapidly taking place of beads and wire which have hitherto occupied

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1 Report by Sir A. Hardinge on the British East African Protectorate for the year 1897-8 (c. 9125).

2 Sir G. Molesworth, Report on Uganda Railway, Africa No. 5 (1899).

> the place of money with the natives. At the principal stations...Indians and other traders are applying for land for shop sites and are doing business with the tribes in the vicinity.[1]

In 1905, it was reported that over 80 percent of the capital and business energy of the country was Indian.[2] The role of the Indian trader in developing the trade of the country and thereby establishing the first slender means of communication and effective spatial interaction between the indigenous people and the international exchange economy was clearly recognized by the early colonial administrators.[3] Indian traders closely followed upon the paths of the early colonial military expeditions that were sent out to subdue the different African tribes and bring them under the aegis of colonial rule, a process that had been largely accomplished by the end of the first decade of 20th century. The result of the expeditions was reflected in the establishment of military posts (Fort Hall, Nyeri, Embu, Meru, Kitui, Kisii etc.) that subsequently became provincial and district headquarters and which subsequently formed the nuclei for the diffusion of trading centres and Indian traders in the African areas of the country.

As Map 2 shows, the main cradle for the early development of long distance trade in Kenya was the Nyanza Province around Lake Victoria[4] - a characteristic which it shared with the larger Lake Basin of which it formed an integral part. The reasons for such early participation of the inhabitants of the Lake Basin (then known as the Kavirondo country) in the colonial economy compared to other areas of Kenya can be twofold: a) a reflection of the favourable physical environment of the Lake Basin to support such a trade coupled with the ability of the

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1 Report of the Railway Committee for the year ended 31st March, 1899. Africa No. 6 (1899). It was reported in 1903 that of the 31,983 Indian coolies imported, only 6724 decided to remain in East Africa, most of whom became petty traders.

2 Hill, op.cit., p.286.

3 The early officials and administrators in the interior had to keep supplies of trade goods at the government stations to make payments. Even the soldiers had to be paid wages in clothes, wire, beads etc. for local exchange and because trade goods could not be purchased locally for want of traders. The arrival of traders greatly relieved the administration of these irksome problems. Uganda Protectorate, Annual Report, 1897/8. e.g. In order to pay troops in Mau District, cloth had to be obtained from Uganda via the German road and then carried down the English road as far as Eldama Ravine.

4 Legett, Major E.M., "The Economic Development of British East Africa and Uganda", Royal Soc. of Arts Journal, Vol. 63, 1915, pp. 209-220. Major Legett was the Managing Director of British East African Corporation.

local inhabitants, especially in the region around Kisumu and Mumias, to perceive the benefits their participation in the trade would bring them, b) it could also be a result of the stimulus derived from the early establishment of traders in this region on account of its early historical importance (Mumias) which was reinforced by subsequent early administrative efforts and by demonstration effects achieved by the location of the railway terminus at Kisumu through which was channelled the entire trade of the Lake Basin.[1]

The role that the Lake Region of Nyanza Province played in the emerging colonial economy of Kenya can be gauged from the following statement made in 1914:

> We are frequently reminded that the export of British East Africa is mainly from Kavirondo...Any person with experience of the African native will soon appreciate on proper enquiry and examination of facts that the Kavirondo people are a valuable asset to this...country...(As) eminently agricultural and pastoral producers, they take readily to barter and to commerce and have...proved themselves...the backbone of our industrial working population.[2]

As the data in Table 5 shows, an export trade of some importance and to a large extent a corresponding import trade had been built up in the then East African Protectorate by 1914 by a gradual monetization and a corresponding expansion of the capacity of the subsistence African economy to produce commodities which found a ready sale in other countries and in return expend the returns of their labout on inexpensive imports, mainly unbleached cottons imported from U.S.A. (hence locally known as "americani"). Before the First World War, grains (simsim and maize) was the leading domestic export of Kenya - mainly obtained from the Kavirondo country of Nyanza. This was followed by hides and skins, ivory and rubber. The trade in hides and skins, ivory and rubber represented exploitation of the non-renewable natural resources of the country characteristic of early primary stage of commercial exploitation. For instance, the tempo of trade in these commodities (hides and skins) was largely governed by periodic outbreaks of gastro-entiritis causing high cattle mortality. Similarly the supply of rubber and ivory was dependent on occurrence

1 In 1907, John Ainsworth, then Subcommissioner of Nyanza Province, observed that "Kisumu" as the terminus of the Railway and the principal port on Lake Victoria, with its piers, its shipbuilding yards, its engineering and other workshops, was a busy place..." Goldsmith, Memoirs of John Ainsworth, op.cit. p.66. The remarkable progress of African agriculture in Nyanza then was largely due to his personal interest. He notes: "In 1908 the Kavironda country supplied no export traffic to the railway. By 1910, the value of native produce exported by rail reached £44,000 and by 1911, £66,000. By 1913, Kavirondo was railway's best customer - hence proposals for branch line from Kisumu to Mumias - to develop North Nyanza." Ibid.p.77.

2 The "Leader" Annual 1914 (Caxton Printing and Publishing Works, Nairobi).

of famines when the traditional subsistence sources of food supply failed and the African peasants would be forced to sell ivory which they otherwise kept burried underground as a form of bullion[1] or tap wild rubber trees to sell the sap to traders - the money obtained being used to buy food from the same traders. As pointed out, it was only in the Nyanza Province that any early attempts were made at systematic administration of the people to develop cultivation of crops like grains and simsim.[2]

As far as the imports were concerned (Table 6), cotton piece goods were the leading import item then, accounting for about 28 percent of total imports, destined primarily for the peasant African market. Cotton piece goods were also the leading re-export of Mombasa firms to German East Africa (Table 7). Trade in inexpensive cotton goods was all that the African peasant market could support then, as is shown by the type of cotton goods imported during this period:

TYPE OF COTTON GOODS IMPORTED AT MOMBASA DURING 1912/13[3]

	Quantity (yds)	Value (£s)
Cotton goods, bleached	3,658,105	61,215
Cotton goods, unbleached	22,400,424	268,936
Cotton goods, printed	2,348,813	41,794
Cotton goods, dyed	2,967,751	69,474
Cotton goods, blankets	2,873,472	80,912
Cotton pieces	1,436,736	
	34,248,565	522,331

Most of the cotton demand was for grey unbleached cottons ("Americani") a cheaper and coarser article whose price imported from U.S.A. worked out at 2¾d a yard, which the mills of Manchester could not afford. Other imports during this period (Table 5) were of a miscellaneous character: beads, copper and iron wire for the African market, foodstuffs (chiefly flour, sugar and provisions) and building materials.

Export trade, consisting of commodities produced by Africans for sale to foreign markets determined the vitality of import trade as the following quote from the 1911/12 Annual Report of Kenya demonstrates:

1 British East Africa, Annual Report, 1901.

2 As has been noted elsewhere, such efforts in Nyanza also subsequently virtually subsided and fizzled out due to the preoccupation of the administration with white settlement. Fearn, H., An African Economy: A study of the Economic Development of the Nyanza Province of Kenya 1903-1953 (London).

3 Source: EAP, Annual Trade Report 1912/13

> The factor which has had the widest influence on the trade of the year has been the steady growth of exports, which have brought the return flow of money and have determined the capacity of the country to purchase imports,[1]

and also determined the tempo of regional development in Kenya then: a process that is defined here in terms of the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the colonial economy:

> ...no matter how eager the people surrounding the lake may be to buy imported goods, their ability to do so will depend on their receipts from exports...They must be taught to trade and so far the best teacher is the small Indian trader, who, notwithstanding many obstacles, is pushing his way all along the coast of Africa and as far into the interior as is possible with a fair amount of safety. Men of his clan have infinite patience and are satisfied with comparatively small profits. Their expenses are so moderate that they can make a good living where a white trader would utterly fail.[2]

The interdependent nature of long distance export import trade and local trade is illustrated, for instance, by the fact that there was a sharp fall in imports in 1907/8 (Table) after four years of progressive expansion, as well as a fall in transit trade with German East Africa (Table 4) both of which were mainly attributed to the financial crisis in U.S.A., which had led to a curtailment of demand for hides and skins: then a leading export from East Africa which was primarily destined for the American market hence leading to a depression of local trade in East Africa. The reduced purchasing power of the African peasants thus curtailed the demand for imports.[3] By 1912/13, the local economy had sufficiently recovered and it was observed that "large sums of money received for grains, hides and other produce sold by the natives have stimulated business in many directions",[4] again demonstrating the extent to which pace of local trade and regional development was dependent on long distance export import trade.

Unlike Christallers model, where the local service function is the chief independent variable in determining the structure of the urban system (central place model) i.e. local trade arising out of local/regional specialization constituting the main spatial dynamics during the early stages of the growth of the service centres, in Kenya the first phase of regional development and growth of the urban system was stimulated primarily by long distance export import trade and this

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1 East African Protectorate, Annual Report, 1911/12.

2 Inspection Report by F.O. Callaghen on Uganda Railway, 1902. Quoted in Hill, Permanet Way. op.cit., p.225.

3 East African Protectorate, Annual Trade Report, 1911/12.

4 East African Protectorate, Annual Trade Report, 1912/13.

rather than local trade stimulated by local specialization constitutes the major dynamics in determining the patterns of areal funtional organization of the spatial urban system. The structure of the early colonial urban system in Kenya was a reflection of the locational organization of commercial firms in relation to the patterns of spatial flow of long distance mercantile trade rather than of local trade based on local specialization. It is this external orientation of trade as the basis of regional development that explains the rise of Mombasa as an entrepot par excellence in Eastern Africa from a minor pre-industrial centre that it was in 1880s. The rest of the chapter is devoted to a further discussion and illustration of this hypothesis.

THE SPATIAL DYNAMICS OF LONG DISTANCE MERCANTILE TRADE LOCATION: THE RISE OF MOMBASA AS AN ENTREPOT URBAN CENTRE.[1]

By 1909, Mombasa's position as the focus of the evolving spatial urban system in the Protectorate had been established by the arrival of several new firms on the scene to partake in the region's expanding volume of trade (Table 2). The number of major mercantile firms with head offices in Mombasa had increased from 9 (7 European and 2 Asian) in 1904 to 35 in 1909 (17 European and 18 Asian), compared to Zanzibar which served as the headquarters for 22 commercial firms in 1909, the majority (18) of these being Asiatic establishments.[2] While some of these Mombasa firms had shifted their headquarters from Zanzibar, a large number of them were new arrivals on the scene that had chosen Mombasa rather Zanzibar for their head office location.

The majority of the commercial dealings, consisting mainly of import of cotton textiles and export of African produce, were dominated by a handful of large European continental firms,[3] predominantly German,

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1 The data used to draw the conclusions arrived at in this section are based primarily on information obtained from the business directories, oral evidence collected by the author and other published sources. The following business directories have been used:

a) The Handbook for East Africa, Uganda and Zanzibar: 1904 (Mombasa E. African Standard, 1904). Subsequently called the Red Book.
b) Red Books for 1905, 1906, 1907, 1909.
c) Handbook of British East Africa 1912, complied by H.F. Ward and J.B. Milligan (Nairobi: Caxton Printing and Publishing Co. 1912).
d) British East Africa and Uganda: The Leader Annual and Gazetter of British E. Africa, 1914 (Nairobi: Caxton Printing and Publishing Works, 1914).
e) East Africa: Its History, People, Commerce, Industries and Resources (London: The Foreign and Colonial Compiling and Publishing Co. 1908-9).
f) Drumkeys Year Book for East Africa: 1909. (Bombay: The Times Press 1909).

2 Besides, 7 other firms (5 European and 2 Asian) in practice used both Mombasa as well as Zanzibar as headquarters, and one European firm also used Zanzibar as well as Dar-es-Salaam as its headquarters.

3 These were William Oswals & Co., Hansing & Co., Besson, L., Deutsche Ost Afrikanische Gesellschaft.

which were located in both Mombasa and Zanzibar. As branches or subsidiaries of well established firms in Europe, some of them had been trading in East Africa from as early as 1830s.[1] However, as Table 8 shows, a large number of the European firms were newly arrived commission agents and manufacturers representatives who, as a rule, carried on several unrelated lines of business. This lack of specialization was a reflection of the underdeveloped nature of the market stemming from its dependence on the peasant African semi-subsistence economy in the basin of Lake Victoria and the infant plantation economy of the coast dependent mainly on rubber, sisal and coconuts.[2]

The German houses in Mombasa which monopolized most of the business formed a close circle to prevent competition and their activities were said to be enhanced by the facilities provided by the German Government in form of subsidized and "through rate" system of freight rates between German ports and East Africa on their own line steamers[3] and by the Deutsche Bank which provided financial services on liberal terms, as witnessed by a contemporary British observer:

> As a rule German firms start well financed and with a high class clerical staff at a very moderate pay. Their home and colonial governments are of very material assistance to them in ways apparently unthought of by ours. The Deutsche Bank, as soon as it knows its men, will advance on a draft ninety days D/A in full....up to a certain limit on each indentor, increasing or decreasing the limit as necessity warrants. Among the British banks at Zanzibar, the Standard Bank of South Africa closed down presumably because it could not make a success of it, and the National Bank of India certainly does not take care

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1 Examples of these old established firms are: Oswald & Co., Arnold Cheney (formerly the firm of John Bertram), W. Hintzman & Co., Hansing & Co. Similarly some of the Asian firms were also of long standing, such as Allidura Visram, Sherrif Jaffer & Co., Esmailjee Jivanjee; and Karimjee Jivanjee.

2 Examples of Mombasa based European firms based in Mombasa then which had important interests in the coast plantations, either directly as holders of concessions to exploit a particular product or indirectly as managers for absentee owners abroad were Hansing and Co. (rubber), British East African Corporation (cotton, rubber, sisal); Besson & Co. (Mangrove), Smith Mackenzie & Co. (Mangrove), Hilton & Sons (rubber, sisal) and Robitsek and Reiss (sisal); E. African Syndicate Ltd. (sisal, rubber).

3 These were the German East African Line and the Messageries Maritimes Line. The "through rate" system was an ingenious combination of railway rate and ocean-freight which was said to be skillfully manipulated by the German Department of Commerce to enable the factories situated far from the seaboard to send their wares down to the coast ports for shipment abroad at a nominal cost. Thus the continental vessels even carried the British cargo.

to look at a D/A draft, except as a collecting medium.[1]

While Zanzibar served as the entrepot for the activities of these German firms in the more distant markets such as Madagascar[2] as well as enabling them to keep in close touch with German East African market and Dar-es-Salaam (the capital of German East Africa), and at the same time take a share of the Zanzibar's clove and ivory trade,[3] Mombasa branches of these firms located at the terminus of the Uganda railway - the easiest mode of access to the Lake Basin, and at the same time a convenient centre for the emerging coast plantation economy, served as the main depot for its mainland hinterland. As citizens and residents of Mombasa and Zanzibar, the German firms had equal rights under the Treaty of Brussles with other nationalities while commercially they ruled the roost in what was otherwise a British colony: a fact which was a source of great consternation to the British.[4]

The European firms centered in Mombasa had their own series of branches or agents in the major regional entrepots which acted as regional collecting and distributing centres for the coastal head-offices. Thus, of the 22 European firms located in Mombasa in 1909,[5] 3 had branches in Lamu, 2 in Malindi, 5 in Kisumu, 9 in Buganda (Kampala, Entebbe or Jinja), at least 4 in Mwanza or Bukoba, 3 in Nairobi, and 5 in Zanzibar[5b] (Map 4). The pattern of spatial behaviour of these

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1 Hooker, W.H., The Handicap of British Trade with especial regard to East Africa (London: John Murray, 1916) p.18. Mr. Hooker was in 1916 the Deputy Director of the East African Section of the London Chamber of Commerce.

2 Where the firm of Oswald & Co. of Zanzibar had credit dealings with 32 Indian establishments and had their own private steamers to keep in touch with them.

3 As noted earlier, Zanzibar still maintained its position as the world ivory market even for ivory coming from the East African Protectorate, despite the loss of other entrepot functions to Mombasa, Note that cloves were a product of plantations on the island of Zanzibar. The other commodity for which Zanzibar still held its entrepot function was foodstuffs (rice, grain, flour, ghee etc.) which imported from Burma and British India for subsequent redistribution on the mainland. As expected, this trade was largely conducted by Asian firms that had contacts or branches in India and Rangoon in Burma.

The preponderence of Germans in Zanzibar's trade is also indicated by the fact that in 1907, out of a total of 231 merchant marine vessels (with a total tonnage of 466,429 tons) entering and clearing from Zanzibar, 122 vessels with a tonnage of 273,619 were German.

4 Legett, "The Economic Development of British East Africa and Uganda," Royal Society of Arts Journal, 1915, op.cit. p.214. McArthur J, "The Prospects of British East Africa," Chambers Journal of May 14th, 1904.

5 The 7 European firms with shared headquarters between Mombasa and Zanzibar, are also included in these 22 firms.

5b The figure for branches in Zanzibar excludes the 7 firms that shared their headquarters between Mombasa and Zanzibar.

Mombasa based firms as reflected in their organization differs significantly from the 11 European firms based in Zanzibar[1] most of whom (9) had their branches in the German East African ports of Tanga and Dar-es-Salaam and demonstrates the preoccupation of the Mombasa firms with the long-distance trade of the Lake Basin.

The European mercantile houses located in Mombasa besides having their own collecting and distributing network of branches in regional entrepots, also acted as suppliers of imports to and buyers of produce from the wealthy Asian merchant firms in Mombasa. These wholesale Asian firms in turn supplied and financed the smaller Indian firms located either in Mombasa or in the provincial and district headquarters in the interior and bought their produce in return and so on it went until the goods were finally distributed to the African peasant in exchange for his produce. The German system of financing trade on long credit terms which was to remain a strong imprint on East African trade for long made it certain that trade both ir produce as well as imports stayed within the hands of the German firms, as the following example made in 1916 illustrates:

> Let us see what the Germans did in the case of, say (imported) sugar...Only the cheapest sugar is wanted for native trade. What does the German do? He sells his sugar to the Indian merchants, taking a six month's bill. If, as is probable, half the merchants cannot retire their drafts, he then extends them at 6 percent, the local rate being 9 percent. Naturally, from the very first, and while anything is owing, a proviso is made that he brings his produce to the German to negotiate, and he also makes his purchase of other merchandise from the German. If the Indian merchant does not do well in one place, the German places him, his family and his goods, lock, stock and barrel, somewhere else.[2]

Again, as in the case of European firms in Mombasa and Zanzibar, there were significant spatial organizational behavioural differences between the Asian firms centered in Mombasa and Zanzibar respectively, reflecting differences in the spatial flows of mercantile trade these firms catered for. Of the 20 Asian firms in Mombasa,[3] 3 had branches in Lamu, 4 had branches in Kisumu, at least 3 had branches in Kampala/Entebbe, 8 had branches in Nairobi, at least 3 had branches in Mwanza, 5 had branches in Zanzibar,[4] 2 had branches in Fort Hall, 2 had branches in Bombay/Karachi, 2 had branches in Dar-es-Salaam/Tanga, and one had a branch in Malindi, Nakuru, Nyeri, Naivasha and Eldama Ravine respectively. (Map 5). The extent of the branching of Mombasa Asian firms, most of

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1 This figure includes the 7 firms that shared their headquarters with Mombasa.

2 Hooker, op.cit., p.58.

3 Including the two that shared their headquarters with Zanzibar.

4 This is besides the two Asian firms that shared their branches between Mombasa and Zanzibar.

them were family businesses. The branching patterns of Mombasa based Asian firms also reflects the dual involvement of these firms in the trade of the interior as well as coastal maritime trade. On the other hand, the spatial branching patterns of Zanzibar based Asian firms reflects a much greater degree of preoccupation of these firms with coastal maritime trade: of the 18 Asian firms based in Zanzibar then, 3 had branches in Tanga, 5 had branches in Dar-es-Salaam, 6 had branches in Malindi, 3 had branches in Mombasa, 2 had branches in Bombay, and there was a branch in each of the following coastal urban centres: Kismayu, Pemba, Lamu, as well as in Bagamoyo, Tabora and Ujiui (Map 6). Besides that, one Asian firm based in Aden and 2 firms based in Bombay had branches in Zanzibar. Hence, while Zanzibar had lost to Mombasa by 1909 the former entrepot functions, particularly those performed by European firms involved in the mainland (Lake Basin) trade, it still maintained its position, though on a much smaller scale than before, as an entrepot centre for coastal maritime trade[1] and the trade in foodstuffs (rice, ghee etc.) with India and Burma which was primarily being catered for by Asian firms based in Zanzibar.

Such then was the predominant pattern of commercial organization based on spatial trade flows in East Africa then: a head receiving and delivering establishment at the coast with a number of subsidiary outposts or agents located in the provincial or district headquarters in the hinterland: the regional entrepots, such as Kisumu, Mwanza, Kampala, Nairobi and Fort Hall. These outposts in turn had their clientele of smaller traders in the smaller trading places who finally disposed of the imports to the African peasants and in turn purchased either by barter or using money their produce: in many cases, the hawker represented an additional link in this chain of collection and distribution based on long distance trade.

The Asian wholesale merchant at the coast, however, did not always own a chain of establishments in the hinterland, as was evidence by the limited extent of branching characteristics of Mombasa based Asian firms, since, as has been pointed out, most of them had been established locally and run as family businesses, the ownership and management of the business being confined to the extended family unit. Firms like Allidina Visram (Map 7) were thus an exception rather than the rule in

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1 Examples of such firms are Sharrif Jaffer & Co., and Mohd. Dhunjee & Co., both of Mombasa, Esmailjee Jeevanjee and Karimjee Jivanjee of Zanzibar and Cosawjee Dinshaw of Aden and Zanzibar. These firms had invested most of their returns in coast property, owned land and plantations on the coast and some of them even owned ships and dhows which were involved in the coast trade. The firm of Mohd. Dhunjee of Mombasa, were for instance, reported to own 10,000 ac. of land within a 10 mile radius of Mombasa in 1909. Similarly the firm of Sharrif Jaffer & Co. owned 15,000 coconut trees along the coast and land in Lamu and Malindi. East Africa (British): Its History, People, Commerce, Industries and Resources (London: The Foreign and Colonial Compiling and Publishing Co. 1908-9).

case of most Mombasa based Asian firms.[1] Often the form of control exercised by the Mombasa firms on the firms in the hinterland was more subtle and was exercised through kinship and communal ties. A coastal Asian businessman of some standing may, for instance, help bring one of his relatives from the Indian sub-continent to East Africa and employ him within his establishment as an assistant. Eventually, after a few years, the assistant would invariably break away from the parent establishment to set up his own firm or would take up under his name, the running of one of the branches of the parent establishment. The links with the latter, however, would usually be maintained as supplier of imported goods and for disposal of local produce since such links would be strengthened by the system of financial relationships in terms of advances made for buying produce and "open credit" given on imported goods - similar to the financial links which bound the coast merchant to the European firms in Mombasa. Thus, most of the large firms in Kenya's regional entrepots: Kisumu, Fort Hall, Nyeri, Embu, etc., in the twenties and thirties had been established and were owned by one time employees of Allidina Visram for whom they had worked as local branch managers. Once these employees had set up their own establishments, they would in turn call in some of their relatives from India as assistants to help manage the main establishment or to open up and manage a branch in one of the surrounding twading centres to ensure an outlet for their goods as well as to ensure a share, if not a monopoly, of the produce trade.[2] Over time, these assistants would also break away from the parent establishment to set up their own firms, though, again, the ties would be maintained as in other cases: for instance, the larger firm might advance goods on "open credit" to the newcomer as well as money to buy produce but with the agreement that the latter would sell all his produce to the former.

From the evidence available, it seems that the traders in the regional entrepots and surrounding trading centres during this period derived most of their profits from produce trade rather than the trade in imported goods, again stressing the role of former as the prime mover in regional development. This is because the African peasant demand for imported goods at this early stage was not very articulate yet; trading for the latter was but a means to augment ones herd of sheep and goats[3] besides paying the hut tax and Asian traders in Reserves were often

1 The firm of A.A. Visram, located at Mombasa, was reputed to have 43 branches in the interior stretching as far as Southern Sudan & Congo.

2 Often the larger firms established branches under the names of their employees to avoid official detection as the administration did not show itself very sympathetic to such monopolistic practices by Asian firms in order to avoid exploitation of the African peasants.

3 This was a constant criticism made of the Luo and Kikuyu people in the early district and provincial commissioners reports.

criticized by the administration for not making even greater efforts to push further the consumption of trade goods. As a large number of the Asian traders had started trade with very scenty capital resources, being mainly financed by the "open credit" system and advances from the larger firms who were in turn financed by still larger firms, most of the profits obtained from produce trade were ploughed back into the business either to expand the scale of business or to build a more habitable corrugated iron duka - an ubiquitous feature of all East African urban centres, and which hence constituted one of the major dynamics of the growth of urban centres during this period. Investment of profits into other commercial enterprises such as ice and aerated water factories, grain oil, extract factories etc. at this early stage was mainly confined to the larger firms in centres such as Mombasa and Kisumu.

Compared to Mombasa, only 4 major European firms were centred in Nairobi in 1909 (Table 8) and none of them had any branches in any of the other urban centres. Unlike their Mombasa counterparts, these firms were primarily recently set up small scale individual or partnership concerns that had been started by newly arrived European settlers and catered chiefly for the needs of administrators and settlers in the process of colonizing the Highlands as did the 3 Nairobi branches of Mombasa based European firms. The 2 Asian firms with headquarters in Nairobi besides the 7 branches of Mombasa based firms also catered for the African market in and around Nairobi through itinerant traders besides catering for the European civil servant and settler population.

Hence, Nairobi in 1909 was to a large degree a local service centre in the "frontier fashion", rather than a regional entrepot whose prime function was as a regional collecting and distributing centre, as is indicated by the very limited extent of branch development of Nairobi based firms. Its role as a local service centre, moreover, stemmed heavily from its political and administrative role as the capital and virtue of its location at the "entrance" to the highland country in the process of being colonized by European settlers.

Two features are outstanding about the patterns of areal functional organization of mercantile firms in 1914 compared to 1909. The number of major commercial firms in Mombasa had increased from 42 (22 European and 20 Asian) in 1909 to 61 (33 European and 28 Asian) in 1914, and their branching network had also become more extended and intensified (Table 9). This was a reflection of expanding scale of commerce portrayed in rising export-import figures (Table 2) and an increased participation of the African peasant population, especially in the Nyanza Province, in the emerging colonial economy (Map 2). Similarly there were 32 firms (26 European firms and 6 Asian) in Nairobi in 1914 (Table 9) compared to 6 firms (4 European and 2 Asian) five years ago.

Most of the new arrivals in Mombasa as well as Nairobi were commission agents and import merchants who carried on several unrelated limes of business and specialized mainly in indent business, which was to become a major feature of the trade pattern in the country as one observer was to note later:

> (Except for articles) for which there is a relatively large and consistent native demand, there is no wholesale trade, the retailers ordering direct from the overseas supplier. The bulk of (such) import trade being conducted upon an indent basis, subject to overseas confirmation, it follows that purchasing for stock is small except in certain lines of retail trade....
>
> Representation by a resident manufacturers' agents, usually on a commission basis is popular......[1]

Thus, of the 33 European firms centered in Mombasa, 17 had no branches, most of these being commission agents and manufactorers representatives. Of the 16 others that had branches, 13 had them in Nairobi, 12 in Buganda (Kampala, Entebbe, Jinja), 8 in Kisumu, at least 4 in Bukoba/Mwanza, 3 in Zanzibar and 3 in Dar-es-Salaam/Tanga (Map 8). Similarly, of the 28 Asian firms centered in Mombasa, 21 had no branches being primarily wholesale traders. Of the remaining 7, 4 firms had branches in Kisumu, 3 in Kampala, 4 in Nairobi and 1 in Lamu. (Map 9).

Of interest here is the increase in the number of branches in Nairobi, especially of Mombasa centered European firms - an indication of increasing importance of Nairobi as a regional entrepot collecting and distributing centre both for the European settlers in the "Highlands" as well as the densely populated East Rift Kikuyu Highland country that lay to the north of it. However, of the 26 European firms centered in Nairobi, majority (21) of them had no branches in any other urban centres. Of the remaining five, 2 had branches in Eldoret, 1 in Londrani, 3 in Mombasa, 1 in Kisumu and 1 in Kampala (Map 10). Similarly, of the 6 well established Asian firms in Nairobi in 1914, 3 did not have any branches in any other urban centres. Of the remaining, 3 had branches in Mombasa and 1 in Kisumu (Map 11). These facts, however, hardly testify the enormous significance Nairobi was going to acquire soon as a mercantile urban centre subsequently - a significance that was largely to be associated with the expansion of commercial European agriculture in the "Highlands".

The European non-British firms still monopolized business in Mombasa due to the aggressive commercial policies of the German firms. Some of the European firms that were represented as agencies in 1908 had by now opened up their own branches in Mombasa due to increased scale of business.[2] Similarly, some of the Mombasa based Asian firms that

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1 Department of Overseas Trade, Report on Economic & Commercial conditions in BEA, April 1936 to June 1937. (London, HMSO, 1937) Formerly known as the Report on Trade and Commerce of East Africa.

2 An example is the firm of Ogdens and Madeleys Ltd., of Manchester who until 1910 were represented by a Zanzibar firm when they decided to open their own branch in Mombasa.

were listed in 1908 as general merchants, had by 1914 branched out into the export/import business.[1]

A particularly important behavioural feature about the East African commercial firms that is not brought out by a simple comparison of numbers is the high rate of mortality characteristic, particularly, of the Asian firms. There were at least 13 major Asian firms in Mombasa or Nairobi in 1909 that had been squeezed out of the market five years later.[2] Such high mortality was due to two reasons:

a) the extremely speculative and competitive nature of the import/export mercantile trade prevalent in East Africa then, resulting in the phenomenon of overtrading and consequent bankruptcy. Large numbers of periodic failures were characteristic of Asian firms due to the forward buying system of produce by Asian traders on money advanced from larger firms and due to overstocking of imported goods bought on "open credit" as a result of over-estimation of the African demand for imports. A quote from a contemporary source illustrates the extent of competition then rampant in import trade:-

> "...of late years an exceedingly dangerous element has sprung into existence and matured. Agents or agents' agents enter the country, possibly with the best intentions, collect orders, chiefly retail, taking no risk of any sort or kind themselves, and often for five times as much as a district can possibly consume of an article within reasonable time. They go from shop to shop, never mentioning that they have secured large orders for exactly similar articles. The orders come to England, where the head of agency is perhaps equally careful to distribute the indents among various exporters. Consequently, the goods arrive practically simultaneously and are a drug in the market."
>
> The same author remarks later that "I can show indents for some £1,000 from a man who has dishonoured drafts nearly two years old, yet the agent takes his indents and gets them confirmed."[3]

As a result, cut throat competition both in buying of produce trade as well as the selling of imports resulted when the expected prices for selling produce on the international market or the expected demand for imports did not materialize.

b) The second reason for instability among Asian firms was a result of ownership and management patterns characteristic of Asian firms. Since most Asian concerns, irrespective of size, were

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1 Examples of this are the firms of Haji Adam and Sons; Haji Kassam and Sons; and Walli Hasham and Co.

2 The number of such European firms was 7.

3 Hooker, op.cit., p. 95.

invariably family concerns worked as one man businesses or family partnerships, they rarely lasted more than a generation. After the death of the founders of the firm, usually disagreements would result among the heirs, leading to mismanagement and eventual demise of the firm. Though astute businessmen, many of the Asian businessmen did not keep up-to-date written records of their dealings; such laxity was also one of the main causes of mismanagement and instability among the Asian firms.

CONCLUSION

The pattern of areal functional organization during the first stage of European colonialism in Kenya up to 1915 was weak and limited in the economic sense. Long distance export-import trade based primarily on the semi-subsistence African peasant economy was the chief independent variable in explaining such a pattern of areal functional organization, since European commercial farming then was still largely in its experimental stages. Because of the external maritime orientation of this long-distance mercantile trade, the port of Mombasa located at the seaward terminus of the transportation corridor which provided the chief link with its markets in the lacustrine lowlands of Lake Victoria, that were formerly served by the caravan route through German East Africa and catered for by Zanzibar based firms, emerged to become the preferred location centre for firms involved in this mercantile trade. Changes in transportation technology from human porterage to locomotives and political factors dictated that the new mode of transportation (railway) and related infrastructure follow a path of least resistance different from that followed by the initial caravan transportation corridor. That a complete re-orientation of long distance mercantile trade took place from the "human" to the "mechanical" transportation corridor was due to the superiority of the latter means of locomotion both in terms of time and cost distance: the spatial re-orientation of long distance trade and the associated changes in the economic patterns of areal functional organization can thus be explained in terms of the familiar phenomenon of time-cost convergence of places over time. The re-orientation was also possible due to the very limited extent to which urban and other infrastructure had been laid out along the caravan transportation corridor. Thus the force of inertia, in entrenching subsequent trade flows and diffusion of related innovations associated with such trade flows, along the initial caravan transportation corridor, was insignificant in face of the superiority of the newly built corridor which thus largely came to replace it.

The reaction of the Zanzibar based firms involved in the Lake Basin trade to these changes was either to shift the bulk of their mainland operations to Mombasa or to open up a branch in Mombasa.

Because of the reduction of transportation costs brought about by the building of the railway from Mombasa to the Lake and the associated expansion of the African peasant market, a large number of newly arrived firms also chose Mombasa as the base for their operations.

The mode of growth and organization of the Mombasa based firms, which constituted one of the major spatial dynamics then in explaining the growth and structure of the emerging colonial urban system in Kenya, was a reflection essentially of the long distance spatial orientation of trade flows, with a head receiving and delivering establishment at the coast and a series of branches in the regional entrepots in the interior which were located strategically at the landward end of transportation prongs that radiated out from Mombasa, Kisumu, Mwanza, Bukoba, Entebbe, Jinja, and Mumias. In Kenya, the extension of the activities of these firms had been accompanied by the colonial policy of opening of African areas to traders, hitherto largely insulated from the activities of such traders, based upon an explicit recognition of the role of the Asian trader in bringing such areas within the ambit of the international exchange economy. The Kenyan urban system, during this period, thus largely served as an interface between the semi-subsistence African peasant economy and the international exchange economy while the mercantile firms located within the urban system provided the links between the two.

By 1914, however, the seeds for the emergence of a dual economy were already beginning to germinate in Kenya, expressed by the growing economic importance of Nairobi as a centre for "highland firms" catering essentially for the European settlers in the "White Highlands."

TABLE I

German East Africa's Trade with Zanzibar (in marks) 1898 to 1909

Year	Exports to Zanzibar	% of total exports	Imports from Zanzibar	% of total imports
1898	3,219,805	74	7,024,545	60
1899	2,696,427	69	7,094,156	66
1900	2,987,189	69	5,873,976	51
1901	3,169,411	69	5,951,925	63
1902	3,548,139	67	5,060,767	57
1903	3,357,756	56	5,531,459	54
1904	3,644,195	41	5,411,274	37
1905	2,132,318	21	4,632,665	26
1906	1,378,649	12	4,153,151	17
1907	2,411,170	19	1,178,869	13
1908	1,877,191	17	4,269,193	17
1909	2,271,100	17	4,296,800	13

British East Africa's Trade with Zanzibar (in sterling) 1897 to 1909

Year	Exports to Zanzibar	% of total exports	Imports from Zanzibar	% of total imports
1897	43,548	62	106,953	23
1898	59,544	83	206,635	43
1899	86,038	70	109,640	24
1900	72,507	86	101,520	23
1901	82,469	73	129,748	30
1902	36,642	25	153,367	34
1903	33,986	21	82,567	19
1904	30,546	13	99,725	19
1905	23,778	7	97,190	14
1906	28,761	6	91,635	12
1907	40,178	8	76,538	9
1908	36,434	8	75,848	9
1909	53,866	9	NA	9

Source: Brode, H. British and German East Africa. Their Economic and Commercial Relations (London. Arnold, 1911)

TABLE 2

Exports from Mombasa 1911/12, 1912/13, 1913/14

			1911/12	1912/13	1913/14
Domestic		-	336,670	421,084	443,624
Other Sources:	Uganda	)	683,228	427,228	564,224
		)			
	German East Africa)			331,292	448,103
TOTAL [1]				1,203,201	1,482,876

[1] The Total Export figures for each year also includes smaller sums exported by Sudan, Congo and Italian East Africa.

Value of Exports and Imports of Uganda and Black East Africa

	EXPORTS	IMPORTS
1898/99	71,145	427,370
1900/1901	83,959	444,142
1903/4		
1904/5		
1905/6		
1906/7		
1907/8		799,717
1908/9		797,717
1909/10		775,246
1910/11		1,000,346
1911/12		1,330,437
1912/13	848,312	1,808,343
1913/14	1,007,868	2,147,937
1914/15	821,682	1,469,210
1915/16	686,161	1,708,333

TABLE 3

Value (in marks) of Imports and Exports from German East Africa in Transit through British East Africa

IMPORTS

	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909
Moshi	112,681	169,534	247,114	191,041	90,998	432,401
Schirate	116,780	93,585	123,574	93,130	46,135	77,695
Mwanza	602,850	1,125,483	2,390,154	2,480,996	1,741,294	1,859,811
Bukoba	501,239	509,266	754,386	770,427	465,461	1,090,399
Total	1,343,550	1,897,808	3,515,228	3,535,544	2,543,888	3,460,256
Grand Total of all imports	14,338,888	17,655,350	25,152,851	23,806,369	25,152,851	33,941,700
% of Grand Total	9	11	14	15	10	10.2

EXPORTS

	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909
Moshi	182,450	149,018	163,497	132,456	119,040	175,857
Schirate	88,338	150,958	184,693	195,263	94,767	174,677
Mwanza	423,246	1,353,326	1,957,959	2,407,965	1,389,174	1,694,444
Bukoba	434,925	511,834	762,139	721,870	439,501	956,953
Total	1,128,959	2,165,136	3,068,228	3,457,554	2,042,482	3,001,931
Grand Total of all exports	8,950,565	9,949,661	10,994,712	12,500,174	10,873,856	13,119,500
% of Grand Total	13	22	28	28	19	22.0

TABLE 3B

List of Exports from the East African Protectorate to Zanzibar for the years 1904, 1906 and 1909

	1904	1906	1909
Ivory	15,700	8,700	21,200
Gram	2,000	2,500	6,400
Copra	700	4,600	4,000
Ghee	1,900	1,200	3,700
Livestock	1,300	1,000	4,200
Potatoes	1,100	1,000	1,500
Rubber	-	-	1,600
Gum copal	-	400	800
Hides and skins	2,800	-	3,574
Tortoise shells	155	-	375

Source, Brode, Op. cit

TABLE 4

Decline of Transit Trade Through Mombasa after 1910

Year	Transit Trade
1907/8	1,251,027
1908/9	1,174,014
1909/10	1,165,673
1910/11	1,606,525
1912/13	240,650
1919/20	801,180

Re-exports from Mombasa to German East Africa, Congo, Sudan and Italian East Africa

Year ended 31st March	Value of re-exports	% of total imports
1906/7	47,276	
1907/8	40,150	
1908/9	27,090	
1909/10	33,600	4
1910/11	70,002	7
1911/12	135,425	10
1912/13	149,962	8
1913/14	197,313	9
1914/15	112,553	8
1915/16	35,757	2
1916/17	242,840	8
1917/18	548,179	19
1918/19	726,280	21
1919/20	757,730	24
1920/21		
1921/22		

TABLE 5

Chief Domestic Exports of the East African Protectorate

	1900/1901[1]	1911/12	1912/13	1913/14
Gram Oil Seeds	11,420	108,568	147,250	118,430
Hides and Skins	7,227	73,258	87,673	147,474
Copra		28,053	31,456	35,587
Rubber	10,265	16,498	22,541	
Coffee				18,502
Fibre				16,608
Ivory	25,384	15,649		

[1] The figures for 1900/1901 also include Uganda

Source: East African Protectorate, Annual and Trade Reports.

Chief Imports of East African Protectorate and Uganda (excluding materials for Uganda Railway). Goods in transit or government stores.

	1898/99	1907/8	1911/13
Cotton Goods, Apparel	103,028		435,647
Rice, Wheat, Flour, etc.	103,024	89,476	100,903
Provisions	62,339	65,453	76,878
Sugar		25,532	42,571
Beads, Brass and Copper wire	28,108	28,108	28,673
Building materials		33,872	52,603
Agriculture implements		15,679	27,438
Tobacco		18,814	26,517
Arms and Ammunition		13,042	19,151
Kerosene oil		12,293	15,085

Source: Annual Reports and Annual Trade Reports.

TABLE 6

East African Protectorate : Value of cotton goods imports 1898/9 to 1919/20

Year ended 31st March	Value in s of cotton goods imports	Total imports (incl. Uganda)	Cotton goods as a percentage of total imports
1898/99	103,028	427,370	24
1903/4	118,539		27
1904/5	145,588		28
1905/6	210,571		31
1906/7	222,278		30
1907/8	197,044	799,717	25
1908/9	207,545	797,717	26
1909/10	209,734	775,246	27
1910/11	261,141	1,000,346	26
1911/12	394,715	1,330,437	31
1912/13	522,331	1,808,343	29
1913/14			
1914/15			
1915/16			
1916/17			
1917/18			
1918/19			
1919/20	747,616	3,119,536	24

Source: East African Protectorate, Annual Reports and Trade Reports

TABLE 7

List of Re-Exports from Mombasa to German East Africa, Congo, Sudan and Italian East Africa 1912/13

Cotton Piece Goods	96,855
Brass and Copper wires	4,900
Apparel	3,708
Beads	2,699
Manufactured Tobacco	1,115
Sugar	1,025
Others	39,660
TOTAL	149,462

Source: Annual Trade Report 1912/13

TABLE 8

MAJOR EUROPEAN COMMERCIAL FIRMS IN 1909 (excluding wholesale/retail traders) IN KENYA AND ZANZIBAR

	Importers/ Exporters	Produce Merchants	Location of Headquarters and Branches
Deutsch-Ost Africanische Gesellschaft	X	X	D,Z,Berlin
Whilelark and Co.	X		M,Z
P. Carrasco	X		M
E.J. Tost			L
Anderson and Mayer			M
Arnold Cheney and Co.	X	X	Z,M, New York
Besson L	X	X	Z,M,K, Marseilles
Boustead and Clarke	X	X	M, Ki, K, J
Boustead Bros.	X	X	Z, London
British East Africa Corporation	X	X	M,Md,Ki,L,E,J,London
Childs and Co.	X	X	M,Z,D, New York
(Old) E. African Trading Co.	X	X	M,E, Antwerp
Goldberg and Co.			N
Hansing and Co.	X		M,Z,D,T,B,E,Mw,Mg,Hanburg
Hiutzman and Co.	X	X	M,Z,D,Frankfurt
Central African Trading Co. Ltd.	X		M, Rotherdam
Mackinon Bros.		X	N
Marcus J.		X	N
Mombasa (BEA) Trading and Dev. Syndicate		X	M Md.
W. Oswald and Co.	X	X	M,Z,D,B,T, Hanburg
Smith Mackenzie and Co.	X	X	M,Z,L,T,K
Societa Coloniale Italiana	X	X	M, Ki, J, K, Bu, L, Mw, T, Rome
Stephen Ellis and Co.			N
Worms and Co.		X	Z
Anderton Bros.			Nku.
East Africa Stores			M, N
Ewart Thompson and Co.			Z, London
Raaschov H.G.			M,Z,T
Denhardt and Co.			L
Felix and Favre	X	X	M, N

TABLE 8 contd.
2.

Max Klein		X	M,Ki,Mw,Bu,K,D,Z,Marseilles
Robitsek and Reis	X	X	M,T,Z
Charlesworth Pilling and Co.		X	Z
Arabian Trading Co.		X	M,Ki,Mw,Bw,E, Hamburg
Hilton and Sons			M, N

MAJOR ASIAN COMMERCIAL FIRMS IN 1909 (excluding petty wholesale/retail traders) IN KENYA AND ZANZIBAR.

Abdul Husein Bros.	X		M,Z
Allidina Visram Lalji	X	X	Z,B,Tb,Uj,T,D,Mw,Bm
A.A. Visram	X	X	M,N,Ki,F,Nyeri,K,J,etc.
Karivee Jivanjee	X	X	Z, M
Nathani M.R. and Co.	X		Z
Suleman Versi and Co.	X	X	Z, D
Abdul Husein Adarji			Z, M
Allibhai Norbhai			M
Gulamhusein B. Somji			BM, Z,D
Cowasjee Diushaw Bros.			Aden, Z
Hojee Adam and Sons			M, Ki, E
Ismailjee Jivanjee	X		Z,M,BM,P,Md,D,T,L,Kismayo
Jaffermohd Juma			Z
A.M. Jivanjee			M,N,Ki,BM, Karachi
Merali Visram		X	Z, Md
Moosaji Jewanjee			M
Sharrif Jaffer and Co.			M,L,Z,Md
Sulemanji Alibhai			Z
Suleman Virjee and Sons			N,M,Ki
Voljee Bhanji and Sons			M,N
Yusufali Pirbhai Pishari			Z,T,D
Souza Junior and Dias			M,N,Z,D,E
Souza M.R.			M,N,Nku.
Souza C.R.			M,Z
Souza, J.P.			Z
Mody Bros.	X		M

TABLE 6 contd.
3.

Nazareth J.A. and Bros.			M,N,Ki,F
Souza L.M.			N,Z
Saleh Hasan		X	Z,Md
Peermohd. Golmani		X	Z
Peera Walli		X	Z
Beleram Perinal		X	N,M
Hamar Hastami& Co.		X	Z,Md
Hasham Nanjee Manjee		X	Z,Md
Moosa Tejpan		X	Z
Nathoo Doosa		X	Z,Md
G. Rashid bin Abdulla	X		Z
Jadevji Dewji			M
Mohd. Dhanjee			M
Walji Hirjee and Sons			M,N
Lalchond Mulchand Bros.	X		M,Z,N,D,Bombay
Sorabjee M			M
D. Hirjee & Co.			BM, Z

NOTES:

M - Mombasa	B - Bagamoyo	J - Jinja
Z - Zanzibar	Bu - Bukoba	Mg - Madagascar
N - Nairobi	Mw - Mwanza	P - Pemba
L - Lamu	Tb - Tabora	
Md - Malindi	Uj - Ujiji	
Ki - Kisumu	F - Fort Hall	
K - Kampala	BM - Bombay	
E - Entebbe	Nku - Nakuru	
D - Dar-es-Salaam	T - Tanga	

The names underlined represent the location of the local headquarters and major warehouse establishments of the particular firm.

Source: Business Directaries (see footnote 1 on pg. 22 of the main text).

TABLE 9

MAJOR EUROPEAN COMMERCIAL FIRMS IN MOMBASA IN 1914 AND THEIR MAIN BRANCHES

Africa Coastal Agency	M
Africana	M
Anglo Baltic Timber Co.	M,N,Ki,K
Arabian Trading Co.	M, Ki, Mw, Bu, E
Arnold Cheney and Co.	M
Besson & Cie	M, K, Z, J, T
Bouslead and Clarke	M, Ki, J, K
British American Tobacco Co. Ltd.	M
British E. African Corporation	M, N, Ki, J, K, K
B.E. African Trading Co.	M
Central Africa Trading Co.	M
Childs, Parr and Joseph	M, N
Clarke, J.H.	M, N
Deutsch Ost-Afrikanische Gesellschaft	D, M, Z
East Africa and Uganda Corporation	M, N, E
East African Industries	M
(Old) East African Trading Co.	M, N, E
Frigerio L & Co.	M
Gool M.A.	M
Hansing & Co.	M, N, E, D, etc.
Hintzmann & Co.	M, Z, D
Hooker W.H. Ltd.	M
Ingle W.L. Ltd.	M
Internationale Handels-Gesellschaft	M
Irwin, Gee & Sons	M, N
Klein Max	M, N, Ki, J, Mw
Ogdens & Madeleys Ltd.	M
W.M. Oswald & Co.	M, N, Ki, J
Schwerger Alois & Co.	M
Smith Mackenzie & Co.	M, N
Societa Coloniale Italiana	M, Ki, K, Bu, Mw

TABLE 9 contd.
2.

Standard Bank of S. Africa	M, N & branches
Strathmann & Joachim	M
Westplant	M

MAJOR ASIAN COMMERCIAL FIRMS IN MOMBASA IN 1914 AND THEIR BRANCHES

Bhatt Bros	M
Ebrahim Nanjee & Sons	M
Ebrahimji Adarijee & Co.	M
Esmailjee Jivanjee & Co.	Z, M, BM, P, T, L, Kisruayu
Esmail Kahan & Sons	M
Fazal Ladak Sivji	M
Gulamhusein Essaji	M
Habib Nanjee & Co.	M
Haji Adam & Sons	M, Ki, K
Haji Kassam & Sons	M
Jivan Laljee & Co.	M
Jivanjee A.M. & Co.	M, N, Ki
Jivray Meghi & Sons	M
Kapacee M.G.E. & Sons	M
Ladak Meghi & Sons	M
Madhavji Visram & Sons	M
Nasser Virji & Co.	M
Purshotam Velji	M
Rajanbhai Janmohamed	M
Rodrigues C.R.	M
Sharrif Jiwa & Co.	M, Lamu, Malindi
Souza Jnr. & Dias	M, N
Valabdas & Co.	M
Valji Bhanji & Co.	M, K
Allidina Visram	M, N, Ki, K, etc.
Walli Hassam & Co.	M, Ki, N
Walhmohd. Rahimtulla	M
Abdulla Khimji	M
Desai Pandit & Bros.	M

TABLE 9 contd.
3.

MAJOR EUROPEAN COMMERCIAL FIRMS IN NAIROBI IN 1914 AND THEIR BRANCHES

Loma Trading Co.	N
Bulloys and Roy	N
Dustpan	N
Gailey & Roberts	N
Goldberg & Co.	N
Hilton T & Sons	N
Hogg Archibald	N
Jardin E.	N
Kampf M.D.	N
Mc Crae J.	N
McDonnell Bros & Smith	N
Mackinon Bros.	N
Marcus J.	N
Newland Tarlton & Co.	N
Nightingale & Co.	N, Eldoret
Sharp Jos	N
Simpson, Whitelaw & Appleby	N
Stephen, Ellis & Co.	N
Todd, J.H.S. & Co.	N, Eldoret & Londiani
Unga Ltd.	N
Whiteway, Lardlow & Co.	N
Wood T.A.	N
Preston R.O.	N
Dawson J.H.	N,M.
Johnstone & Wilsons	N,M
National Bank of India Ltd. (Govt. Bankers)	N, M & branches

TABLE 9 contd.
4.

MAJOR ASIAN COMMERCIAL FIRMS IN NAIROBI IN 1914 AND THEIR BRANCHES

Khambatta & Sons	N
Ramrattan Gangaram	N
Siqueira	N
Suleman Virji & Sons	N, M, Ki
Behram Parmal	N, M
Valji Hirji	N, M

Source, Business Directaries (see footnote 1 on pg. 22 of the main text)