

HUGE AFRICA AWAKENS TO A NEW DESTINY: The Prince of Wales Goes to go Royal Advertising for Britain...

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HUGE AFRICA AWAKENS TO A NEW DESTINY

The Prince of Wales Goes to Do Royal Advertising for Britain's Real Colonial Empire, as Quickening Development of a Continent Holding One-Fifth World's Area Has Great Commercial Significance

By P. W. WILSON.

ONCE again the Prince of Wales, accompanied this time by his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, has set forth as a pilgrim of publicity to promote the interests of the British Empire. Ostensibly, it is his object to shoot big game in Africa. In reality, there are issues involved in his tour of far-reaching significance, which have to be considered, not from the British standpoint alone but as they affect the world.

The greatest of Africa's pioneer statesmen was Cecil Rhodes. His ideal was, frankly, an "Africa all red"—that is, as British as India. It is a dream which, as a result of the war, has been brought at any rate within partial realization. In Egypt, Britain's influence is dominant and from Cairo to the Cape her territory is, in effect, continuous.

With the Dominions declaring their autonomy, Africa has become the real Colonial Empire of Britain, and it is to advance the development of this empire that the Prince of Wales, an Ambassador of Commerce, is proceeding on his tour.

An International Concern.

But it would be a great mistake to regard the situation as specifically British. It affects mankind. As a continent, second only in size to Asia, Africa has arrived at an epoch in her destiny. Ancient Athens divided the world into Greek and Barbarian. Africa has been looked upon hitherto as a barbarian region, excluded by the curse of Ham from the amenities of civilization. In the words of Stanley, she was Darkest Africa. But what Africa has now to face is the dawn. Even the twilight is over. It is day.

There are published numerous books on Africa and, for the better understanding of the continent, here have been two elaborate inquiries initiated in the United States. The Phelps Stokes Fund organized a commission under Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones and more recently Howard Jones and more recently Howard Jones. On the problem of Africa, social and economic, these investigators have brought to bear a detached, the very negation of that bureaucratic impulse which is expressed by a frank realist like Trevelyan. Africa has been despised in the past as the continent of slaves. Today she is included, at any rate prospectively, in the household of citizenship.

The Map Now Complete.

To begin with, the map of the continent, broadly speaking, is complete. Explorers like Livingstone have played their part and nothing remains of their task except the details, still to be filled in. As a field for adventure, Africa still remains herself. But to adventure there must now be added investment. The trustees for Africa's future are the administrator, the merchant, the scientist, the doctor, the educator and the missionary. It can hardly be doubted that the days of big game are numbered. As the bear and the wolf have disappeared from America, so it is likely that the lion and the giraffe, the hippopotamus and great snakes will be exterminated, slowly but surely, as man establishes his kingdom along the Congo, the Niger and the Zambesi.

There are those who argue that it would have been well for the native if his continent had been closed to the white man. Even today there is a determined attempt along the eastern seaboard from Cape Town in the south to Mombasa in the north to exclude the Asiatic, at any rate from British territory. It is an exclusion fiercely resented in India, and it is uncertain whether it can be sustained. For an isolated Africa is today unthinkable. The flash of a diamond on Fifth Avenue is a searchlight on the mines at Kimber-

ley. The gold reserve of the world is guarded by nature in her volcanic vents on the Rand at Johannesburg. Wash the hands and the skin is cleansed by the vegetable oils of Angola. A cup of cocoa owes its fragrance to the plantations of S. Thomé and Principe. It is from Africa that rubber has been derived and Africa grows cotton, breeds cattle and harvests cereals. Her manufactures may be negligible, but her raw materials, actual and potential, are to be included among the dominant economic factors that contribute to the wealth of mankind. So far from separating Africa from the world as a whole, fate will elaborate the contacts already effected. Coffee grown on the shores of Lake Victoria Nyanza will rival, so it is predicted, the coffee of Brazil. So with a score of other products.

The trade of Africa is rapidly increasing. The exports, mainly overseas, are about \$1,250,000,000 a year, while the imports are \$1,440,000,000, an excess of imports which indicates new investment in the continent. Of this commerce, inward and outward, three-quarters is attributable to areas in Africa classified as British. The share of the United States is, at the moment, less than a tenth of the whole, but is increasing, as shown by these figures:

United States	1925	1926
Imports from Africa	\$89,000,000	\$101,000,000
Exports to Africa	\$2,000,000	\$6,000,000

The railways in Africa, all told, exceed 33,000 miles and construction is proceeding. More than half of this mileage is within the British sphere of influence. It is to be realized, of course, that a mile of railway in Africa does not represent the same capacity for traffic as a mile of highly developed double or quadruple track in a country like the United States.

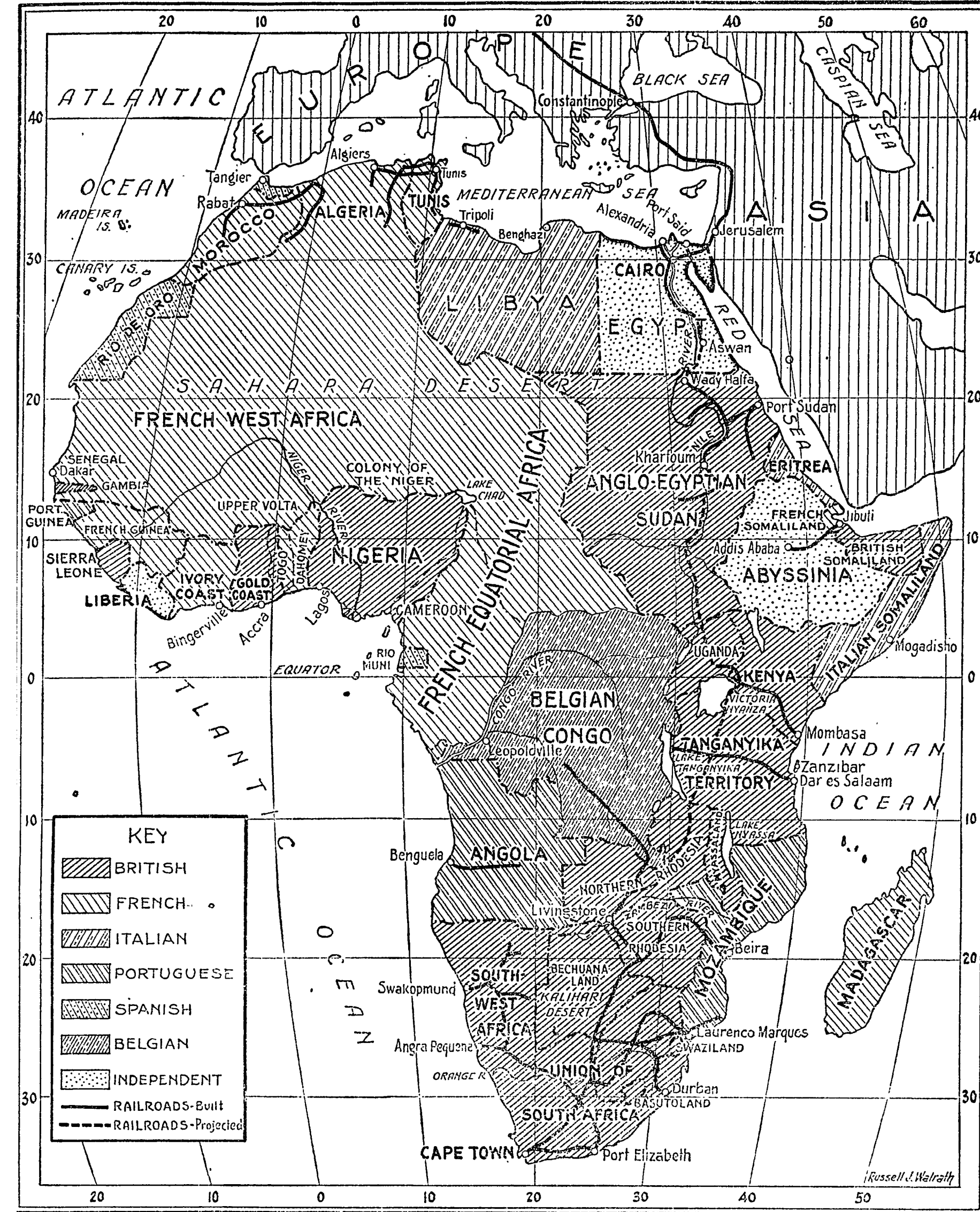
Value of the Continent.

The magnitude of Africa has yet to be appreciated. This vast and varied region extends from the Mediterranean in the north, a distance of 7,000 miles, to the latitude of Tasmania in the south. Not long ago that distance was traversed for the first time by a party, including a woman, Mrs. Treat, in automobiles. We may thus assume that Africa, like Arabia, will yield her deserts to the motor car and the airplane. But it was the dream of Cecil Rhodes, the real founder of African democracy, that a railway be constructed from Cairo to the Cape.

It is a dream about to become a reality. To the north that railway extends in the Sudan beyond Khartoum. To the south it traverses Rhodesia. The remaining links lie through Tanganyika and Kenya; and the fact that Tanganyika is no longer German East Africa means that, as Rhodes desired, the whole railway will be under British control. With branches radiating like ribs to the Atlantic and Indian oceans, this Cape-to-Cairo Railway is the destined backbone of the continent, and through Palestine it will be linked with the railways of Asia and of Europe herself.

The land on this planet covers an area of 55,000,000 square miles. The area of Africa is no less than 11,500,000 square miles or more than one-fifth of the land area of the world. Africa is three times as big as Europe and half again as big as North America. The continent is nearly four times the size of the United States.

As yet the peoples of Africa, taken as a whole, have not been enumerated in a census, and in considering statistics of population we have to depend on estimates so diverse as to be obviously uncertain in their accuracy. The population of the world is put at 1,800,000,000. If we allow 150,000,000 for Africa—apparently a generous figure—it follows that, with



Map Showing European Spheres of Influence in Africa.

one-fifth of the land on this planet, the continent is sustaining only one-twelfth of the people.

It is true that the Sahara Desert in the north and the much smaller Kalahari Desert in the south suffer from an undervegetation which man has been unable as yet to counteract. But, on the other hand, Africa contains no Arctic zone. She may have to endure heat, but she is immune from ice.

Indeed, we have here in the main a continent of highlands. Almost the whole of South Africa lies at an altitude of more than 2,000 feet above the sea, and these splendid plateaus sweep northward through Abyssinia. Yet we have the curious and significant fact that the very uplands where the white man is making his home have been only sparsely populated by the black man. The equatorial colonies to be visited by the Prince of Wales are, roughly, half

the size of India. But whereas the population of India is 330,000,000, this African area supports only about 12,000,000. Here is an obvious under-development, nor is its explanation merely climatic.

We need to examine the human factor. It is true that Africa includes many races. But the body of Africa is black. Of her people at least 100,000,000 are of negro blood. It is the negro who has made Africa what she is or, as some would put it, failed to make Africa what she should be. As it has been said, the African negro has founded no stone city, built no ship, produced no literature and suggested no creed.

The Mediterranean Minority.

The minority in Africa consists mainly of Semites and Hamidians. But it is along the shores of the Mediterranean that they have their home. On the one hand, they occupy provinces like Egypt and Tripoli, which in other days belonged to the Roman Empire—Morocco being geologically a continuation of Spain. On the other hand, they have been cut off hitherto from the real and essential Africa which we are here considering. The route, let us say, from Algiers or Alexandria to Sierra Leone or Durban is not by land but by sea.

It should be added that a distinction is to be drawn between the negro who has and the negro who has not acquired an American background. Education and an infusion of white blood have transformed the negro of the New World into a new race. In Liberia we can see the difference between the African population and the governing class which migrated eastward when that experimental republic was founded.

The native African has his arts, his music and his virtues. But his social and industrial inactivity has had deplorable results. It may be that, in North America, the forests were too recklessly hewn down. In Africa the forests have had it too much their own way. The inevitable undervegetation of deserts like the Sahara and Kalahari is still supplemented by the overvegetation of scarcely penetrable jungles, covering immense areas within the tropics.

Hence, in no small measure, the ill reputation of Africa for fever, sleeping sickness and other epidemics which have so gravely reduced and sometimes obliterated her peoples. It is now realized that these scourges are, in large measure, preventable. Just as yellow fever was eliminated from the Caribbean, so should this and other maladies disappear from the Congo, situated along a similar latitude. Exceptional mortality is seldom inevitable. It can be and, in Africa, it is being prevented.

There were other evils in Africa than disease. Organized under chiefs in villages, the natives—often lacking a wider organization—were a prey to inter-tribal war and slave raiding. If there had been no continent except Africa on this planet, these abuses would have prevented an advance along the path of progress. It was this pre-existent and internal traffic in human flesh and blood which, in due course, was extended overseas, not to America alone, but throughout the entire middle east of Asia.

Europe's Work in Africa.

Under these circumstances, the association of Africa with Europe has been by no means the calamity which sometimes we are apt to assume. Doubtless, exploiters of red rubber and cocoa have been and may be ruthless. The treatment of the natives, whether in compounds, as on the Rand and at Kimberley, or in reservations, or as forced laborers on public works and even private plantations, has been subject to violent exposure. But the broad fact is that, taking Africa as a whole, the blacks, unlike the Maoris in New Zealand and other Polynesians, are increasing in numbers. There is no question of these vigorous races dying out. On the contrary, their salvation from bloodshed and disease has already enhanced their vitality. By suppressing the slave trade, by introducing modern medicine and by instituting the rudiments of what is already an influential education, the white man is producing a very different race of black men.

It is a situation by no means devoid of difficulty. With the blacks increasing in numbers and in mental

capacity, the whites remain a small minority. In the United States there are ten whites to one black. In Africa there are fifty blacks to one white. Indeed, even this is an understatement of the case. For where do the 3,000,000 European whites live? One million of them are to be found in the extreme north. A further 1,500,000 are gathered in the extreme south. Of the others, most live near or on the coast. In mid-Africa the European whites are a mere handful of individuals, surrounded by multitudes of natives, and their security depends on the support of Europe behind them. Today the whole of Africa is under foreign sovereignty except Abyssinia with her 10,000,000 people and Liberia with a population of not more than 2,000,000.

If this political structure is still haphazard, it is no wonder. In the main, it is the creation of only forty years. In the early '80s European sovereignty was limited to a fringe of settlements, still clinging to the seaboard—Cape Colony, Lagos and the rest. As a continent, Africa consisted of a vast and largely unknown hinterland.

Today the political map of Africa covers the entire continent. Every foot of the soil is owned by somebody. The two paramount powers are France and Britain, each of them governing about 50,000,000 people and holding about one-third of the continent. Under the French flag we find almost the whole of the northwestern territory, including the Sahara, but also including Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. With Madagascar in her hands France is stronger in Africa than ever she was in America or India.

Britain holds, broadly, the east of the continent, with an isolated Nigeria, Gold Coast and Sierra Leone to the west. It is a vast territory and, what is more important, mainly continuous. Three other powers exercise an African sovereignty—Belgium on the Congo, Portugal in Mozambique to the east and Angola and Guinea to the west; and, last but not least, Italy. Her possessions are strategic. Somaliland hugs the frontier of Abyssinia and over this ancient kingdom Italy has endeavored to impose a protectorate. At the Battle of Adowa in 1896 the Abyssinians were able to defeat this claim and assert their independence.

On the other hand, Italy was able in 1912 to seize Tripoli, now called Libya, and this province makes her the neighbor of Britain in Egypt and France in Tunisia, where many Italians reside. It is admitted that Italy desires to extend her North African sovereignty westward along a coast that directly confronts her own.

Arbitrary Partitions.

If, then, the map of Africa is now highly colored—red for British territory, green for French, and so on—it is, for this reason, deceptive to the mind. Countries like Egypt and Abyssinia embody a historical tradition. But there is no pretense that such a tradition supports the British in Tanganyika or the French on the shores of Lake Chad. These occupations may fairly be described as accidental.

The Continent has been subjected by Europe to a partition, at once arbitrary and artificial. Except in treaties, the frontiers have no existence. By a stroke of the pen the German colonies in Africa were transferred to France, Britain and Belgium. By a similar stroke of the pen they could be returned to Germany. Nor has there been audible one whisper of comment from the peoples whose sovereignty has been thus changed. Africa has acquiesced not only in the rule of Europe but in the rule of a disrupted Europe, whether the rule be good or bad.

This, however, is a situation that cannot long continue. What has now to be faced is the Africa not of diplomatic fiction but of ethnic fact—an Africa neither British nor French nor Belgian nor Portuguese, but African—an Africa in whose well-being, in whose resources, mankind as a whole is intimately concerned. Africa is not really divided. She is and always will be one of the world's great unities, and for Africa the world is responsible.

That growing sense of responsibility has been embodied in a series of historic treaties. The first of them was signed at Berlin in February, 1885. To this treaty the United States is a party and its object was "the development of trade and civilization in Africa, the free navigation of the rivers Congo, Niger, and, etc., the suppression of the slave trade by sea and land, the occupation of territory on the African coasts." etc. Out of that treaty there arose the Congo Free State, a disgrace under King Leo-

polo of Belgium, but reorganized under King Albert.

In 1890 a second treaty, to which once more the United States was a party, was signed at Brussels, its object being a more rigorous suppression of the slave trade, and in 1919, after the war, the collective responsibility of civilization for Africa was yet again emphasized. The transferred German colonies are held by Great Britain, France and South Africa under the direct mandate of the League of Nations as defined in Article XXII of the Covenant. This clause is the Magna Carta of "peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world." A characteristic and operative paragraph may be quoted:

Mandate Responsibility.

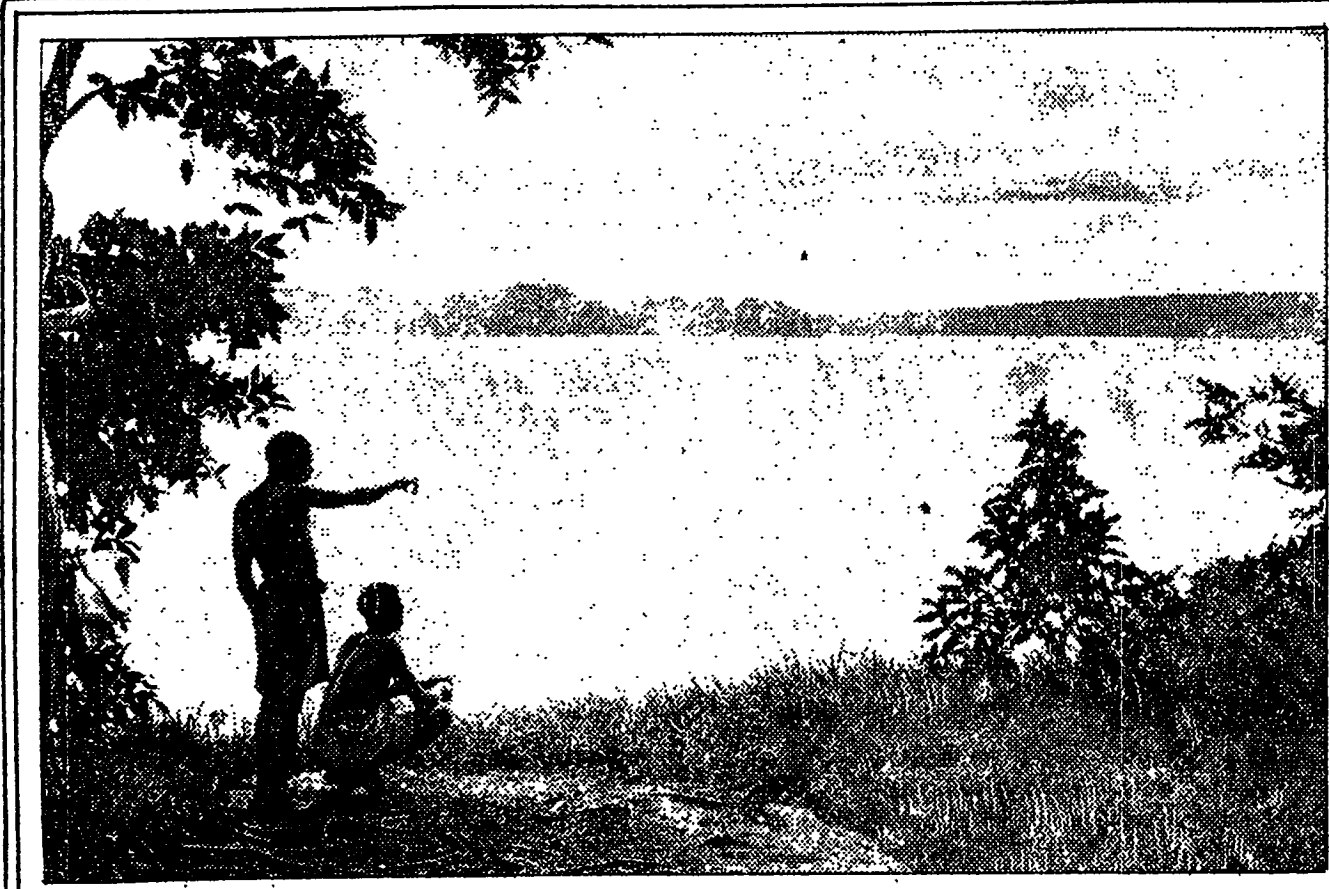
"Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases, and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League."

The human issues affecting Africa are here clearly stated. First, we have an assertion of an equal right of all countries to develop trade in the occupied regions. Next, it is laid down that such trade must not include arms and liquor, which are calculated to militate against native interests. Thirdly, there is to be no slavery, and, fourthly, religion is to be freely permitted. In the Treaty of St. Germain, signed 1919, it is expressly stipulated that "missionaries shall have the right to enter into, and to travel and reside in, African territory with a view to procuring their calling."

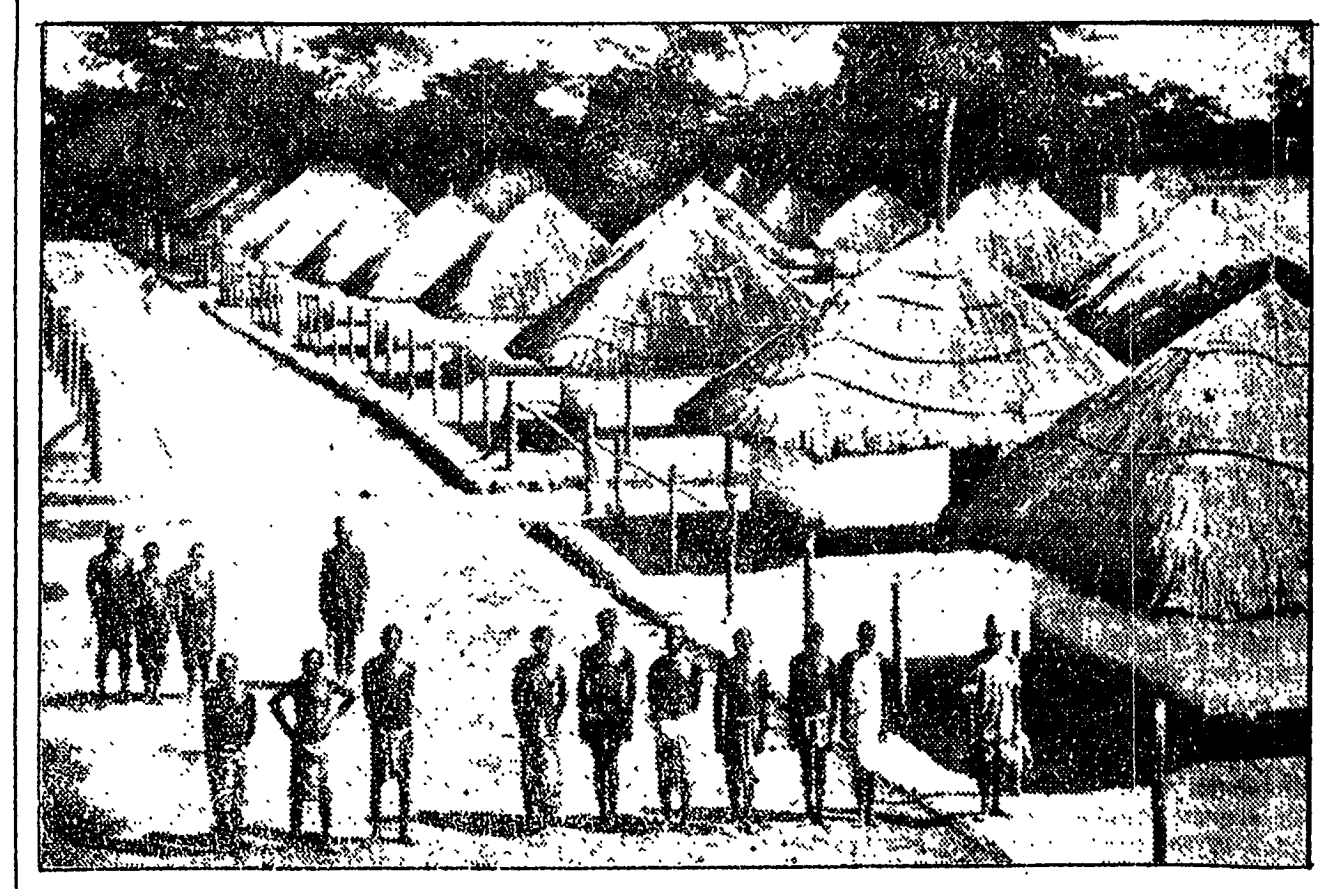
The organized conscience of mankind refuses, then, to permit Africa to be treated as a sphere of exploitation where "there ain't no Ten Commandments." It is, however, idle to pretend that as yet the continent is a paradise. The employment of natives industrially in the mines and agriculturally on the plantations creates a new social situation. Even if there be no ill treatment, it may not contribute to well-being, nor need work be slavery in order to be a form of servitude.

A Color Bar Applied.

Under Prime Minister Herzog and against the warnings of General Smuts, South Africa has applied to the blacks a color bar. This means that the negro, however enterprising he may be, is excluded, merely because he is a negro, from skilled positions in industry, which are thus reserved for the whites. In Kenya the struggle is over land, the right of the native to an adequate reservation, and the protection of the native against implied compulsion to leave that reservation in order to work for the white man. It is fair to add that, as her native policy, Great Britain has adopted recently and in a formal manner the development of education, as the path to be pursued. If that policy be steadily persisted in, not by one suzerain power alone but by all, if the education be manual as well as mental and suited to African conditions, and if the native, so educated, is treated with industrial equity, Africa will become—so it is argued—not merely a producer of raw materials for the white man, but a market for the consumption of commodities which the white man has to sell.



Photograph Copyrighted by Publishers Photo Service. Victoria Falls, Rhodesia, Called by Natives "Thunder Sounding Smoke."



Photograph by Ewing Galloway. A Model Sanitary Village for Negro Copper Miners in Belgian Congo.