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The Political Geography of Africa before and after the War: Discussion

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administrator ought to encourage—its use extends right into Northern Rhodesia.

The languages I have cited ought to be studied much more than they are, and classes for teaching the useful native languages of Africa ought to be held in great centres of education, especially in London. But the scheme sanctioned in 1909 for teaching them and the principal languages of Asia at some special institute in the metropolis seems to have been delayed in its operations. When it is carried into effect it is highly important that the teaching shall be on the most modern and least academic lines. For instance, instruction in Arabic must refer to the diverse dialects of that language, and not give attention only to classical Arabic.

The PRESIDENT (before the paper): Sir Harry Johnston is a very old friend here. It must be at least thirty years since he first addressed us in this hall, and perhaps he may pardon me if I refer to an incident connected with that Meeting which remains fixed in my mind. Sir Harry Johnston was then young in years, and he was still younger in appearance. We had at the table the veteran M. de Lesseps, and when the lecture was over he turned to me and said, "Mon Dieu quel pays! où même les enfants sont grands voyageurs."

I cannot run through, except in the most summary way, our lecturer's African career. He first visited North Africa as an artist; he then went to South-West Africa, and, subsequently, has moved through almost the whole of Africa in official capacities. He was Vice-Consul in the Cameroons in 1885, Acting Consul in the Niger Coast Protectorate in 1887, Consul for the province of Mozambique in 1888; in 1889 he led an expedition to Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika, which resulted in the founding of the British Central Africa Protectorate; he was Consul-General and Commissioner in British Central Africa in 1891; Consul-General in the Regency of Tunis in 1897-99; Special Commissioner, Commander-in-Chief, and Consul-General for the Uganda Protectorate from 1899 to 1901. In all these capacities, and wherever he has wandered, Sir Harry Johnston has made the best use of his opportunities. He has studied Africa not only as a geographer, but as a politician; he has studied it economically, racially, linguistically, and the result of all these studies he has put into books which we have most of us read, at any rate, some of them, with very great interest. And last, but certainly not least, Sir Harry Johnston is as good with his pencil as he is with his pen. He is an artist, not one of the so-called artists who make ugly patterns with geometrical figures, but an artist who goes to nature and brings back pictures which remind us of the beauties and glories of the world he has seen, of the mysteries of African forests and the strange birds and animals that inhabit them. I am sure we shall listen to-night to what he has to tell us with the greatest interest, and I will not interpose myself any longer between you and him.

HON. W. P. SCHREINER (after the paper): When I accepted the very kind invitation to the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society to-night, I had not the remotest idea of being called upon to say anything. I looked forward, therefore, to the very great treat of listening to Sir Harry Johnston. But your commands are, of course, my law on this occasion, and therefore I must accept the position and say a few words, I hope, of appreciation of the most brilliant and fascinating address to which we have listened to-night. I can quite understand that somebody

less gifted might have occupied more time in presenting an address which would have been quite free from objection, but I do not think any one would have been able to present an address which would have charmed us more than Sir Harry Johnston has to-night. He has shown how dull facts can be illumined, and he has stuck to his facts in so far as facts were necessary; but he has certainly shown that he has the poetic fancy and imagination with which, I think, every great geographer should be gifted. To watch the maps passing before one's eye without any prior opportunity of studying them was indeed a liberal pleasure, but somewhat bewildering. I should like, if I could, to recall the magic of that now white sheet, and there are only one or two points on which I would more particularly remark, where one has a certain familiarity. I rubbed my eyes when I saw what the south of Africa was going to be. I said to myself, "What becomes of the Bechuanaland Protectorate? Where is Basutoland? What becomes of Swaziland, the much-tried daughter of the direct government of Great Britain? And then, indeed, what becomes of the Union of South Africa as it is to be?" When I saw such very large Rhodesian letters marked across the northern portion of the future Union, I said to myself, "Truly there is the gift of great imagination! A poetic fancy, no doubt, and a fine one, and one I fear that may not, without some trouble, be realized in actual accomplishment."

We are indeed indebted to Sir Harry Johnston for the broad-mindedness which his paper has exhibited, and I speak with some gratitude to him for venturing to put forward the best, which is worthy of this great nation, the British nation. One thing comes back even in these days, when we have the mind to fight to a finish, not to disregard the lessons of history in the past. There is no doubt Germany has accomplished a great deal in the continent of Africa to which it would be childish to blind one's eyes; yet when one has said that and thanked Sir Harry Johnston for the appreciation he has shown of actual facts, one is obliged to remark the marvel that there, again, the ruling caste, we will put it, of Germany should so have misunderstood humanity as I fear it has. When this war came on, how many predictions did Germany not make with regard to what was going to happen to the British Empire? Those predictions have been, happily, falsified; but they are predictions which proceed from a fundamental misjudgment of humanity, and that same error is, I fear, the reason why, with all that has been accomplished in practical development in Africa, Germany has never yet successfully colonized in Africa at all, and I do not know that she has ever successfully colonized anywhere. That lesson of colonization is one which the greatest empire of all time, and greater still to be, did not learn without a good deal of trouble and travail. Great Britain was not always a sane colonizer herself, and the fact that we to-day are looking wistfully at the spectacle of American neutrality may remind us how we lost other opportunities. Those lessons more than a hundred years ago have been through the nineteenth century, and are still in the twentieth century being, applied; and that is the secret, I won't say of the perpetual character of the British Empire, but of its enduring character and advancing character, and its great future. As yet, whatever might have happened if there had been more places in the sun that did not belong to other people, Germany has not exhibited those characteristics; she does not seem to have learned the lessons necessary for successful colonization. They are only, after all, lessons of true democracy.

Look at South Africa again. If it had not been for the sowing of tares in that field, why I think we might almost safely have gone with Lord Gladstone in saying there was no trouble at all likely to occur in South Africa; but the misunderstanding of humanity to which I have referred led Germany to sow those tares, led the ruling caste in Germany somehow to do these things which we of South Africa

were little aware of. Now, the consequence of that is—some more red map. That is the direct consequence. Yes, I speak as one who would have been prepared to say on better conduct on the part of Germany that, as a great nation, she required the opportunity of learning in German South-West Africa lessons in colonization; that we should stick to our bond of 1890, and allow the spheres of influence to continue after the war. I do not share that opinion now. I take a different view, and I say there is no room for the two systems to march side by side for hundreds of miles in South Africa as they marched for a quarter of a century in the past, and might, but for breach of treaty, have continued to march. I refer to the treaty of 1890, a much more modern treaty than that with Belgium. The events which have happened have demonstrated that there is no room for two such systems as neighbours in that part of the world, and when the solution comes to be made, whether it be that brothers may quarrel a little as to the detailed division of the spoil, I think it is quite true that all the imagination of Sir Harry Johnston will be vindicated in so far as his map was shaded red. I hope that that 320,000 square miles of country may be governed a great deal better than it has been in the past. Germany has taken it as a strategical position, Germany has so developed and used it, but how has she treated that section of the great native population of Africa? I say, without fear of contradiction, that to some extent our nation in South Africa owes the placidity with which we regard the situation to the fact that in every hut throughout South Africa there is but one word amongst the natives with regard to the way that they have been treated in the past by Germany, but one determination that they stand at all risks by the side of the Empire. I am not going to pretend that it is because of the *beaux yeux* of the Union Government that we can, as to the native populations, feel so entirely at ease—behind there lies something that is deeper, and that is the consciousness of the great body, I will say, of African peoples, that where the Empire flag waves there there is justice, and there has prevailed equality of opportunity. And that makes the great safeguard in Africa, and let us hope that that may make also in the future for the avoidance throughout Africa of those troubles which must arise where those first principles are disregarded. They only can be avoided by the pursuance of those principles upon which the Empire is founded, and upon which, I hope, she will prevail. This is an aspect of the problem of this evening which I wished just to touch upon. It has been touched upon, and in that broad spirit which those who have read Sir Harry Johnston's writings must appreciate. If we are to gain true union as civilized people to South Africa, we are to teach lessons of civilization, we are to uplift and raise the people that are there. Those people, after all, are the people of the country, and those people must be provided for, and whatever system it may be we provide in the future, it must be a system which fully, justly, and with equality of opportunity, allows them to rise as high as their own nature renders it possible for them to rise. That principle, I venture to say, is the principle which has not yet been learned by the great power against whom we are conducting this struggle. When we look at what has been done on the battlefields of Europe, we remember that this war is a war of freedom, and in the cause of freedom, and in the issue it is true freedom within the British Empire, which South Africa, I hope, will gain. I wish to thank Sir Harry Johnston very much for the great pleasure and treat which, I am sure, all of us have appreciated and realized. One never either reads what he writes or hears what he says without differing upon certain points, but thanking him for the whole.

Lord BRYCE: Like my distinguished friend, Mr. Schreiner, I did not come here with any expectation of being called upon to say anything. My knowledge of Africa, such as it is, touches but slightly those parts of that continent to which Sir Harry

Johnston has devoted our attention to-night. But I cannot resist the temptation to join in expressing the admiration and pleasure with which we have listened to this lecture. The Royal Geographical Society is famous not only for the excellence, but for the variety of the feast of reason which it sets before those who come to its meetings, and I do not think for many years past there can have been any address more stimulating, more abundant both in fact and in suggestion, than that to which we have had the pleasure of listening to-night. Sir Harry Johnston speaks not only with the profound and intimate knowledge which his travels and long years of residence in Africa has given him, but also with the poetical vision which enables him to see the present in all its variety and the future in all that richness of development which he hopes for in Africa. I think it is partly in the skill with which he has so concisely traced the development of the continent through the past, combining it with that insight into the future he has given us, that the extraordinary and peculiar interest of his presentation of the subject lies. He has given us so much it is hard to know what to comment upon. I feel inclined to ask him questions which it would take the whole of to-night to answer. He has given us in particular a series of dissolving views of Empire in that succession of maps which showed us what was, what was to be, what is, what might have been, and what will be. In these he has given us a profound moral; the moral that when you have got enough, or are just going to get enough, you should be content and not want to have everything. He reminded me in one place, in the ideas he had of solving in Africa the problems of Europe, of the famous dictum of George Canning—he had called a New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old. If Sir Harry Johnston's project, of which I have little doubt he was partly the author, and upon which he certainly smiled, if that project had been carried out, what a different world it would have been—Germany compensated in Africa, and the dangers which were threatening Europe removed from us; good will all round, possibly followed by centuries of peace! Only the dark-skinned subjects of Germany might have fared ill, because what Sir Harry Johnston said is true, she has never known how to manage savage and backward races, inasmuch as she has never tried to enter into their mind and to realize what a part in administration tact and sympathy ought to have. One question I may perhaps ask. Was it an essential part of the scheme for compensating Germany in Africa and the East for the cession of Alsace and Lorraine that she should receive Asia Minor and Mesopotamia? because I noticed upon the map the German colour of yellow was given to that district, and for divers good reasons some of us may be glad that that part at least of the scheme has not been carried out. As it is now, we can easily see that there is plenty of room in Africa to satisfy everybody. Not only so, but it will not be as easy to satisfy everybody in South-Eastern Europe as we trust it may be in Africa. There is one little aspect of the question which is especially interesting for you, Mr. President, and for myself, as members of the Alpine Club. I am very anxious that in the redistribution of territories we should, if possible, get all the highest mountains. We already are fairly well off; we have Kenya and Elgon, and we have the very picturesque, if not equally lofty, mountains of Basutoland, and a good slice of Ruwenzori, which we largely owe to the President, who was one of its first explorers, for he impressed upon the Foreign Office the desirability of our possessing "hill stations" upon those mountains. But we have not got Kilimanjaro, and that, I think, we clearly ought to have, together with any other points whose height exceeds, let us say, 8000 feet. There was one remark made by Sir Harry Johnston which I listened to with particular pleasure; I felt very glad he gave to German travellers the credit which is justly due to them for the way in which they did their often difficult and dangerous work. As we do not forget those philosophers and poets of Germany who belong to all time, so let us not forget the daring explorers.

The gravest permanent problems of Africa are not those of rivalries among European nations. They are the problems of the relations of the whites to the negroes, or to the dark-skinned races generally. We whites cannot expect to form the bulk of the population in any except a comparatively few and small districts of tropical Africa. We must face the fact that the dark-coloured races generally, those whom Sir Harry Johnston referred to as the non-Caucasian races, will, after all, form the vast majority of the population of Africa. I am delighted to think that he does not despair of the future of those dark races. Such limited observations as I have been able to make have led me to believe we are apt to exaggerate the difference between races, or at any rate the capacities of the backward races. We may hope that under sympathetic but prudent treatment, not throwing upon them gifts which they are not fit to receive (as the suffrage was given to them in the Southern States of America, when they were quite unfit for political power), but gradually leading them upwards by education, by interesting them in the works of civilization, by showing sympathy and consideration for them, we may make it possible for them one day to rise to far higher levels than any one has ventured to think of yet, and we may succeed in keeping peace and good feeling between them and ourselves, a condition of things under which alone prosperity and happiness can be obtained. We owe our great thanks to Sir Harry Johnston, not only for the knowledge he has given us to-night, but also for the ideas he has started in our minds and the hopes he has enabled us to form.

Sir OWEN PHILLIPS : I came here as a listener this evening, but as you have asked me to speak I should like to express the great pleasure with which I listened to the lecture of Sir Harry Johnston. Africa is a land of problems ; there are more difficult problems, I believe, in Africa than in any other portion of the world, and more interesting problems, and Africa, probably, more than any other part of the world, requires the problems to be illuminated by that imagination which Sir Harry Johnston has thrown into the discussion of some of them this evening. I do not to-night intend to discuss these difficult problems, but I was very interested to hear what Sir Harry Johnston said about railways. I am one of those who believe that immense good can be done by building railways, and in this way opening up the whole of Africa to civilization and to progress, both for the good of the natives themselves and for the good of the whole world by making it possible for the white races to move with ease into the very centre of that great continent, which in the old days, but not now, was called the Dark Continent, and I therefore listened with great interest when Sir Harry Johnston told us if our Government had spent a few millions in making a railway in Somaliland, it would have facilitated communication with the interior of Somaliland, and thus made unnecessary that great and expensive expedition into that country. When we look back and see what has been done in Africa by the Germans, even if the Germans, as the result of this war, are turned out of the whole African continent, we shall at least look back with interest on their entry into that continent, and they will always receive, I hope, fair criticism and justice from the fact that they did as much as any other nation in forcing the pace at which railways have been built to open up Africa, and I only hope as one of the results of the war that the progress in opening up Africa to civilization by railways will not be retarded by the vast amount of moneys which is being expended on the present war. I would like to say, in conclusion, with what very great pleasure I have listened to the paper of Sir Harry Johnston, and the extraordinary able speeches of Mr. Schreiner and Lord Bryce.

Mr. H. WILSON FOX : I feel bound, even at this late hour, to comply with your request, though after the speeches we have already heard, there is very little left to be said. I must, however, join in thanking Sir Harry Johnston for an extraordinarily suggestive lecture, which one could discuss for a good many hours

if one were to go into particulars, and which one can regard both as a dream and a practical dream. I feared at first when I saw map No. 2 that the dream was a nightmare, and I think it is quite consistent with Sir Harry Johnston's great artistic gifts that he should have led us on from a nightmare to a beautiful dream, and to a dream which we saw almost realized before us. One began to think that these vast countries were already opened up, and those railways built, and that from every port wealth was pouring into the markets of the world. I hope when that consummation becomes a practical reality it will be in the boats of the lines controlled by Sir Owen Phillips that the bulk of that produce will be carried. Mr. Schreiner, I was sorry to see, was a little doubtful about one point of Sir Harry Johnston's dream. He seemed to think that the Union of South Africa should have spread rather farther north than was shown in that map. I should like to say that I do not think there is any room for jealousy between neighbouring British territories in Africa. It is not necessary to mark out hinterlands when all the territories are in the dominions or under the protectorate of the Crown. When these matters come to be considered after the war, the true problem every one must put before their mind is what are the British interests in the immediate development of these territories? In the end Rhodesia and the Union will, without doubt, be merged into one great Dominion. Opinions may differ as to the time when effect will be given to that arrangement. In the mean time, the real British interest is that every section of that British territory shall be developed as well and as rapidly as possible in the interests of the Empire and of the white and native inhabitants of the territory itself. I do not think it is quite realized in this country, as yet, what an important factor in Africa its most valuable native population is, and what enormous wealth arises through that native population. Those of us who have studied this question for many years are realizing more and more every year the importance of stimulating the development and activities of those native races. I think it is a most significant fact, that in Rhodesia, which is an inland territory, with a white population of only about 30,000 people to a native population of roughly $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions, the imports of British goods into that territory during the present century have been £25,000,000, and that Rhodesia is importing every year £4,000,000 worth of goods—rather more than the whole of the German colonies in Africa import. That is a most significant fact; and when all those great territories are opened up, I feel sure that there will be room for Europeans and natives to develop together, side by side, and that there need be no question of eliminating one race for the benefit of the other. I thank Sir Harry Johnston most heartily for his most interesting and valuable lecture.

Sir ALFRED SHARPE: I feel it is quite too late to say anything beyond what has been said already by those speakers who have given us such excellent comments on Sir Harry Johnston's paper. I was for a good number of years in Africa with Sir Harry, and one of the points which I remarked upon in those days was his propensity for colouring the map red. If the Foreign Office had carried out all Sir Harry Johnston had wished, we should have already had the map which we hope to have next year, carried out almost in detail. At any rate, we can see Sir Harry Johnston has lost none of his old propensity. He was quite right then, and he is right now. The lecturer referred to help which the Germans gave us in past times in Nyasaland. I quite agree with him; but after all in Africa, at any rate in those days, we used to think that every white man helped another. It was a case then of the white man against the Arabs, and I think Sir Harry is looking at the matter more as a contrast to doings of the Germans in more recent times. I wish to express my sincere thanks to Sir Harry Johnston for the most interesting and instructive paper he has read to us to-night.

The PRESIDENT: I might ask others to continue this most interesting discussion, but I think, perhaps, at this hour I had better not. I shall therefore wind up the proceedings in the usual form by moving a vote of thanks to Sir Harry Johnston for the address he has given us to-night, which I am quite sure you will all agree with the speakers who have gone before me in estimating as one of the most able and suggestive and compendious that we have ever had given to this Society. There is one point I noticed with pleasure, and that was that Sir Harry Johnston proved very carefully and in detail how false the accusation that we had refused Germany her place in the sun was. He made it perfectly clear that had Germany wished for peace she might have had her full share, and more than her full share, in the Dark Continent.

Another point of importance was that Sir Harry Johnston said about the strategical importance of Morocco as commanding both the access to the Mediterranean and the great route to the Cape. I was specially interested, because I read recently, in the Proceedings of the French Geographical Society, an address made by one of its Vice-Presidents, M. Blondin, in which he anticipates and confirms Sir Harry Johnston's remarks. M. Blondin spoke as follows: "According to an ingenious saying of M. de Vogüé, Africa has become a sort of dynamometer on which the European powers may prove their energy. I was in Germany in 1911. In every bookseller's one saw maps of Morocco and pamphlets like Count von Pfeil's *Warum brauchen wir Marokko*: 'Why we want Morocco.' From day to day the idea grew more fixed in the German mind that a victorious war with France might give them North Africa—Algeria and Tunis added to Morocco—and, as a consequence, the mastership of the Mediterranean. There is no doubt that the Germans had also set their eyes on the Belgian Congo, and that they had hoped to unite their colony in the Cameroons with German East Africa. The Portuguese possessions on both coasts were also within their scope. We may venture to believe now that it will not be exactly on this plan that the map of the world will be revised. We can feel confident that the people of Great Britain, who throughout the centuries have given such marvellous examples of their perseverance and tenacity, will know how to put in practice the proud motto of one of their cities—*I Will*." So far M. Blondin.

In all forecasts of the future we must bear in mind that we are not acting alone, but with allies, and that France, at any rate, has set her teeth and will not willingly submit to a peace which does not protect her from any dread of the recurrence of the nightmare of 1870.

I do not propose to detain you further, but I should like to express my cordial agreement in what Sir Harry Johnston said about the expediency of our endeavouring to form some notion of what ought to be the future of the world after the war. If we abstain from treading on this no doubt difficult ground, others, by no means such experts as we have listened to to-night, will rush in. I may give one instance of such an intruder. I quote from what is considered one of our most serious monthly Reviews. There we are invited to "vindicate the chivalry of our care for Belgium by bringing the isles of the Pacific into the bargain." What a crazy conscience lurks behind this monstrous proposal! One does not hand over to the burglar who has broken into a neighbour's house one's daughters' jewels. That is the light in which Australia and New Zealand would look at this species of barter.

One last word. Great Britain was forced into this war. She did not go into it for any greed of territory, and whatever territory we may have to take will not be taken for greed. We went into it as the protector of Belgium, and the champion of the smaller states. We went into it not alone, but with our Allies and our daughter nations, Canada and the Cape, Australia and New Zealand. When we come to make terms of peace, we ought not to leave Germany in possession of

territories which will be a thorn in their side, as the German territories in Africa have been up to the present day. The first consideration, after the restitution of Belgium, in the minds of the delegates we may send to any great Peace Congress, must be the security of the British Empire. Punishment must follow the crime; that is to say, the punishment must be that which all just punishments ought to be—must prevent the crime ever being repeated.

I will now ask Sir Harry Johnston to accept from all of us, what I am sure you will give him by acclamation, a most hearty vote of thanks for his brilliant paper.

Sir HARRY JOHNSTON: I must not waste more of your time in thanking you for your thanks. In regard to answering three or four pregnant questions which have been put to me, I must refer the questioners to the printed paper, on account of the lateness of the hour. I think they will be answered, as far as I am able to answer them, in my paper when it is printed at full length. I would only say, in conclusion, when Lord Bryce asked me if I really intended to indicate in my maps that a great sphere for exclusive German interests had been laid down prior to August, 1914, in Turkey-in-Asia, I did so on the faith of the agreements entered into not only with Great Britain, but with Russia and France. These agreements were based on the Baghdad railway concession, and we know that that arrangement brought down exclusive German influence to Basra, the very place we now garrison within sight of the Persian gulf. When I refer to the text of these agreements, I mean publications in reputable newspapers of the gist of international understandings, the truth of such announcements being virtually admitted by responsible ministers. If by such understandings, by such concessions, we had killed for ever any cause for discord between Germany and the rest of Europe, such a peace would have been cheaply purchased. It is because Germany has thrust aside two million square miles of colonies and concessional areas as insufficient for her ambitions, that she must be before all things punished for the appalling disasters she has brought on the whole world. I want *this* point to go home to you. We may not be able to carry this war to that complete and triumphant conclusion we originally anticipated. We may not think the attempt to dictate peace in Berlin worth the life-sacrifice it may involve; but we can, at any rate, strip Germany of her power of government outside Germany and Austria-Hungary. Having done that, we can afford to make peace, because we shall have this guarantee of future good behaviour throughout the whole world: that if she gives the Allies any further trouble, she, having no colonies to repair to, can be shut out of the commerce of the Old World by tariffs. I think, considering the degree she has made us, our Allies, and many neutral nations suffer in this unprovoked war, it is not going beyond the limits of Christianity to picture such a means of punishment and control as the complete removal of her governing flag from Africa, Asia, and Oceania.

EUROPEAN INFLUENCE IN THE PACIFIC, 1513-1914.*

By Sir EVERARD IM THURN, K.C.M.G., C.B.

By "the Pacific" is here meant that great sea, covering more than a third of the globe, which is almost surrounded by the west coast of America, by the east coast of Asia, and of the great islands of New Guinea, Australia, and New Zealand, and by the Antarctic continent from a point south of New Zealand to a point south of Cape Horn.

* Royal Geographical Society, February 22, 1915. Map, p. 356.