

DUSE MOHAMED ALI AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAN-AFRICANISM
1866 - 1945

VOLUME I

Ian Duffield

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis owes its origin to a suggestion to the writer by Professor G.A. Shepperson of the Department of History, Edinburgh University, that despite his seeming obscurity, Duse' Mohamed Ali would provide a fascinating and fruitful subject for a dissertation. Since that time, Professor Shepperson has given the writer constant and invaluable help, encouragement and advice, despite the many calls on his time. Without this generously provided access to Professor Shepperson's profound knowledge of Pan-Africanism, black American history, and African Nationalism, this work could never have made serious progress. Likewise Mr. Christopher Fyfe, Reader in African History in the University of Edinburgh, has always most generously provided the vital help of incisive criticism, and a great wealth of information on the West African, especially Sierra-Leonean connections of Duse' Mohamed Ali. The writer believes himself to have been exceptionally fortunate in having two such supervisors.

The writer will always be grateful to Mr. Bernard Mafeni, of the Department of Phonetics, University of Ibadan, and to his wife Dorothy, for the extraordinary care they took to help him to find his feet in Nigeria, for their unstinting hospitality, and for the many introductions they afforded him, without which his research in West Africa could not have proceeded. The writer remembers his Nigerian informants - Chief Obafemi Awolowo; Chief Anthony Enahoro; Barrister S.Y. Eke; Mr. M. Odumewu; Mr. A.K. Disu; Alhajji L.B. Agosto; Oba Samuel Akisanya; Chief T.A. Doherty; Mr. Oged Macaulay; and Dr. O. Oruwariyo - for the kindness and patience with which they answered his questions and gave information.

Professor J.F.A. Ajayi, and his colleagues in the Department of History, University of Ibadan, provided essential help and advice at many points, as did Professor Adu Boahen and Professor K.A.B. Jones-Quartey of the University of Ghana during the writer's brief stay at Legon. Mr. Khalil Mahmud, librarian of the Africana Collection, University of Ibadan library, gave the writer the benefit of his insights into Duse Mohamed Ali, in whom he has been interested for many years.

Many correspondents have taken the trouble to answer letters, and have given immense help. They are too numerous for all to be mentioned, but the writer would single out Mrs. Amy Jaques Carvey for information on relations between Duse Mohamed Ali and her late husband; Mr. Andrew Rothstein for information on the relations between Duse and his father, Theodore Rothstein; Mr. Arnold Hughes for leads on Duse Mohamed Ali's career as a journalist in Lagos between 1931 and 1945; and Mr. Wendell L. Wray, of the Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library, for his information on material relevant to Duse Mohamed Ali in the J.E. Bruce Papers.

In Edinburgh, the writer was fortunate in having several very able contemporaries doing post-graduate work in related fields. His debt to Drs. K.J. King and J. Ayo Langley will be obvious to any reader of this thesis. Dr. King took the trouble to collect much material for the writer while following his own research in the United States, and without this help chapter seven of this thesis could hardly have been written. Dr. Langley has provided information on many occasions and points, inspiration by his prodigious energy and output, and the usefully corrective example of a political scientist's rather than a historian's approach.

Another contemporary, Mr. G. Neil Parsons, has provided valuable information on Duse' Mohamed Ali's Southern African connections, especially on F.Z.S. Peregrino.

From the many research libraries that the writer has had occasion to use, he would like to single out the British Museum Newspaper Library, Colindale, whose staff have always been helpful and friendly far beyond the strict calls of duty.

Finally, the writer must thank the Department of Education and Science, London, for their generous provision of travel funds over and above a substantial maintenance allowance for himself and his family.

SUMMARY

This thesis, through a narrative of Duse Mohamed Ali's life and times, aims to expose the milieu from and in which a particular Pan-Africanist emerged, and thereby also to show other dimensions of Pan-Africanism to 1945 than set-piece conferences and congresses.

The first three chapters explore Duse Mohamed Ali's life and developing opinions up to the time when he became a fully active Pan-Africanist with the foundation of the African Times and Orient Review in 1912. Chapter one deals with what little is known about his Egyptian family background until the destruction of his family in 1882; chapter two with his life as an actor and journalist in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain, and his early travels in the United States, Central and South America, the West Indies and Europe; and chapter three traces his connections with the seminal British left wing magazine The New Age between 1909 and 1911, with the Universal Races Congress in London in 1911, and discusses his political history of Egypt from the fall of Khedive Ismail to the assassination of Butrus Pasha, In The Land Of The Pharaohs, published in London and New York in 1911. This work is analysed to show the great debt it owed to other writers, especially the Russian Marxist Theodore Rothstein and the English conservative anti-imperialist, Wilfred Scawen Blunt, as well as to show its author's own original contribution, namely his relating of British behaviour in Egypt to racism in general in the British Empire, and attack on the United States of America, for its violent and arbitrary oppression of Negroes - strictures by Theodore Roosevelt against Egyptian Nationalism having provoked the writing of the book.

Chapters four to six consider his life in London as a Pan-Africanist editor, political campaigner and organiser, and business man, between 1912 and 1921 when he left Britain for the U.S.A. Overall, they attempt to reveal the importance of his London headquarters, 158 Fleet Street, not only as the place of publication of the African Times and Orient Review and Africa and Orient Review, but as the organising centre of a complex and interlocking group of political, cultural, religious, social and business enterprises and associations, designed to further the interests of either sections or the whole of what Duṣé Mohamed Ali called the "darker races". The development of his own ideas is illustrated, through his writings in his two reviews and other contemporary sympathetic journals, as is his organisational role as a bridge between such diverse movements as Indian Nationalism, the All-India Muslim League, various Pan-African organisations in London, early West African Nationalism, Pan-Islamism, Egyptian Nationalism, the Khilafat Movement, and black nationalism in the United States. It is shown that although not neglectful of political aspects of the struggle of the "darker races" for freedom, by 1921 he had decided to pin his faith on an economic programme for race emancipation. This decision is also shown to rest within the context of a fairly general inclination in that direction by elements mainly from West Africa and the black community in the United States.

Chapter seven discusses his attempts, in conjunction with black Americans and West Africans, to put these economic plans into practice, during the period from 1921 to 1931 when he was living in the United States. It shows their conscious Pan-Africanism, relates them to the similar plans

of other persons, especially Marcus Garvey and W. Tete-Ansa, and suggests overall reason for the invariable failure of all such schemes. Duse Mohamed Ali's relations with Marcus Garvey are discussed in detail, as is his role as an organiser of Islamic, Asian and African cultural movements in the United States, and his views on the race problem in American society.

Chapter eight considers the final failure of Duse Mohamed Ali's plans for economic Pan-Africanism on his going to Nigeria in 1931; the organisation and influence of his Lagos magazine The Comet; his role as mentor of a generation of young Nigerians who were to include many of the leading nationalist politicians of the post-war era; and his relationship with Nigerian political movements of the period 1931-45.

The brief conclusion makes general remarks about Duse Mohamed Ali's place within the world of Pan-Africanism during his lifetime.

CHAPTER I

Origins and Family

Few Pan-Africanists can have had a more colourful or romantic background than Duse' Mohamed Ali. He undoubtedly regarded his background as being of some interest, for he published accounts of it, varying from brief summaries to a full length autobiography, on several occasions spread over a period from 1902 to 1937¹. In addition to these accounts, there is biographical information in a letter he sent to the Foreign Office in 1919 in support of a claim to be recognised as an Egyptian National²; information from War Office M.I.5, and Scotland Yard Special

1. The earliest of these is a brief biographical sketch in a provincial English magazine, The Hull Lady, for which Duse' Mohamed Ali was then a regular contributor; see The Hull Lady, Kingston-upon-Hull, June 1902, p.43. Next comes a letter of his published in the influential independent socialist magazine, The New Age, 14th July 1910, p.10, in which, inter alia, he outlined his family's connections with Arabi Pasha. Shortly after that, he published information about his early years in Egypt and Britain in the opening chapter of his book In The Land of the Pharaohs, 1st ed., London 1911. His article "Arabi Pasha" in his London published magazine African Times and Orient Review, April 1920, pp.5-8, confirms the information in these earlier items. His article "Hospital Impressions" in the Nigerian Daily Times, 10th March 1933, p.7, mentions his education in England. Above all, his autobiography, "Leaves From an Active Life", published weekly in his Lagos magazine The Comet between 12th June 1937 and 5th March 1938 is the major single source for the early period of his life, and indeed for all other periods too.
2. Duse' Mohamed Ali to Rt. Hon. A.J. Balfour, S. of S. for Foreign Affairs, 9th Aug. 1919, F.O.371/3728/114805/19.

Branch files of the Great War era³; a biographical sketch written by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and published in his West African Pilot in 1943 as a birthday tribute⁴; information in W.S. Blunt's Diaries⁵; and information about him given to the Colonial and Foreign Offices, again during the First World War, by Colonel Aubrey Herbert, M.P.⁶ Thus there is no lack of information about his early years, but on the other hand this

3. Vide confidential report on Dusé Mohamed, enclosed in P. Nathan, M.I.5(g), W.O., to G. Clarke, F.O., 7/2/1914, F.O.371/2355/15047/15; and Col. J.F. Carter, Scotland House to C. Loder, F.O., 13th Aug. 1919, enclosing copy of report on Dusé Mohamed by Supt. P. Quinn, Special Branch, New Scotland Yard, 27/3/1916, in F.O.371/3728/114805/19. The first of these documents summarises Dusé Mohamed Ali's first twenty years thus; "He was born in Egypt in 1866 and when ten years of age came to London with a Frenchman named Duse now deceased. He completed his education at Kings College, London, in 1883 and then returned to Egypt where he remained till 1886. He then went to the United States ..." But though this is said to be his own account, it cannot be accepted as accurate for a number of reasons. Firstly, it cannot be squared with his own account of his career on the British stage, discussed in the following chapter, which had him appearing in a 'walk-on' part in the play Claudian at the Royal Princess's Theatre, London. This play was staged between 6th Dec. 1883 and 10th Dec. 1884. (See Chapter II of this thesis, notes 2 and 3). It is most unlikely that he merely invented this story, as he emphasised the unimportance of his own part. Secondly, this M.I.5(g) document contains evident errors about far more recent events, e.g. it refers to the Christmas 1914 issue of his African Times and Orient Review, which in fact had ceased publication in August 1914.
4. West African Pilot, Lagos, Nigeria, 20th November 1943, pp.1 & 4. Azikiwe's authorship is revealed in an appreciative acknowledgement by Dusé Mohamed Ali in The Comet, 24th November 1943, p.5. This article was repeated virtually unchanged as an obituary in the Pilot, 27th June 1945.
5. Wilfred Scawen Blunt, My Diaries, one vol. ed., London, (1932), p.759.
6. Vide Aubrey Herbert to Sir William Bull, C.O., 16th May 1918, in C.O.554/40/21897; and conversation between Herbert and W. Stewart at the F.O., 27/9/1919, in F.O.372/1274/135061/19. Aubrey Herbert's relationship with Dusé Mohamed Ali came about through their mutual sympathy for the Ottoman Empire, and is discussed in Chapter V of this thesis.

is preponderantly in the form of self-portraits. It is not until the first decade of the twentieth century that much verification of this story from other sources becomes possible, and not till the second decade that such verification becomes substantial. The regrettable vagueness of the major source on Duse' Mohamed Ali's early life, his autobiography Leaves From an Active Life, creates further problems, especially of chronology. Yet in view of the obscurity that has enveloped him since his death in 1945, we are fortunate rather than otherwise in the amount of information available about his early background. Critical use of this information can yield much of value.

Duse' Mohamed Ali was born in Alexandria in 1866. This is attested not only by his own accounts, but also by security files and his official identity document which he carried in Britain during the First World War.⁷ The latter source gives his date of birth as merely 1866-1867, but other sources are more precise. The brief account of his life in The Hull Lady for June 1902 mentions the exact date of 26th November 1866 or 21st day of the month of Shaaban of the year 1284 of the Muslim Era.⁸ Dr. Azikiwe's above mentioned biographical sketch agrees with Scotland Yard and differs only slightly from The Hull Lady version in giving November 21st 1866 as Duse' Mohamed Ali's birthday. The discrepancies to be found

7. The identity book has presumably been lost or destroyed, but its essential details are recorded in CO 554/40/21897. This, and the documents listed in notes 2 and 3 above, all agree he was born in Alexandria in 1866.

8. See note 1 above.

in these varying accounts of his birth are probably explicable by the fact that exact birth dates are not considered as matters of great significance among either the Egyptians (his father's people) or the Sudanese (his mother's people). Being born in the era before universal registration of births, and with no social or religious significance being attached to the exact date, it is likely that he did not know it. He did, during the Great War, apparently procure a photographic copy of his birth certificate from Alexandria. If this document survives, it would be in closed Home Office files; but its very authenticity may be wondered at. It was obtained for Duse through an Egyptian Nationalist friend and comrade, Ahmad Zaki Abushady.⁹ As its purpose was to release Duse from the embarrassment of being classified an Ottoman subject - an enemy alien - it could well be that Abushady obliged by forging a birth certificate. Also, living most of his life after 1876 in countries where not to know one's date of birth would be considered strange, one may surmise that he found it convenient to adopt an "official" birthday, as it were. There is surely a wider significance to this. Even over the matter of his very birth, Duse Mohamed Ali can be seen as suspended between the customs of African Muslim and Anglo-Saxon Christian societies. Not only is his exact date of birth dubious, but even his name has appeared in a number of forms. Up to the Great War he seems to have invariably used the form 'Duse Mohamed' - as in the title page of his book In The Land of the Pharaohs. During the Great War he added 'Ali' (this being given official status by his identity book) and thereafter invariably called himself 'Duse Mohamed Ali'. Yet both the British Museum Catalogue of Printed

9. See note 2 above.

Books and the Library of Congress Catalog give his name as D̄ust Muhammad.¹⁰

This is learned nonsense, a pseudo-scholarly 'correction' into 'authentic' Arabic transliteration. The evidence of his signature is conclusive against this pedantry.¹¹ More importantly, his name, as he used it, expresses his predicament; black, Muslim, Egyptian and Arabic speaking in origin, yet he spent almost his entire life under the British flag, and as much or more of it in the United States as in Egypt.¹²

His father is said to have been an officer in the Egyptian army, being not from the dominant Turco-Circassian ruling class but from a fellah family. This contradicts the obituary claim in the Nigerian Daily Comet that he was "... descended from a noble Egyptian family."¹³

10. Library of Congress Catalog of Printed Cards, vol.42, New York City, 1958, p.562; British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books, Photolith ed., vol.58, London 1960, col.41.

11. e.g. the letter dated 22nd Sept. 1914 to Rt. Hon. Lewis Vernon Harcourt, signed 'Dusé Mohamed' - CO 554/23/36403; or his letter to Herbert Macaulay of Lagos, 12th Jan. 1928, signed 'Dusé Mohamed Ali' - Macaulay Papers, General Correspondence, III, 7, 1928. These are the only two variants of his name that he used himself in signing letters. Blunt, *o.cit.*, p.759, says; "He tells me ... that his name is properly Mohammed Ali Ibn Abd El Salaam, but was taken to England by a Frenchman named Ducey (sic) when he was ten ..." This is the only example the writer has discovered of him using the 'correct' expanded Arabic form of his name. It would be pedantic to do other than use the forms that he himself adopted.

12. For information about his life in the U.S.A., see Chapters II and VII of this thesis, and for his life in Britain, Chapters I - VI.

13. Daily Comet, Lagos, 27th June 1945, p.1.

It is clearly sensible to prefer his own more modest claims to the pious exaggerations of the obituary writer. Duse' was proud of this, for it enabled him to link his personal origins with the Egyptian National movement and Arabi Pasha:

... Said Pasha, the Viceroy, was responsible not only for Arabi Pasha's advancement, but also for his subsequent ambitions. The Viceroy was imbued with a sincere desire to advance Egyptian prosperity and at the same time to raise the Arab-speaking fellah to that condition of class equality that had been denied him by his Turco-Circassian masters ... Said, among his other efforts for the amelioration of the fellah, brought into being a scheme whereby the sons of village Sheykhs were trained as officers of the Egyptian army - my father was one of these.¹⁴

Duse' was well aware that the tension between this new class of native Egyptian army officers, to which his father belonged and of which Arabi became the leader, and the Turco-Circassians, was the touchstone of the nationalist explosion in Egypt in 1881-1882.¹⁵ It appears that in addition

14. Africa and Orient Review (AOR), April 1920, p.6. However, it should be noted that this passage is, insofar as it concerns Arabi, a paraphrase of information in W.S. Blunt's Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt, London 1907, pp.13-31. Thus, it could be that Duse' Mohamed Ali created an authentic sounding background for his father's career, by means of information about Arabi and his milieu provided by Blunt.

15. *ibid*, pp.6-7, develops this point at length, concluding with the observation that "... the much oppressed Fellaheen ... were quick to observe that their sons and brothers, who could compel the dismissal of a Minister approved by the Powers, were a political force to be reckoned with, and might, with the fellah population behind them bring into existence that much desired consumation, an 'Egypt for the Egyptians!' "

to belonging to this critical element in mid-nineteenth century Egyptian society, Duse' Mohamed Ali's father was also one of those selected to receive an education in Europe. At all events, Duse' Mohamed Ali writes of his father having studied at the French Military Academy.¹⁶ It is therefore surprising that it was to England rather than to France that he turned for his son's education. When Duse' Mohamed Ali was only five years old, a "severe" Scots lady was engaged to teach him the English alphabet.¹⁷ Duse' Mohamed Ali ascribed this action to his father's belief that "... Ismail ... having sold his shares in the Suez Canal to England, Egypt would one day be under the control of Great Britain."¹⁸ This clearly cannot have been actually true, as Disraeli had not yet acquired the Canal shares when Duse' was five. However, it is understandable that a man who himself knew something of the outside world should wish his son to have a foreign education. A friend, Captain Duse' of the French Army, with whom he had studied at the French Military Academy, was made Duse' Mohamed Ali's guardian, arranged his subsequent education, and brought him to England in 1876.¹⁹ It was this man's name that Duse' Mohamed Ali adopted as a first name, "owing to the fact that there were so many Mohamed Ali's in the world and, if I hoped to achieve anything in the interest of my country, my name should be distinctive."²⁰

16. "Leaves From an Active Life", in The Comet, 12th June 1937, p.7.

17. *ibid.*

18. *ibid.*

19. *ibid*; also, the M.I.5 report on Duse' (see note 3 *supra*) says "when ten years of age he came to London with a Frenchman named Duse' now deceased."

20. "Leaves From an Active Life". in The Comet. 12th June 1937, p.7.

Dusé Mohamed Ali's father may have been a man of some consequence, though one must be wary of the possible exaggerations of either filial piety or self-importance. In the 1902 Hull Lady account of his life, his father is described, at the close of his career, as Colonel of a Nubian regiment; but this was not repeated in any subsequent account and should, therefore, be regarded with caution. Dusé Mohamed Ali was generally particularly careful to give a picture of his father as a supporter and confidant of Arabi Pasha. He wrote at various times of his father being "... an ardent supporter of Arabi Pasha ...",²¹ and of Arabi being a frequent visitor at his father's house; and one source speaks of his father as being concerned in the mutiny of February 1st 1881.²² We need not be surprised that the 1914 M.I.5 and 1916 Scotland Yard Special Branch files, which were clearly based on interrogation, make no mention of his father's military and political career.²³ True or false, these were hardly matters which a man fighting to escape internment as an enemy alien, and suspected of sinister anti-British activities²⁴ would

21. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.2.

22. "Arabi Pasha was a frequent visitor to my father's house during those stirring times" (i.e., the final months of Arabi Pasha's regime); Dusé Mohamed Ali to the editor of The New Age, 14th July 1910, p.263. For information on Dusé's father in the 1881 mutiny, see T.P.'s Magazine, vol.1, no.2, Nov. 1910, p.189.

23. See note 3 above.

24. His actual and suspected activities as an agitator in London between 1912 and 1921 are discussed in Chapter V of this thesis.

care to advertise. Duse' says he first set eyes on Arabi at the age of five or six, and further tells us that he met Arabi again at his father's house shortly prior to the British bombardment of Alexandria in 1882. But since he had been undergoing education in England since 1876, which had "... all but bereft ..." him of Arabic, he was "... placed at a disadvantage ...". However, his father, via French, was said to have informed him about the nationalist movement.²⁵ It must be said that Duse' Mohamed Ali had a motive in playing up his father's (and his own) connections with the Arabi Pasha Revolution. By doing so, he established his credentials as a commentator on Egyptian affairs. Thus, in the introductory chapter of his history of Egypt from the fall of Khedive Ismail to the assassination of Boutros Pasha, In The Land Of The Pharaohs (London, 1911), he asserted that his father's connection with Arabi Pasha gave him "... ample opportunities not only of coming into contact with many of the leaders of Egyptian Reform, but of obtaining a first-hand knowledge of their views ..."²⁶ This must be an exaggeration at best. A youth of fifteen or sixteen would have had little 'first-hand' knowledge of such matters, especially in view of the linguistic barrier previously noted. But in defence of Duse' Mohamed Ali, it should be urged that early twentieth century England was unlikely to take the strictures of an obscure black writer seriously, unless he could devise some special

25. AOR, April 1920, p.2.

26. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.2.

claim to public attention.²⁷

Dusé Mohamed Ali's English education as arranged by his Guardian and his father's friend, Captain Dusé, was at first conducted under the care and tuition of a Church of England Canon in London.²⁸ Unfortunately, there is very little information about the nature of the education that he received in Britain. In his autobiography, he only told the facts given above, together with the information that in April 1882 at the age of fifteen he was recalled to Alexandria. One source claims that his English education was undertaken with a view to his eventually becoming an Egyptian Army Surgeon.²⁹ This seems to be a plausible enough ambition

27. Even supposedly sympathetic Englishmen were very likely to take a condescending and even scornful attitude towards his writings. An example would be the attack made by the convert to Ahmadiyya, Marmaduke Pickthall, on an article by Dusé Mohamed Ali on the Egyptian Question in The New Age. Pickthall used such contemptuous phrases as; "... to say the least, highly imaginative, though evidently written in good faith"; "... original and finely comic ..."; "The mischief is that Dusé Mohamed and his friends regard European education as a charm, and get angry with the English when it does not work." vide The New Age, 30th June 1910, p.196. Though such attacks as this might be said to constitute a motive for Dusé Mohamed Ali to exaggerate his father's closeness to Arabi Pasha, it should be remembered that he made claims in that direction well before he demanded attention as a serious writer on Egyptian affairs. vide The Hull Lady, June 1902, p.43.
28. "Leaves From an Active Life", in The Comet, 12 June 1937, p.7. Unfortunately, Dusé Mohamed Ali omits to mention this man's name.
29. The Hull Lady, June 1902, p.43.

for such a father to have had for his son, but there is insufficient corroborating evidence on this point. At the end of his life in Lagos, it was often said on his behalf that he had received a University education in England, before and after the disaster which, as will be seen, overtook his family in 1882. Dr. Azikiwe wrote of him as studying at King's College London.³⁰ He himself made a brief ambiguous reference to "... student days ..." and the interruption of "... barely begun studies ..." by his recall home in 1882.³¹ A recent author has made this the basis of accepting that Duse' Mohamed Ali was educated at King's College.³² However, fifteen would have been a remarkably early age to have begun a University education, by the eighteen-eighties. It is strange that Duse' Mohamed Ali should make no mention of this in his autobiography. Nor does 'B.A. London' - in those days a far rarer and more prestigious distinction than now - appear on the title page of his In The Land Of The Pharaohs, although in the eyes of the world it would have added to the consequence of its author. A search of King's College London Calendars between 1880 and 1904 reveals no record of his presence there as a student; though on the other hand M.I.5 and the Special Branch recorded without comment his education at King's. It would seem that as an old man he succumbed to the harmless temptation of allowing his admirers to assume that he had a degree - awarded 'honoris causae', one might say,

30. West African Pilot, 20th Nov. 1943, p.1.

31. Nigerian Daily Times, 10th March 1933, p.7.

32. See introduction by Khalil Mahmud to 2nd ed. of In The Land Of The Pharaohs, London, 1968, p.xi.

by the people of Lagos. It may be that he attended occasional or extra-mural lectures at some time while he was living in London. What is certain is that he acquired sufficient education, either in some institution, or through his own efforts, to be capable of writing a work such as In The Land Of The Pharaohs, which was well received by both the coloured world and also by a large section of the British Press.³³

Dusé Mohamed Ali gives us a fairly clear picture of his father as a man who had risen from a humble social background via the army and a military education abroad to become a progressive, nationally conscious member of the officer class. But of his mother he says far less. It is officially recorded that she was a Sudanese and Dusé himself states that:

I am, myself, a cross between Arab and Ethiopian, my mother being a Nubian or full-blooded Negress - the two human elements most despised and underrated by European ethnologists.³⁴

Presumably then it was from her that Dusé took his dark skin and 'Negro' features. It would be hardly surprising to find a union between an Egyptian army officer and a Sudanese woman at that time, in view of the

33. e.g., the review in The Scotsman, 16th February 1911, p.2; The New Age, one of the most influential literary and political magazines of its day, was so impressed that it gave the book two long reviews - see the issues for 16th February 1911, pp.366-7 and New Age Literary Supplement 16th March 1911, pp.2-3.

34. The word 'Ethiopian' here is interesting, being of course used in the sense of a black African, and having important semantic connexions with 'Ethiopianism'. The quotation is from In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.274, n.2. The source of official information about Dusé Mohamed Ali's mother is his identity records in C.O./554/40/21897. His mother's name is given there as Ayesha.

fact that duty in the Sudan would have been a normal part of Egyptian army service. Indeed, an officer of fellah origin, lacking the court and ministry connections of his Circassian comrades-in-arms, would be more than likely to spend time in what was certainly a hardship station. It is perhaps reasonable to presume, from the limited information that Duse' Mohamed Ali gives about his mother, that she was a free woman rather than a slave. He tells us that when difficulties overcame his family in 1882, his mother was sent to the Sudan for safety.³⁵ It is less likely that such care would have been taken of a slave; indeed, the action implies that his mother had a family in the Sudan to receive her.

The difficulties that faced Duse' Mohamed Ali's family, or rather overwhelmed it in 1882, were a decisive turning point in his life, as he

35. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 12th June 1937, p.7, says; "My mother and sisters were sent away to the Sudan for safety. I never saw them again, despite my efforts to discover their whereabouts for a period extending over some fifteen years." What efforts Duse' Mohamed Ali made to discover his mother and sisters he does not disclose. Clearly, the progress of the Mahdiyya would have created virtually insuperable difficulties for such a quest. It may be significant that these efforts were continued for fifteen years, i.e. till the overthrow of the Khalifa - obviously a suitable period for a final enquiry. A review of Duse' Mohamed Ali's In The Land Of The Pharaohs appearing in The New Age Literary Supplement, 16th March 1911, p.2, states that his brother was shot by British Officers. This is not mentioned in the book itself nor in any other as yet revealed account of his life. Since he was at that time a fairly regular contributor to The New Age, this is most likely a piece of information given to the reviewer by himself. But this is, apparently, contradicted by what he said about his brother's death in the bombardment of Alexandria - see note 37 supra. It would seem that the shooting by British Officers was an exaggeration of the earlier story. But this is supposing that, on the one hand, there is some general truth in his account of the events of his life in 1882, and on the other that he had only one brother. But as a non-Arabic speaker, living far distant from the Sudan, he must have been greatly hindered in mounting any effective enquiries either at that or any other time.

presents it to us. Having been recalled from his studies in England in April 1882, he was present at the British naval bombardment of the city and during the riots that followed.³⁶ His own brother was killed by the bombardment. Then his mother and sisters were sent off to the Sudan for safety; and, to conclude the disaster, his father was killed fighting in Arabi Pasha's army at Tel-el-Kebir.³⁷ Now Duse' Mohamed Ali's troubles really began. In his own words:

All my known relatives having all disappeared, because they were all accounted rebels and feared Khedive Tewfik's revenge, I found myself at the age of sixteen a stranger in my own land and was compelled to return to England where, at least, I had many acquaintances and some few friends.³⁸

Thus the young Duse' Mohamed Ali, already to some extent anglicised, was uprooted by these events from his homeland. He was never to live there again. It is almost inconceivable that, but for this calamity, he would ever have become a significant figure in the world of English speaking Pan-Africanism. He returned to England in February 1883. With intervals of travel in various parts of the world, England remained his country of

36. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, pp.100-101, gives a graphic account of the horrors of the bombardment (though in rather conventional melodramatic language) and of the subsequent breakdown of order, looting and rioting. It is notable that Duse' Mohamed Ali writes; "Hell with its furies seemed let loose upon us" (authors emphasis), which implies his presence. In "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 12th June 1937, p.43, he clearly states that he was present at the bombardment of Alexandria.

37. This information occurs in the following sources; In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.2; "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 12th June 1937, p.7; The Hull Lady, June 1902, p.43; West African Pilot, 20th November 1943, p.1.

38. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 12th June 1937, p.7.

residence until 1921. M.I.5 and the Special Branch record a different version, casting doubt on the authenticity of the harrowing story of his life in 1882-1883. Both baldly state:

He completed his education at King's College, Strand W.C. and in 1883 he returned to Egypt, where he remained until 1886. He then went to the United States of America where he was employed as a clerk until 1898, when he returned to this country.³⁹

But one must again bear in mind the likelihood of an understandable reluctance, at the time this information was being extracted from him, to connect himself in any way with Arabi Pasha. His autobiography does speak of the visit to America, but though giving no dates, has him return from Egypt to Britain in 1883, and then seek employment on the stage - indeed, it gives a detailed, amusing and circumstantial account of his early stage career, bearing all the hallmarks of an old man enjoying recollections of his youth, but in no sense inflating his reputation, and openly admitting humble roles, failure and poverty. Perhaps the moral here is that the historian must not commit the error of supposing that a confidential official paper is infallible, or that policemen never compress or unwittingly mutilate accounts given by those they are interrogating. Indeed, one must take into account the great complexity of Duse' Mohamed Ali's early life, with no regular employment

39. See note 3 supra. To Wilfred Blunt, in 1911, he said that he left Egypt in 1883; see op.cit. p.759. In In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.2, he wrote; "Since 1884 ... (I) practically resided in England." Of these, Blunt's version is the only one which chronologically accords with what Duse' wrote about his earliest stage appearance, which was in a London production the run of which began on 6th December 1883. For details of this and other aspects of his stage career, see Chapter II of this thesis.

and many changes of residence. Beyond that, it is only too likely that he himself was worried, frightened and confused under what amounted to police harassment,⁴⁰ and might well have unwittingly garbled the story at points, not liking to correct the record for fear of giving a shifty impression. As there is quite substantial circumstantial evidence supporting his published accounts that he left Egypt for London, and an actor's life, in 1883, they must be regarded as the more accurate in this instance.

How far may Duse' Mohamed Ali's story of the first sixteen or so years of his life be trusted? There are indeed some general grounds on which suspicion of Duse' Mohamed Ali's story may be based. To take the most hostile position in relation to his story, it may be alleged with some force that the whole tale of his early years is a fiction. The motive for such a fiction would presumably be to give consequence to a man who in fact was of humble or obscure origin. Such an imposture would be of value to one who wished to be accepted as an authority on Egyptian politics and to establish a claim to the sympathy of Africans, Afro-Americans and Asians. Yet against this it is clear that Duse' Mohamed Ali was giving substantially the account related above, several years before he was claiming to be an authority on Egypt or had any role as an active Pan-Africanist. His In The Land Of The Pharaohs, the first of his writings to be addressed to the wider public, did not appear till 1911, but as we have seen The Hull Lady published the essential details of his early life as early as June 1902. However, to pursue the major objection to his

40. Duse' Mohamed Ali's relations with the police during the Great War are fully discussed in Chapter V of this thesis.

story, an alternative identity and a further reason for constructing a false one can be suggested. Duse' Mohamed Ali's strong connections with the Afro-American world, his intimate knowledge of it, friendships in it, and periods of residence in the United States could be made the basis for an argument that he was himself an Afro-American. There are at least two major instances in the New World of groups of people of African descent claiming some specific identity which the rest of society is not ready to concede to them. These are the Rastafarians of Jamaica, and the Nation of Islam (the so-called Black Muslims) in the United States.⁴¹ It is clear that in the cases of these groups, the creation of an identity as descendants of the Ethiopians (in the case of the Rastafarians) or as descendants of Asians (in the case of the Nation of Islam), helps their respective adherents towards self-respect and human dignity in what they have found to be a hostile society. Could it be that, on an individual scale but for similar reasons, Duse' Mohamed Ali simply invented for himself an Egyptian-Sudanese identity, as a means of escape from the stigma of being a mere 'nigger' in a white man's world? As will be shown in a subsequent chapter, he found the wearing of a tarbush necessary to protect himself from the usual indignities inflicted on Afro-Americans, while he was working for the Universal Negro Improvement Association

41. The Nation of Islam has attracted both journalistic and scholarly attention in the past few years. The two most scholarly studies are; E.U. Essien-Udom, Black Nationalism, Chicago 1962, and Charles Eric Lincoln, The Black Muslims in the United States of America, Boston 1961.

during the early nineteen-twenties.⁴² Furthermore, Duse' Mohamed Ali spent much of his time in the three decades following 1862 working as an actor in Britain, the United States and on the Continent of Europe.⁴³ For theatre purposes actors often assume certain identities which may to their public become more 'real' than their original identity - indeed, in time the assumed identity may virtually eliminate the original one. It should be noted that Duse' Mohamed Ali's great predecessor on the British Stage, the Negro American Ira Aldridge, claimed an unverifiable royal ancestry and a dubious Glasgow University education.⁴⁴ This is curiously similar to Duse' Mohamed Ali's supposed education at King's College London and romantic, soldier-patriot, Egyptian father.

There are fragments of non-speculative evidence to back up suspicions that Duse' Mohamed Ali may in fact have been an Afro-American. One is the letter by his acquaintance, Colonel the Hon. Aubrey Herbert M.P., written in support of his attempt to obtain a permit to visit British west Africa in 1918.⁴⁵

42. It has been widely noticed that the wearing of African or Oriental dress gives a measure of protection from racial affront to dark skinned visitors to the United States. A recent description may be found in the work of the Nigerian poet and playwright, John Pepper Clark, who tells us that while he was a visiting student at Princeton, he was advised not to visit the South unless wearing African dress. vide J.P. Clark, America, Their America. London 1964, pp.198-199.

43. vide Chapter III of this thesis.

44. Herbert Marshall and Mildred Stock, Ira Aldridge, The Negro Tragedian, London 1959, p.49.

45. Hon. Sir Aubrey Herbert, M.P., to Sir William Bull, 16th May 1918, C.O./554/40/21897.

In this, Aubrey Herbert says:

There is a negro called Duse' Mohamed. He is by way of being an Ottoman subject, though actually I believe he is American born and does not talk either Turkish or Arabic, but he is, or calls himself Mohameddan (sic).

In 1919, in a conversation at the Foreign Office with W. Stewart in support of Duse' Mohamed Ali's claim to Egyptian Nationality, Herbert expanded these remarks:

He said that he believed that he was of negro descent, via America, but he was born in Egypt and he claimed to be an Egyptian subject. ... Without knowing much of the man he could say that what he did know of him was in his favour.⁴⁶

The tone of these excerpts is enough to show that Aubrey Herbert was much less than an intimate of Duse' Mohamed Ali's. It should again be borne in mind that Turkish nationality was at that time an embarrassment to Duse' Mohamed Ali, as it gave him the unenviable status of an enemy alien. If he had merely pretended Egyptian origin, for whatever reason, he would surely have dropped this once it entailed more trouble than advantage. Possibly Herbert made his remark about Duse's possible American origin (about which he gives no details) to divert official attention from the troublesome matter of enemy nationality. If Duse' Mohamed Ali was by origin an Afro-America, it is strange that he should have had Turkish nationality, and stranger yet that his Afro-American friends should have universally believed him to be an

46. F.O.372/1274/135061, of 27th September 1919.

Egyptian.⁴⁷ Added to this is the fact that from 1912 - if not earlier - till 1920 his circle in London included many Egyptians, and he was readily accepted among them as being himself an Egyptian.⁴⁸ In fact, if Duse Mohamed Ali was guilty of fabrication and deception over the matter of his origins, he was remarkably successful in this. Although not without enemies, including the British Colonial and Foreign Offices, there is no evidence that he was ever openly or privately challenged about his birth and parentage. Wilfred Scawen Blunt, who entertained Duse Mohamed Ali at his country house in Sussex shortly after the publication of In The Land Of The Pharaohs, was dubious about Duse's origins. In his diary he wrote:

He is an odd creature, an Egyptian mulatto, he says, but knowing no word of Arabic; A Mohammedan, but unable to recite the formula of the faith; an Egyptian historian with almost no knowledge of Egypt. It reminds one of the Tichbourne claimant, who, asserting that he had been brought up a Catholic, was unable to repeat the 'Hail Mary'.

Blunt, a member of an old 'county' family, had the most excellent connections in both British and Egyptian society and political life, but was perhaps not the man to appreciate one such as Duse Mohamed Ali who had emerged from obscurity. His doubts are not unreasonable, but their tone betrays a certain social disdain.⁴⁹ Duse Mohamed Ali may well have been an upstart, but nevertheless of Egyptian-Sudanese origin as he always claimed.

Indeed, it must be said that his story is at least a plausible and

47. There is no evidence that Duse Mohamed Ali was ever considered as other than an Egyptian in the United States. Thus the Negro newspaper the St. Louis Clarion, 19th October 1923, described him in an article on his American business plans as "... the Egyptian Historian and Publicist ...". Likewise the Birmingham Reporter of Birmingham Ala., 27th August 1927, referred to him as "... the Egyptian editor, historian and traveller ..."; See R.R. Moton Papers, General Correspondence, 1923 and 1927, Tuskegee Institute Archives.

48. vide Chapter V of this thesis, pp.475-88.

49. Wilfred Scawen Blunt, op.cit., p.759.

largely coherent one which, if totally or largely false, would have required (Blunt notwithstanding) an exceptionally good knowledge of nineteenth century Egyptian society and politics. It seems unlikely that an obscure American Negro of that era would have had such knowledge, or that he was descended of American Negroes but born in Alexandria. There is nothing about the story of his family and early life that can be shown to be impossible. In all the several accounts and sources on his family, there is only one almost inexplicable discrepancy. This is that the Hull Lady version of June 1902 gives his father's name as "Abbas Mohamed Ali"; but his World War I identity book gives his father's name as "Abdul Salem Ali". If Duse' Mohamed Ali was unsure of his own father's name, then one is bound to be cautious about the other information he supplies about his family. Possibly these two apparently different names are in fact components of his father's full name - Arabic names are frequently given in a shortened form due to the unwieldy length of their full version. On the other hand, "Abd el Salaam" is given as his father's name by W.S. Blunt.⁵⁰ Perhaps with the passage of decades, bereft of family and cut off from an Arabic speaking environment, he became confused about an Arabic name, so different to those in the society to which he had become acculturated. Despite this discrepancy, and in the absence of any solid evidence to the contrary, it would seem best to give Duse' Mohamed Ali the benefit of the doubt, and cautiously to accept that his origins were broadly what he claimed them to be. There is the analogous and well authenticated case of Joseph Hekekyan Bey, an Armenian of Turkish origin who arrived in Britain from Egypt, for the purpose of

50 See note 11 supra. "Abd El Salaam" and "Abdul Salem" are of course the same name, transliterated differently into Roman script.

acquiring an English education, in 1817. Though monoglot in Turkish on arrival, by his return to Egypt in 1831 he had forgotten his mother tongue, and needed an interpreter to fulfil his duties as a Government engineer.⁵¹ But if at some future date evidence should emerge establishing a different origin, this would by no means remove Duse' Mohamed Ali from the roll of Pan-Africanists worthy of serious study. Indeed, it would rather add further to our understanding of the fascinating complexity of the background to Pan-Africanism.

51. See "The Hekekyan Papers" by Ahmed Abdel-Rahim Mustafa, in Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt, ed. P.M. Holt, London, 1968, pp. 68-9.

CHAPTER II

Actor, Journalist and Traveller

1882 - 1909

Duse Mohamed Ali's condition on his return to England after the break-up of his family must have been an unenviable one. Previously he had been maintained in the sheltered environment of some educational establishment, but now he was faced with the necessity of supporting himself, once his limited financial resources were exhausted. Hence, he decided to give up his studies, and to seek some "... means of subsistence ...".¹ The word "subsistence" has an ominous meaning in relation to late nineteenth century Britain. It would have been perfectly possible for a young man situated in such circumstances to sink into destitution, squalor and the hopeless anonymous obscurity of the slums. Overt racial prejudice, however, does not seem to have been a serious factor to contend with at that period in his life, though he came up against it frequently enough in later years. But this is not to say that the colour of Duse Mohamed Ali's skin was irrelevant to the way in which he was to seek his living. In fact, Duse Mohamed Ali took up two professions, first the stage and then freelance journalism, supporting himself by either as opportunity or occasion arose. In their different ways, both of these professions prepared him for the future role he was to have. They provide a fascinating case-history of how an early Pan-Africanist came to acquire both his understanding of the race problem and the useful skills of speech and pen.

Duse Mohamed Ali turned to the stage at the suggestion of a friend who had seen and appreciated his performance as 'Morocco' in a school

1. "Leaves From An Active Life" in The Comet, 12th June 1937, p.7, says: "My financial sources, although ample for the time, were limited and quite inadequate to satisfy my needs beyond a year at most. Hence, I was compelled to give up my academic studies and seek some means of subsistence."

performance of The Merchant of Venice. Thus from the beginning Duse Mohamed Ali's stage life was linked to race. Taking up his friend's suggestion, Duse Mohamed Ali sought and obtained work in the company of Wilson Barrett, a leading actor-manager of the time. His first part was a 'walk-on' in Claudian, a Roman drama, at the Royal Princess's Theatre, London.² The play was staged between 6th December 1883 and 10th December 1884.³ Since he only returned to Britain nine months prior to the opening of the play, it is clear that he must have abandoned all thoughts of further education fairly quickly.⁴ His part must have been as a black slave, of which a number were required for the opening scene of the play. It is worth quoting the stage directions, which make clear the exact nature of Duse Mohamed Ali's stage debut, which has great symbolic significance;

... the left side of the entrance to the bath about twelve or fifteen slaves of both sexes, but principally young (about two or three being black) - are arranged, some are standing, others are sitting in front of them. Sesiphon the slave dealer is busy arranging them to the best advantage, whilst passers by stop, look at, and sometimes examine them.⁵

There is no evidence that Duse Mohamed Ali consciously resented playing this kind of part - indeed, in the circumstances he was probably only too

2. *ibid.* For the text of Claudian, which was by Henry Herman and W.G. Wills, vide Lord Chamberlain's play mss., license no. 227 of 22nd November 1883, in B.M. mss collection.

3. 'The Stage' Cyclopaedia, compiled by Reginald Clarence, London 1909, p.81.

4. vide Chapter I of this thesis, pp.10-12, for his education.

5. Claudian, Prologue, p.4.

delighted to do so. Nevertheless, this set the pattern for his stage career, in which he was almost invariably limited to playing unfavourable stereotypes of black men.

His engagement with Wilson Barrett's company had the important consequence of taking him on the first of his three journeys to America - Barrett took Claudian on an American tour, and Duse Mohamed Ali went with him, presumably playing the same small part.⁶ This tour can be dated as beginning in Autumn 1886, for Barrett's company opened at the Star Theatre, New York, on 11th October 1886.⁷ In America, he found his Egyptian background an asset, for on completion of Barrett's tour, he was able to secure a lucrative engagement touring as "The Young Egyptian Wonder Reciter of Shakespeare" for Major Pond, the famous lecture agent of that time, who presented many foreign 'celebrities' (as well as humbler figures) to the

6. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 12th June 1937, p.7.
7. George C. Odell, Annals of the New York Stage, vol. XII, New York City, 1942 pp.228-9. This tallies with the information in FO 371/2355/15047/15 (confidential report on Duse Mohamed by M.I.5(g)) that he went to the United States in 1886. However, of his affairs in the United States this report baldly says; "he worked as a clerk until 1898 when he returned to England." Either this represents a misunderstanding of his statements, on which this was supposed to be based, or he deliberately simplified the complex story of his life between 1886 and 1898. But it seems inconceivable that he can have merely invented all the various foreign travels between 1886 and 1898. For this to be plausible, motivation would have to be supplied; but his description of these years is of hard times, poverty and struggles, and to a considerable degree can be circumstantially verified. The present writer has therefore chosen to proceed on the assumption that his autobiography contains a hard core of truth, and that the M.I.5(g) report is mistaken over the years 1886-1898.

American public.⁸ At the end of this tour Duse Mohamed Ali had £2,000 in pocket; he returned then to Britain, and played "dark parts" in various South Coast towns, including Brighton, Ramsgate and Margate, as a member of the company of an actress-manageress called Sarah Thorne.⁹

If it was the stage that first introduced Duse Mohamed Ali to the New World (and showed him that his colour was in itself a 'role' in a white society), it was through the press that he first publicly displayed political consciousness. Apparently it was his habit to write letters to the press giving his views on the Egyptian Question - which were returned by the score, unpublished. However, at length his opportunity came. Gladstone made a statement in the Commons about some Egyptian incident, of which Duse Mohamed Ali claimed to have been an eye-witness. He thereupon despatched six letters to the press - having dipped his pen, so he says, in a lake of gall. To his surprise, all were published.¹⁰ Unfortunately, he does not say either when or in which papers these

8. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 12th June 1937, p.7. For a brief resumé of Pond's life, see the entry "James Burton Pond" in Dictionary of American Biography, vol. XV, London and New York, 1935, pp.60-61. In the last year of his life Pond published a work called Eccentricities of Genius (London, 1901) about a selection of the many celebrities who had passed through his hands as a lecture agent. It is to be regretted that Duse Mohamed Ali was much too humble a figure in Pond's success story to have been noticed in this work.

9. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 12th June 1937, p.7.

10. *ibid.*, 19th June 1937, p.7.

letters appeared.¹¹

Following this break-through into print, Duse began to strike up acquaintances among the London journalists, and secured work for himself as a humble 'penny-a-liner'.¹² It follows from this that his financial position must have been extremely poor, for this was journalistic drudgery of the lowest kind. On the other hand, he benefited from the professional advice and comradely friendship of his fellow journalists. One of these, an experienced old journalist called Joshua Pearson, introduced him to many prominent journalists of the time, including George Augustus Sala,¹³ Henry Labouchere and Clement Scott, and "... taught me

11. The nearest approach to dating these letters would be to place them at some date subsequent to his visit to the United States which began in Autumn 1886, but beyond this his autobiography gives no help. There is no record of them in Palmer's Index To The Times for the years 1887-1892. This is of course not a final elimination of The Times as a possible publisher of one of these letters, since Palmer's Index is an eccentric production, concentrating heavily on crimes, murders and executions and in other matters less thorough.
12. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 26th June 1937, p.7. The phrase 'penny-a-liner' comes from the piece rate pay for those articles by freelance journalists that were accepted for publication. It may well be imagined from this what poverty a young unknown journalist could suffer even when finding work.
13. The Life and Adventures of George Augustus Sala Written by Himself, 3rd ed., 2 vols. London 1895, gives a fascinating picture of the life of a successful Victorian journalist. There is no reference to Duse Mohamed Ali in this work, which is hardly to be wondered at as by the 1880's when Duse would have first met him, he was one of the leading men in Fleet Street. Being of Italian origin on his father's side (vide op.cit. vol.1, pp.1-3) and of Brazilian and partly Amerindian descent on his mother's side (vide op.cit. vol.1, p.4) it is perhaps understandable that he should be kindly to the young Egyptian. To Duse he may have represented an example of the fruits of perseverance over adversity, as Sala was blind in one eye and in childhood had been totally blind. (vide op.cit. vol.1, pp.13-17) Sala's travels in many lands (vide op.cit. vol.2, passim) may have impressed Duse Mohamed Ali with the travelling potential of a journalist's life. His appreciation of Islamic tolerance of other religions, (vide op.cit. vol.2, pp.358-9) rare in Britain in his generation, may also have been a factor endearing him to the young Duse.

all I knew about journalism and was my friend and guide in the early stages of my career." It is interesting to note that Joshua Pearson died a destitute alcoholic in a workhouse, "... a despairing outcast of society", despite having eminent connections.¹⁴ This illustrates grimly enough the price of failure in late-Victorian England. If Joshua Pearson, having good family connections and at one time professional success could descend so far, it is easy to understand how precarious life must have been for the young Duse Mohamed Ali at that time. Even to have survived as a self-respecting human-being was a kind of achievement for a man lacking family and totally dependent on his own wits to advance himself in the world. If later in life Duse Mohamed Ali was perhaps over-fond of offering the words "God helps those that help themselves" as advice to young Nigerians,¹⁵ it should be remembered that this motto was in a real sense one which he had needed to live by. But, at least as recalled in old age, he does not seem to have found life in his youth uncongenial. He enjoyed the conviviality and comradeship that he found among his fellow journalists, and recalled with affection the old style 'Bohemian' Fleet Street men who "... possessed a loyalty to their fellow members of the Fourth Estate, however humble, and would part with their last shilling to a comrade in distress." But he saw these virtues as belonging to a past era, replaced by one in which snobbish "old school tie" journalists indulged in "sham bohemianism".¹⁶ These remarks seem

14. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 26th June 1937, p.7, states that Joshua Pearson's uncle was a famous non-conformist preacher of the era, Dr. Pearson.

15. Nigerian Daily Times, 11th November 1932, p.3.

16. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 19th June 1937, p.7.

to indicate that England was more welcoming to one such as himself in his early years than in middle age.

Journalism was not only in itself one aspect of Victorian low life, but also gave Duse Mohamed Ali a good opportunity to observe other such scenes. One that he has recorded was an assignment from a London Daily to investigate Salvation Army dosshouses.¹⁷ These were then much in the public eye through the publication in 1890 of General Booth's In Darkest England and the Way Out, with its revelations of the condition of the poor and setting forth of Salvationist social work programme. Booth's title was, of course, deliberately intended to jolt British Christian humanitarians out of the comfortable assumption that benighted poverty and human degradation were confined to such far-away places as Africa.¹⁸ So there is a fine irony in Duse Mohamed Ali setting of as a sort of African Stanley to investigate the little known London hinterland of dosshouse life. His view of both dosshouse inmates and staff was far from favourable. As for the inmates, he reserved his sympathy for "... an unfortunate class who, for the most part, had held important positions but who were disgraced by some unfortunate slip from the path of rectitude which compelled them through shame to avoid the haunts of their former companions."¹⁹ The remainder he characterised as "wastrels"²⁰

17. *ibid.*, 3rd July 1937, p.7.

18. It is a characteristic of Duse Mohamed Ali's own writings that he was scathingly critical of those British humanitarians who presumed to give advice to distant 'native' people's on social questions, but seemed scarcely aware of social misery and exploitation at home; e.g. his article "Western Civilization Through Eastern Spectacles" in The New Age, 4th February 1909, p.301.

19. Duse Mohamed Ali, "Down and Out in London", in Nigerian Daily Times 31st March 1933, p.7.

20. *ibid.*

and "... tramps who would't be guilty of doing a days work if it was handed to them on a silver platter - they would have 'pinched' the platter, however, as a matter of course."²¹ Like many of those who have themselves successfully staved off the threat of destitution, Duse Mohamed Ali was contemptuous of the 'down and out', unless he happened to have a 'human interest' story, of former riches and social position.

To collect his information, Duse Mohamed Ali posed as an unemployed docker,²² purchasing an "... out of elbow, absent seated, outfit ..." from a Jewish old clothes merchant; however, on his first dosshouse visit, he forgot to wear old shoes, and thereby aroused the suspicion of a genuine inmate.²³ Four decades later, he compared the conditions he saw with those described in George Orwell's Down and Out in Paris and London,²⁴ reaching the surprising conclusion that things had changed for the worse.²⁵ Perhaps as his own hardships were involuntary, he was less easily shocked than Orwell; the conditions he described seem un-

21. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 3rd July 1937, p.7.

22. *ibid.*

23. Duse Mohamed Ali, "Down and Out in London", in Nigerian Daily Times 31st March 1933, p.7.

24. George Orwell, Down and Out in Paris and London, London 1933. It is not clear if Duse Mohamed Ali had read Orwell in the original. His words referring to Orwell's book are; "... I encountered the following literary coincidence culled from George Orwell's Down and Out in Paris and London and a parallel passage in Pickwick which are quoted by a correspondent in Everyman." vide Nigerian Daily Times, 31st March 1933, p.7.

25. *ibid.*

pleasant enough.²⁶ As well as staying at Salvationist shelters, Duse Mohamed Ali also spent a fortnight investigating, still in the guise of an unemployed man, the Salvation Army institution known as Battersea Industrial Home. There, the unemployed were given so-called work in the form of sorting waste paper and old rags, and were payed with tokens which they could exchange for food.²⁷

Although giving it some credit for relieving much genuine distress by its social work, yet Duse Mohamed Ali formed a very unfavourable picture of the Salvation Army. He noted a process akin to rice-bowl Christianity, whereby "... inasmuch as 'Salvation' was a sure way to preferment, many obvious rascals 'got saved' in order to secure easy employment in the Army."²⁸ Thus it may be that his experience as an investigator of the Salvation Army was a factor in his suspicious hostility towards British religious philanthropy - a hostility that was in its turn a component in his Pan-African outlook.²⁹ Furthermore, these investigations may

26. "... pandemonium reigned, punctuated by snores until, and frequently after 'lights out', when the night Officer-in-charge would be forced to threaten instant ejection of the peace disturbers." vide "Leaves From An Active Life", 3rd July 1937, p.7. "The Salvation Army shelters were furnished with coffin-like bottomless boxes, resting on a clean disinfected floor, in which was placed a straw mattress carefully covered with black American waterproof duck, with a 'blanket' - of the same material. These bunks were set out in long rows about one foot apart ..." vide "Down and Out in London", Nigerian Daily Times, 31st March 1933, p.7.

27. *ibid.*

28. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 3rd July 1937, p.7.

29. For e.g., vide Duse Mohamed Ali, "Quo Vadis", in The New Age, 23rd February 1911, p.388: "(in Africa) Christianity with its narrow dogma has brought drunkenness and aggression in its trail ..."

well have influenced his later attitude towards Jews, since he observed that the Captain in charge of the Industrial Home despatched the best donated articles to "... his relatives the Jews, or his friends ...".³⁰

Journalism did not supplant the stage as a career for Duse Mohamed Ali, but rather the two were carried on simultaneously. Indeed, his investigation of Salvation Army social work took place while he was appearing as a Nubian slave in the play Hypatia at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket, London.³¹ This play, which ran from 2nd January 1893 to 15th April 1893,³² undoubtedly had a great influence on him, especially through the character of Issachar, a rich, crafty, treacherous and revengeful Jew. Issachar was played with great effect in that production, in the ranting melodramatic manner then in vogue on the stage, by the great actor Herbert Beerbohm Tree.³³ Eleven years later Duse Mohamed Ali wrote a one act play called The Jew's Revenge,³⁴ which was in fact a plagiarised version of Hypatia, culling from it those parts which dealt

30. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 3rd July 1937, p.7.

31. *ibid.*, 26th June 1937, p.7.

32. Allardyce Nicoll, Nineteenth Century Drama, vol. II, Cambridge 1946, p.622.

33. The Stage, 5th January 1893, p.15.

34. Regrettably no known copy of this work has survived. There is no copy in the Lord Chamberlain's play mss. However, a comparison of the text of Hypatia (adapted by G. Stuart Ogilvie from the novel by Charles Kingsley, pub. London 1894) with the outline of the action of The Jew's Revenge given in The Stage, 28th July 1904, p.12, makes it clear that Duse Mohamed Ali's play was a plagiarisation.

with Issachar. In The Jew's Revenge, Duse' Mohamed Ali himself played the title part of Josephus the Jew, and if possible his play heightened the anti-semitic stereotype found in its source, inasmuch as supposed Jewish desire to hold power by treachery and cunning becomes the central theme of his play. The scene of both plays is Egypt in the fourth century A.D. Thus we have both a general picture of the evil role of Jews in society, and a particular setting in Duse' Mohamed Ali's own native land. The Issachar/Josephus figure is of course an ancient one on the English Stage, reaching back to Shylock and the Jew of Malta, but it is interesting to find this hoary figure influencing the thinking of an early Pan-Africanist in his formative years. Clearly, this must be born in mind when weighing the considerable importance Duse' Mohamed Ali was later to attach to the role of Jews in both the occupation of Egypt³⁵ and the wider context of late nineteenth and early twentieth century capitalism and imperialism.³⁶ Beyond this are the wider issues of the similarities between the Jews and Negroes as oppressed peoples on the one hand; and American Negro dislike of Jews on the other.³⁷

35. vide In The Land Of The Pharaohs, pp.62-3.

36. See African Times and Orient Review, (ATOR) London, July 1912, p.2 and November-December 1913, p.2.

37. This has found a forceful expression in Malcolm X (assisted by Alex Haley) The Autobiography of Malcolm X, Penguin ed. London 1968, pp.384, 390-91 and 490-91. Negro anti-semitism in Chicago in the nineteen-thirties and forties is discussed in Horace R. Cayton and St. Clair Drake, Black Metropolis, London 1946, pp.197, 213, 249, 435-56 and 635.

If from time to time acting provided Duse Mohamed Ali with experiences that were intellectually stimulating, it is clear that on the whole the stage was a hard life. This must have been notably so at the time when he was both appearing in Hypatia and touring the Salvation Army dosshouses. In general, then as now, an actor's life was very insecure, with long periods of 'resting' between engagements. For Duse Mohamed Ali, as a black actor, this was made far worse by the fact that his colour effectively restricted him to a very limited number of 'dark' parts. Of course, white actors who had the talent might play any part - even 'dark' parts in black-face. But the attitude of British society towards black actors, though not overtly hostile, in effect denied their common humanity, by confining them to narrow stereotypes. These were usually of the black man as a slave or a buffoon or a faithful servant.³⁸ Thus it is not surprising that a great deal of Duse's time was spent in hanging around theatres, trying to interest such impresarios and managers as D'Oyly Carte, Sir Augustus Harris and Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree.³⁹ Duse Mohamed Ali recalled working in pantomime for Sir Augustus Harris at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, rehearsing till three or four o'clock in the

38. A recent study of black American actors on the Scottish stage bears out these contentions - vide Edward Dixon "The American Negro and the Scottish Theatre", chapter VII in The American Negro in Nineteenth Century Scotland, M.Litt. dissertation, University of Edinburgh, May 1969.

39. Africa and Orient Review, London, January 1920, p.11, records such a call on D'Oyly Carte; "Leaves From An Active Life" in The Comet, 3rd July 1937, p.7, records an abortive interview with Sir Augustus Harris at Drury Lane.

morning, repeating a scene over and over again. But like journalism, the stage offered comradeship. At the end of rehearsals, Harris would transform from an "ogre" to the "most jolly" person present, and provide his cast with substantial eats and unlimited drinks.⁴⁰

The Theatre also provided the young Duse Mohamed Ali with, from time to time, the chance of rubbing shoulders with famous persons, no doubt thereby adding glamour to a basically hard existence. Among theatre celebrities, once in 1893 he met and came into conversation with Oscar Wilde, then at the height of his career. They met by chance in the Green Room of the Theatre Royal, Haymarket, during rehearsals of Wilde's A Woman Of No Importance. The conversation led from Duse's country of origin to the Egyptian political situation - showing that if not active in politics at that time Duse was at least politically aware.⁴¹ Oscar Wilde merely displayed ignorance of the topic - one cannot imagine that such a topic would have either interested him or that he would have been informed about it. A more exciting - and highly significant - occasion was an encounter at the Savoy Theatre with Edward, Prince of Wales, (later Edward VII).⁴² Duse Mohamed Ali was calling on D'Oyly Carte one day (presumably in the hope of work) when the Prince happened to make a call.

40. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 10th July 1937, p.7.

41. *ibid.*, 26th June 1937, pp.7 & 13; also Duse Mohamed Ali's article "Oscar Wilde" in Africa and Orient Review, December 1920, pp.26-7.

42. Duse Mohamed Ali, "King Edward", in Africa and Orient Review, January 1920, pp.10-11.

The Prince condescended to make some remarks to Duse, asking him about his homeland and parentage. Duse replied in a patriotic vein, speaking proudly of his father's support for Arabi Pasha and death on the battlefield at Tel-el-Kebir. This incident illustrates well enough the way in which his Egyptian origins (whether real or partly imagined) gave him a strong sense of pride and confidence in himself. His declarations were received graciously by the Prince, who said that he was charmed to meet a man whose father had died fighting for his country. So this incident must be borne in mind when considering Duse Mohamed Ali's attitude to the British Royal family - an important factor in his political outlook.⁴³ Although the episode was no doubt in one sense a trivial occurrence, it was certainly not trivial in the eyes of Duse Mohamed Ali, and surely helped to fix in his mind an image of the British Monarchy as benevolent and unprejudiced towards its coloured subjects.

43. Duse Mohamed Ali saw the British Crown as having been a fountain of justice for its coloured subjects in the days of Queen Victoria - see The Comet, 6th August 1938, p.5; but he also noted with regret the decline in the power of the British Crown since her day: "African and Asian British subjects who ... are now suffering because of the denial, in practice, of the economic freedom and political liberty guaranteed to them in the Royal Proclamations of ... Queen Victoria ... should understand ... that the Government of the United Kingdom is no longer vested in the King-Emperor, the Lords ..., conjointly with the Representatives of the Electorate in the House of Commons. The Government has been usurped and is now vested in the Shogunate comprised of the Premier and his Cabinet supported by the junta of the selected pliant instruments and servants of the plutocrats - the successful sellers of soap, cocoa, sausages, pork, fur, wool, cotton, calico, spirits, beer, tobacco, bombs and coffins ..." See African Times and Orient Review, 26th May 1914, pp.218-9.

As well as frequenting the London Theatres (both as a performer and in search of work) and Fleet Street haunts of journalists, Duse Mohamed Ali also seems to have spent a certain amount of his time at the House of Commons. Whether this was out of mere interest in the political scene or as part of his journalistic duties he does not tell us. In this way he met two men who in different ways were to play a significant part in his life. At some time in the eighteen-eighties - probably about 1884-5⁴⁴ - he went to the Commons to interview Sir Charles Dilke. Whilst waiting for Dilke in the lobby, he was impressed with a brief glimpse of the Irish Nationalist M.P. Frank Hugh O'Donnell.⁴⁵ An attendant praised O'Donnell's oratory to Duse, but it was not till more than two decades later that the two men were to become associates in a

44. This event cannot have taken place later than 1885, as Frank Hugh O'Donnell, who Duse Mohamed Ali also saw on this occasion, ceased to be an M.P. in 1885. On the other hand Duse Mohamed Ali only returned to Britain in 1883, and it seems hardly likely that such an interview would have taken place in the first few months after his return. Also in the Africa and Orient Review, March 1920, p.6, Duse states "shortly after I saw Mr. O'Donnell in the House of Commons, he retired from Parliament."
45. Duse Mohamed Ali, "Frank Hugh O'Donnell", in Africa and Orient Review, March 1920, pp.5-7. O'Donnell was M.P. for Galway in 1874, and for Dunvargan from 1877-85. For a time he was a leading member of the Irish Parliamentary Party, was a noted orator, a Parnellite and an advocate of self-government for India and Indian representation in the British Parliament. He died in London in 1916 - see John S. Crone, Concise Dictionary of Irish Biography, Dublin 1937, p.183 and Who Was Who, 1916-1928, London 1929, p.790. Unfortunately there is no biography of O'Donnell. He wrote a number of books, of which the most important is A History of the Irish Parliamentary Party, London 1910. This work is more an attempted vindication of O'Donnell's later role as an anti-Parnellite than an objective history.

variety of causes concerned with the rights of subject peoples.⁴⁶ But it is surely significant to find Duse at an early age being drawn to an Irish Nationalist. The second of these encounters was with an even more significant figure, the veteran Indian Nationalist Dadabhai Naoroji, who was Liberal M.P. for Clerkenwell from 1892-1895 - the first Indian to sit in the British Parliament.⁴⁷ Duse Mohamed Ali met Naoroji by chance when visiting the Commons to interview another M.P. Interestingly the introduction was made by Justin McCarthy, another prominent Irish Nationalist M.P.⁴⁸ Perhaps such acquaintances arose from Duse Mohamed Ali's work as a journalist.

Duse Mohamed Ali was immensely proud to meet "... the first coloured man to be elected to the British House of Commons ...".⁴⁹ This shows that as early as the 1890's colour consciousness was highly developed in his political outlook, for superficially the elderly Parsi had little in common with this young African. Naoroji in his later years was regarded

46. See Chapter IV of this thesis.

47. The best biography of Dadabhai Naoroji is Sir R.P. Masani, Dadabhai Naoroji, the Grand Old Man of India, London 1939.

48. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 3rd July 1937, p.7. Justin McCarthy (1830-1912) was a historian, novelist and journalist as well as being an Irish Nationalist M.P., and leading anti-Parnellite. See DNB 1912-1921, London 1927, pp.351-2.

49. *ibid*; Duse Mohamed Ali wrote that when Dadabhai Naoroji had first contested a Parliamentary seat at Holborn in 1886, this "... provoked the gibe from the late Lord Salisbury that no self-respecting British Constituency would elect a black man to represent it in the House of Commons." Masani, *op.cit.*, p.263, quotes Salisbury's exact words which were 'I doubt if we have yet got to that point of view where a British constituency would elect a black man.'

as the equivalent of an "Uncle Tom" by more fiery Indians of another generation, though he retained the respect of M.K. Gandhi.⁵⁰ At all events, an interview ensued about a week after the first meeting. They discussed India and Egypt for an hour or so - or rather with "youthful impetuosity" Duse talked on, with Naoroji making "non-committal" responses.⁵¹ Unfortunately Duse preserved no fuller account of this occasion, but it is another small fragment of evidence of his early political consciousness. This linking together the problems of the various subject races was to be highly characteristic of his later mature political thinking.⁵² Only one further personal encounter with Naoroji followed this interview - a brief meeting at the first night of a drama of the Indian Mutiny, called The Round Tower, by Justin Huntley McCarthy, son of Justin McCarthy M.P.⁵³ This play opened at the Palace Theatre, London, 10th December 1892.⁵⁴ It was only by ill-luck that Duse himself was not playing a leading part, that of Sir Rajah Khan, a wicked rebel! On this occasion, Duse Mohamed Ali felt that Naoroji's apparent politeness to himself was

50. See M.K. Gandhi, foreword to Masani, op.cit., pp.7-8; for the division between Naoroji and the violent activists of the younger generation, see Masani, op.cit., p.509.

51. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 3rd July 1937, pp.7 & 17.

52. This is most easily demonstrated by the very titles of his London magazines The African Times and Orient Review and The Africa and Orient Review.

53. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 3rd July 1937, p.17. Justin Huntley McCarthy had a genuine interest in Middle Eastern literature, producing a number of translations from Persian literature, notably from the poets Hafiz and Omar Khaiyam. Perhaps his Middle Eastern interests made him sympathetic to the young Egyptian.

54. A. Nicoll, op.cit., p.467.

largely dependent on the friendly way in which he was received by Huntley McCarthy, father of the author. It is hardly surprising that Duse subsequently felt that Naoroji was "... somewhat inflated and over-weighted by his Parliamentary success," and "... did not possess that magnetism that attracts men."⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the idea of direct representation of the subject peoples of the Empire in the Westminster Parliament was one which excited hopes - this too was to be taken up and developed in Duse Mohamed Ali's London review twenty years later. It was unfortunate that he failed to recognise that in Parliament Naoroji represented not the people of India but the people of Clerkenwell, and that his election signified no more than that the electors of Clerkenwell were at that time more swayed by party than by race.

Hobnobbing with the eminent in the lobbies of the House of Commons was very likely a relief from the everyday hardships and insecurity of life for Duse Mohamed Ali in the 1890's. It was shortly after missing a substantial part in The Round Tower, that he was reduced to taking the part of a Nubian slave in Hypatia at the Haymarket Theatre. This was no more than a 'walk-on' part, and there is an unpleasant irony in a man exiled in such circumstances earning his living by playing a slave from his own country. This play was taken off on 15th April 1893,⁵⁶ although a success, to make way for Oscar Wilde's A Woman Of No Importance, in which, of course, there could be no part for a black actor, given the convention that black actors never appeared in 'whiteface'.

55. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 3rd July 1937, p.17.

56. The Times, 15th April 1893, p.8.

The cumulative effect of a decade or so of life as an actor and free-lance journalist was the undermining of Duse Mohamed Ali's health, which even at best was "... none too robust ...". He was given medical advice to live in a warmer climate,⁵⁷ and this provided the impetus for a new and highly important set of adventures, which took him to the Caribbean, South America, for a second time to the United States and perhaps to India and Hong Kong. Unfortunately, he gives no exact chronology of these travels in his autobiography, but it is possible to date his final return to Britain as being in the second half of 1896 or in 1897.⁵⁸ It is evident that he more or less worked his way round the world, accepting hardship when necessary and on the other hand finding yet more opportunities for gratifying encounters with prominent men. It must be said that Duse Mohamed Ali took enormous pleasure in the most casual and transitory of such meetings, and in the subsequent pleasures of name-dropping. Yet this too is perhaps a clue to the understanding

57. "Leaves From An Active Life", 10th July 1937, p.7.

58. In Africa and Orient Review, June 1920, p.6, Duse Mohamed Ali speaks of being in Barbados in early November 1892. This must surely be an error, for, as has been shown, he was in London for the first night of The Round Tower on 10th December 1892, while it is also clear that this stay in Barbados was followed by extensive further travels in the New World - see pp.50-51 of this Chapter. On the other hand, he clearly states that just prior to leaving New York he was unable to persuade Major Pond to book him a lecture tour, as the Major was pre-occupied with the Norwegian Arctic explorer, F. Nansen; see "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 14th August 1937, p.17. Nansen returned in August 1896 from his epic polar expedition of 1893-96, and his tour with Major Pond in America must have been after that date. Another source, an article by Duse in the Nigerian Daily Times, 25th August 1933, p.7, speaks of his being in Barbados 35 years before, i.e. in 1898! Perhaps all one can prove from this is that he had a very bad memory for dates.

of this contradictory man, for it must be realised that the strength of his attacks on white society relate to the strength of his early desire to be accepted in it.

His new travels supposedly began with an invitation from an Indian Prince, said to be the Maharajah of Cooch-Bihar, to edit a new Daily newspaper in Bombay. At least, this is how the story is told in his autobiography. There are, however, some discordant elements in this tale. To begin with, Cooch-Bihar is a vast distance from Bombay, and belonged to the orbit of the Bengal Government. The then Maharaja, Sir Nripenda Narayan, was definitely in London for the Jubilees of 1887 and 1897 and was furthermore well known in London society.⁵⁹ He may have come across Duse Mohamed Ali on some London visit - possibly his curiosity was aroused by seeing Duse on the stage. This is the realm of conjecture. On the other hand, the Maharajah does not seem to have been a likely proprietor of a politically conscious newspaper in Bombay. His only published work was on the 'safe' subject of big game hunting.⁶⁰ To import a man of Duse Mohamed Ali's background, with his dawning race and political consciousness, to edit a newspaper, would have been a conspicuously radical act. Moreover, why should the Maharajah chose Bombay as the place to set up his paper, rather than Calcutta, where he

59. For biographical information on Maharajah Sir Nripenda Narayan, see Sir Robert Lethbridge, The Golden Book of India, London 1893, pp. 269-70; Who Was Who, vol. I, 4th ed. London 1953, p.154; E.B., 11th ed. vol. XIV, p.382 and vol. XV, p.937. For the Maharajah's supposed invitation to Duse, see "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 10th July 1937, p.7.

60. Sir Nripenda Narayan, Thirty-Seven Years of Big Game Shooting in Cooch-Bihar, the Duars, and Assam, London and Bombay, 1908.

had a residence and presumably influence? Why should Duse write of the discourtesy of Anglo-Indian women to the ladies of the Maharajah's palace in the context of Bombay shops, when Sir Nripenda Narayan does not appear to have had a residence there? Why should Sir Nripenda Narayan be referred to as Aide-de-Camp to Queen Victoria, when in fact he was not so, though later held this honour under Edward VII?⁶¹ The answer to these questions may well be that this visit to India never took place, or at least not in the form and under the auspices described. In November 1917, writing in his "To-Day" column in the African Times and Orient Review, Duse Mohamed Ali had written;

We remember a conversation we had some years ago with the late Maharajah Cooch-Bihar, in answer to our query as to why he preferred to live in England. He said that the rudeness of the Anglo-Indian officials made life in India quite impossible to a ruler of independent views. In England, as aide-de-camp to the Monarch, many of the highest Anglo-Indian officials were forced to salute when visiting the Palace, but these very officials tried to ignore his presence when driving through the streets of Bombay.⁶²

Without actually saying so, this implies that the conversation was in England, not India; indeed, it is striking that there is no mention at all here of any visit to India. It is just possible that the Maharajah had talked of running a newspaper, and lightly implied that Duse Mohamed Ali would be the man for the job. But it is not really possible to exonerate Duse of fabrication in his autobiography over his relations with the Maharajah.

61. None of the sources listed in n.59 above name Bombay as being among his places of residence. Who Was Who, vol, I, 4th ed., p.154, lists him as A.D.C. to King Edward VII. For Duse Mohamed Ali's allegations vide "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 10th July 1937, p.7.

62. ATOR, November 1917, pp.91-2.

For what it is worth, as the tale is related in Leaves From An Active Life, this Indian involvement was not a happy one for Duse. Not only did he dislike the indignities that were meted out by the British to even high ranking Indians, but also his own relationships with Indian life were "... quite unsuited either to my upbringing or temperament ...". At all events, he soon left India, made a brief and final return to Egypt - where his ignorance of Arabic made him a self-styled stranger - and then wandered East again for a brief visit to Hong Kong, before returning to England.⁶³

These "travels" in the East - or in his mind, more likely - not surprisingly failed to improve Duse Mohamed Ali's health. So he set off on a prolonged tour of the West Indies, Central and South America and the Eastern United States.⁶⁴ Evidence is lacking about the date of his departure, but it is assumed that his return to Britain would have been towards not earlier than the end of 1896.⁶⁵ Chronology apart, this journey through the Americas is one of the most fully described and entertaining periods of Duse Mohamed Ali's early life and is rich in incidents of great significance for understanding his later actions and opinions. On at least two occasions he found that the wearing of a tarbush marked him apart from the mass of black men, and led him into interesting situations. The first of these was in Barbados, where the captain of a small

63. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 10th July 1937, pp. 7 & 13.

64. *ibid*, p.13, lists in outline his West Indian, Central American and South American tour; *ibid*, 7th August 1937, pp.7 & 19, and 14th August 1937, p.7 tell of his travels in the Eastern United States.

65. *vide n.58 supra*.

inter-island boat asked him if he spoke English, and from the ensuing conversation came an entertaining trip to the island of Grenada.⁶⁶ Subsequently, not long before his return to Britain, his tarbush secured the notice of a famous Catholic cleric of the time, Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore. The two men were thrown together by chance on a train journey from Washington to New York. Once again, instead of being just another faceless black man, Duse became the accepted representative of a respected and ancient religion and society, discussing with the Cardinal the merits of their respective beliefs. Indeed, he reports the Cardinal as preferring Islam to rival forms of Christianity.⁶⁷ A chance encounter on a train, trivial perhaps in itself, helps one to understand the importance of being a Muslim to Duse Mohamed Ali.

If the tarbush and all it implied proved one source of support, Duse's twin professions of the stage and journalism were another. Few professions can create for their members a more widespread freemasonry than does the theatre. In Georgetown, British Guiana, Duse was hailed by a former Assistant Manager of the Gaiety Theatre Glasgow, who took him up-country to the goldfield area and there introduced him to the bibulous company of local worthies - minor officials and the local curate.⁶⁸ In assessing

66. This meeting is described in "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 17th July 1937, p.7. The ensuing adventure in Grenada is told at length in *ibid*, pp.7 & 17, and *ibid*, 24th July 1937, p.7, in which a comic episode is related in which Duse Mohamed Ali found himself to have eaten monkey and lizard, to his intense disgust. Perhaps here we have an example of Muslim religious food prohibitions being reinforced by British social ones.

67. *ibid*, 7th August 1937, p.7.

68. *ibid*, 31st July 1937, pp.7 & 17.

Duse's later pronouncements on the British Empire, it is worth remembering that he had seen such sleazy outposts as well as some of the more impressive Imperial centres. Journalism helped him shortly after arriving in Florida, whence he had travelled from Havana.⁶⁹ In the small town of Ocala, mid-way between Tampa (his port of arrival) and Jacksonville, he called on a Scotsman whom he had formerly known in London. Through the introduction of this friend, Duse Mohamed Ali found himself first contributing articles for a local evening paper, then temporarily assuming the editorial chair while the editor himself was out of town on business. This earned him fifty dollars - no doubt a useful addition to his finances. It was also his first attempt at exercising the omniscient skills demanded of a small newspaper editor. To produce the paper to time he had to harry a drunken, abusive and incompetent foreman printer. We are not told what race this printer was, but if he was a white man one would marvel at Duse's temerity, for this was the time in the South when the black man was violently being put in his 'place'. The newspaper's editor was a Jew, and in view of the growing prejudice against employing Negroes in skilled positions it is possible that the recalcitrant printer was white. On the other hand, it should be remembered that Ocala played an important role in Southern populism, being the scene of a false dawn of accord between black and white small farmers; as Southern communities at that time went, Ocala was perhaps more likely to tolerate Duse Mohamed Ali than most. As recently as December 1890, the two great populist movements of the South,

69. See "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 7th August 1937, p.19, for his adventures in Florida.

the Southern Alliance (white), which claimed over 3,000,000 members, and the Coloured Farmers National Alliance and Co-operative Union, which claimed over 1,000,000 members, had met at Ocala in convention and agreed to unite. For a time, this united force was a real power in the South, and at the probable time that Duse Mohamed Ali was in Ocala, this united populism was still a living force.⁷⁰ However that may be, through the help of his Scots friend, he gained the sympathy of the local Police Chief in his dispute. Further, he was introduced to the local big-wigs - the Mayor and leading businessmen. One may surmise that this degree of recognition was accorded to him partly because he was a tarbush wearing Egyptian, a fabulous figure in a small town in the rural deep South at the end of the last century.

Duse Mohamed Ali's itinerary in the Caribbean began at Panama, where he viewed the abandoned chaos of the projected canal - in which he had hopefully invested "... with the vain hope that another Suez Canal was in being."⁷¹ How he raised the "... few thousand francs ..." that he claimed to have lost in the de Lesseps failure at Panama is hard to imagine, in view of the inevitable irregularity of his earnings. But even if his lost investment was in fact a good deal more modest, this was possibly the first forerunner of the various 'get rich quick' schemes

70. For the Ocala Convention and other aspects of the relations between black and white populism in the South, see Jack Abramowitz, "The Negro in the Populist Movement", Journal of Negro History, XXXVIII, 3, 1953, pp.257-89.

71. *ibid*, 10th July 1937, p.13. His strong feelings about the money that he lost through investing in the canal remained forty odd years later: "Even at this distant period I am sickened when I recall that picture of wanton waste resulting from wholesale speculation and colossal incompetence."

that he was to pursue in middle age - with the important differences that in the later era he attempted the role of entrepreneur and aimed at 'race improvement'. Perhaps his suspicion and even hatred of big business began with his Panama Canal losses.

From Panama, he sailed via the mainland ports of South America to Port-of-Spain, Trinidad. Among his ports of call en route was La Guaira, the port of Caracas, where he was the eye-witness of a triple murder in a public square. Port-of-Spain provided less sensational but more fruitful experiences, for there he met members of the coloured middle class.⁷² There were lawyers, among whom could well have been Sylvester Williams the organiser of the first Pan-African conference in London in 1900, doctors, planters and merchants. The latter were seen by Duse Mohamed Ali as suffering from the competition of white merchants, a process he was to see repeated later in West Africa. Surely this was one of the seeds from which his later attacks on white engrossment of black wealth grew.

From Trinidad he travelled to Bridgetown, Barbados where (apart from the afore-mentioned excursion to Grenada) he had the interesting experience

72. *ibid*, 17th July 1937, p.7, tells of his Venezuelan and Trinidadian adventures.

of meeting Sir William Conrad Reeves.⁷³ Reeves was one of the handful of non-Europeans who rose to senior positions in the nineteenth century tropical Empire, fig-leaves covering the naked truth of nineteenth century British Imperial racial roles. As Attorney-General and then Chief Justice of Barbados, Reeves could be regarded with pride by men of African descent as an exemplar of the capabilities of their race. Duse Mohamed Ali secured an introduction and subsequent interview with him, through the good offices of a prominent local merchant. He must have been excited to learn that Reeves had risen from the position of a humble obscure local journalist, yet in other ways this interview was a saddening experience. He found the Chief Justice to be suspended between the black and white worlds, cut off from his own people by the aloofness of his office, and envied, even occasionally insulted by the whites. Duse was told an anecdote about an insult offered to the Chief Justice by a white man, a mere subaltern, at a Government House reception. Nothing could have better illustrated the limited degree of acceptance which even the

73. This was naturally an important occasion to the young Duse Mohamed Ali, which is reflected by the fact that he referred to it or wrote about it at length in a number of his writings, viz "Quo Vadis", in The New Age, 23rd February 1911, p.390; "Sir William Conrad Reeves", in Africa and Orient Review, June 1920, pp.6 & 7; and "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 24th July 1937, pp. 7 & 14. The last of these accounts repeats almost word for word the account in Africa and Orient Review. The Africa and Orient Review account firmly dates the meeting as taking place in November 1892, but since we know that he was present at the first night of The Round Tower in London on 10th December 1892, this cannot have been the case - indeed it is clear from "Leaves From An Active Life" that the Barbados visit took place after the visit to The Round Tower.

most successful black man could receive in white society.⁷⁴

In time the monotony of life in a small island community palled on Duse Mohamed Ali, and he left Barbados for British Guiana, and returned after his adventures up-country, intending to take the Royal Mail steamer from Barbados to England. Delayed by a storm, he missed this boat, visited St. Lucia and Martinique to pass the time until the next England bound sailing, and missed that too through being becalmed in a schooner off St. Pierre.⁷⁵ From these delays followed a whole new series of adventures which were to take him to the United States. While hanging disconsolately around Castries, he struck up acquaintance with an American schooner captain, who offered him a passage to New York. However, at the last minute the owners diverted the boat first to Havana and thence to Tampa, Florida.⁷⁶ His encounters on the journey from Tampa to New York have already been described, but once there, misfortune struck. To augment his funds, which were reduced to \$250, he attempted to arrange another lecture tour through Major Pond, but without success. Shortly after, before having even paid for a steamship passage back to England,

74. Africa and Orient Review, June 1920, p.7, says: "It struck me that his was indeed a tragic condition. He seemed to be absolutely isolated. The whites of the colony envied him, but they did not possess his peer. The coloured people, for the most part, although proud of him, because his eminence reflected creditably upon them, quite misunderstood him and were loud in their criticism."

75. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 7th August 1937, p.7.

76. *ibid.*

all but fifteen dollars of his money was stolen from his hotel room. So at the end of his great tour of the New World, he found himself working his passage back to Britain on a cattle boat, without pay, and with only five dollars remaining in his pocket.⁷⁷

Thus he landed in Liverpool destitute, with only his wits to save him from sinking among the miserable anonymous human refuse of late Victorian England. Again he was able to turn to an old friend for help. Not the least advantage of the roving life of the Victorian actor was that he would have contacts all over the country. Not daunted by his misfortunes, Duseé Mohamed Ali secured an interview with the great Liverpool shipping magnate Sir Alfred Lewis Jones, head of the Elder Dempster line.⁷⁸ To Jones he put forward ideas for marketing West Indian fruit in Britain. This was his first expression of interest in colonial produce, and though fifteen years were to elapse before he became seriously involved in produce marketing,⁷⁹ it is significant that even as a young man his thoughts were turned in this direction. So this commercial interest can be counted among the fruits of his West Indian adventures. He had noted the ruined state of the plantation economy in many parts of the West Indies.⁸⁰ It would be interesting to know if he had some vague plan at this time of enriching the black people of the West Indies by stimulating the fruit trade. If so, his

77. *ibid*, 14th August 1937, p.14.

78. *ibid*.

79. See Chapter VI of this thesis.

80. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 17th July 1937, p.7.

later concern with West African produce trading becomes a fulfillment of old dreams rather than a new departure. No golden prospects resulted from the Jones interview, though Jones showed some interest. But Duse liked to think that his idea was responsible for later developments in West Indian fruit marketing.⁸¹ Very likely this small episode contributed to his view of white big-business as always filching the fruits of black men's efforts and ideas.

The Sir Alfred Jones interview was only a brief interlude, after which Duse sought further work in his two professions. An article on English drama, though not published, secured him an interview with the then famous editor of the Liverpool Post, Edward Russell (later Baron Russell of Liverpool).⁸² Apparently Russell had already heard of Duse from George Augustus Sala, one of the most eminent of the old Fleet Street bohemians who Duse recalled so nostalgically.⁸³ Their discussion ranged from the correct interpretation of Shakespeare's 'Othello' to the British occupation of Egypt, and though no offer of work ensued, Duse retained a high opinion of Edward Russell as personifying the traditional English virtues, even though he had much also of traditional

81. *ibid*, 14th August 1937, p.7.

82. Duse Mohamed Ali, "Lord Russell of Liverpool", in Africa and Orient Review, May 1920, pp.6-8; with minor alterations, this article was incorporated in "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 14th August 1937, pp.16-17.

83. See n. 13 above.

English insularity.⁸⁴

Having failed to get work from the Liverpool Post, and having no money whatsoever, Duse Mohamed Ali was compelled to descend to performing in a miserable back-alley slum theatre.⁸⁵ The players were all destitute actors and actresses, and the patrons not only 'gave the bird' to unpopular turns, but also pelted the performers with rotten vegetables or fish and chips. As the so-called 'star' in this wretched undertaking, he was payed thirty shillings a week, all in pennies, which represented well enough the poverty of the patrons and management alike. For three weeks he played in Uncle Tom's Cabin, (which of the several dramatised versions he does not say) and in Dion. Boucicault's plays Jessie Brown; or the Relief of Lucknow, and The Octoroon.⁸⁶ As the 'star' he no doubt played the part of 'Uncle Tom' - arguably the most popular 'dark' part in the nineteenth century British theatre, and a name which has become to black radicals a symbol of Negro subservience. In Jessie Brown, the leading 'dark' part was none other than Nana Sahib, portrayed by Boucicault as a cruel, lecherous, merciless and treacherous Muslim;

84. "He was undoubtedly a kind and generous man in whom there was a goodly spring of human kindness. Although possessed of a high intellect his vision was limited by the insularity of his island home. This is a trait which I have observed in the majority of Englishmen - even among the most travelled - and accounts to a very great extent for their reserve, and this, coupled with an assumption of supercilious superiority, is not infrequently irritating to the foreigner." - see Africa and Orient Review, May 1920, p.7.
85. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 21st August 1937, p.7.
86. Jessie Brown; or the Relief of Lucknow, and The Octoroon, by Dion. Boucicault, both pub. by John Dickson, London 1883 (?) Boucicault, an Irishman, was one of the most successful playwrights of the Victorian era.

and the whole play is charged with contempt for Indians and gross abuse of Islam.⁸⁷ For a Muslim it must have been highly shaming to appear in this play, and it is hardly surprising that for a time Duse Mohamed Ali was to lose his faith - though he never became a Christian.⁸⁸ But it must be added that there is no positive evidence that this particular incident caused a crisis of belief. However, it is reasonable to suppose that it would have been impossible for Duse to earn his living in such a way and remain a practising Muslim. As will be seen presently, this was by no means the only time that he appeared in a play insulting to Islam. As for The Octoroon, its theme was the sexual abuse of coloured women by white men in the American South. (The play was first produced before emancipation, and is an example of anti-slavery propaganda.) There is no doubt that this was an issue that deeply disturbed Duse Mohamed Ali, and he was frequently to discuss it in his later writings.⁸⁹

87. e.g. Act II sc. i, p.10, Jessie Brown refers to a mosque where she is held prisoner as "... a church where they worship the devil."

88. W.S. Blunt, My Diaries, p.759, says "He ... goes sometimes to church, but has always refused, he tells me, to be baptized." This was Duse Mohamed Ali's religious position in 1911. At about the same time Duse Mohamed Ali wrote: "Let me state forthwith that I am not a Christian. I do believe in God: but no religious system holds me captive." vide "The Good Friday Procession", in The New Age, 27th April 1911, p.606. How far back in time this loss of faith in Islam can be extended cannot be exactly stated for lack of positive evidence.

89. e.g. his article "White Women and Coloured Men", in The New Age, 21st January 1909, pp.262-3, reverses the charge of sexual aggression by coloured men against British women, pointing out the fate of Asian women in the white-owned brothels of Eastern seaports. Also vide In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.264.

After appearing in The Octoroon, he was engaged in a walk-on part at Liverpool's Shakespeare Theatre: but the pay was a mere one shilling and sixpence a night, although this was a leading provincial theatre. After eight weeks in Liverpool Duse decided to try his fortunes in Hull, where he had performed on previous occasions and had friends. Here too he experienced poverty and ill-health. At first, the only work he was able to find was as a docker, and to meet the initial cost of his lodgings he had to pawn his best suit. Three or four weeks in the docks, including working in pouring rain, undermined his health.⁹⁰ Yet he was 'lucky' to have the opportunity to ruin his health by hard labour, for with the casual system of hiring dock workers, it was difficult for any but a 'regular' to obtain work. In fact, dock work was arranged for him as a 'favour' by an acquaintance, who was dubious of his being strong enough for the purpose. After his illness, Duse Mohamed Ali was given the less arduous job of a cargo checker, and after three months rose to being assistant shipping clerk for Messrs. Thomas Wilson & Co., ship owners. Winter, with its closing of the Baltic trade on which Hull docks largely depended, brought this work to an end, but Duse managed to find further employment as a foreman in the North Eastern Railway Company's timber yard. This work lasted till 1900. In the long run this spell of outdoor work in the docks

90. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 21st August 1937, pp.7 & 16. It is a sign of his real destitution that on arriving in Hull, for the first time in his life he had recourse to a pawn shop - pledging his best suit for fifteen shillings to provide money for lodgings. *ibid*, p.7.



DUSÉ MOHAMED ALI AS
A YOUNG MAN, AGED
ABOUT 34

From The Hull Lady, June 1902

and railways brought at least one great benefit in a permanent improvement to his health.⁹¹

Soon Duse Mohamed Ali returned to his normal journalistic and theatrical pursuits. He began to contribute articles for the Hull local press.⁹² Among these were romantic stories based on Hull local history, for which he was payed a guinea a time - more than he had received for four days toil in the docks. Thus his first efforts as a historian emerged from his newspaper work, and his major historical work, In The Land Of The Pharaohs, should be judged in this light.

It is clear that Duse developed a considerable affection for Hull, since although he was lured away in summer 1900 to fulfil a theatre engagement in London, he returned to Hull again not later than May 1902,⁹³ and in all spent "... some three or four happy years ..." there. The quarrels and jealousies inseparable from an actor's life, of which he had

91. *ibid*, p.16. These details are confirmed by the account of his life in Scotland Yard's report on him of 27th March 1916 - see FO 371/3728/1316.

92. *ibid*. Unfortunately, there are no files preserved of the papers he first wrote for (the Hull Daily Mail and Hull Weekly Times) in either the British Museum Newspaper Library, Colindale, nor in Hull Public Library.

93. *ibid*; this tells us that he left Hull to take the role of Osman Digna in the play On Active Service; the provincial tour of this play, in which Duse Mohamed Ali took part, began on 20th August 1900 - vide The Stage, 23rd August 1900, p.12. Presumably he left Hull a little before that to take part in rehearsals. His return to Hull would not have been later than May 1902, as he contributed a historical short story, "Twixt King and Honour", to the first number of The Hull Lady in that month. (pp.38-9).

experienced a full share, made him value quiet provincial obscurity.⁹⁴

Perhaps for this brief time he felt a fully accepted member of a British community. On his return to Hull he contributed more local historical romances, this time to a local journal called The Hull Lady.⁹⁵ The Hull Lady was proud enough of its exotic contributor to publish a potted biography of him emphasising his romantic Egyptian origins. In addition it told its readers:

He is also a playwright of no mean order, having succeeded so early as 1889 with a classic blank verse play, entitled Eunice the Greek, which was produced in the United States, and ran for upwards of 12 months. More recently he has written another play, dealing with classical subjects, entitled Matho the Libyan.⁹⁶

94. e.g., he wrote that during the second tour with On Active Service, he incurred the jealousy of his fellow players by his "most glowing press notices." He continued "As Assistant Stage Manager it was my duty to call rehearsals whenever necessary, this led to a conspiracy headed by Henty George, the leading man, and subsequently, on his discharge for incapacity, by his successor who, with his wife also in the cast, considered himself and his lady quite indispensable. This man carried forward the conspiracy, making matters rather uncomfortable for me. In due course I was compelled in self-defence to communicate with the author co-proprietor who paid a surprise visit ..." The upshot was that Duse was vindicated and his enemies humiliated, being threatened with dismissal - for which they never forgave him. vide "Leaves From An Active Life", 28th August 1937, p.7.
95. His total contributions to The Hull Lady, which was a very short lived magazine, were as follows:- "Tales of Hull in Olden Times - Twixt King and Honour", in vol. I no. 5, May 1902, pp.38-9; "Hull's Coronation Ode", in Coronation no., June 1902, pp.3-5; "The Foiling of the King", in vol. I, no. 7, 1902 (no month given), pp.24-28.
96. Brief biographical sketch of Duse Mohamed in The Hull Lady, June 1902, p.43.

No other source - including his autobiography - makes any mention of these two youthful efforts. It is perhaps as well to be sceptical about the supposed triumph of Eunice the Greek in America, as this is hardly a matter Duse' Mohamed Ali would have passed over in his autobiography; compare the pains he took to inform the readers of his autobiography about the very modest successes of his short play The Jew's Revenge, with his silence there about these earlier plays. Yet we should note that one of these two works had an African as much as a classical subject. It is therefore much to be regretted that no copy of this work is known to exist to-day, for it would surely have provided valuable clues about his early concepts of Africa in history. More can be said about a very different kind of historical work, which he wrote during his days in Hull. At the time of King Edward VII's coronation, The Hull Lady, published a 286 line coronation ode by Duse', written in sub-Shakespearean blank verse.⁹⁷ Its slender literary merits need not detain us, but it does provide valuable evidence of more than his ability to scan local history and the deeds of local worthies in iambic pentameters. Of its nature a coronation ode exudes effusive loyal sentiments, yet this must also be connected with the genuine feeling for the British royal family that has already been commented on. But loyalism is tempered in this ode by an interesting passage which, in praising Hull's famous son, the emancipator Wilberforce, implicitly criticises Britain's past;

97. *ibid*, pp.3-5.

This champion of the Negro Slave
 Deserves more praise than Britain can bestow;
 For when he struck off the cruel fetters
 From the wrists of enslaved Afric's sons,
 With one fell swoop he also wiped away
 The stain that smirched the proud escutcheon,
 Of England's vainly boasted liberty!⁹⁸

A few lines later he even looks to the time when England's Empire shall pass away, as had the ancient glories of Rome, Greece and his own Egypt. written at a time when the criticisms of such as J.A. Hobson⁹⁹ had hardly penetrated the popular consciousness of Empire, these sentiments mark Duse' apart from the white community.

In other ways, however, Duse' Mohamed Ali began to dig himself into the cosy cultural life of a provincial town, founding a Hull Shakespeare Society under the patronage of the great Sir Henry Irving, and presenting costumed Shakespearean dramatic recitals.¹⁰⁰ He set up as a private tutor of elocution, which must have given him much knowledge of early twentieth century English social aspirations. Most of his pupils were ladies,¹⁰¹ but whether he formed any romantic connections among them he does not record. Also he offered his services as an organiser of concerts and "at homes", the typical small change of Edwardian social life.

98. *ibid*, p.4.

99. J.A. Hobson's seminal work Imperialism, A Study, was first published in 1902, though he had been writing on social and political issues for a decade previously. vide Bernard Porter, Critics of Empire, London 1968, pp.156-238 *passim*.

100. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 28th August 1937, p.16.

101. *ibid*. Also see advertisement for Duse' Mohamed as a teacher of elocution and organiser of 'at homes', 'drawing rooms', 'concerts', with 28 John St., Kingston Sq., Hull and 4 Duchy Ave., Cold Bath Rd. Harrogate, being given as his addresses, in The Hull Lady, June 1902, p.48.

Lest all this gives too cosy an image of Duse Mohamed Ali's life around the turn of the century, it must be recorded that in the interval of his two stays in Hull he was leading a more exciting life on the stage proper. The lure that took him from Hull was the chance to play the part of his heroic fellow countryman Osman Digna, in a melodrama by Herbert Leonard, called On Active Service.¹⁰² This play, which had opened at the Surrey Theatre, London, on 23rd October 1899,¹⁰³ was an example of that Imperialist popular culture attacked by J.A. Hobson in his book The Psychology of Jingoism.¹⁰⁴

102. Herbert Leonard, On Active Service, unpub. typescript in Lord Chamberlain's play mss. (B.M. mss. collection) licence no. 123, 30th November 1899. Leonard's play is merely one of many examples of the impact of events in the Sudan in the late nineteenth century on British popular culture. The spectrum of popular writing of this period about the Sudan ranges from the Dundee weaver, "poet and tragedian" William McGonagall - the so-called "greatest Bad Verse writer of his age" - who recited his works to the working men of Dundee, but whose works were also known to fellow Scots as far away as Zululand; to A.E.W. Mason, whose novel The Four Feathers (London 1902) has been read by generations of British "middlebrow" readers, and which was serialised on B.B.C. Radio 4 as recently as June 1971. For McGonagall's interest in the Sudan, see his poems "The Battle of El-Teb" and "The Battle of Abu Klea", in Poetic Gems Selected from the Works of William McGonagall, Dundee and London, 1966, pp.50-55. For a "Tribute from Zululand" to McGonagall from Fred. Rollo of 1st Royal Scots, see Poetic Gems, p.21.
103. The Stage, 26th October 1899, p.15.
104. J.A. Hobson, The Psychology of Jingoism, London 1901, pp.2-3, speaks scathingly, of the influence of the music hall on the masses; e.g., p.3, "In ordinary times politics plays no part in these feasts of sensationalism, but the glorification of brute force and an ignorant contempt for foreigners are ever-present factors which at great political crises make the music-hall a very serviceable engine for generating military passion." These words apply aptly enough to plays such as On Active Service, which in their tours appealed to the same public with a mixture of buffonery, xenophobia, 'black peril' sex, and derring-do.

This opportunity was, in terms of professional success, a great step forward for Duse Mohamed Ali. Even so, he played no part in the original London production, his name not appearing in the cast list until the company of George Conquest and Herbert Leonard took it on tour. This tour began at the Terriss Theatre, Rotherhithe, on the 23rd August 1900¹⁰⁵ and lasted until 5th November 1900;¹⁰⁶ a second tour followed, starting at the Marina, Lowestoft on 19th November 1900,¹⁰⁷ and concluded on 9th May 1901 at the King's Theatre, Hanley.¹⁰⁸ In the course of these two tours Duse visited towns both large and small, in England, Scotland and Wales, playing (in the usual manner of the old touring companies) for a week in each place.¹⁰⁹ When not on stage, much of his life must have been spent in theatrical lodgings and railway trains, but within these limitations it is clear that as an actor 'on tour' he would have had a unique opportunity to see and form judgements about British life. His On Active Service tours met with considerable

105. The Stage, 23rd August 1900, p.12.

106. ibid, 8th November 1900, p.17.

107. ibid, 22nd November 1900, p.7.

108. ibid, 9th May 1901, p.7.

109. These two tours took him to the following towns and theatres: The Terriss, Rotherhithe; The Standard, London; The Eden, Brighton; The Royal, Hull; The Rotunda, Liverpool; The Royal, Sheffield; The Royal, Leicester; The Royal Osbourne, Manchester; The Metropole, Manchester; The Queens, Birmingham; The Royal, Bristol; The New Grand, Woolwich; The Marina, Lowestoft; The Prince's, Portsmouth; The Prince of Wales, Southampton; The Metropole, Gateshead; The Royal, Stockton; Her Majesty's, Aberdeen; Her Majesty's, Dundee; The Grand, Newcastle; The Metropole, Glasgow; The Prince's, Blackburn; The Clarence, Pontypridd; The Royal, Bath; The King's, Hanley. See "On Tour" column in The Stage, 23rd August 1900 - 8th November 1900; 22nd November 1900 - 29th November 1900; 3rd January 1901; and 28th February 1901 - 9th May 1902.

success, playing in many places to enthusiastic and packed houses.¹¹⁰
 In the words of one reviewer, "... naval and military plays enjoy a full degree of popularity at present ..."¹¹¹ - that present being of course the xenophobic Britain of the Boer War. Duse Mohamed Ali's personal performance had a favourable reception; in Aberdeen he was reviewed as giving "... a vivid interpretation of the role of Osman Digna";¹¹² in Dundee, it was noted that "The redoubtable Osman Digna is played by Duse Mohamed with appropriate truculence and effectiveness;¹¹³ while a Bristol reviewer not only found the part "ably portrayed" but also made the interesting comment that "... Duse Mohamed ... is, we are told, the son of an Arab chief."¹¹⁴ So we see that an Egyptian origin could serve the purpose of theatrical publicity.

As an example of popular British culture at that time, On Active Service is fascinating, among its ingredients being derring-do by bluejackets, a villainous Frenchman, bloodthirsty, treacherous natives

110. e.g. at the Prince's Theatre, Portsmouth, where it was appearing from 26th November 1900 for one week - The Stage, 29th November 1900, p.8; or at the end of its second tour at the King's Theatre, Hanley - vide n. 108 supra.

111. Liverpool correspondent of The Stage, 20th September 1900, p.2.

112. The Stage, 14th March 1901, p.5.

113. *ibid*, 21st March 1901, p.6.

114. *ibid*, 1st November 1900, p.11.

and in the final scene an exotic Imperial setting in the Sudan.¹¹⁵ In itself, this play could have served as an education in British racial attitudes and Imperial arrogance. As conceived by Herbert Leonard, Osman Digna is a mere monster, who threatens the 'clean living' British hero with first death by torture,¹¹⁶ then death by hanging - which is also to be the signal for a surprise attack on his comrades.¹¹⁷ Almost needless to say, Osman Digna reveals sexual designs on the heroine¹¹⁸ and the French villain gloats on the prospect that she will "... end her days 'midst horrors of degradation, disease and Arab licentiousness."¹¹⁹ But of course this was a make-believe world where "British pluck" always overcame "fiends" such as Osman Digna, and in the denouement a relief force triumphantly engages and crushes the dervishes.

It might be thought that the part of Osman Digna in On Active Service exhausted the possibilities of ignorant prejudice, but Duse Mohamed Ali's next role was if possible even grosser in that respect. This time he played the part of that stock villain of Exeter Hall philanthropy, an Arab slave dealer. It should be recalled here that Duse Mohamed Ali was proud of his ancestry, and whereas Osman Digna was well known as a brave and resourceful foe, in this part there were no redeeming features at all. The play concerned was Secrets - - -; or The Cross and the Crescent

115. On Active Service, Act IV sc. i blends all these ingredients together for its finale.

116. *ibid*, Act IV sc. i, p.7.

117. *ibid*, pp.11-12.

118. *ibid*, pp.9-10.

119. *ibid*, p. 12.

by M. Goldberg.¹²⁰ This play had originally appeared in December 1896, with the title Secrets of the Harem and a setting in contemporary Constantinople, the Sultan himself being portrayed in the most derogatory manner. Not surprisingly, there was a protest from the Ottoman Embassy, and the Lord Chamberlain withdrew his licence from the piece.¹²¹ He-licenced in its new version in August 1901,¹²² the only changes seem to have been to change the location of the action from Constantinople to an imaginary Eastern city called 'Balsora' ruled by 'Noureddin Ali, Caliph of Balsora'. However, Duse himself considered that the entire matter of the diplomatic protest and consequent withdrawal of licence was in reality a publicity stunt engineered by the manager of the company performing the play, who was himself responsible for informing the Ottoman embassy. Furthermore, the amended title of Secrets - - - was designed to give the public the idea that the play was too 'spicy'

120. Max Goldberg, Secrets (of the Orient), unpub. typescript in Lord Chamberlain's play mss., (St. James Palace) licence no. 241 of 1st August 1901. The play actually appeared before the public under the title Secrets - - -; or The Cross and the Crescent; vide The Stage, 15th August 1901, p.13.

121. The Stage, 15th August 1901, p.15, says: "Our readers need no reminder that the Lord Chamberlain recently suppressed Secrets of the Harem during its run at the Shakespeare, S.W., on the grounds that the play had given offence to the Turkish Embassy. This, of course, took the theatrical world by surprise, seeing that the piece was performed as far back as Christmas Eve, 1896, and had held its own ever since."

122. See n. 120 supra.

to be openly referred to.¹²³

As Ibrahim al Murad, the Arab slave dealer, Duse' Mohamed not only had to devise murder and rape, but also, when committing or planning these deeds, to utter garbled versions of pious Muslim formulae.¹²⁴ Thus as presented in this play, Islam was reduced to a hypocritical cloak for the most cruel and treacherous deeds, and the person and institution of the Khalif were treated with contempt.¹²⁵ The core of the action consists of the abducting by Ibrahim al Murad of a beautiful white Circassian girl into the Caliph of Balsora's seraglio, from whence she is rescued by the hero - a British Naval Lieutenant, almost needless to say. Lines such as the following abound; "Forward, my lads, and clear the decks of these black swabs. (The Boatswain's crew come on at the double with fixed bayonets, and chase Ibrahim, Kara and slaves off) Ha! Ha! Ha! The black skunks. See how they run ..."¹²⁶

123. "... censorship ... was cleverly engineered by Preston (the manager of the Secrets company) who had already toured the play till it became threadbare. So when he was about to conclude a tour in London, he caused a letter, which he had probably written himself, to be sent to the Turkish Ambassador in which it was claimed that the Sultan Abdul Hamid was being presented in a condition both degrading and insulting." But if the instigation of this complaint was disingenuous, the Turkish Ambassador's displeasure was genuine enough. vide "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 28th August 1937, p.7.

124. e.g. Secrets Act I sc. 1, p.2, where Ibrahim, plotting to seize the Christian Circassian Ismalia, sell her into slavery in the Caliph's harem, and to murder her parents, says: "Ah, my good Kara, this is indeed Kismet. Destiny. Allah is Allah, there is no God but God and Mahomet is his Prophet."

125. Secrets, passim.

126. ibid, Act I, sc.1, p.18.

The finale of the play finds the Caliph ordering the hero's execution before the heroine's eyes, to be followed by her starvation till she submits to his embraces. But all is saved at the last minute by the inevitable party of bluejackets, and the Caliph is killed by a blow from one of his own men intended for the hero.¹²⁷

Thus in this play one finds a combination of contempt for Islam and its institution the Khalifate, emphasis on the lust of 'blacks' for white women, and belief in the right and duty of the Royal Navy to intervene in the affairs of oriental states. Perhaps this helps us to understand some of the vigour that Duse Mohamed Ali was later to put into such causes as defending the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and the rights of the Khalif,¹²⁸ or protecting black women from sexual assault by white men.¹²⁹ No wonder, too, that he came to regard the British as lacking sympathetic understanding of other peoples in their Empire.¹³⁰ He noted at the time of the Ottoman diplomatic protest that whereas the Liberal press vilified the Ottoman Sultan and attacked the Lord Chamberlain's action in withdrawing the licence, the Conservative press defended

127. *ibid*, Act IV, sc.i, p.12.

128. *vide* Chapters IV and VI of this thesis.

129. *vide* n. 89 *supra*.

130. Duse Mohamed Ali never tired of quoting Matthew Arnold's words "There is nothing like love and admiration for bringing people to a likeness with what they love and admire; but the Englishman never seems to dream of employing these influences upon a race he wants to fuse himself with. He employs simply material interests for his work of fusion, and beyond these nothing but scorn and rebuke. Accordingly there is no vital union between him and the races he has annexed." e.g. see The New Age, 23rd February 1911, pp. 387-8.

that action and regretted offensive attacks on a foreign ruler.¹³¹

No doubt this contributed to Duse Mohamed Ali's rooted dislike of the British Liberal Party and enthusiasm for British Tory gentlemen of the old school.¹³²

Duse Mohamed Ali probably began to play the part of Ibrahim al Murad, on 12th August 1901, and he continued in the part till 8th February 1902.¹³³ During that time the company mainly toured smaller towns,¹³⁴ probably because the play had already been seen in the main centres. As in On Active Service, performing a role that must have been to some extent obnoxious to him did not prevent him from gaining favourable notice, such phrases as "... capital acting ...",¹³⁵ "Duse Mohamed is seen to advantage",¹³⁶ and "... conspicuous merit ..."¹³⁷ being used by reviewers in various different places.

131. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 28th August 1937, p.16.

132. For a full discussion of this point, vide Chapter IV of this thesis.

133. The earliest mention of his name in reviews of the play in The Stage, is to be found in the issue for 15th August 1901, p.13. The fact that this is a full length review, set apart from the classified reviews of provincial productions, almost certainly indicates the start of a new provincial tour. The place of performance was the Opera House, Northampton, and the play would have started on the Monday previous to the date of that issue of The Stage - i.e. it would have started on 12th August 1901.

134. In the course of this tour, Duse Mohamed Ali visited the following places:- Northampton; Hammersmith; Swindon; Brighton; Liverpool; Scarborough; Hepburn; Warrington; Leeds; Bradford; Crewe; Attercliffe; Great Yarmouth; King's Lynn; Stratford E.; Deptford; North Shields; Spennymoor; Barrow; Workington; Whitehaven; Dumfries; Motherwell. See The Stage, 15th August 1901 - 20th February 1902.

135. vide The Stage, 5th December 1901, p.17, for performance at Theatre Royal, Stratford East.

136. *ibid*, Whitehaven correspondent, 6th February 1902, p.9.

137. *ibid*, Brighton correspondent, 5th September 1901, p.5.

In his next stage role, Dusé Mohamed Ali broke out of the limitations of playing 'dark' parts - instead, he found himself playing a 'freak of nature' in a lurid melodrama called Because I Love You!¹³⁸ It was the offer of this part which took Dusé Mohamed Ali away from Hull, where he had intended to settle permanently.¹³⁹ As an extra temptation to return to the stage, Frank Scudamore, the manager of the Because I Love You company, offered to stage two of Luse's own short plays. These are said to have been put on in Newcastle-on-Tyne, but without success.¹⁴⁰ Unfortunately, the titles of these plays, let alone any manuscripts or other details about them, have not been preserved.¹⁴¹ His experience in the part of 'Nemo, the Man Vulture' in Because I Love You was an unhappy one, for despite a well received performance, he was displaced from the cast when "... a rather mediocre actor with a little cash came on the scene; saw the play, became enamoured (sic) with my part and made Scudamore a cash offer for the entire rights and bookings ..."¹⁴² He had played the part over a

138. F.A. Scudamore, Because I Love You, unpub. typescript in Lord Chamberlain's play mss., (St. James Palace) licence no. 285 of 11th August 1902.

139. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 28th August 1937, p.16.

140. *ibid.*

141. *ibid.*; "Scudamore induced me to join him at Newcastle-on-Tyne where he intended to do a summer Stock Season of drama ... As an inducement he induced me to put on two of my short plays ... We did a rather unprofitable Stock Season at Newcastle ..." Yet a search of the Newcastle reviews in the 1903 files of The Stage provides us with no trace of these plays or even of Scudamore's company being there. This would seem to be one of the many examples of confused chronology in "Leaves From An Active Life".

142. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 28th August 1937, p.17.

period stretching from 15th June 1903 (at the Standard Theatre, Shore-ditch)¹⁴³ to 26th September 1903 (at the Metropole, Birkenhead).¹⁴⁴

Duse Mohamed Ali's colour was held by one reviewer to be an advantage in playing a freak:

This strange being, ... is embodied with decided effect by a coloured performer, Duse Mohamed, whose dusky countenance heightens the effect of a weird and 'creepy' impersonation. The tingling in the murderous talons, induced by drink, is excellently shown, and the more or less successful attacks upon the policeman, the Professor, and the heroine are acted with vigour.¹⁴⁵

It is interesting to note that the stage picture of a monster was not so different from that of a coloured man - violent, especially under the influence of drink, ugly, and lusting for innocent white women. By this time a practised performer of 'dark' parts, it is hardly surprising that Duse Mohamed Ali was able to make the transfer to portraying this freak so successfully. When he was forced to leave the part, it was written of his successor that "Following Mr. Mohamed, the former exponent of the part, he has a difficult role to fulfil ..."¹⁴⁶ Walter Melville, a well known actor-manager, was so impressed by Duse Mohamed Ali's portrayal of the part that he told him that were he an Englishman (that is, were he not a Negro) he would be in the first flight of West

143. The Stage, 18th June 1903, p.13.

144. *ibid*, 1st October 1903, p.17, mentions that Duse Mohamed Ali had been replaced in the role. The previous week, when the play was appearing at the Metropole, would therefore have most likely been Duse Mohamed Ali's last appearance - see *ibid*, 24th September 1903, p.8.

145. *ibid*, 18th June 1903, p.13.

146. *ibid*, 1st October 1903, p.17.

End actors - and amply demonstrated the double-edged nature of his compliment, by failing to keep a promise to write a play featuring him.¹⁴⁷

Dismissal from the cast of Because I Love You left Duse Mohamed Ali with nothing but his railway fare to London; he was ashamed to return to Hull after this "inglorious" tour.¹⁴⁸ As he has recorded matters, he was saved from destitution by a lucky encounter with an old acquaintance on the day of his arrival in London. This acquaintance was said to be looking for "... someone like myself to assist in piloting a ballet group to Leige (sic) that summer for the International Exposition."¹⁴⁹ This cannot be true, as the Liège Exhibition did not take place till 1905,¹⁵⁰ while, as we have seen, Duse's last appearance in Because I Love You was in September 1903. This discrepancy could be considered as merely one of the many understandable lapses in an old man's memory when recording the events of over thirty years previously. But perhaps it is significant that at this point in his autobiography, he launches

147. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 28th August 1937, p.16.

148. *ibid*, p.17.

149. *ibid*.

150. The Exhibition opened on 27th April 1905; vide report by The Times special correspondent, 28th April 1905, p.3.

forth into a description of loneliness and destitution in London:

On my arrival in the lonely city - there is perhaps no city in the world where a man without family connections can be more lonely than in the City of London. I speak from experience. On one occasion I had had a three day compulsory fast. I somehow existed on a water diet during that period. I rested in Hyde Park, one Saturday night, sat out two services in St. Margaret's Church Sunday and then in desperation walked to a friend's house at Herne Hill hoping for a meal for which I did not have the courage to ask. I did secure that unsolicited meal and a bed for the night. Hence, I did not relish returning to London ...¹⁵¹

It seems only too likely that something like this actually happened to him on this occasion. The next occasion on which he can be demonstrated to have had work does not occur till the third week of July 1904, when his 'tragedietta' The Jew's Revenge was performed "for the first time in London"¹⁵² as part of a benefit week for the retiring manager and lessee of the Surrey Theatre, George Conquest.¹⁵³ Despite being plagiarised from Hypatia, it was described as well received and powerfully acted, Duse's own performance in the title role being "powerful and impressive".¹⁵⁴ The same reviewer also added, "It is interesting to note that the author,

151. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 4th September 1937, p.7.

152. The Stage, 28th July 1904, p.12. It is possible that the work had been performed at an earlier date in the provinces, possibly in the elusive run in Newcastle-on-Tyne with Soudamore's company. It may be noted that the Surrey Theatre performance of The Jew's Revenge is one of the many matters over which Duse Mohamed Ali's autobiography is in chronological error, since it definitely places this performance as coming immediately after his completion of his first tour with On Active Service, i.e. 10th November 1900.

153. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 28th August 1937, p.7.

154. The Stage, 28th July 1904, p.12.

Duse Mohamed, is the only Egyptian actor now playing in England. He was educated at King's College London."

The Liège International Exhibition opened on 27th April 1905,¹⁵⁵ and Duse Mohamed Ali and his fellow players arrived there about three weeks before that date.¹⁵⁶ As rehearsals in London are stated to have lasted six weeks, and begun two days after being first offered the job by his acquaintance,¹⁵⁷ it would seem that the whole episode actually began in the middle of February 1905. Despite the apparent security of a six months' contract, Duse Mohamed Ali had from almost the very beginning doubts about the viability of the show, which seems to have been a compound of stale Musical Comedy airs, dancing chorus girls, and a ludicrous plot.¹⁵⁸ His own part was that of an amorous Oriental Sultan.

The journey to Liège provided him with a typical example of British

155. See n. 150 supra.

156. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 4th September 1937, p.7.

157. *ibid*, 28th August 1937, p.17.

158. *ibid*, 4th September 1937, p.7.

insularity and prejudice against foreigners:

While the train was standing in (Brussels) ... station a couple of Belgian artisans strolled along the platform complete with full blue cotton breeches very tight at the ankles and the black cap so much affected by the denizens of the Latin quarter. Directly these two men made their appearance one of the two women shouted to her companions: 'I say girls, come and look at the foreigners!' In a moment all the carriage windows were alive, and the astonished Belgians were bombarded with hilarious ridicule.¹⁵⁹

Arriving at Liège, the company found the Exhibition site in a state of unfinished chaos, no rooms arranged, and none available at a price that they could afford.¹⁶⁰ The show only lasted about a month after its opening. However, Duse was kept on in "The Extreme Orient" in the capacity of a guide to any distinguished visitors who might turn up. This was the sort of work that he always found congenial, as it gave him a fleeting contact with royalty and aristocracy. He also gained great pleasure at Liège by himself, on one occasion, being mistaken by local people for the Shah of Persia, who was believed to be intending to visit the Exhibition. This short-lived elevation was in part

159. *ibid*, 14th August 1937, p.17. Although this appears in a different chapter of his autobiography, being simply given as an example of British insularity and assumptions of superiority witnessed by Duse Mohamed Ali himself, there can be no doubt in view of the circumstances that the occasion was the journey to Liège for the 1905 Exhibition. He states that those involved in the incident were "A theatrical company of Englishmen and Englishwomen, with whom I was associated in a managerial capacity," which accords well enough with his role in the Liège Exhibition company.

160. *ibid*, 4th September 1937, p.7. Duse Mohamed Ali's remarks about the chaos at the site immediately prior to the Exhibition opening are corroborated by The Times special correspondent who remarked; "As in most undertakings of this kind, neither buildings nor exhibits will be complete on the opening day." see The Times, 22nd April 1905, p.10.

attributable to Duse's tarbush, in part to a hoax planned by a friend.¹⁶¹ Though a comic escapade, it illustrates again the respect that he could command through being recognisable as a Muslim and an oriental rather than a 'mere' black man.

Duse Mohamed Ali claimed that he eventually left Liège in the company of a Russian Grand Duke, who had been an admirer of the chorus girls in "The Extreme Orient".¹⁶² They are supposed to have travelled to St. Petersburg and Moscow together, at the Grand Duke's expense. This strains credulity, for in 1905 those cities were in the grip of revolution, yet Duse Mohamed Ali merely makes general remarks about witnessing the extravagant life of the nobility and the furtive discontent of the proletariat. Of course, he knew nothing of the Russian language, but in that year there was nothing furtive about proletarian discontent.¹⁶³ He gives none of the circumstantial details and lively anecdotes that enliven his accounts of life in the West Indies, the United States and at the Liège Exhibition. Without further evidence, one is bound in this

161. "Leaves From An Active Life", in *The Comet*, 4th September 1937, p.16.

162. *ibid*, 11th September 1937, p.7.

163. Of course, it is possible that this is another case of his chronology in "Leaves From An Active Life" being weak. If his supposed journey to Russia was as late as 1906, then it would be more understandable that he made no reference to witnessing revolutionary manifestations. On the other hand, even if it is granted that he visited Russia, he was certainly back in Britain by May 1906, when he was appearing in The Jew's Revenge in Manchester; see *The Stage*, 24th May 1906 p.3.

case to suspend judgement. Suffice to say that his return to England from Liège was not certainly via Russia.

Back in London, he returned to the old life of hanging around theatre managers and impresarios for parts. After many visits, he obtained work as an advance publicity agent for Walter Melville, impresario of London's Standard Theatre. He was sent to the provinces on behalf of a Walter Melville touring company, which was performing a melodrama called Her Second Time on Earth.¹⁶⁴ Subsequently he did the same service for Beauty and the Beast which was being toured by Melville's brother.¹⁶⁵ This publicity work demanded considerable ingenuity.

On one occasion he staged a fake suicide in the Avon at Bath in order to boost dwindling houses; another time, in Northampton, he had to mollify irate publicans who were refusing to advertise the Melville company in their houses because of a dispute with the local theatre manager.¹⁶⁶ His later career as a business company promoter, probably benefited from the experience gained as a theatre publicity agent.

Meanwhile, Duse Mohamed Ali began to plan setting up as actor-manager of his own touring company. To this end, he revived his playlet The Jew's Revenge, securing a place for it on the same bill as Beauty and the Beast at the Broadhead Theatre, a Manchester music hall.¹⁶⁷ He

164. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 11th September 1937, p.7.

165. *ibid*, 18th September 1937, p.7.

166. *ibid*, 11th September 1937, pp.7 & 16.

167. *ibid*, 18th September 1937, p.7.

took the title role himself, in the true style of the old actor-managers, and recruited the rest of his cast from members of the Beauty and the Beast company. However, he was aiming at a much greater success - an engagement to play a twenty-six week tour on the great Empire Theatre circuit. The Empire Theatres represented the ultimate development of the music hall in the era when they were at their peak as the leading form of mass popular entertainment. In 1906 the cinema was still no more than an exciting novelty, so a successful tour round the Moss-Stoll Empires was the most delectable prospect for an ambitious but little known performer. The very name of these theatres is a symbol of British popular culture in the era of Imperialism triumphant.

Thus when Dusé Mohamed Ali secured a trial contract for a week each at the Manchester Ardwick and Glasgow Empires, it must have seemed a golden opportunity. His company played at Manchester in the week commencing 21st May 1906, and, he tells us, in Glasgow the following week.¹⁶⁸ He had felt obliged to recruit a new company to play these engagements, as he did not feel justified in taking people from the cast of Beauty and the Beast without a definite twenty-six week contract. Nevertheless, the play was reviewed favourably by The Stage's Manchester reviewer, who

168. For the Manchester performance of The Jew's Revenge, see The Stage, 24th May 1906, p.5. However, despite Dusé Mohamed Ali's statement in "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 18th September 1937 p.7, that he had a two week contract at the Manchester Ardwick and Glasgow Empires, which clearly implies that the Glasgow engagement followed on from the Manchester one, no reference to this Glasgow engagement is to be found in either the relevant numbers of The Stage or of The Glasgow Herald. It would seem that here is yet another example of confused chronology in Dusé's autobiography.

found that: "In the tragedietta The Jew's Revenge Duse Mohamed shows great dramatic power ... and is admirably supported by a strong company. The piece is well staged."¹⁶⁹ However, Duse Mohamed Ali's was a life of many false dawns - on the last night of his week in Glasgow he slipped and spiked his hand on an iron railing, and so had to dismiss his company while he stayed behind to convalesce. Despite this, he seems to have remembered his enforced stay in Glasgow with affection - especially Saturday nights arguing and discussing, and of course drinking whisky, with a regular group of Glaswegian cronies.¹⁷⁰ Duse remained in Scotland till some time in 1907, making a hand to mouth existence out of various odd theatrical engagements. The Jew's Revenge was given an engagement in Edinburgh - possibly a one night stand. Some time in 1907 Duse is said to have produced another of his own works, entitled A Cleopatra Night, in Dundee.¹⁷¹ Then he fell in with another actor down on his luck, with whom he formed a variety company to tour the small towns around Glasgow. Unlike J.B. Priestley's 'Good Companions', no unexpected benefactor supported this company. After three unprofitable 'stands', Duse's partner

169. The Stage, 24th May 1906, p.5.

170. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 18th September 1906, pp. 7 & 16.

171. Dr. N. Azikiwe, birthday tribute to Duse Mohamed Ali, in the West African Pilot, 20th November 1943, p.1, is the only source of information about this Dundee appearance - but since there is no record of any such performance in the Theatre Notices of the Dundee Courier throughout 1907, the date of this performance must be regarded as not known. The Edinburgh engagement of The Jew's Revenge is mentioned in "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 18th September 1937, p.16, but no exact date is given and it does not appear in the theatre notices of the Edinburgh local press for either 1906 or 1907.

dropped out. The company made a last - and financially disastrous - try, in Inverness, where bed-bugs were found to be more plentiful than patrons. He only stayed long enough in Scotland after this experience to earn his fare back to London, by giving Saturday afternoon and evening recitations in Glasgow.¹⁷²

Back in London, a hand to mouth existence continued with brief engagements for The Jew's Revenge at a couple of music halls - the South London and the Star, Bermondsey.¹⁷³ In spring 1908, facing the prospect of unemployment during the summer (the London theatre's slack season), Duse Mohamed Ali sought employment at the Franco British Exhibition, Shepherd's Bush, then in the course of preparation.¹⁷⁴ At first, he was only able to find employment as an electrician, a trade he knew nothing about; but just before the exhibition opened, he was engaged as "The Great Egyptian Actor-Author" to play in a side show.¹⁷⁵ Wearing Egyptian

172. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 18th September 1937, p.16.

173. *ibid*, 25th September 1937, p.7; however, it has not been possible to trace these performances in the London Music Hall reports in The Stage.

174. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 25th September 1937, p.7, tells us: "Spring having by this time arrived with the Summer in the offing, I knew that theatrical employment was rather doubtful, so I went to Shepherd's Bush Exhibition, then in course of construction ...". The Exhibition was officially opened on 14th May 1908 - see The Times, 15th May 1908, p.13.

175. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 25th September 1937, p.7.

dress, he lectured on the finding of Moses in a piece entitled Pharaoh's Daughter, which opened on the 11th August 1908 and closed (a week before the Exhibition itself) on 24th October 1908, having been visited by 349,268 people.¹⁷⁶ However, Duse was replaced by another man, six weeks before the show closed.¹⁷⁷ During this engagement he was again, as at Liège and on previous occasions, able to attract the fleeting attention of distinguished visitors, by wearing national dress. Apparently he met "many distinguished people", though the only one named is Princess Victoria, who is said to have enquired where he learnt to speak perfect English.¹⁷⁸ Though Africans with some command of English were not rarities in 1908, Africans speaking with the fluency to appear on the stage must have been few indeed. Thus it was not only his Egyptian dress that attracted attention to Duse Mohamed Ali, but also, contradictorally, his very English speech; so this small incident epitomises his divided personality and role, as developed in British society. The more 'British' he became, the more, to the British, he seemed a bizarre stranger.

Perhaps by this time Duse Mohamed Ali was beginning to tire of a wandering life, for on the conclusion of his engagement at the Shepherd's Bush Exhibition, he set up in business as a literary agent, took an office off Shaftesbury Avenue in the heart of London's theatreland, and "determined to settle down."¹⁷⁹ In this capacity, he gave advice to would-be

176. The Times, 31st October 1908, p.13.

177. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 25th September 1937, p.7.

178. *ibid.*

179. *ibid.*

authors, revised manuscripts and 'ghosted' plays. No doubt independence appealed to him after being for so many years subject to the caprice of others in the theatre - he had, for example lost his job at Shepherd's Bush owing to a combination of jealousy and the willingness of another actor to take his place at a lesser salary.¹⁸⁰ In the course of his work as a literary agent he undertook to re-write the libretto of a musical-comedy called The Lily of Bermuda, the work of a coloured Bermudan called Trimingham.¹⁸¹ It was this man who led Duse' Mohamed Ali into his first business venture - an important (and disastrous) new departure in his life. Trimingham induced him to undertake the burden of finding financiers for a production of the work, of engaging a company, and of booking a theatre. He then demonstrated his over-sanguine temperament in business matters, by accepting purely verbal assurances of £5,000 backing, and on the strength of this he booked the Theatre Royal, Manchester, for the opening trial run.¹⁸² Troubles began almost immediately. The manager of the Theatre had to be asked to guarantee the expenses of costumes and scenery, and one week before opening the composer of the musical score insisted on advance payment of £100, as the condition of

180. *ibid.*

181. *ibid.* For the revised version of this work as later performed, vide Duse' Mohamed and Ernest Trimingham, The Lily of Bermuda, unpub. typescript in Lord Chamberlain's play mss. (St. James Palace), licence no. 184 of 8th November 1909.

182. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 25th September 1937, pp. 7 & 16.

handing the score over.¹⁸³ By this time, Duse Mohamed Ali was in despair:

I was almost frantic and devoutly wished that I had never seen Trimmingham or his play. I secured the needful payment for the orchestra - heaven knows how, I don't - and we duly started the production.¹⁸⁴

In these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the critics were not impressed by the play. The Manchester Guardian, whose approval was important to success, attacked the over-complicated plot and sub-plots; poor characterisation; tiresomely repetitive, unoriginal and unequal music; and poor singing by some soloists.¹⁸⁵ The Stage was less scathing, though admitting that the opening night had not gone well. However, as a paper read by the profession rather than the public, its influence over Manchester theatregoers would have been minute compared with the Guardian. With a cast of sixty-eight to support,¹⁸⁶ it was not possible for the play to long survive a poor reception. Before moving to its next engagement at Middlesborough on 15th November 1909¹⁸⁷ the leading lady deserted the cast.¹⁸⁸ In Middlesborough matters became even worse, The Stage dauntingly commenting: "Mr. Duse Mohamed's company

183. *ibid*, p.16.

184. *ibid*.

185. Manchester Guardian, 7th November 1909, p.7.

186. The Stage, 11th November 1909, p.19.

187. *ibid*, 18th November 1909, p.7.

188. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 25th September 1909, p.16.

are here with The Lily of Bermuda. Since the production in Manchester last week some of the principals have resigned their parts and the representation of the play suffers accordingly."¹⁸⁹ Ill with worry, Duse Mohamed Ali cancelled all further engagements, pawned scenery and costumes to pay his actors fares back to London, and returned to his office.¹⁹⁰

Although The Lily of Bermuda was such a complete failure as a musical-comedy, it has considerable interest for the historian in other ways. The principal characters are all white and are the stock figures of Edwardian musical-comedy - a comic Duchess; a crass American millionaire; and his beautiful daughter who is in love with a titled but poor young English officer; a suffragette; a foppish Lord. Black men only appear as comic servants in this work written by two black men, which is not above 'jocular' humour at the expense of black man.¹⁹¹ To this extent The Lily of Bermuda apparently displays acceptance of (or at least accommodation to) the norms of British society. But a closer scrutiny discovers two very different points. Firstly, 'Ginter, the Ice King', the American millionaire, conforms exactly to the picture of American millionaires in Duse Mohamed Ali's later serious polemical writings on

189. The Stage, 18th November 1909, p.7.

190. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 25th September 1937, p.16.

191. Lily of Bermuda, Act I, sc.1, p.3, the black hotel servant Joe Tucker refers to himself as "... the black letter edition of Sherlock Holmes."

Imperialism and Capitalism,¹⁹² in which he attacked the malign influence of American 'Pork Kings' who had bought their way into British society. Secondly, there is a fascinating final scene to The Lily of Bermuda in which, under the influence of the hallucinatory scent of a mysterious flower, the characters all change roles, a humble comic 'darky' becoming the object of various favours and attentions;¹⁹³ Joe Tucker, a black waiter, not only orders and is served champagne by his master, but is made love to by the Duchess, who embraces him and addresses him as 'Lord Niger'. The significance of this fantasy is clear enough - especially as even after the effects of the flower have faded, it is made clear that the Duchess is still intending to marry Joe,¹⁹⁴ although she is the object of the millionaire's attentions. So in his playscript, if not in real life, Duse' Mohamed Ali was able to give an American Capitalist his come-uppance and exalt a poor black man.

The Lily of Bermuda fiasco came at a time when Duse' Mohamed Ali was already gathering new interests and showing a greatly heightened interest in the Egyptian question, Islam and the world racial situation.¹⁹⁵

192. see Chapters III and IV of this thesis for further details of Duse' Mohamed Ali's attacks on Imperialism and Capitalism. In The Lily of Bermuda, the millionaire Ginter not only hopes that his wealth will win the hand of the Duchess, who is poor, but also wants to force his daughter to marry an elderly Scots Earl; see Act II, pp.10-11.

193. Lily of Bermuda, Act II, finale, passim.

194. *ibid*, pp.35 & 41.

195. see Chapter III of this thesis.

Although he was not quite finished with the theatre, his predominant interests were swinging away from it from this time onwards, making this a convenient point to conclude this survey of the earlier part of his life in Britain and travelling through the world. But what has been written will suffice to show that his years as a hack journalist, actor-cum-manager-cum-playwright, and observant traveller must not be neglected if his later work as a Pan-Africanist is to be rightly understood.

CHAPTER III

A NEW AGE FOR DUSÉ MOHAMED ALI

1909 - 1912

The year 1909 was the calamitous climax of Duse' Mohamed Ali's stage career, with the re-writing of and attempt to stage The Lily of Bermuda. Yet in the same year as this disastrous effort to be an impressario, he became involved in a much less spectacular, but far more significant activity - writing serious controversial articles for the magazine The New Age. It is not known if he had ever, before this time, written articles for the 'serious' press, yet if his work for The Hull Lady, or his sensational exposures of the Salvation Army may be taken as representative of his earlier journalism, then this was a step into a far more weighty, far more intellectual field.

Altogether Duse' Mohamed Ali wrote eleven articles (including a review article) for The New Age between January 1909 and April 1911.¹ This falls far short of the "weekly article" mentioned in his autobiography,² but is nevertheless most important to the student of his life as the earliest (or at least the earliest yet discovered) corpus of his serious writing on political and racial themes. The very titles of these articles display their significance. The earliest was called "White Women and Coloured Men. The Other Side of the Picture". It was followed

1. These articles were; "White Women and Coloured Men, The Other Side of the Picture", 21st January 1909, pp.262-63; "Western Civilization Through Eastern Spectacles", 4th February 1909, p.301, 18th February 1909, pp.341-42 and 4th March 1909, p.381 and 25th March 1909, p.443 and 22nd April 1909, p.519; "The Situation in Egypt", 16th June 1910, pp.148-50; "France and the Egyptian Nationalists", 29th September 1910, pp.509-10; "Egypt's Ruin" (review article), 22nd December 1910, p.174; "Quo Vadis", 23rd February 1911, pp.387-90; "The Good Friday Procession. An Impression", 27th April 1911, pp.606-607.

2. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 25th September 1937, p.16.

by a series of five articles published between February and March 1909, all under the general heading "Western Civilization Through Eastern Spectacles",³ and taking the form of a fictional correspondence between an Egyptian living in England and a kinsman in Egypt. Under this guise, Duse' Mohamed Ali launched widespread attacks on various aspects of contemporary British life and society. At this point there occurs a break in the series, no doubt accounted for by the engrossing demands of The Lily of Bermuda. In 1910 he contributed two articles on Egypt, one entitled "France and the Egyptian Nationalists", and a second entitled "The Situation in Egypt".⁴ These were written while he was working on his major book In The Land Of The Pharaohs and were clearly tossed off as a by-product of that work. Though, as will be seen, he took certain 'short-cuts' in writing his book, no doubt it kept him busy enough and left little time for original journalistic writing. Also in 1910 he contributed a long review of a work attacking British Imperialism in Egypt, entitled Egypt's Ruin, by the Russian Marxist exile Theodore Rothstein.⁵ After the publication of In The Land Of The Pharaohs in the New Year of 1911, Duse' contributed two more articles for The New Age. The first of these, appearing in February 1911, and entitled "Quo Vadis",⁶ was a wide ranging and biting essay on the world racial situation. Finally, in April 1911 he contributed a very different piece to the previous ones;

3. vide n.1 supra.

4. ibid.

5. ibid.

6. ibid.

this was a description of an Anglican religious procession in London simply entitled "The Good Friday Procession", and of interest mainly for the light it throws on its author's own religious position at that time.⁷ In addition to these articles, The New Age also contains a certain amount of correspondence provoked by Duse' Mohamed Ali's writings and two reviews of In The Land Of The Pharaohs.⁸

Before attempting any detailed analysis of this corpus, it is necessary to describe to some extent the remarkable place of The New Age in contemporary British intellectual life, and the equally remarkable man who edited it, A.R. Orage, who may well have been a model copied by Duse' Mohamed Ali when he found himself in an editorial chair. In many ways Orage was a man who it is possible to imagine Duse' Mohamed Ali identifying with and trying to emulate. His background was obscure and provincial. He was an elementary school teacher in Leeds for about twelve years of his life, and largely self-taught in philosophy (especially

7. *ibid.*

8. "The Situation in Egypt. A reply to Duse Mohamed", by Marmaduke Pickthall, in The New Age, 30th June 1910, p.196; letter from Duse Mohamed replying to Pickthall, 14th July 1910, p.263; review by J.M. Kennedy of In The Land Of The Pharaohs, 16th February 1911, pp.366-67; letter from S. Coetzee, criticising aspects of Duse Mohamed's earlier article "Quo Vadis" (vide n.1 supra), 23rd February 1911, p.427; another review, anonymous, of In The Land Of The Pharaohs, in The New Age Literary Supplement, 16th March 1911, pp.2-3.

that of Nietzsche), politics and literature.⁹ One may compare this with Duse' Mohamed Ali's knowledge of Negro history, which must perforce have been self-taught, whatever the actual extent of his formal education, since Negro history was certainly not on the curriculum of any contemporary British educational institution. One recalls that this was the great age of the auto-didact in British life, the age of H.G. Wells (who, incidentally, was one among the many eminent regular contributors to The New Age), an age in which it was surely possible for Duse' Mohamed Ali to have hopes of emulating others whose handicaps appeared to be no greater than his own. As yet, it had not conclusively been impressed on him that racism in British society imposed iron limits on the possibilities open to him in Britain.

If Orage's background may well have constituted an encouragement, the same may be said for the events that placed Orage in the editorial chair of The New Age, which had been founded in 1894 as a Liberal journal,

9. Unfortunately there is no definitive biography of Orage. Probably the best of existing biographical studies of this remarkable man is Philip Mairet, A.K. Orage. A Memoir, London, J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1936; There is also Paul Selver, Orage and the New Age Circle, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1959, and Orage's former mistress, Beatrice Hastings', malicious and unbalanced The Old 'New Age'. Orage and Others, Blue Moon Press, London, 1936. A recent academic study of considerable use in assessing Orage and The New Age is Wallace Martin, The New Age under Orage. Chapters in English Cultural History, Manchester University Press, 1967; but this work deals predominantly with literary and cultural aspects of The New Age. A study in depth of its political impact under Orage has yet to be attempted, though it would certainly be a major contribution to the understanding of the British left in the early twentieth century, and perhaps not least to its relationship with early colonial national movements. Bernard Porter's recent Critics of Empire. British Radical attitudes to colonialism in Africa 1895-1914, MacMillan, St. Martins Press, New York, 1968, makes mention of neither Orage nor The New Age.

and which by 1907 was in so parlous a financial condition that its owners needed to sell it.¹⁰ Orage and his friend the journalist Holbrook Jackson were at that time looking for a platform from which to express their views on Socialism, which diverged widely from those generally held in the London Fabian circles in which they had been moving.¹¹ Lacking any funds of their own, they were enabled to buy The New Age through the generosity of George Bernard Shaw and a merchant banker, Lewis Wallace.¹² Just as Orage depended on disinterested generosity from eminent British progressives and intellectuals in keeping The New Age going, so Duse' Mohamed Ali was later to look to successful African business and professional men to maintain his African Times and Orient Review. The success of The New Age in keeping itself going, although propagating what were certainly, at the time, unpopular and minority opinions, could have encouraged Duse' in his belief - expressed explicitly in his first editorial in the African Times and Orient Review - that the British were a fair and open-minded people, not prejudiced against new ideas, if they were presented with facts and reason.¹³ It would be surely mistaken to condemn him as naive for such beliefs. If the British public, or at least the more intellectual section of it that read serious political and literary journals, was willing to tolerate the fare served up in the pages of The New Age, (which challenged received opinions on

10. Martin, op.cit., pp.23-4.

11. ibid, pp.22-3.

12. ibid, p.24.

13. ATOR, July 1912, pp.iii.

most subjects) why should it not support a journal devoted to the interests of the 'darker races'? It may be more than a coincidence that among the eminent British men to whom Duse' Mohamed Ali appealed for support on launching the African Times and Orient Review was G.B. Shaw, patron of The New Age.¹⁴

As a contributor to The New Age, Duse' Mohamed Ali's work was appearing in conjunction with that of men who were already famous or were later to become so.¹⁵ Yet it may be doubted that he had more than the most limited personal contact with this brilliant circle, other than with Orage himself. At all events, there is no mention of his name in the works of those who have written about Orage and The New Age.¹⁶ However, it is on record that on at least one occasion Orage invited a new contributor to join the weekly Monday afternoon meetings that he held with his entourage in the basement of the ABC tearooms in Chancery Lane.¹⁷ Possibly such an invitation was extended to Duse' Mohamed Ali too; and if taken up, would have introduced him to a group that around that time normally included Holbrook Jackson, Cecil Chesterton, H.G. Wells and Clifford Sharp among others.¹⁸ Whether it was here as well as in Fleet Street

14. Martin, op.cit., p.24.

15. At that time eminent contributors included G.K. Chesterton, Hilaire Belloc, George Bernard Shaw, H.G. Wells, Ezra Pound and many others.

16. vide n.9, supra.

17. Selver, op.cit. p.16.

18. Mairet, op.cit., p.46; Martin, op.cit., p.43, gives an expanded list.

that Duse' Mohamed Ali met Cecil Chesterton must remain a speculation.¹⁹ Yet such speculations are immaterial compared to the fact that Duse's work was accepted by a journal which, because of its intellectual cachet, was able to pick and choose the most talented from a host of would-be contributors and the editor of which acquired great skill at turning away unwanted efforts.²⁰ This was all the more remarkable since normally contributors were not paid, being required to do their work 'for love'.²¹ Duse' Mohamed Ali would certainly not have made his fortune writing for The New Age, which acquired the nickname of The No Wage!²² At most he might have been given a pound or guinea for each article, as was sometimes discreetly the case with needy contributors.²³

Duse' was writing for The New Age at what was the time of its greatest success and brilliance, long before Orage succumbed to the influence of pernicious cranks such as Major Douglas, the founder of Social Credit, and the 'mystic' Gourdjieff. Around 1909, the circulation perhaps reached a peak of about 22,000, and the magazine was certainly read by

19. see "Vis-a-Vis. VIII, Cecil Chesterton", in AOR, August 1920, pp.6-7.

20. Selver, op.cit., p.22, says "... few editors can have matched the skillful gambits of Orage in rejecting manuscripts verbally."

21. ibid, pp.12-13, quotes a letter from Orage to the author saying "You must have gathered that the New Age is written for love. We cannot afford to pay for contributions."

22. ibid, p.16.

23. Martin, op.cit., pp.56-57.

many more.²⁴ All this was achieved without any solid finance by means of enlightened patronage, and with only two more or less permanent helpers in addition to Orage.²⁵ All this seems to have been an open secret at the time, so it is reasonable to assume that it probably encouraged Duse' Mohamed Ali's own brave effort in running a political and literary magazine only a very few years later.²⁶ If the organisation (or lack of it) of The New Age had a presumptive influence on Duse' Mohamed Ali, the same could be charged in the field of its ideas. Here there are perhaps greater difficulties in weighing up the probabilities, as it was the editorial policy of Orage to encourage the most diverse and indeed contradictory elements.²⁷ Nevertheless, though sticking to no orthodoxy, The New Age was avowedly Socialist, and the brand of Socialism preferred by Orage was Guild Socialism - that curious English variant of syndicalism, looking backward with romantic nostalgia to the middle ages on the one hand, and anticipating some aspects of the Fascist corporate state on the other.²⁸ Duse' Mohamed Ali certainly never

24. Mairret, op.cit., p.53. But his figure is contradicted by Martin, op.cit., p.10, who suggests an average circulation for The New Age of only 3,000 between 1907 and 1922. Selver, op.cit., p.21, says the circulation was small and kept secret, but the magazine was widely read.

25. Selver, op.cit., p.21.

26. Duse' Mohamed Ali's methods in running the ATOR and AOR are fully discussed in the next chapter.

27. Mairret, op.cit., p.43.

28. For a discussion of Orage, The New Age and Guild Socialism, vide Martin, op.cit., pp.193-211.

attached himself to the ranks of the Guild Socialists, though he did have some romantic nostalgia for a supposed bygone Britain. On the other hand, he did share with the Guild Socialists a strong dislike of big business, without any fundamental opposition to the institution of private property as such. Perhaps his views on these matters could best, if loosely, be called populist. The most that can be safely argued is that contact with The New Age may have given point and further impetus to certain of his criticisms of British society, particularly with regard to the oppressive role of capitalist industry and finance.²⁹

Be that as it may, it is not difficult to see why The New Age would have been attractive to Duse' Mohamed Ali, although the particular circumstances of his first contribution to it remain unclear. As soon as Orage became associated with the magazine in 1907, it became a hostile critic of British Imperialism - and at times a critic in terms that were particularly likely to appeal to Duse' Mohamed Ali. Thus (to give an example) we can find in the regular feature "Notes of the Week" the

29. Duse' Mohamed Ali's political ideas, as developed in the ATOR and AOR, are discussed in Chapter IV of this thesis.

following attack on racism in the Empire;

If there is to be any preference for one race over another in any part of the Empire all is up with Imperialism. We would not give a years purchase for an Empire run by Natal.

In Australia, unfortunately, Natalism appears to be spreading ... Why on earth should the Australians exclude with British protection Japanese or any other race of men merely on grounds of race difference? Human values we can understand; and we would gladly exclude from England - yes and ship many already in England - men who have proved themselves willing to degrade a community by sweating their fellows for the sake of profits. ... England had better tell herself first and the Empire afterwards that race and colour are of no more Imperial concern than sex or creed; and that in the long run (if there is to be a long run) these race prejudices must die out or be killed out as prejudices of sex and creed are beginning to be.³⁰

Similar sentiments were to be fervently expressed by Dusé himself in much of his own writing on the theme of race and Empire;³¹ and if these sentiments would surely be agreeable to him, the review of the Earl of Cromer's Modern Egypt, which appeared in The New Age in the same year (1908) under the pseudonym "Chester of Stanhope", would have been music in his ears;

Lord Cromer was converted to insane Imperialism, and his hatred of democracy grew as the years rolled on. Still, as he represented a democracy, he had to pretend that he liked democracy and National Parties. Lord Cromer pretended so well that he may well really believe that he is a democrat. But the National Party knew that he was their bitterest enemy, and that the executions at Denshawai were his parting revenge. Neither Mustaphe Kemal Pasha, who was followed to his grave by a concourse of 50,000 mourners, nor the Denshawai incident is mentioned by Lord Cromer. The Lambert-Dunlop scandal, the quail shooting case at Ghizeh, the murder of Ismail Sadyk Pasha, the Moutaza and fox shooting incidents are passed over lightly or without reference. The Moukalabe law is dealt with very inadequately. ... Lord Cromer states that he does not know Arabic, though he was snob enough to correct the defects of his education

30. The New Age, 11th January 1908, p.203.

31. This emerges from, for example, his book In The Land Of The Pharaohs, and other pieces written at roughly the same time, which are discussed subsequently in this chapter.

by learning Greek verse... After twenty-five years government, Lord Cromer had not condescended to learn the language of the people he was governing. No wonder he hated Egyptian democracy; it dared speak in a tongue which he could not learn. Sir Thomas Munro knew his business when he said a century ago: 'Nothing is more essential than a thorough intimate knowledge of the common people, and that is only to be acquired by an early and free intercourse with them. We can never be qualified to govern men against whom we are prejudiced.' Lord Cromer never heeded this counsel, and he left Egypt unregretted and unmourned by the fellaheen ...³²

So it would be reasonable to surmise that Dusé Mohamed Ali was encouraged to offer his own efforts to The New Age by its publication - indeed propagation - of the sort of items quoted above. Added to such general encouragement was Orage's personality, which was calculated to charm and captivate the would-be contributor.³³ No greater contrast could be found than between Orage and the impressive but starchy and narrow Edward Russell, editor of the Liverpool Post, who Dusé had met in the nineties. Yet although Orage, as will be seen, gave Dusé help and encouragement far beyond the mere publication of a dozen or so pieces in The New Age, yet no enthusiastic pen-portrait appears of him in Leaves From An Active Life, although that work is rich in personal observations of people. Edward Russell, who did nothing for Dusé except perhaps flatter his vanity a little, was written of at some length.³⁴ Here is a puzzle, to which the answer may perhaps be found in the manner in which Dusé Mohamed Ali and A.R. Orage parted. As will be seen presently, it is unlikely that they parted on good terms.

32. The New Age, 4th April 1908, pp.453-454.

33. Selver, op.cit., p.15.

34. "Vis-a-Vis. V. Lord Russell of Liverpool", in AOR, May 1920, pp.6-7.

Be that as it may, it must have been with great pleasure that Duse' Mohamed Ali saw his first contribution to The New Age in print on the twenty-first of January 1909 - the lengthy³⁵ article on the topic "White Women and Coloured Men. The Other Side of the Picture".³⁶ Specifically, this article was a sarcastic attack on C. Hamilton McGuinness, the author of a recent article in the magazine London Opinion,³⁷ who had fulminated against marriage and even social contact between English women and Oriental men. In particular, it was the Asian graduate or undergraduate of British Universities who aroused C. Hamilton McGuinness's wrath, for "... underneath all this veneer lies a crafty and half-civilised nature, to which too many of our simple women fall easy victims..."³⁸ Not only did C. Hamilton McGuinness assert that it would be better for a white woman to be dead than to dwell with an Asiatic husband in his own country, but also he demanded that the police should have powers to intervene if a white woman appeared in public with a coloured man in Britain.³⁹ The general context of his outburst was undoubtedly the considerable flow of African and Asian subjects entering Britain for educational (or in some cases business) purposes at that time. That is not to say that the numbers involved were large by comparison with (say) the nineteen-sixties. Nevertheless, the cachet of an education at Oxford or Cambridge, at the

35. The article was about seventeen hundred words.

36. The New Age, 21st January 1909, pp.262-63.

37. Quoted in *ibid.*

38. *ibid.*, p.263.

39. *ibid.*

Inns of Court, or to a lesser extent at other British Universities and professional institutions, was attracting noticeable numbers of young Indians and Africans to Britain from the late nineteenth century onwards. Indeed, the concentration of such people in London was to be an important part of the background to Duse' Mohamed Ali's own activities there from 1912 to 1921.⁴⁰ It is clear that in an age when undergraduates were all deemed to be 'young gentlemen', the presence of a growing number of coloured students was a great irritant to British racists - giving rise to fears that they would intrude on polite society with the consequent 'danger' of miscegenation with respectable white women.

It is interesting to see in what terms Duse' Mohamed Ali attacked this aspect of Edwardian racism. In general his article adopted a tone of scornful ridicule, but nevertheless a number of solid points were made in it too. He defended the behaviour of Asians as husbands and put the boot on the other foot by claiming that the real moral evil in the East was the "... condition of affairs ... in the brothels of the Eastern seaport towns conducted by 'white folk' for gain, rather than in the households of 'coloured persons' with white wives."⁴¹ The British communities in

40. There were of course earlier examples, such as the West African James Africanus Beale Horton (vide Horton's West African Countries and Peoples, 2nd ed., with introduction by George Shepperson, Edinburgh University Press, 1969, p.ix), but it is evident that by the turn of the century there was a considerable and increasing flow, rather than the occasional individual. Witness is born to this by attempts to set up suitable accommodation in London for African and Indian students in the years prior to the Great War. This topic is further discussed in Chapter V of this thesis.

41. The New Age, 21st January 1909, p.263.

India were lambasted for their ostracism of the white wives of Indians.⁴²

But perhaps the most significant point of all was Duse's resentful rejection of the jibe that Orientals were half-civilised heathens;

Now as to the words 'heathen' and 'half-civilised', with which this gentleman has liberally bestrewed his article, what can he possibly mean by these terms? Evidently his knowledge of history is somewhat faulty. All that is known in the West, whether in religion, politics, or art, had its birth in the East. The first civilised nations of the West obtained their knowledge and civilising influences from Egypt. The monuments and temples of the East attest by their antiquity a civilisation that obtained among 'coloured persons' when the 'white folk' of the West were untaught and unclothed savages.⁴³

It is quite clear from this passage that already as early as January 1909 Duse Mohamed Ali was seeing world history in terms that not only rejected but even (at least for polemical purposes) reversed white claims of superiority.⁴⁴ Here it may be noted that his citing of his own homeland as the mentor of Europe was an early example of a point that he was to drive home again and again in editorials and articles in future years. Whatever place Egypt may or may not have had in his life, it cannot be denied that it gave him strong feelings of race pride.

It is evident that this article found favour with A.R. Orage, for it was followed a fortnight later by the first of a connected series of five articles in which Duse Mohamed Ali made devastating criticisms of the whole fabric of contemporary British political, religious and social life.

42. *ibid.*

43. *ibid.*

44. Duse Mohamed Ali's views on race as expressed in the ATOR and AOR are discussed and analysed in Chapter IV of this thesis.

In presenting these articles in the guise of a correspondence between an Egyptian resident in Britain he was, of course, using a literary device dating back to Montesquieu's Lettres Persanes and Goldsmith's 'Philosophical Chinaman' in the eighteenth century; though in this instance with the added complication that his letters were the work of an actual but Anglicised Egyptian, masquerading as an Egyptian who was very much not Anglicised. To give this impression, Duse' Mohamed Ali adopted a style which, although it may have been effective enough with the bulk of readers in 1909, is unfortunately tedious or even ludicrous to modern taste. This style was an 'Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves' pantomime version of Arabic, bearing the sort of relation to the language Duse' had forgotten that Chinoiserie has to genuine Chinese art. A brief sample will serve to illustrate;

So shall I feel that my work is done and that the great Prophet, whom Allah protect, may gaze upon me from afar with eyes sweetened with the honey of approval, and lips wreathed in garlanded smiles, whose essence shall exceed the Attar and the Spices in their surpassing odour.⁴⁵

Yet it would be mistaken to dismiss these articles as a ludicrous intrusion of the music hall and the popular stage into the sphere of serious politics. To begin with, they are valuable evidence of the extent to which this Anglicised man was already beginning to question fundamental aspects of British society, to rip aside bogus British pretensions to moral superiority over those they despised as "half-civilised" and "heather". British democracy was dismissed as a sham, manipulated by the rich in their own selfish interests, setting aside good old laws

45. The New Age, 4th February 1909, p.301.

for bad new ones - an echo here of Duse's belief in a past 'golden age' of British justice and fair play.⁴⁶ Contemporary British Christianity, above all in its missionary-humanitarian guise, was attacked in two of the articles⁴⁷ for indifference to social evil at home, while presuming to attempt the moral and religious regeneration of other lands. Indeed, the missionary was seen as the first member of an unholy trinity, preparing the way for rum selling traders and murderous soldiery; and the missionaries' converts, far from being morally uplifted, became dishonest, drunken hypocrites, pimping for their own daughters. This is a distinctly Blydenite picture of the moral consequences of Christian missionary activity, which suggests parallels with Blyden's Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race. There is evidence that at about this time Duse had read Blyden.⁴⁸ It is, of course, equally possible that Duse Mohamed Ali came to these conclusions more or less independently. He certainly had a closer knowledge than Blyden could have had of social misery in Britain, while Blyden's sympathy for Islam provides a common ground from which the two men viewed Christian missions.

The second and third of the articles "Western Civilisation Through Eastern Spectacles" consider the question of the role of women in British society, adding for good measure an attack on the Earl of Cromer, who was in time to become one of the stock villains in Duse's journalistic

46. *ibid.*

47. *ibid.*, 4th February 1909, p.301, and 25th March 1909, p.443.

48. *vide* Duse Mohamed, "The Coloured Man in Art and Letters", in T.P.'s Magazine, June 1911, pp.404-5.

repertoire, in his capacity as an enemy of the suffragette movement.⁴⁹

In the present time there is talk in 'Women's Liberation' circles of women as the Negroes of sex discrimination;⁵⁰ Duse' Mohamed Ali anticipated this sentiment - "... our sometime great Pro-Consul who could not stay the rising tide of patriotism in our land, hath set himself the task of suppressing the political aspirations of the women of his race."⁵¹ As Cromer had failed in Egypt, so (Duse' correctly predicted) he would not succeed in suppressing the women of Britain. Further, he painted a picture of luxury, vice and irreligion among wealthy women, contrasted with sweated labour among those of the poorer classes. He found the fashionable dress and ornaments of Western women more indecent than the derided nudity of their 'heathen' sisters and pointed out the emptiness of boasts about the moral superiority of monogamy where the rich commonly kept mistresses.⁵² There is perhaps nothing novel about any of these sentiments, but they have an added poignancy coming from the pen of Duse' Mohamed Ali. After all, his theatre career as well as everyday experience must have taught him that the British liked to believe on the one hand that they placed their women on pedestals, and on the other that in the treatment of women the coloured peoples behaved with surpassing vileness.⁵³

49. The New Age, 18th February 1909, p.342 and 4th March 1909, p.381.

50. See report on the Women's Liberation Movement in The Observer, 29th March 1970, p.5, cols. 2 & 3.

51. The New Age, 18th February 1909, p.342.

52. *ibid*, 18th February 1909, pp.341-2, and 3rd March 1909, p.381.

53. See Chapter II of this thesis for further discussion of this topic; also, Duse' Mohamed Ali's article "White Women and Coloured Men, The Other Side of the Picture" in The New Age, 21st January 1909, pp.262-63.

In the final article of this series, Duse' attacked another sacred cow of British self-regard - British justice.⁵⁴ His line of attack was to expose the bias towards the rich underlying the nominal principle of equality before the law. Thus the rich man could evade punishment for misdeeds by hiring clever lawyers, but a poor man who stole to feed his family would certainly be convicted and punished. Poor debtors were liable in practice to punishment as imposters, but rich men could avail themselves of the protection of the bankruptcy laws. Rich women who stole would be excused as kleptomaniacs, but poor women stealing out of necessity would be imprisoned with the "vilest criminals" - this presumably being a euphemism for prostitutes. In general this series of articles shows us a man who was already well aware of the kind of criticism of Britain which was most calculated to undermine the self-justifying and racially arrogant views of her imperial 'mission' held by many British people at that time. If divested of her claims to be the home of democracy and justice, and the bringer of superior morality and true

54. *ibid*, 22nd April 1909, p.519. It is perhaps particularly significant to see what a man who had known, and was to know again, hard times, had to say about the British legal system and debt; "The rich man and patrician of this land may take the goods of the trader on credit, so that he may vie in opulence with these of his class; but when the day of reckoning comes, the trader is put off with false promises, and should he lay his case at the feet of the Judges, behold, the man of the patrician class straightway enters the bankruptcy court, and the trader loses all. But should the man of lowly birth obtain that for which he cannot pay, he is liable to be consigned to the debtor's prison. For unlimited credit is the right of the impoverished patrician; but the lowly creditor is but 'an imposter'." Ironically, Duse' Mohamed Ali was to find himself in a bankruptcy court within a very few years of writing this. see P.R.O., J.13/6470, No. 00403 of 1914, for the official record of the Court Order by Mr. Justice Astbury, on 20th January 1914, that Duse' Mohamed Ali's African Times and Orient Review, Ltd., be wound up, on the petition of Page and Thomas Ltd., (the review's printers). Also, vide The Times, 21st January 1914, p.3. The whole question of the African Times and Orient Review's finances is discussed fully in the following chapter.

religion to 'lesser breeds', then wherein lay Britain's superiority, save in power? The question that Duse' does not seem to have asked at this point, the question which he was to begin to ask two years or so later, was what potential power did the oppressed coloured peoples have, to set against the power of their white oppressors?⁵⁵

From April 1909 for over a year there was a hiatus in Duse' Mohamed Ali's association with The New Age, largely explained, as we have seen, by his preoccupation with the ill-fated Lily of Bermuda. How Duse' employed himself in the interval between the collapse of The Lily of Bermuda and his renewed writing for The New Age in June 1910 is not clear. Certainly he did not, despite a statement to the contrary in his autobiography, immediately resume writing a "weekly" (sic) article for The New Age.⁵⁶ What is certain is that an event in May 1910 - a speech by ex-President Theodore Roosevelt at the Mansion House in London enraged and galvanised him into a new bout of engag  political writing. Since Duse's reaction to this speech had an important effect on his life, leading him within a few months to a degree of fame, it is worth quoting at some length from the report of it in The Times, the section underlined

55. See the discussion of In The Land Of The Pharaohs and the article "Quo Vadis", later in this chapter.

56. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 25th September 1937, p.16. Here is a good example of the difficulty and limitations inherent in reconstructing the earlier parts of Duse' Mohamed Ali's life, for which there are really only the most scanty resources. It might be that between the flop of The Lily of Bermuda and the resumption of his writing for The New Age, Duse' Mohamed Ali was merely recovering his wind. On the other hand, he might equally have been engaged in activities of the greatest interest to the historian.

being also quoted with approval in The Times leader;

In Egypt you (i.e. the British) are not only the guardians of your own interests; you are also the guardian of the interests of civilization; and the present condition of affairs is a grave menace to both ... You have given Egypt the best government it has had for at least 2,000 years - probably a better government than it has ever had before; for never in history has the poor man in Egypt ... been treated with as much justice and mercy, under a rule free from corruption and brutality as during the last 28 years. (Cheers) Yet recent events, and especially what has happened in connexion with and following on the assassination of Boutros Pasha three months ago have showed that in certain vital points, you have erred; and it is for you to make good your error. It has been an error proceeding from the effort to do too much and not too little in the interests of the Egyptians themselves; but unfortunately it is necessary for all of us who have to do with uncivilized peoples, and especially with fanatical peoples, to remember that in such a situation as yours in Egypt weakness, timidity, and sentimentality may cause even more far-reaching harm than violence and injustice. (Cheers) Of all broken reeds, sentimentality is the most broken reed on which righteousness can lean. (Cheers)

In Egypt you have been treating all religions with studied fairness and impartiality; and instead of gratefully acknowledging all this, a noisy section of the native population takes advantage of what your good treatment has done to bring about an anti-foreign movement, a movement in which, as events have shown, murder on a large or a small scale is expected to play a leading part. Boutros Pasha was the best and most competent Egyptian official, a steadfast upholder of English rule, and an earnest worker for the welfare of his countrymen; and he was murdered simply and solely because of these facts, and because he did his duty wisely, fearlessly, and uprightly. (Cheers). The attitude of the so-called Egyptian National Party in connexion with this murder has shown that they were neither desirous nor capable of guaranteeing even that primary justice the failure to supply which makes self-government a noxious farce. (Cheers) Such are the conditions; and where the effort made by your officials to help the Egyptians towards self-government is taken advantage of by them, not to help their country, but to try to bring murderous chaos upon the land, then it becomes the primary duty of whoever is responsible for the government in Egypt to establish order, and to take whatever measures are necessary to that end. (Cheers)⁵⁷

These remarks, so evidently to the taste of Roosevelt's Guildhall audience, were the climax to a peroration on the virtues of the British

57. The Times, 1st June 1910, p.9. The leader referred to will be found in *ibid*, p.11.

Empire and the need for international co-operation among the imperial powers. In Africa, Roosevelt upheld the doctrine that the British soldier, official or settler on the spot was "... entitled to the heartiest respect and fullest support from their brothers who remain at home."⁵⁸ Specifically, Roosevelt considered this doctrine peculiarly applicable to British East Africa (that is, the modern Kenya) which he saw as "... a land which can be made a true white man's country." These remarks drew forth from the audience "loud cheers".⁵⁹ Uganda was applauded for "... trying to develop the natives along their own lines, instead of seeking to turn them into make-belief Englishmen" - an acceptable policy since the country could not be made a white man's country.⁶⁰ In other words, Roosevelt much approved of the already crystallising policy of 'indirect rule': a policy which Duse Mohamed Ali was to make some bitter attacks on in The African Times and Orient Review.⁶¹ The overthrow of the Khalifa in the Sudan was lauded as "... the best possible example of the wisdom ... of disregarding the well-meaning but unwise sentimentalists who object to the spread of civilization at the expense of savagery. (Laughter and Hear Hear)" But perhaps the most interesting part of the ex-President's

58. *ibid*, p.9.

59. *ibid*.

60. *ibid*.

61. For e.g., vide the editorial "Yesterday, To-day and Tomorrow", in ATOR 14th April 1914, which makes a blistering attack on that plank of Lugardian Indirect Rule, the Nigerian Provincial Courts Ordinance of January 1914.

speech was his plea for mutual co-operation between the Imperial powers;

The civilized nations who are conquering for civilization savage lands should work together in a spirit of mutual good will. (Cheers) ... Illwill between civilized nations is bad enough anywhere, but it is particularly harmful and contemptible when those (nations) ... are engaged in ... a task of such far reaching importance to the future of humanity, ... subduing wild man and wild nature, and ... bringing abreast of our civilization those lands where there is an older civilization which has somehow gone crooked. Mankind as a whole has benefitted by the French occupation of Algiers and Tunis, ... as ... by what England has done in India; and each nation should be glad to hear of the other nations' achievements. (Hear, Hear) In the same way it is of interest to all civilized men that a similar success shall attend alike the Englishman and the German as they work in East Africa; exactly as it has been of benefit to everyone that Americans took possession of the Philippines. (Hear, Hear)⁶²

Theodore Roosevelt felt qualified to pass these remarks not only by virtue of his own active espousal of imperialism as President of the United States, but also by his recent tour through British East Africa, Uganda, Sudan and Egypt. His vituperative attack on the Egyptian National Party and invitation to Britain to follow a policy of repression in Egypt were occasioned by something more than a pure love of 'law and order'. In Egypt he had given a tactless anti-Nationalist speech at Cairo

62. The Times, 1st June 1910, p.9.

University.⁶³ This had provoked an angry reaction from Nationalists, who took some pains to make Roosevelt feel unwelcome.⁶⁴ Thus to some extent the Guildhall speech was an angry retaliation for the indignities he had suffered at their hands.

The Guildhall speech produced an impulsive reaction from Duse' Mohamed Ali as Gladstone's remarks on Egypt had done years before.⁶⁵ This is

63. vide The Times, 29th March 1910, p.3, for a report of Roosevelt's speech delivered at the University of Cairo, 28th March 1910. Among other things, Roosevelt was reported as saying; "Substantial education, whether of an individual or of a people, was only obtained by a process, not by an act. No man was educated by a curriculum. Were, then, the people ready for self-government by the gift of a paper constitution? Self-government was not a matter of a decade or two but of generations. Nobody could give self-government any more than they could give an individual self-help. Everyone must help himself and remember the Arab proverb, 'God is with the patient if they know how to wait'.

It was essential to the educational process that it should combine itself with a spirit condemning every form of lawless evil, envy, hatred, especially hatred based on religion and race. All good men of every nation whose respect was worth having had been inexpressibly shocked by the recent murder of the Premier, Boutros Pasha, which was even more of a calamity to Egypt than it was a wrong to an individual. The type of man who turned out the assassin was a type alien to good citizenship, producing bad soldiers in time of war and worse citizens in time of peace. Such a man stood on a pinnacle of evil and infamy, and those who apologised for or condoned his act, either by word or deed, directly or indirectly, whether before the deed or after it, occupied the same bad eminence."

64. Wilfred Scawen Blunt's outspoken comments on Roosevelt's Cairo University speech and Egyptian reaction to it were; "The Egyptian papers have been full of Roosevelt's adventures at Cairo, and the speech he made to University students in praise of British rule. He is a buffoon of the lowest American type, and roused the fury of young Egypt to boiling point, and it is probable that if he had not cleared out of the country there would have been mischief." He added that Roosevelt was "a kind of mad dog roving the world." My Diaries, 25th April 1910, p.712.

65. cf. "Leaves From An Active Life" in The Comet, 19th June 1937, p.7, with ibid, 2nd October 1937, p.7.

surely strong evidence of the strength and genuineness of his feelings about Egypt. "Boiling over", he hurried to Chancery Lane and beseeched A.R. Orage to allow him to publish a refutation in The New Age.⁶⁶ Here Orage showed the sympathy and helpfulness which has been remarked by almost all those who have written about him. Although willing to publish articles such as Duse' suggested - which indeed he did do a fortnight or so after Roosevelt's speech - he urged "... that it would be more effective to write a History on political conditions in Egypt."⁶⁷ This was the encouragement that induced Duse' Mohamed Ali to write his book In The Land Of The Pharaohs. At first, Duse' was doubtful if he would be able to find a publisher in Britain, for he was determined that his proposed book should be of a definitely Nationalist complexion. Orage, however, promised to find a publisher. With his connections in the literary world and his stature as editor of The New Age, his backing was clearly of very great value. He was instrumental in obtaining an interview for Duse' with the publisher Stanley Paul.⁶⁸ Another London publisher, Grant Richards, who Duse' had apparently contacted independently of Orage, showed interest in the book. But since Stanley Paul was willing to offer a contract on the strength of a synopsis and three chapters, whereas Grant Richards wished to see a complete manuscript first, a contract was signed with the former.⁶⁹ The advance royalties on the book

66. *ibid*, 2nd October 1937, p.7.

67. *ibid*.

68. *ibid*.

69. *ibid*.

were thirty pounds⁷⁰ - a modest sum, even allowing for the far greater value of the pound in 1910 - but no doubt a substantial windfall in relation to Duse' Mohamed Ali's usual income, and a help in maintaining himself while he was working on the book. The contract stipulated a manuscript of 100,000 words to be completed in three months.⁷¹ The book was eventually released at the beginning of 1911,⁷² and if Duse's memory is to be trusted, the proof of the last chapter was delivered to Stanley Paul in the twelfth week after he had signed the contract; publication came only two weeks later.⁷³ Thus there was a gap of about three months between the original conception of the book and the time when the contract was presumably signed. We may suppose that during this time Duse' Mohamed Ali was busy with his synopsis and initial three chapters. Certainly he approached a number of other possible publishers as well as those mentioned.⁷⁴ No doubt he was anxious to have the most favourable terms obtainable.

70. *ibid*, 23rd October 1937, p.7.

71. *ibid*, 2nd October 1937, p.7.

72. This is inferential from the date of reviews, e.g. that in The New Age, published on 16th February 1911, pp.366-7. In view of Duse' Mohamed Ali's connections with that journal, and in particular Orage's part in arranging a publisher for the book, it would seem unlikely that much time would have elapsed between publication of the book and this review.

73. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 2nd October 1937, p.7.

74. *ibid*.

For the help given to him by both Orage and Stanley Paul in the production of In The Land Of The Pharaohs Duse' Mohamed Ali remained grateful for the rest of his life;

Stanley Paul really put his back into the publication of the book. Every important British publication carried my portrait with a striking advertisement of the history, and I am impelled to ... express my eternal gratitude to both himself and A.E. (sic) Orage for their valued assistance and exceptional consideration.⁷⁵

Since the book was the first major step in establishing Duse's wider reputation as a radical black writer and political thinker, this gratitude is understandable. But before evaluating the content and impact of In The Land Of The Pharaohs, it is necessary to consider the way in which it was written.

As early as 16th June 1910, he contributed a long article of about three thousand words entitled "The Situation in Egypt" to The New Age.⁷⁶ This was an able piece of historical journalism, which summarised the political history of Egypt from 1882 to the time of writing. Since it rehearsed most of the most effective points of the subsequent In The Land Of The Pharaohs it can be regarded as a synopsis of that book. It can also be regarded as part of a typical New Age journalistic device - that of having mutually contradictory articles in the same issue.⁷⁷ In this case "The Situation In Egypt" can be seen as a counterbalance to pro-

75. *ibid.*

76. The New Age, 16th June 1910, pp.148-50.

77. Mairé, *op.cit.*, p.43.

Roosevelt and anti-Egyptian Nationalist comment by the foreign affairs correspondent S. Verdad⁷⁸ who affirmed;

Mr. Roosevelt, in his Guildhall Speech, merely summed up the situation as it has been known to myself and various other 'insiders' for some time past. The idea of self-government for the Egyptian madcaps is out of the question for the moment.⁷⁹

Dusé, on the other hand, began with a rebuke (clearly aimed at Roosevelt) of "rash meddlers" who were "bringing the aims of the Nationalists into disfavour in England, and branding these well-intentioned patriots with murderous proclivities and anarchical tendencies."⁸⁰ In general though, his tone here, as in his book, appeared to be one of studied moderation. Credit was given to the British for various practical achievements.⁸¹ But despite these admissions the article was ambiguous. His heroes were Mustapha Pasha Kamil and Ahmad Arabi with their belief in "Egypt for the Egyptians". His villains were the Earl of Cromer and Sir Eldon Gorst; "... Lord Cromer was arrogant and unsympathetic, Sir Eldon Gorst is sadly lacking in all those qualities which are required in a statesman who has the task of straightening the tortuous ways which lead up to a crisis..."⁸²

What must have been even more offensive to many British readers, Dusé Mohamed Ali took a very equivocal line in relation to Boutros Pasha

78. S. Verdad was a pseudonym for J.M. Kennedy - see Selver, op.cit., pp.19-20.

79. The New Age, 16th June 1910, p.147.

80. *ibid*, p.148.

81. *ibid*.

82. *ibid*, p.149.

and his assassination. Though conceding that Boutros was able, Duse' portrayed him as a man who used his ability to support, unquestioningly, British authority, in the interests of his own Coptic minority. The responsibility for his assassination was blamed on an extremist and untypical faction of the National Party, held in check by Mustapha Pasha Kamil till his death:⁸³ but on the other hand Duse' made some significant analogies in the use of force to attain freedom;

It must not, however, be overlooked that the progressive members of the party, in their efforts for political freedom from the British yoke, have only followed British example in order to achieve that desired consummation. It was only by force that Oliver Cromwell wrested the liberties of the English from the autocratic grasp of Charles I. American independence and political freedom were only obtained at the point of a sword. The wrongs of Ireland had never received even limited recognition at the hands of England until her sons resorted to violence and the country was deluged in blood. The Boers would not have been accorded equal rights in South Africa had they not administered a most severe castigation to Britain before their ultimate defeat...⁸⁴

The moral of this is clear enough. Equally repugnant to some British readers, we may suppose, was his defence of the Western educated Egyptians, condemnation of British officials for their contemptuous attitude to such people, and his conclusion that the educated Egyptians could not "... be expected to suffer foreign rule so tamely."⁸⁵

The final paragraph of "The Situation In Egypt" foreshadowed the almost apocalyptic tone of the last pages of In The Lands Of The Pharaohs.

83. *ibid*, p.148.

84. *ibid*, p.149.

85. *ibid*.

A picture was painted of the East arising from "lethargy", with Egyptians noting Japan's "... total defeat of a power which had previously been feared by the most powerful European nations."⁸⁶ Likewise the reform movements among their fellow Muslims in Turkey and Persia had been noted by the Egyptians, who were themselves fired by these examples not only to struggle for freedom but also "... to behold Egypt once again lifting up her ancient head among the foremost nations of the earth."⁸⁷

Even in the 'advanced' pages of The New Age this sort of thinking could not go unchallenged. The article called a rebuke down on Duse' Mohamed Ali's head, not from some dyed-in-the-wool Imperialist, but from Marmaduke Pickthall,⁸⁸ Arabist, translator of the Quran, convert to Islam and a few years later to be a comrade of Duse's in a number of pro-Islamic movements.⁸⁹ Pickthall was proud of his own unconventionality in having

86. *ibid*, pp.149-50.

87. *ibid*.

88. Marmaduke Pickthall, "The Situation in Egypt. A Reply to Duse' Mohamed Ali", in The New Age, 30th June 1910, p.196.

89. The only biography of Marmaduke Pickthall is Anne M.H. Fremantle, Loyal Enemy, Hutchinson & Co., London, 1938. Since this book is mainly based on personal reminiscences of Pickthall's latter years, it is hardly surprising, though to be regretted, that it contains no information about Duse' Mohamed Ali; it is, however, a useful background book to the world of early twentieth century British Islamophiles - a world in which Duse' Mohamed Ali was to move between 1911 and 1921.

For Pickthall's translation of the Quran, see M. Pickthall, The Meaning of the Glorious Koran. An explanatory translation, A.A. Knopf, London, 1930.

For an account of the pro-Islamic movements in which Duse' Mohamed Ali and Marmaduke Pickthall were mutually involved, see Chapter V of this thesis.

broken the mores of British residents in the Middle East, and having mingled with the Arab people, learning their language and liking their society. Yet like many British Arabophiles, he was prejudiced against the Arab with a western education.⁹⁰ Mistaking Duse' (who he evidently did not at this time know personally) for a hot-headed young Egyptian student or suchlike, Pickthall condescendingly observed;

The mischief is that Duse' Mohamed and his friends regard European education as a charm, and get angry with the English when it does not work. They have yet to learn that it is worthless in itself, if unapplied.⁹¹

Coming nearer to a debating hit than he can have realised, he informed Duse' that there was an Arabic history of the Arabi Pasha period that "... would have provided ... firmer ground for his imaginative war dance."⁹² Many points in "The Situation in Egypt" were flatly contradicted, Pickthall having a low opinion of Arabi Pasha (who for some obscure reason he accused Duse', quite wrongly, of confusing with Muhammad Ali) and of Mustapha Pasha Kamil.⁹³ One may well feel that with such British friends, the Arabs had no need of British enemies.

Not abashed by this attack, Duse' Mohamed Ali duly produced a counter-blast which was published a fortnight later in The New Age. Apart from

90. Marmaduke Pickthall, Oriental Encounters, Palestine and Syria 1894-5-6, William Heinemann Ltd. Travellers Library edition, London, 1929, cap. IV, "The Courteous Judge", passim, makes this point very clear. It tells, with relish and approval, of an assault, committed on some western educated and dressed youths, by Pickthall's cook.

91. The New Age, 30th June 1910, p.196.

92. *ibid.*

93. *ibid.*

ironically exaggerated apologies for a minor and immaterial error, he stood his ground. More interesting to-day than the detailed argument over particular points was the production, at the end of Duse's apology, of the trump card of his presence in Egypt in 1882, his observation of the bombardment of Alexandria, and his father's connection with Arabi and death at Tel-el-Kebir.⁹⁴ Perhaps this was a victory won by dramatic surprise and skill rather than reason, but no further exchanges on the subject were published in The New Age. Either Pickthall acknowledged defeat by silence, or Orage as editor decided that the controversy had exhausted its interest for his readers. But Duse's victory, let it be noted, was gained by sharp practice. These claims to personal information about Egyptian politics were to a large extent bogus.⁹⁵

In the later months of 1910 Duse Mohamed Ali published two more articles on Egyptian political history. These were produced, therefore, at the same time as he was writing In The Land Of The Pharaohs. The first, appearing in The New Age at the end of September, was on the theme "France and the Egyptian Nationalists".⁹⁶ This article is interesting

94. *ibid*, 14th July 1910, p.263. Duse Mohamed Ali concluded with the apparently crushing retort; "I respectfully beg to inform Marmaduke Pickthall that, instead of showing an indifference for historical facts, I am only too sure of my position, inasmuch as I was in the city of Alexandria during its bombardment by the British in 1882...

My father was an officer in the Egyptian army, falling at Tel-el-Kebir. Arabi Pasha was a frequent visitor at my father's house during those stirring times, thereby giving me an ample opportunity to obtain first-hand knowledge which Marmaduke Pickthall has acquired second-hand from his 'Arabic history of the period.' "

95. The whole question of the authenticity of Duse Mohamed Ali's 'first-hand' information about Egyptian affairs is discussed later in this chapter.

96. The New Age, 29th September 1910, pp.509-10.

in a number of ways in its own right, though it is substantially a condensation of chapter four of In The Land Of The Pharaohs. It castigates the French for their occupation of Tunis and the British for their connivance at that occupation.⁹⁷ But additionally it conjures with Pan-Islamism, on two occasions referring to the reactions of "325,000,000 Moslems" to French policy in Morocco and Egypt.⁹⁸ This kind of political arithmetic became a characteristic of virtually all Duse's later writings about Islam and politics.⁹⁹ It is best understood not so much in terms of its accuracy or otherwise as a political reality, but as a reassuring concept for a man living in a 'white-man's' country and needing to feel that he was not an isolated, powerless individual.

Duse's third Egyptian article of 1910 was published in T.P. O'Connor's T.P.'s Magazine in November 1910 - an essay of about three thousand seven hundred words, entitled "Egypt's Case Stated", and giving a detailed account of the growth of the Egyptian National Party from Arabi Pasha's

97. *ibid*, p.509.

98. *ibid*.

99. For a full examination of Duse Mohamed Ali, Islam and politics, see Chapter IV of this thesis, for pro-Islamic writing in the ATOR and AOR; and Chapter V for pro-Islamic movements in London, 1912-31, in which Duse Mohamed Ali was active.

time onwards.¹⁰⁰ By way of introducing Duse' Mohamed Ali to its readers, the magazine prefaced his article with the following words;

What is the trouble in Egypt, and whence spring these new anxieties which ruffle the morning paper? This is what the average Briton wants to know. Obviously a useful contribution to this subject would be a clear statement of Egypt's real or imagined grievances from the Young Egyptian point of view. Well, here it is. The writer, Duse' Mohamed, was born in Alexandria about thirty-four (sic)

100. T.P.'s Magazine, November 1910, pp.189-194. This magazine, which had only started the previous month, had a declared outlook congenial to a writer like Duse' Mohamed Ali; see *ibid*, vol.I no.1, p.5, in which T.P. O'Connor declared, "Above all the magazine will be a forum where everybody of every country, of every school, will be allowed to have his say. The Western and the Oriental, the orthodox and the heterodox, the rebel and the stout advocate of existing things, all will have in these pages their free platform." There is no reason to believe that O'Connor and Duse' Mohamed Ali were personally acquainted, but Duse' Mohamed Ali may well have known (and been encouraged by) O'Connor's career. Not only was O'Connor a well known figure in Fleet Street, having been a leading journalist for many decades, but he published autobiographical reminiscences in the first number of T.P.'s Magazine. These illustrate well enough the precariousness of a journalists life in Victorian times and form a parallel with some of Duse' Mohamed Ali's experiences - e.g., of a three year period in his twenties O'Connor wrote "... I was helpless, friendless, unknown; as much lost on the waves of London life as if I were a mere cork on the waters of the ocean. For three years I remained without regular employment, writing, when I got the chance, any kind of hack work I could get; penny dreadful stories, paragraphs in London letters, occasional reporting. I answered every advertisement; I applied for every vacancy ... Usually, I did not know from one week's end to another where I was to sleep or to eat, or indeed, whether I was to have anything to eat. ... I dwelt in the Abyss." (*ibid*, p.7) Later, O'Connor became an Irish Nationalist M.P., and died in 1929 a member of the Privy Council. There is a biography of him - Henry Hamilton Fyfe, T.P. O'Connor, G. Allen and Unwin, London, 1934 - which is useful background material to the late Victorian press world in which Duse Mohamed Ali first practised as a journalist, as is the same author's Sixty Years a Journalist, W.H. Allen, London, 1949.

years ago. His father was a son of a village sheikh, and an officer in the Egyptian army, and a friend and adherent of Arabi Pasha; being one of the officers concerned in the mutiny of February 1st, 1881.

Duse Mohamed, in the days of his youth met Arabi Pasha, and many of the leaders of the Egyptian reform party. Subsequently he met the late Mustapha Pasha Kamil, from whom he obtained an inside knowledge of the aims of the Nationalists. Being in constant communication with prominent members of the Young Egyptian Party, he is in a position to supply accurate information in regard to their present desires, aims, and intentions. He has in course of preparation a modern history of Egypt.¹⁰¹

Thus, his sources - at face value impeccably good - were displayed in advance. As in the case of the other two articles on Egypt discussed above, this was largely a shortened version of material from In The Land Of The Pharaohs, but in this case drawn from more than one chapter.

This variation probably stemmed from the circumstances under which he found himself writing for T.P.'s Magazine. A.R. Orage had shown the first three chapters of In The Land Of The Pharaohs to his friend Holbrook Jackson, then literary editor of T.P.'s Magazine and formerly his colleague in editing The New Age. According to Duse', Jackson actually made an offer for these chapters. But the contract with Stanley Paul restrained Duse' from accepting.¹⁰² Though Duse' says his motive was a wish not to be unfair to his publisher, one should remember that being under contract imposed legal as well as moral restraints. In other ways, he could be less punctilious, as will be seen. At any rate, "Egypt's Case Stated"

101. T.P.'s Magazine, November 1910, p.189.

102. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 23rd October 1937, p.7.

was presented as a "special article",¹⁰³ though it was in reality more in the nature of a re-shuffle of parts of In The Land Of The Pharaohs.

We now come to the thorny question of how Duse Mohamed Ali set about writing In The Land Of The Pharaohs - a matter which redounds not entirely to his credit, and which prevents any exaggerated claims of his merits as a historian. In his own account, all was concentrated scholarly activity from the signing of the contract;

I set to work at once, spending the entire day collecting official data at the British Museum, returning home to labour until one or two o'clock each morning, delivering each chapter when completed.¹⁰⁴

No man, it is well said, cries 'stinking fish.' Yet the sad truth is that large parts of In The Land Of The Pharaohs were plagiarised from three other books: Cromer's Modern Egypt, Theodore Aaronovitch Rothstein's Egypt's Ruin and Wilfred Scawen Blunt's Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt.¹⁰⁵ As we have seen, this was not the first time

103. *ibid.* Duse Mohamed Ali wrote "I consented to write a special article which appeared in the initial number (of T.P.'s Magazine)". Here, as in many places in his autobiography, Duse Mohamed Ali was clearly relying on memory, as actually his article appeared in the second issue of the magazine.

104. *ibid.*, 2nd October 1937, p.7.

105. Earl of Cromer, Modern Egypt, 2 vols., MacMillan and Co.Ltd., London 1908; Wilfred Scawen Blunt, Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt. Being a personal narrative of events, T. Fisher Unwin, London 1907; Theodore Aaronovitch Rothstein, Egypt's Ruin, Fifield, London, 1910. Cromer and Blunt are sufficiently well known figures to need no comment. Rothstein was a Russian Jew, born Kovno 1871, died Moscow 1953, laden with honours, including membership of the Soviet Academy and of the Praesidium of the Communist Academy. He lived in exile in England from 1890 - 1920, and in 1920 participated in the foundation of the Communist Party of Great Britain. He was the author of a number of works on political, historical and international relations topics, in English, German and Russian. vide Soviet Historical Encyclopaedia, vol.12, Moscow, 1969, p.226. I am indebted to Mr. John Gooding, Department of History, University of Edinburgh, for translation of this information from the Soviet Historical Encyclopaedia. It may be added that in later years Rothstein had the reputation of being an inflexible Stalinist - I am indebted to Professor Victor Kiernan, Department of History, University of Edinburgh, for this information.

that Duse' Mohamed Ali had resorted to plagiarism.

The trespass committed against Rothstein's work was the greatest, though that against Blunt's still substantial. That against Cromer was rather less serious. The transgression against Rothstein was all the more barefaced in that in December 1910 (by which time In The Land Of The Pharaohs must have been virtually completed) Duse' Mohamed Ali published a lengthy and glowing review of Egypt's Ruin in The New Age. If 'imitation is the sincerest form of flattery', the compliments passed in this review were at least sincere, but how he hoped to avoid discovery with his own book only a few weeks from publication is a puzzle. He concluded his review of Egypt's Ruin with the following words;

All those who are really anxious to learn the truth will do well to straightway obtain Mr. Rothstein's valuable contribution on the financial administration of Egypt under England's beneficent rule.¹⁰⁶

It is clear that this advice was offered in all sincerity - for Duse' Mohamed Ali followed it himself in writing In The Land Of The Pharaohs. However, he did not see fit to make it clear to the readers of his book to what extent he had borrowed from Rothstein. The only acknowledgement of Egypt's Ruin in In The Land Of The Pharaohs is totally inadequate and misleading;

while this work was passing through the press, a volume by Theodore Rothstein, entitled 'Egypt's Ruin', has made its appearance. The entire financial situation of Egypt is dealt with in that work in a lucid and concise manner, and deserves the attention of those interested in the subject.¹⁰⁷

106. The New Age, 22nd December 1910, p.174.

107. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.289, n.4.

The impression given here is that any similarity between the two works is coincidental, arising from their similarity of topic. The truth is that vast parts of the latter two-thirds of In The Land Of The Pharaohs are thinly disguised re-writes of passages from Egypt's Ruin, and almost the entire statistical apparatus of In The Land Of The Pharaohs is lifted from Rothstein's book.

we begin to take Dusé Mohamed Ali's claims that "in delivering this message I do so in some measure 'as one having authority'"¹⁰⁸ less seriously when we find that his strictures on the engrossing of senior official posts in Egypt by Europeans, especially Englishmen, are taken from Rothstein.¹⁰⁹ The same is true of his attack on British educational policy in Egypt under Dunlop,¹¹⁰ his 'exposure' of British cruelty and injustice to Egyptians over the Dinshwai and other similar incidents,¹¹¹ his account of the assassination of Boutros Pasha and the trial and execution of Wardani,¹¹² virtually the entire contents, particularly

108. *ibid*, p.2.

109. *cf.* *ibid*, 223-5 with Rothstein, *op.cit.*, pp.324-5.

110. *cf.* In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.226 with Rothstein, *op.cit.*, p.317; In The Land Of The Pharaohs, pp.277-8 with Rothstein, *op.cit.*, pp. 320-1.

111. *cf.* In The Land Of The Pharaohs, pp.328-31; 338-9; with Rothstein, *op.cit.*, pp.327-9; 356-7; On the other hand, the comparison between British repression in Egypt and that of Governor Eyre in Jamaica in 1866, In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.332, is an original contribution by Dusé Mohamed Ali.

112. *cf.* In The Land Of The Pharaohs, pp.339-40 with Rothstein, *op.cit.*, pp.359-62.

statistics, of his longest chapter, attacking Lord Cromer,¹¹³ and virtually all his chapter on the condition of the peasants under the occupation.¹¹⁴ These are merely the grossest examples of Duse's plagiarism from Egypt's Ruin. There are many others. Thus, Duse's remarks on Sir Edward Grey's foreknowledge of Theodore Roosevelt's Mansion House speech and his attack on recent repressive Khedivial Decrees were taken from Rothstein,¹¹⁵ although the rest of his chapter "Roosevelt - Imperial Democrat" seems to be his own. Again, though Duse's three chapters on events in the Sudan¹¹⁶ cannot be from Egypt's Ruin, or for that matter from Blunt's Secret History, since neither of those works deal with these events, yet the telling statistics, betraying the fact that the conquest, administration and economic development of the Sudan had been entirely at the Egyptian public's expense, are taken (unacknowledged, as usual) from Rothstein. Here, as in many other places, the very footnotes are plagiarised;¹¹⁷ neither is Duse's description of the Sudan condominium, as "faricically euphemistic", his own.¹¹⁸ And not even Duse's Mohamed Ali's appendices were his own. They were taken, word for word, from Egypt's Ruin.¹¹⁹

113. cf. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, pp.287-300; and pp.300-9 with Rothstein, op.cit., pp.241-72; and 273-88.

114. cf. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, cap. XXIII, "Take Courage", pp.311-20 with Rothstein, op.cit., pp.288-309.

115. cf. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, pp.351-2 with Rothstein, op.cit., pp.362-3.

116. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, cap. XIII, "The Hicks Expedition and After"; cap. XIV, "England in the Soudan"; and cap. XIX, "Fashoda".

117. cf. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.171 and p.171, n.2, with Rothstein, op.cit., p.356 and p.356, n.2.

118. cf. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.171, with Rothstein, op.cit., p.171.

119. cf. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, pp.208-14 and 366-7 with Rothstein, op.cit., pp. xviii-xxi and xxi-xxiii.

The earlier chapters of In The Land Of The Pharaohs are as dependent on Blunt's Secret History as the later ones are on Egypt's Ruin. One may marvel at Duse's temerity here, as Blunt and Rothstein were close associates at this period, as is well attested by Blunt's published Diaries.¹²⁰ Not only had Blunt written an introduction for Egypt's Ruin, but he had even advanced £50 to Rothstein out of his own pocket and guaranteed to the publisher a first sale of 800 copies.¹²¹ To plagiarise Rothstein would therefore alone have been enough to make an enemy of Blunt, but to plagiarise Blunt himself as well was adding insult to injury. Yet inasmuch as Duse Mohamed Ali gives unstinted tribute to Blunt's efforts on behalf of Egypt,¹²² defends him against Lord Cromer,¹²³ and in many

120. W.S. Blunt, My Diaries. Being a Personal Narrative of Events 1888-1914, with a foreword by Lady Gregory, single volume edition, Martin Secker, London, 1932, pp.609, 619, 632, 655-6, 735.

121. *ibid*, p.738, entry for 24th October 1910.

122. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.126, pays tribute to Blunt's part in saving Arabi from a worse fate after Tel-el-Kebir; p.138, states that "it was due to Mr. Wilfred Blunt's uncompromising propaganda that the British public were made aware of the true condition of affairs in Egypt"; p.139 says "it was only because of Mr. Blunt's efforts that the Foreign Office Bureaucrats were brought to see the error of their ways, thereby contributing in no small measure to the appointment of the efficient Lord Dufferin", but on the other hand criticises Blunt's 'extremism' - "Blunt's blind sympathy and belief in the aims and intentions of the Nationalists led him into occasional indiscretions; but it is quite easy to find excuses in his well-known humanitarian principles, and his poetic temperament."

123. *ibid*, p.95, n.1; p.138; and p.315, in which Duse Mohamed Ali indignantly says, of Cromer, "because Mr. Wilfred Blunt, the only Englishman familiar with the events of 1882, dared to stand up and defend the Egyptian claim to independence, ... this noble repressionist of Egyptian liberty, and would-be suppressor of the liberties of Englishwomen, indulges in ... cheap sneers."

places clearly acknowledges in footnotes borrowings from the Secret History,¹²⁴ it would be fair to say that his offences against Blunt were less serious than those against Rothstein.

Nevertheless, his misuse of Blunt's Secret History was serious enough, and completes the destruction of the picture Duse' liked to give of himself as a man with a personal and 'inside' knowledge of the Egyptian National struggle.¹²⁵ As already noted, his youth and linguistic handicaps in 1882 give an advance warning that his claims in this respect should be treated with caution. It would not be too much to say that when in In The Land Of The Pharaohs - or for that matter elsewhere¹²⁶ - Duse' Mohamed Ali writes of the events leading up to the Revolution and occupation in 1882, he is paraphrasing Blunt. It was therefore rather misleading to write in the introduction to In The Land Of The Pharaohs;

... the fact that my father was an officer in the Egyptian army and an ardent supporter of Ahmed Arabi ... gave me ample opportunities not only of coming into contact with many leaders of Egyptian reform, but of obtaining a first-hand knowledge of their views; a knowledge not imparted to any European then resident in Egypt, excepting of course Mr. Wilfred Blunt and Sir William Gregory, and I believe Dr. John Ninet.¹²⁷

124. *ibid*; Blunt, or his Secret History, are cited twenty times in the text, but this is far short of indicating the real extent of its reliance on Blunt.

125. See In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.2 and "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 20th November 1937, p.7, for clear examples of such claims. There are many other such examples.

126. As in his writings about Arabi Pasha, in AOR, April 1920, pp.5-7, and "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 20th November 1937, pp. 7 and 14.

127. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, pp.1-2.

The most damning of Duse's many unacknowledged drawings on the Secret History is his long description of the appearance, personality and political appeal of Arabi, a man who he was supposed to have met and to have had close knowledge of from his father.¹²⁸ Of Arabi Blunt writes;

In personal appearance Arabi was at that time singularly well endowed for the part he was called upon to play in Egyptian history as representative of his race. A typical fellah, tall heavy-limbed, and somewhat slow in his movements, he seemed to symbolize that massive bodily strength which is so characteristic of the laborious peasant of the lower Nile. He had nothing in him of the alertness of the soldier, and there was a certain deliberation in his gesture which gave him the dignity one sees so often in village sheykhs. His features in repose were dull, and his eyes had an abstracted look like those of a dreamer, and it was only when he smiled that one saw the kindly and large intelligence within. Then his face became illuminated as a dull landscape by the sun. To the Turkish and Circassian Pashas this type of man seemed wholly negligible, that of the peasant boor they had for centuries dominated and held in slavery and forced to labour for them without pay, and it seemed impossible to them he should be used otherwise than as a tool in their astute hands. Riaz from first to last despised him, and even the intellectual Reformers of the Azhar took little count of him, as a political force. But with his own peasant class his own rusticity was all in his favour. He was one of themselves, they perceived, but with their special qualities intensified and made glorious by the power they credited him with, and by the semi-religious culture he had acquired at the Azhar superior to their own. It must be remembered that in all Egyptian history, for at least three hundred years, no mere fellah had risen to a position of any political eminence in Egypt, or had appeared in the light of a reformer, or whispered a word of possible revolt. I doubt, however, whether his qualities alone which were after all rather negative ones, or his talents, of which he had as yet given no proof, would have sufficed to bring him to the front as a National leader, but for the unwise persecution to which he was subjected by Riaz in the months following the affair of Kasr el Nil ..."¹²⁹

128. AOR, April 1920, p.5.

129. Secret History, pp.139-40.

Here is Duse' Mohamed Ali on the same subject;

Now, Arabi possessed none of that alertness which is considered an essential characteristic of the soldier or the political leader; nor was he endowed with those rare qualities of quick decision, executive ability, and practical common sense so indispensable to the individual who would successfully lead great movements, thrusting from life's pathway those opposing forces that are weak, parrying the blows of the strong, but ever moving onward, upward to the high pinnacle of glorious achievement. He was slow in his movements, deliberate in gesture, dull of countenance, with the heavy abstracted expression of the dreamer; but behind the heavy countenance there burned a soul pregnant with intelligence. His smile caused his face to become illumined; he was symbolic of that grave dignity usually identified in the person of the village Sheykh; and his towering height, massive proportions and evident strength identified him with the industrious fellah typical of Lower Egypt. His was the type that Mameluke and Turco-Circassian Pasha had held in bondage for centuries, subjecting them to a system of enforced labour without pay. It therefore followed that Arabi and his class would be utterly despised by the dominant Circassians; for as Sir John Bowring said in 1840, 'the situation of the Osmanlis in Egypt is remarkable, they exercise extraordinary influence, possess most of the high offices of the State, and, indeed, are depositaries of power throughout the country. They are few, but they tyrannise; the Arabs are many, but obey.' Riaz always despised Arabi; and the intellectual reformers of the El-Azhar were the last party amongst the native Egyptians to take him into serious account as a political force.

The peasant class to which he belonged were not only the first to recognise and acclaim him as leader, but remained loyal, singing his praises long after his exile. They recognised in him one of themselves, yet glorified above themselves, by virtue of the Azhur (sic) semi-religious culture which he possessed. For upwards of three hundred years no fellah had been known to breathe a word of possible revolt, nor had one of their class previously risen to a position of political eminence. The negative qualities possessed by Arabi would have been insufficient to bring him to the front, but for Riaz Pasha's insane persecution during those months which followed the Kasr-el-Nil mutiny.¹³⁰

It is clear that all Duse' contributed to the above passage was a few rhetorical flourishes and the quotation from Sir John Bowring. The rest is transparently plagiarised from Blunt. Yet this is only one

130. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, pp.64-6.

particularly damning example out of many that might be cited. In The Land Of The Pharaohs chapter IV, which deals with some of the diplomatic preamble to the occupation of Egypt, in particular to the French occupation of Tunisia, is heavily dependent on the Secret History, with only one totally inadequate citation of that work.¹³¹ Duse's attack on the Rothschilds for demanding intervention in Egypt derives from Blunt.¹³² Virtually the whole of Duse's chapter "Tewfik - Political Shuttlecock" is spatchcocked from various parts of the Secret History.¹³³ This greatly reduces the credibility of his having any first-hand knowledge of Jamal-ud-Din al-Afghani,¹³⁴ and contradicts the view that has been put forward by a recent writer that he was a "pivotal figure" between

131. ibid, pp.28 (from para.2) -31 is a mere summary of the Secret History, pp.31-6, frequently using the same or virtually the same phraseology; n.1, p.31 of In The Land Of The Pharaohs, is a totally and misleadingly inadequate acknowledgement for this. The apparently perceptive remarks of Duse Mohamed Ali on the 1878 Congress of Berlin and the Partition of Africa, and on the nature and effects of the French occupation of Tunisia, are also plagiarised - cf. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, pp. 31-2, and 34-5 with Secret History, pp.36-7 and 122-3.
132. cf. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, pp.16-7 with Secret History, pp.64-5.
133. cf. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, pp.18-21; 23, 24; 25-7 with Secret History pp.124-8; 165; 130-1; 133-5. The following is a good sample of the closeness with which Duse Mohamed Ali followed Blunt's wording; In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.21 "Had he (i.e. Tewfik) remained true to his plighted word to Cherif Pasha and the reform party, summoning a Council of Notables, he would unquestionably have been spared all the intrigues and counter-intrigues of the next two years": cf. Secret History, p.127, "Had he remained loyal to his promises to the Reformers and to his Ministers, and summoned at that time a Council of Notables, he would have had his subjects enthusiastically with him and would have been spared the intrigues and counter-intrigues which marked the next two years."
134. cf. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, pp.18-20 with Secret History, pp. 124-6. For Jamal-ud-Din Afghani's role in the development of Egyptian nationalist thinking, see Elie Kedourie, Afghani and Abduh; an Essay in Religious Unbelief and Political Activism in Modern Islam, London 1966; and Nikki R. Keddie, An Islamic Response to Imperialism. Political and Religious writings of Sayyid Jamal ad-Din "al-Afghani", Berkeley 1968.

al-Afghani and modern ideas of negritude.¹³⁵ Likewise, when In The Land Of The Pharaohs mentions Sheikh Muhammad Abduh, it merely draws on the Secret History's fund of genuine first hand information.¹³⁶ Indeed, virtually the whole of Duse's chapter "Ninth September", which deals with the apparently successful Abdin Palace mutiny and its aftermath, derives from Blunt's chapter "Triumph of the Reformers in Egypt".¹³⁷ In discussing the motives of Riaz Pasha in accepting office under Tewfik in September 1879, Duse opens with the remark "I have it on indisputable authority", thus implying some special or confidential source of information: in fact, he is again merely paraphrasing Blunt.¹³⁸

Duse Mohamed Ali's three chapters on the Sudan - chapter XIII, "The Hick's Expedition - and After"; chapter XIV, "England in the Sudan"; and chapter XIX, "Fashoda" - though not substantially plagiarised from either Rothstein or Blunt, cannot be regarded as fully part of the rather

135. Khalil Mahmud, introduction to 2nd. ed. of In The Land Of The Pharaohs, Frank Cass and Co.Ltd., 1968, pp.ix-x. It would seem that, if anyone, Blunt was the pivotal figure here!

136. cf. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.45 with Secret History, p.153. For Abduh's life and work, see Keourie, op.cit.; and Jamal Mohammed Ahmed, The Intellectual Origins of Egyptian Nationalism, Oxford University Press, 1960.

137. cf. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, pp.40-47 with Secret History, pp.147-53. Duse Mohamed Ali's information about the Cairo populace acclaiming Arabi as "el-Wahid" is taken from Secret History, p.169.

138. cf. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.22 with Secret History, p.128.

limited cannon of pure Dusian writing in In The Land Of The Pharaohs. If his first-hand knowledge of Egypt was severely limited, that of the Sudan, a country that he made no claims to have visited, was certainly even less. These chapters must perforce have been based on some secondary source or sources. Here, as elsewhere in the book, the footnotes give little help, but it is clear that the main source on which Duse' Mohamed Ali depended was none other than the Earl of Cromer's Modern Egypt, which covers the same ground in great detail. Duse's chapter XIII begins his examination of the Sudan with a typical piece of plagiarism;

The Egyptian Soudan, in 1883, over which the Khedive was presumed to rule, covered an area of about twice the dimensions of France and Germany. It extended from Wadi Halfa to the Equator, and from Massowah, on the Red Sea, to the western limits of Darfur - a territory of 1650 miles long by 1200 miles broad.¹³⁹

Cromer's second paragraph in his chapter "The Hicks Expedition" runs thus;

At the time this narrative commences, the nominal authority of the Khedive extended over an area stretching from Wadi Halfa on the north to the Equator on the south, a distance of about 1300 miles, and from Massowah on the east to the western limit of the Darfour province on the west, a distance of about 1300 miles - that is to say, he ruled, or attempted to rule over a territory twice as big as France and Germany together.¹⁴⁰

All Duse' contributed here was an alteration of the Earl's figures.

Indeed, the first three pages of Duse's chapter "The Hicks Expedition - and After" is scarcely more than a paraphrase of Cromer: this includes

139. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.140.

140. Modern Egypt, vol.I, p.349.

what Duse had to say about the origins of the Mahdi and the nature of a true Mahdi.¹⁴¹ It is hardly surprising, in view of his source, that throughout In The Land Of The Pharaohs Duse is very much less than enthusiastic about the Mahdi. His account of the Mahdi's victories, up to and including the defeat of Hicks Pasha, was not, however, taken from Cromer. Here, there are significant divergences between Duse Mohamed Ali and Cromer, such as Duse patriotically representing the entire Egyptian army under Hicks as making a heroic last stand whilst Cromer meanly only accords a fighting death to Hicks and his staff.¹⁴² Likewise, Duse's political analysis of these events is radically different from Cromer's, ascribing Egyptian failures to British policy not Egyptian incompetence.¹⁴³ This was a perfectly reasonable view - few historians to-day would deny that the withdrawal from and the eventual reconquest of the Sudan were undertaken in the interests of Britain. In his description of the fighting in the Eastern Sudan in 1883-84, his general interpretation of these events is, unlike Cromer's, hostile to and suspicious of British intentions. He asked the awkward question, "If a British force could be dispatched after the Arabs had done their worst, without deranging British 'policy', could it not have been dispatched while there was yet time for that force to be of service, and before the Arabs had exterminated the Egyptian army?"¹⁴⁴

141. cf. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, pp.141; 142-3; 147-8; 150; and 153 with Modern Egypt, vol.I, pp.350-51; 351-53; 398; 375-6; and 402-3.

142. cf. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.145 with Modern Egypt, vol.I, pp.368-9.

143. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, pp.145-7.

144. *ibid*, p.152.

In Duse Mohamed Ali's following chapter, (chapter XIV, "England in the Sudan") there is a similar mixture of plagiarism of Cromer in factual information but complete divergence from him at many points in analysis. Indeed, as far as the first half of this chapter is concerned, it would be unfair to charge Duse with plagiarism at all. If he took his facts from Cromer, he certainly re-worked and reinterpreted them to such an extent as to create something of his own (saving the possibility that here he was plagiarising yet another, as yet untraced, source). Explicitly avoiding any full description of military events,¹⁴⁵ he sums up British activity in the Sudan after the death of Gordon in the following terms;

... from August, 1884, to December 30, 1885, a British force was wandering up and down the Soudan 'smashing the Dervishes' with great slaughter. Not, however, for the recovery of the Soudan to the Khedive, and restoring order and good government in his dominions, but as an act of revenge for the deaths of General Gordon and Colonel Stewart ...

Now that England had temporarily retired from the Soudan leaving Ismail's huge African Empire to its fate, the hungry European land-grabbers were let loose to stake out their African claims.¹⁴⁶

From this point he goes on to discuss at some length the various territorial gains made by Britain, France, Italy, the Congo Free State and Ethiopia in the immediate aftermath of the collapse of Egyptian power in the Sudan. As far as his factual information here is concerned, it is all lifted from Cromer. He does at one point cite Modern Egypt, but rather misleadingly, giving the impression that a mere couple of

145. *ibid*, p.156.

146. *ibid*. p.165.

lines had been taken from that work.¹⁴⁷ In fact, the best part of six pages largely consists of mere paraphrases of Cromer. But, once again, there is the important and somewhat redeeming qualification that in interpretation, Duse' Mohamed Ali takes an entirely different line, commenting hostilely on the activities of Britain, France and Italy. These powers were contrasted with Ethiopia, whose help (as he had learned from Modern Egypt) was instrumental in rescuing Egyptian garrisons on the Ethiopian border of the Sudan. From these facts, Duse' drew a point with a distinctly Pan-African flavour;

... the province of Bogos was handed over to King John, who was the only Christian power to earn any portion of the Ismailan Empire, treating the Egyptians with a fraternal sympathy which was denied them by even the 'ally' who had helped to involve them in a sea of troubles. The Abyssinians, however, are African natives, and but half-civilised. Where on earth did they acquire these humanitarian qualities with which the European alone is supposed to be endowed?¹⁴⁸

Seeing the way, as in the above passage, that In The Land Of The Pharaohs comes to life where Duse' Mohamed Ali exercised his own judgement, it can only be regretted that he did not do this more often.

147. cf. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, pp.165 (the British occupation of Berbera); p.165-6, n.1 (Sir Richard Burton's views on the desirability of occupying Berbera); 166 (the British occupation of Zeila and the French occupation of Tajourrah); p.167 (the Italian occupation of Massowah); pp.167-8 (Emin Pasha, Equatoria, the Lado enclave and the Congo Free State); and pp.168-9 (Ethiopian assistance to Egypt and territorial gains) with Modern Egypt, vol. II, pp.51; 50; 53-4; 57; 43-6; 47-9. But, significantly, Duse' omitted Modern Egypt, vol. II's lengthy justification of British policy in relation to the Italian occupation of Massowah, pp.54-7. His sole acknowledgement of Modern Egypt was In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.166, n.2.

148. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.169.

As to Duse's third Sudanese chapter (Chapter XIX, "Fashoda"), this is certainly not in any sense plagiarised from Modern Egypt. Indeed, as Duse himself noted, "Lord Cromer, in his history, dismisses the subject with a footnote."¹⁴⁹ His own speculation on French objectives in mounting the Marchand expedition was that France was looking for a *causus-belli* to attack the Sudan;

... Delcassé ... who knew the conditions in the Soudan, must have entertained the sinister intention of having the Mission exterminated by the Dervishes, so as to have a 'valid' excuse for sending a French army into the Soudan. I do not claim accuracy for this statement. It is mere speculation.¹⁵⁰

He indignantly dismissed the suggestion that some Egyptian officers were prepared to collude with Marchand, emphasising that "Egyptian officers were fighting for a principle just as much as the English were", and had lost in the Sudan not just two or three famous men but "tens of thousands ... sons, brothers, cousins, whose blood had soaked the arid wastes of Kordofan, and cried aloud for vengeance."¹⁵¹ Here we see clearly that Egyptian patriotism had a greater appeal for Duse than Sudanese. His conclusion about the political significance of Fashoda is that it exposed the reality of British dominance in the

149. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.243, and Modern Egypt, vol.II, p.43 n.1, which says "I have purposely omitted any account of what is known as the 'Fashoda incident' from this work. I should be most unwilling to do anything which might contribute to revive public interest in an affair which is now, happily for all concerned, well-nigh forgotten.

The word 'Fashoda' has been erased from the map. The place is now called by its Shillouk name of Kodok."

150. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.241.

151. *ibid*, p.242.

reconquered Sudan, and thereby provoked an upsurge of "aggressive" Egyptian Nationalism.¹⁵²

It is thus established that In The Land Of The Pharaohs is no sense to be regarded as the product of its author's own personal knowledge of Egyptian politics and political leaders. Since by its nature the plagiarism of recent books by living authors was very likely to be discovered, what, it may be asked were Duse Mohamed Ali's motives? The desire to make a little money quickly - understandable in a man who had spent periods of his life in real want - cannot be dismissed as a possible motive. Yet the financial rewards seem to have been so paltry¹⁵³ that they cannot be taken as a sufficient explanation. The answer here can only be speculated on. Perhaps Duse Mohamed Ali felt that unless he made large claims about important connections and 'inside' information, he would never have the chance to produce a full-length book attacking British Imperialism and racism, a book which would command (at least momentarily) the attention of a large public. To sustain the appearance of 'inside' information, (to continue this speculation) he turned to the work of a man who indubitably had such, W.S. Blunt. As for Rothstein, with his Marxist nose and appetite for economic and statistical information, he provided another rich mine of 'informed' material.

152. *ibid*, p. 251.

153. The publishers advance was £30 - vide "Leaves From An Active Life" in The Comet, 23rd October 1937, p.7.

If Duse' Mohamed Ali's motives were as speculated above, then in a real sense he can be regarded as justified by the outcome, for the book was not only a success in the short run, but has shown remarkable staying power, a second edition having been recently produced.¹⁵⁴ By comparison, Rothstein's Egypt's Ruin has sunk into oblivion, though of course Blunt's Secret History and Cromer's Modern Egypt have remained obligatory reading to all those interested in late nineteenth-century Egyptian history. Reviewers in the British press fell over themselves to praise In The Land Of The Pharaohs when it first appeared, even when they did not entirely agree with its point of view. The review in The Scotsman is a fair example of the general tone;

Egyptian nationalism is generally expounded in this country from a hostile point of view. Impartial students of history will accordingly be interested to read a book in which it is sympathetically made to animate a history of Egyptian affairs since the downfall of Ismail, the Magnificent, and the rescue of his country from the situation in which he left it. Mr. Mohamed, the author of this work, has been educated in England. His father was an officer in the Egyptian army and an ardent supporter of Arabi, and he was himself in Alexandria when that city was bombarded. He has accordingly had better opportunities than most European writers of becoming acquainted with the real meaning of the movement, the steps of which he chronicles. His work retraces the history of Egypt through the time of Tewfik and the rising under Arabi, criticises freely 'government by philanthropy', follows out the process of the recent Nationalist revival, discusses Lord Cromer, and, while repudiating the notion that its author is 'anti-English', makes that statesman the object of animadversions which stigmatise as ineffective the work of all that has been done by the English occupation since Lord Dufferin's day. Apart from its political tendency, the work has its own interest as an

154. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, 2nd ed. with introduction by Khalil Mahmud, Frank Cass and Co.Ltd., London 1968.

account of the people and the leaders of the Nationalist movement. It is graced (it should be added) by many appropriate photographs.¹⁵⁵

In all at least twenty-three British newspapers and magazines reviewed In The Land Of The Pharaohs, plus the British owned Egyptian Observer and Times of India.¹⁵⁶ The latter is perhaps particularly significant, as it would have drawn the attention of at least some Western educated Indians to Duse Mohamed Ali's work, which it described as "By far the ablest that has yet proceeded from an Egyptian pen." T.P.'s Weekly (a separate journal from T.P.'s Magazine) struck a sourer note than most, making such remarks as "... the author hardly seems to realise that British rule has straightened out the tangle, and whatever be our mistakes ... the growth of nationalism owes something to us." Yet even this reviewer concedes in his opening that because of Duse's parentage and experiences at the bombardment of Alexandria, "what he

155. The Scotsman, 16th February 1911, p.2; cf. the same tone in The Graphic, 22nd April 1911, p.584. This popular illustrated weekly particularly drew attention to Duse's prophecy at the end of his book of future disaster for the British Empire, as did the reviewer in The Academy and Literature, 15th April 1911, pp.448-9. The moderate Liberal journal The Westminster Review, April 19th 1911, pp.471-2 accepted Duse's strictures on the discourtesy of British officials to Egyptians and found the book's illustrations (many of them artificial studio productions) "particularly good".

156. 22 British magazines and newspapers (The Daily Telegraph, The Scotsman, The Catholic Times, Greater Britain, The Morning Leader, London Evening Times, London Daily News, The Academy, The Freeman's Journal, The London Standard, The World, The Graphic, The Daily Express, The Evening Standard, T.P.'s Weekly, The Sunday Times, The New Age, Review of Reviews, The Pall Mall Gazette, The Daily Chronicle, The Court Journal, and the Westminster Review) plus The Egyptian Observer and The Times of India are quoted in an advertisement for In The Land Of The Pharaohs, ATOR, October 1912, p.iv. There was also a review in The Near East and may well be others in the British press as yet untraced.

has to say on Egyptian affairs will be listened to gladly", and concludes by writing "Whatever one may think of this book, let no man pretend to discuss Egypt without hearing and considering the case for the prosecution."¹⁵⁷ The authoritative journal on Eastern Mediterranean affairs, The Near East, whose reviewer might have been expected, more than most, to have been conversant with at least Blunt's Secret History and Cromer's Modern Egypt, lauded Duse' Mohamed Ali for his fair-mindedness, even though it disagreed with many of his points; praised his book as a "valuable addition", indeed as a book that "stands alone" on account of its author's nationality; and decided that although "he has failed in his attempt to prove that the Egyptian is ready for self-government at the present moment the fault lies not so much with him as with the average Egyptian of to-day."¹⁵⁸

As for The New Age, it regarded its protege's book as of such exceptional merit as to warrant two reviews. This is not to say that The New Age deliberately dropped its usually high critical standards - everything that is known about Orage shows that even his own contributors were not regarded as immune from the most searching criticism. In the case of In The Land Of The Pharaohs there was no relaxation of this rule.

157. T.P.'s Weekly, 17th February 1911, p.204. cf. The Academy and Literature, 15th April 1911, pp.448-9, which accused Duse' of degenerating from a historian into "a mere Nationalist protagonist", and the Review of Reviews, March 1911, p.288, which tempered a favourable review with the remark; "it is hard to find in his pages an acknowledgement of a single benefit to Egypt from the occupation!"

158. The Near East, April 26th, 1911, p.238.

Indeed, the first review was by the conservative J.M. Kennedy, (who also wrote for The New Age under the pseudonym S. Verdad) a man who had already expressed his sympathy for Roosevelt's Guildhall Speech.¹⁵⁹ He found the book to be more worthy of notice than those by "cranks" such as W.S. Blunt, and specifically could "find little fault with the first half of the book" - the part so heavily plagiarised from the Secret History:¹⁶⁰ Kennedy found Duse's cry of 'unfair play' irrelevant, since he accepted that British foreign and imperial policy had always been Machiavellian, and his only regret was that it had often been ineptly so.¹⁶¹ But he concluded by advising "... it is thoroughly well worth reading as showing the Egyptian point of view. It will teach us at least to be on our best behaviour."¹⁶² The second review, which was anonymous, was mainly devoted to a critique of Arabi Pasha's lack of ability as a revolutionary leader. Yet it opened with the most extravagant praise of Duse Mohamed Ali's writing;

Our contributor, Mr. J.M. Kennedy, has already reviewed this book in our columns, but we return to it after a second reading with interest far from exhausted. As a contribution to the cause of Egyptian Nationalism this history of the later Egypt of the Pharaohs is worth, in our opinion, several tens of the usual inflammatory and ill-informed propagandist literature. Mr. Mohamed is singularly impartial, even for an Egyptian who was educated and lived in England for many years. But as an Egyptian who not only felt

159. The New Age, 16th June 1910, p.147, written under the name S. Verdad.

160. *ibid*, 16th February 1911, p.366.

161. *ibid*, pp.366-7.

162. *ibid*, p.367.

the effects but saw with his own eyes the terrors of the Alexandrian bombardment, had his father slain with Arabi at Tel-el-Kebir, and his brother shot by British soldiers, the coolness and breadth of his impartiality are amazing. Fanatics, it is well known, have only one judgement, and it is always an extreme. Their friends are heroes and their opponents are devils. Mr. Mohamed, however, is no fanatic; as the classical form of his history indicates. His judgement of events and persons is measured, moderate and sound. We particularly commend, for example, his portraits of Arabi and Mustapha Kamel Pasha ... It is only in the concluding chapters on Lord Cromer and Mr. Roosevelt that the garrish lights are turned on; and in respect of Lord Cromer, at any rate, justice has already been done in the preceding pages.¹⁶³

Oddly enough, Duse' Mohamed Ali reacted stiffly to this second review in The New Age, and sent a touchy defence of his book to the magazine's next issue, unaccountably complaining of the abuse showered on him by the British press.¹⁶⁴

It may be that this irritability was accounted for by a growing fear of exposure. Already on 19th April 1911 he had had an interview with Wilfred Scawen Blunt at Blunt's country seat in Sussex, Newbuildings Place.¹⁶⁵ According to Duse', he was invited by Blunt for an overnight stay, had Hilaire Belloc as a fellow guest, and was in general entertained in style; a nice comedy of manners emerges from Duse's account, in which while he himself dressed formally for dinner, Blunt appeared in Oriental clothes.¹⁶⁶ It is plausible that Belloc would have been

163. The New Age Literary Supplement, 16th March 1911, p.2.

164. The New Age, 23rd March 1911, p.499.

165. My Diaries, entry for 19th April 1911, p.759.

166. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 16th October 1937, p.7 - "After dressing I descended to dinner ... and, to my surprise while I was habited in a formal dinner suit, Blount (sic) was arrayed, Sheykh like, in a wonderful blue cloth jibbah complete with Kaftan. No doubt my host intended to do me special honour." There is something touchingly Pooter-like about this.

present, since he was at that time a quite frequent guest at Newbuildings, being present there on 26th February, 19th March and 1st May 1911.¹⁶⁷

Yet Blunt's published Diaries make no mention of his presence on 19th April, when Duse' was there, do not make it clear whether Duse' stayed overnight, and merely say that Duse' came to see him.¹⁶⁸ This makes it unclear whether Blunt simply invited Duse' Mohamed Ali, or, perhaps, Duse' Mohamed Ali requested an interview.

What is stranger, in the circumstances, is that at least initially Blunt too, like almost all the reviewers, regarded In The Land Of The Pharaohs as "a good book on Egypt" though also quite aware that it was "cribbed, nearly all of it, from me and Rothstein". There had, however, been hints in the magazine The World on 14th April, three days before the Blunt-Duse' interview, that the book was plagiarised. Though acknowledging it to be comparatively well written, The World found that "a long life in England has dimmed (the author's) ... vision and his song lacks originality; most of the verses are Mr. Blunt's; the others are incomplete and unsatisfactory."¹⁶⁹ Having spent his life moving in the highest circles, both in Britain and the Middle East, and being a fluent Arabic speaker himself, Blunt hardly knew what to make of Duse' Mohamed Ali.¹⁷⁰ It is clear that Duse' told him a certain amount about

167. My Diaries, pp.755, 757 and 760.

168. *ibid*, p.759.

169. *ibid*. Also see The World, 14th February 1911, pp.249-5.

170. *ibid*.

the story of his life, including something about his career on the stage and his travels in America.¹⁷¹ But Duse' Mohamed Ali remembered the occasion as one on which "Blount (sic) did most of the talking." His judgement of Blunt was, in the circumstances, perhaps uncharitable, but nonetheless shrewd;

There need be little doubt about Blount's (sic) sincerity with regards to the emancipation of Egypt but he impressed me as being extremely anxious to be the power behind the throne, as nothing delighted him more than to be surrounded by a group of Egyptian students to whom he would expound his rather utopian ideas as to how Egypt should be governed.¹⁷²

In old age, when Duse' Mohamed Ali condescendingly adjudicated that the Secret History "proves him to have been a diligent student of the events which led up to, and included the Egyptian War of 1882",¹⁷³ there would have been few able to remind him what a "diligent student" he had been of Blunt.

The storm was not long in breaking. A few days after Duse' Mohamed Ali's visit to Newbuildings Place, Blunt noted in his diary "Rothstein is furious about Duse Mohammed's (sic) appropriation of his work, which is more flagrant than I thought."¹⁷⁴ Theodore Rothstein's son, Andrew Rothstein, although only twelve years old at the time, recalls that "his publishers either had to withdraw the book altogether, or put in a sheet

171. *ibid.*

172. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 16th October 1937, p.7.

173. *ibid*, p.17.

174. My Diaries, entry for 25th April 1911, pp.759-60.

acknowledging the plagiarism."¹⁷⁵ The book was not withdrawn, so we may assume that the humiliating sheet was inserted. It can hardly have helped sales. The promise of fame and influence, like so many of Duse' Mohamed Ali's dreams, must have seemed about to collapse. It is surely not a coincidence that the last of Duse's contributions to The New Age¹⁷⁶ appeared two days after Rothstein revealed to Blunt the extent of his transgressions. Plagiarism was the last sin likely to be tolerated in The New Age circle.

Yet, on reflection, the sudden collapse of Duse' Mohamed Ali's reputation in the rarified literary and political circles of The New Age cannot really be considered such a disaster. Had Duse' Mohamed Ali firmly established himself in this sphere, in which his audience consisted of British progressive intellectuals rather than the international 'third world' of the African Times and Orient Review, his continuing development as an embryo Pan-Africanist would in all probability have been stultified. He could have become a black mascot of the drawing room left, cut off from the black and brown peoples across the world, among whom and for whom he was to strive for the next thirty years.

175. Personal communication from Mr. Andrew Rothstein to the writer of this thesis. Unfortunately, all pre-war records of Stanley Paul books were destroyed in the Blitz, so no information is possible from that source, either on this or other topics, such as the number of copies printed in the first edition, the number of copies sold or the royalties received by the author; I am indebted to Mr. Roger Hudson of Hutchinson Publishing Group Ltd., Contracts and Rights department, for this information.

176. "The Good Friday Procession", in The New Age, 27th April 1911, pp.606-7.

In The Land Of The Pharaohs was an equivocal book in more senses than one, for in it Duse Mohamed Ali had not decided which of these two worlds he fundamentally was addressing. The plagiarised passages can be seen as tribute to the alien culture to which he was subjected, a mixture of duplicity and lack of confidence being the legacy of more than twenty-five years spent under the yoke of that culture. It is ironically significant that some British reviewers of In The Land Of The Pharaohs praised those very sections of it which were most heavily plagiarised - thereby unconsciously applauding a mere reflection of European culture.¹⁷⁷

This barren reflection would, if it were the entire content of In The Land Of The Pharaohs, make the book itself scarcely worthy of serious consideration. Fortunately, there are a few passages in the book where Duse Mohamed Ali permitted his own ideas and his own imagination to lead him.¹⁷⁸ These are the most vigorous, entertaining and perceptive parts of In The Land Of The Pharaohs. The plagiarised chapters and passages are wearisome and arid by comparison. The theme of the non-plagiarised parts of the book could be summarised as 'racism and imperialism and their consequences'. This is broached vigorously in the introductory chapter, in a spirited attack on that commonplace defence of the British Empire that its coloured subjects were incapable

177. e.g., the conservative J.M. Kennedy, *ibid*, 16th February 1911, p.366.

178. The most substantial of these sections are: In The Land Of The Pharaohs, pp.2-5, 348-51, 352-56 and 357-65.

of orderly and civilised government. Here, Duse writes;

Colour prejudice is at the root of most of the 'Oriental incapacity' which bulks so largely in English literature. I have patiently awaited the death of colour prejudice for many years and I have a rather large spade in readiness wherewith to expedite its interment; but I greatly fear its tale of years is likely to wrest the laurels from the hoary brow of Methusalah, establishing for itself a long-distance record which no human agency will ever take away.¹⁷⁹

He was well aware that colour prejudice was not giving way once Orientals, or any other coloured peoples, acquired "Western culture"; this was invariably sneered at as "a veneer of Western culture".¹⁸⁰ He therefore impatiently brushed aside what he saw as the bogus claims of trusteeship;

... a university degree is either a valuable asset in the march of social and political progress, or it is not. If it is valuable only to the Anglo-Saxon, the European would be well advised to close his educational portals immediately, and forthwith throw overboard the nauseating cant about 'fitting the Oriental for self-government'; 'giving the native a share in the government when he is qualified';(?) and the remainder of the sentimental nonsense complacently digested by the superficial British reader: nonsense helps to salve the official consciences of a reactionary British bureaucracy, but does not hoodwink the Oriental of even average intelligence. I have yet to learn that an English university degree can be obtained without mental effort...¹⁸¹

The arrogance and ill-manners with which the British treated their Oriental subjects is the subject of the introductory chapter, the final chapter, and a section of the chapter entitled "The Nationalist Revival".¹⁸²

179. *ibid*, p.3.

180. *ibid*.

181. *ibid*, p.4.

182. *ibid*, pp.218-222.

In this latter passage, Duse identified the type of Englishman to be found in the Egyptian service as "an arrogant, self-seeking individual, who looks after his own interest and the interests of his class". This man would either be an incompetent, down-at-heel aristocrat or, even worse, a vulgar parvenu.¹⁸³ Showing some authentic literary skill, Duse illustrated the behaviour of such parvenus by the satirical device of an imaginary example of the species, Mr. T. Swellibus.¹⁸⁴ Quickly learning in Egypt to ape the airs of his seniors in the service, including their attitude towards "niggers", and living a life of luxury supported by numerous native servants, T. Swellibus, Effendi (as he would soon become) had every incentive to entrench himself in his new found power;

Now, is it within the compass of erring human nature that T. Swellibus, Effendi, should descend from the honourable and glorious position of an exalted Egyptian official, where everyone beneath him falls down and worships and his lightest request is implicitly obeyed? Is it likely that this 'great man' will voluntarily leave his acquired comforts, luxuries, with the added dignity of being 'somebody', which he has acquired by rubbing shoulders with swell society at Shepherd's Hotel, to return home and be swallowed up among the teeming millions and chimney pots of smokey London: his identity gone, and at the very best, a jerry-built, semi-detached architectural monstrosity in Suburbia in which to wind up a career of brilliance and achievement? It is unthinkable. When such things can be accomplished, the lion will lie down with the lamb, for men will be angels.

Yet, this is the very thing the British Government would have the Egyptians believe to be possible of accomplishment. It is the duty of T. Swellibus, to keep as much knowledge as is possible away from the Egyptian; and should the natives who he controls show any signs of intellectual activity, such signs must be nipped in the bud, or if the natives persist in understanding too much about the department they must be removed to another department.¹⁸⁵

183. *ibid*, p.218.

184. *ibid*, pp.219-221.

185. *ibid*, pp.220-21.

This picture was, of course, based not on first-hand knowledge of Egypt, but on imaginative insight, drawing, no doubt on Duse' Mohamed Ali's experiences both in Britain and in his travels in the colonies. Such an attack on the self-interest of the British overseas civil servant would have had a particular appeal to Western educated Indians and West Africans, who were at that time suffering from discriminatory policies in the Indian Civil and Colonial Services. In his final chapter Duse' returned to the attack on British officialdom in Egypt, poking fun at the official class as "Balfour's Little Band": Balfour, in a Commons speech, had spoken of the necessity of "... letting the little band of our countrymen in Egypt feel that they were absolutely supported by the authority at home."¹⁸⁶ This kind of 'support the man on the spot' attitude to Imperial administration was anathema to Duse'. He saw it as encouraging the worst aspects of British rule in Egypt;

The greatest trouble in Egypt has been, and is, the desire to keep the administration in the hands of narrow-minded English bureaucrats, who in order to maintain an illegal and unwarranted usurpation, underrate Egyptian intelligence in the pages of their lying and contradictory reports, and the columns of their journals. Knowing they are supported by the Government at home, they do pretty much as they like.¹⁸⁷

The individual ambition of English bureaucrats was not the only self-interested force that Duse' Mohamed Ali recognised in Egypt. Although he accepted that at first the British did not intend a permanent occupation,

186. Quoted in *ibid*, p.361.

187. *ibid*, pp.359-60.

yet he believed that they found it too profitable to abandon;

... as time went on and the English 'Adviser' began to see the marvellously recuperative powers of the country and its great trade possibilities, it was found that England had unwittingly stumbled upon a regular commercial Colconda, which it would be the essence of folly to surrender to the Egyptians in order that some other power might step in and exploit it... A country that, by virtue of its natural resources, could reduce a debt of some ninety millions to reasonable proportions within the short space of a quarter of a century, was not the country to be lightly abandoned to - according to the English view - a pack of 'semi-barbarous natives'.¹⁸⁸

Beyond this, Duse' Mohamed Ali displayed a hint of a wider view, of Hobsonian complexion, but expressed with un-Hobsonian extravagance. He saw finance capitalism, hiding behind bogus moral objects, as being the promoter and beneficiary of British Imperialism.¹⁸⁹

In The Land Of The Pharaohs is at its most impressive in its attack on Theodore Roosevelt. Here, we can observe Duse' Mohamed Ali reaching towards a fuller Pan-African world view, transcending the particular questions of imperialism and nationalism in Egypt. The crux of the attack on Roosevelt was the exposure of injustice in the United States. Pointing out that the American Negro had fought and died for both independence and the Union, that "the sweat of their faces"

188. *ibid*, p.217.

189. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, pp.215-6 - "Thus England, in the multiplication of her conquests, whereby trade is advanced, plutocrats wax rich and opulent, and in the interests of 'civilisation' and 'Christianisation' of primitive races, and races that are not primitive, who are held in tutelage and subjection 'for their moral welfare', so that there may be diamond princes, and cotton kings, and other grades of a most ignoble band of financial aristocrats, is only paving the path of materialism with the agonised groans of human subjection, at the end of which lies her utter dissolution." This is perhaps more graphic than lucid, but its general implications are evident enough.

had helped to make America powerful, that divorce and industrial strife were rife in America, that three Presidents had died of assassination, he turned Roosevelt's denunciation of the Egyptian Nationalists against the United States itself;

... are these evidences of an 'anarchical condition of murderous chaos' in the United States of America, or are they proofs that the ex-President of the American Republic and those in authority are 'neither desirous nor capable of guaranteeing even that primary justice, the failure to supply which makes self-government not merely an empty but a noxious farce?'¹⁹⁰

Thus Duse managed to link imperialism, through one of its most trenchant contemporary advocates, with the race question in the United States.

It is not surprising that In The Land Of The Pharaohs appears to have made some impact in the United States, both in the black and white communities.¹⁹¹ An American edition of In The Land Of The Pharaohs was brought out in 1911,¹⁹² which demonstrates an American publisher's confidence that the book would have an appeal to American readers. An autographed copy of the book found its way into the hands of the

190. *ibid*, p.354.

191. The evidence here is partial and presumptive, and the writer of this thesis is aware that further research could be undertaken here - for e.g. a search of the American Negro Press for reviews - which, however would require work in the United States, an opportunity he has not as yet had.

"Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 9th October 1937, p.7, records John E. Milholland as remarking "... your book on Egypt has been read by almost every thinker in America, particularly Teddy Roosevelt's enemies."

192. Duse Mohamed, In The Land Of The Pharaohs, (American ed.), D. Appleton and Co., 1911.

influential Negro writer Arthur Schomburg,¹⁹³ secretary of the Negro Society for Historical Research of New York. This copy was presumably presented to Schomburg by Duse' Mohamed Ali, and may well indicate the beginning of his relationship with Schomburg's circle, which included the veteran black journalist John Edward Bruce, who was to become Duse's close friend.¹⁹⁴ Another significant black American to notice In The Land Of The Pharaohs was the black Yale graduate, writer, journalist and (at a later date) Garveyite, William H. Ferris, who developed an extraordinarily high regard for Duse' Mohamed Ali from as early as 1913.

193. Schomburg, born in Puerto Rico, secretary and founder (with J.E. Bruce) of the Negro Society for Historical Research in New York in 1911, was particularly interested in the Arabic speaking world, and as such may well have been particularly attracted to In The Land Of The Pharaohs. There is, of course, nothing in the book to have made him aware that Duse' Mohamed Ali could not speak Arabic. Furthermore, Schomburg's belief in the stimulation of racial patriotism through the study of Negro books would have certainly predisposed him to be impressed by In The Land Of The Pharaohs. vide August Meier, Negro Thought in America, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1964, pp.262-3, and G. Shepperson "Notes on American Negro Influences on the Emergence of African Nationalism" in Journal of African History, vol.I, no.2 1960, p.309. Schomburg's copy of In The Land Of The Pharaohs, autographed by Duse', is now in the Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library; information from Wendell L. Wray, Acting Curator, Schomburg Collection.

194. Bruce was the President and founder of the New York Negro Society for Historical Research and later a Garveyite. vide Meier, op.cit., pp.262-3, and Shepperson, op.cit., p.309. His friendship with Duse' Mohamed Ali is attested by the affectionate tone of the correspondence between them - e.g., Duse' Mohamed to John E. Bruce, 12th September 1919, in J. Bruce Papers, Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library, in which, although there had been some dispute between the two men over a missing manuscript of Bruce's, and some acrimony had evidently passed between them, Duse' compared their dispute to a lover's quarrel and expressed his affection for Bruce and regard for his friendship in extravagant terms.

It is clear, however, that Ferris' regard was based as much on admiration for the African Times and Orient Review, as In The Land Of The Pharaohs.¹⁹⁵

At a later date, in the nineteen-twenties, when Duse' Mohamed Ali was living in the United States, the American Negro Press often identified him by referring (amongst other things) to his work as a historian.¹⁹⁶

At this remove of time and place, his plagiarism was apparently unknown. Indeed, it is not clear that the plagiarism scandal ever became known in America.

As for white America, there is evidence that it too was impressed by In The Land Of The Pharaohs, at least for a season, on account of its sensational attack on Theodore Roosevelt. John E. Milholland is said to have remarked that the book had been "... read by almost every thinker in America, particularly Teddy Roosevelt's enemies", and that on the strength of his subsequent fame Duse' Mohamed Ali could make his

195. William H. Ferris, The African Abroad, New Haven, Conn., 1913, vol.1, p.ix; "While some of the colored leaders in America have been teaching their followers to despise books and scholarship, Duse' Mohamed in England has been writing plays, sketches, tragediettas, the libretto of a musical comedy, a coronation ode, a history of Egypt, a romance, a series of essays on the drama and editing a magazine of world scope and significance." In *ibid*, vol.II, pp.927-8, Ferris went even further and described Duse as one of the "forty colored immortals", whose achievement measured the ability of his race.

196. e.g., The Baltimore Herald, 16th May 1923, announcing a forthcoming public lecture by Duse' Mohamed Ali, describes him as "historian, writer and musician", and "the author of a celebrated history of Egypt under the title 'The Rule of the Pharaohs' (sic) ... educated in the leading Universities of England." A fuller discussion of Duse' Mohamed Ali's activities in the United States during the nineteen-twenties will be found in Chapter VII of this thesis.

fortune lecturing in America.¹⁹⁷ Years later, towards the end of his period in America, Duse is said to have had an interview with the famous American journalist, Arthur Brisbane,¹⁹⁸ who recalled showing the book to Roosevelt, and it making him furious. Brisbane had even bought the first copy from the American publishers.¹⁹⁹ There is evidence that Roosevelt (or at least his campaign managers) thought Duse Mohamed Ali's influence among black American voters sufficient to warrant placating him during the Presidential Election campaign of 1912.²⁰⁰

197. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 9th October 1937, p.36.

198. Arthur Brisbane (1864-1936) would need no introduction to American readers, at least of the older generation, because of his important role in the sensational popular press, particularly as one of the leading lieutenants of William Randolph Hearst, see Oliver Carlson, Brisbane: A Candid Biography, Stackpole Sons, New York, 1937; also Dictionary of American Biography, vol.XXII, Supplement Two, OUP, London, 1958, pp.62-5.

199. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 12th February 1938, p.7. It is, of course, necessary to point out that this information depends solely on Duse Mohamed Ali's uncorroborated word, and that his own self-esteem was involved. It is, however, a likely enough tale - as a leading columnist in the Hearst press, any attack on Roosevelt liable to prejudice his standing with a section of the voters during the 1912 election campaign would have been of interest to Brisbane, whose standing in the world of journalism at that time was certainly such that he would have had access to a Presidential candidate.

200. In ATOR, August 1912, p.60, Duse Mohamed Ali addressed an open letter to Roosevelt, challenging him to declare his policy towards the American Negro, (should he be elected President on the Progressive ticket) in the light of the attitudes displayed in his Mansion House speech. This brought two replies from Frank Harper, secretary, Roosevelt's Office, and one from Philip Roosevelt. (vide ibid, August 1912, p.60; September 1912, p.79; and October 1912, p.114) Philip Roosevelt's letter was evidently conciliatory in intention. For fuller discussion of this correspondence, see Chapter IV of this thesis.

The attack on Roosevelt certainly must be regarded as one of the causes of Duse Mohamed Ali's growing reputation among black people in West Africa and the New World in the next few years. No doubt it was on the strength of In The Land Of The Pharaohs that he was elected to honorary membership of the American Negro Academy and the Negro Society for Historical Research of New York.²⁰¹ The governing bodies of these societies were no doubt unaware of the derivativeness of much of the book, but viewing its message this hardly mattered. By linking together Egypt's trouble with the racist proclivities of imperialists elsewhere, Duse produced a book of far greater potential significance to American Negroes than a narrowly Egyptian Nationalist work would have been; or, for that matter, than the books he plagiarised. East Africa, too, was brought within the scope of the attack on Roosevelt, for taking up Roosevelt's description of that area as potentially "a true white man's country", Duse says;

Colour prejudice is as strong there as it is against the Negroes in the Southern States of America. Can it therefore be a matter of surprise that Mr. Roosevelt should have appreciated conditions that reminded him so 'strikingly of his own men in America'?²⁰²

In The Land Of The Pharaohs concludes on a note of prophecy, warning British imperialism that the scorn with which it had treated its Oriental subjects was totally estranging them.²⁰³ Duse emphasised

201. *ibid*, Christmas 1912, p.30.

202. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.355.

203. *ibid*, p.364.

the significance of the rise of Japan, and foretold the non-renewal of the Anglo-Japanese treaty, and a future struggle for power in the Far East. In a remarkable passage, he anticipated the events of the nineteen-thirties and forties - a Sino-Japanese struggle for supremacy, followed by a Japanese attack on India, during which the British would discover that "Indians may dissemble, but they do not love England." This prophecy was only seriously astray in supposing that a Sino-Japanese struggle (in which, he rightly guessed, Japan might find China too strong) would culminate in a coalition of those powers.²⁰⁴ However, even here it could be said that he anticipated the spirit of the Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere policy, which the Japanese were to follow in the Second World War.

It is clear that Duse' Mohamed Ali's mind was much exercised by thoughts such as these at about this time, for his last major article in The New Age, which appeared at about the time of the publication of In The Land Of The Pharaohs, took up the same theme.²⁰⁵ This article, entitled "Quo Vadis", is undoubtedly the most able that Duse' ever contributed to The New Age, and surely deserves to be better known and included in anthologies of Pan-African writing. It illustrates Duse's true merits as a writer, which were not those of a historian, but of a journalist, a publicist, a propagandist. It is unfortunate he was not content to write In The Land Of The Pharaohs unequivocally and openly

204. *ibid.*

205. The New Age, 23rd February 1911, pp.387-90.

in that manner! "Quo Vadis" shows a remarkable breadth of vision, surveying the world race situation with mastery of the appropriate detail.²⁰⁶ Europe, the United States, India, China, Japan, the West Indies, British East Africa, South Africa, Liberia, Egypt and Sierra Leone all came under his view.

"Quo Vadis", and the conclusion of In The Land Of The Pharaohs, taken together, provide valuable information on Duse' Mohamed Ali's political thinking a little before launching the explicitly Pan-Afro-Asian African Times and Orient Review in 1912, about eighteen months later. "Quo Vadis" was more explicit and emphatic than In The Land Of The Pharaohs. It concluded from its survey of the world that;

Whether, therefore, we look East, West, North or South, the man of dark skin is being oppressed by the Anglo-Saxon ... The Anglo-Saxon rules dark races by force, and force is the only argument he is capable of understanding.²⁰⁷

But where was the force that would shake the Anglo-Saxons - who, Duse' made clear, in this context included the Americans - to come from? As in In The Land Of The Pharaohs, the potential threat of Japan to the British Empire in India is prophesied, but at least three other

206. There are, however, one or two eccentric judgements in this article, most notably in Duse' Mohamed Ali's view that the West Indies were an exception within the British Empire to oppression of black by white. He attributed this supposed better state of affairs in the West Indies to emancipation having occurred a quarter of a century earlier there than in the United States; and, significantly, because "coloured people are in a majority, and whenever their liberties have been tampered with, they have effectively rioted." *ibid*, p.389.

207. *ibid*.

areas of challenge to Anglo-Saxon domination are considered. Firstly, in a strongly Blydenite vein, Duse' Mohamed Ali noted the spread of Islam in Africa, at the expense not only of paganism but also Christianity, bringer of "drunkenness and aggression". Like Blyden, Duse' showed a somewhat equivocal attitude to non-Islamic African cultures. He primly tells us that "Islam ... appeals with greater force to the natural instincts of primitive man", and writes of "savage tribes",²⁰⁸ More positively, he saw Islam as a unifying force "which will move this vast population as one man".²⁰⁹ But Duse' Mohamed Ali went beyond Blyden's views of the role of Islam in Africa when he envisaged an Islamic inspired Pan-African armed struggle against imperialist oppression;

These inhabitants of Africa are, for the most part, warrior races; and the Christian aggression with its land grabbing propensities, whereby the native is deprived of his lands and subsequently pressed into a state of 'compound' semi-slavery, will indubitably result in a war of extermination. Negroes may fall, but others will be ready to take their places, dying gladly under the banner of the Prophet ... The intelligent black men of the African towns will be swept into the vortex of race hatred which the Europeans are creating for themselves. The negroes of Haiti under Toussaint were less superior intellectually and martially than their brethren in the interior of Africa. What a people has once accomplished they can achieve again. And it must not be overlooked that the vast Mohammedan black population includes the tried Soudanese and Somali troops who possess some knowledge of their business.²¹⁰

208. *ibid*, p.388. cf. Blyden "Mohammedanism and the Negro Race", in Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race, 2nd ed., Edinburgh 1967, pp.1-24 *passim*.

209. The New Age, 23rd February 1911, p.388.

210. *ibid*.

Thus we find that as early as February 1911, Duse' Mohamed Ali was able to envisage a Muslim led Haiti style 'final solution' of the white problem in Africa! At this time, he was not a believing Muslim, even attended church services,²¹¹ but one can clearly see the political appeal to him of Islam as a black man's religion. This passage has other points of interest. It shows not only a patriotic pride in the formidable fighting qualities of the Sudanese Ansar (not so discernable in In The Land Of The Pharaohs) but also an awareness of events in Somalia, presumably the exploits of the 'Mad Mullah', as the British press persisted in calling him. Furthermore, we see Duse' Mohamed Ali had already identified land deprivation and the subsequent sweeping of African populations into wage labour under semi-servile conditions, as the forces immediately responsible for the driving of Africans into insurgency.

If Muslim black revolution threatened in Africa, Duse's outlook also envisaged revolutionary changes among the black Americans. It is important to note that he was aware of that strain in contemporary black American life that stressed the importance of the development of black businesses, and highly approved such ideas. This may seem far removed from the apocalyptic vision of revolution in Africa, but (whether Duse's theory is accepted as valid or not) he believed the accumulation of capital by oppressed peoples to have a revolutionary potential - and here it is clear that racial rather than social revolution

211. *ibid*, 27th April 1911, p.606 and Blunt, My Diaries, p.759.

was in mind. In The Land Of The Pharaohs had, following Blunt, asserted that Jewish bankers were largely responsible for intervention in Egypt.²¹² In "Quo Vadis" Duse saw the American Negroes as on the road to acquiring similar power to that he thought the Jews possessed;

The coloured people are amassing wealth. Already there are several Negro millionaires in the land of dollars. The Jews have proved that money talks. Money will also buy ammunition. One may acquire any commodity in this world if one possess determination - and money.²¹³

The segregated institutions forced on the black Americans by the whites would also play their part by providing "those opportunities for secret and undisturbed enclave which are essential to successful revolution"²¹⁴ and when the revolution came, black troops in the American army "will not be far away from their civilian brothers".²¹⁵ It appears, therefore, that in 1911 Duse Mohamed Ali had a revolutionary, or at least insurrectionary, dimension to his thinking. But it must be emphasised he was never a fully consistent thinker, and never unequivocally in favour of black revolution.²¹⁶

One reason for this flowering of race-conscious thinking was certainly his contact with the works of a number of the leading black thinkers of his day. As evidence of this there is not only the evident

212. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, pp.62-3.

213. The New Age, 23rd February 1911, p.388.

214. *ibid.*

215. *ibid.*, p.389.

216. The contradictions of his attitude to the British Empire and black freedom are discussed in Chapter IV, part II.

Blydenite flavour of some of his ideas and his apparent knowledge of American Negro history, but also explicit reference to a number of black writers. "Quo Vadis" contains references to Blyden, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Booker T. Washington, Professor W.S. Scarborough of Wilberforce University and W.E.B. Du Bois. All these, with the addition of Frederick Douglass, were alluded to at rather greater length in an article by Duse' entitled "The Coloured Man in Art and Letters", which appeared in T.P.'s Magazine a few month's later.²¹⁷ This latter article began with the by then conventional defence of the intellectual capacity of 'the race', such as was familiar at that time in the United States if not in Britain: great writers in the European literary tradition, like Dumas and Pushkin, who had some African ancestry, were offered as examples of Negro genius.²¹⁸ What Duse' had to say about

217. "The Coloured Man in Art and Letters", in T.P.'s Magazine, June 1911, pp.399-407. This was the last of Duse' Mohamed Ali's contributions to T.P.'s Magazine.

218. This genre was not unknown in Britain among those who considered themselves 'friends of the Negro', a contemporary example being the paper delivered by Sir Harry H. Johnston to the Universal Races Congress. see Gustar Spiller, ed., Papers on Inter-Racial Problems, pp.328-336, "The World-Position of the Negro and the Negroid". In the United States such thinking had long been common among Negro intellectuals, pre-dating even the Civil War and emancipation; e.g. in September 1848 Frederick Douglass wrote; "There are now those among us, whom we are not ashamed to regard as gentleman and scholars, and who are acknowledged to be such, by many of the most learned and respectable in our land. Mountains of prejudice have been removed, and truth and light are dispelling the error and darkness of ages." Quoted in Howard Brotz (ed.), Negro Social and Political Thought 1850-1920. Representative Texts, Basic Books, Inc., New York and London, 1966, p.209.

his contemporaries, men who were all to a greater or lesser extent consciously members of a black society, is of far greater interest.

At this stage, he favoured Blyden's idea that Africa, not the New World, was the place where the African must work out his destiny.²¹⁹

As for Du Bois and Booker T. Washington, it is interesting to see that he regarded them as complimentary rather than rival figures, that they both believed that "the amelioration of the Ethiopian is only to be obtained in an atmosphere of Western civilisation and culture", though he saw Du Bois as concerned with social while Washington with material advancement.²²⁰

There was evidently a certain amount of confusion in Duse Mohamed Ali's information about Washington and Du Bois, however, It is surprising to read the following;

Dr. Blyden is a black (sic) man. Mr. Washington is two-thirds white. The white American has carefully nursed the idea that the white element in Booker T. Washington and others account for their high intelligence; by this means a breach is widened between the half-caste and the full-blooded African which makes for their destruction. It is to be feared that Mr. Washington has been flattered by his white affinity, and therefore does not consider Africa his true home, hence his disagreement with the premises of Dr. Blyden. Dr. Burghardt Du Bois is, however, nearer the African than Mr. Washington.²²¹

Here is a mixture of real knowledge about the position of mulatto intellectuals in the United States, together with something like a reversal of the racial backgrounds of Du Bois and Washington. Clearly, a preference for Du Bois is implied here. This preference was soon to change.

219. The New Age, February 23rd 1911, p.389.

220. T.P.'s Magazine, June 1911, pp.404-5.

221. The New Age, February 23rd 1911, p.389.

Specific works mentioned by Duse' Mohamed Ali in "The Coloured Man in Art and Letters" include Blyden's From West Africa to Palestine, Christianity, Islam and The Negro Race and West Africa Before Europe; Du Bois' Souls of Black Folk; Booker T. Washington's The Future of the American Negro, Up From Slavery and Tuskegee and Its People; and Frederick Douglass' The Life of Frederick Douglass.²²² Of course, it cannot be proved that Duse' Mohamed Ali had read all these books,²²³ but the state of his knowledge about the American Negro suggests something systematic. And if Blyden added an African and Islamic dimension to Duse' Mohamed Ali's reading, he was also in touch with the writings of some less famous west Indians. One of these was J.J. Thomas' Froudacity,²²⁴ first published in 1889 as a counter blast to the negro-phobe British historian J.A. Froude's History of the English in the West Indies (a book which, it has already been noted, Duse' Mohamed Ali abhorred too). But he also mentioned the writings of a much more obscure man, A.J. Celestine-Edwards of Dominica, with whom he had been personally

222. T.P.'s Magazine, June 1911, pp.404-6.

223. He had not at that time read Du Bois' The Souls of Black Folk. vide "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 9th October 1937, p.7. This records John E. Milholland presenting Duse' Mohamed Ali with a copy of the book at the Universal Races Congress, (which met the month after his article appeared in T.P.'s Magazine) and states that he had not previously read it.

224. J.J. Thomas, Froudacity, West Indian Fables by James Anthony Froude Explained, 1st ed. T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1889; 2nd ed., with introduction by C.L.R. James and a biographical note by Donald Wood, New Beacon Books Ltd., London and Port of Spain, 1969.

acquainted, and who he describes as "the most progressive full-blooded West Indian Negro to make his mark in England."²²⁵

For all Duse Mohamed Ali's knowledge of black writers, and for all his revolutionary sounding pronouncements and prophecies, in 1911 his position was ambiguous. It should be remembered that In The Land Of The Pharaohs was published by a British publisher for the British market, and that The New Age and T.P.'s Magazine were read by very few black men.²²⁶ This body of writing was quite explicitly addressed to the British reader first and foremost. Duse was careful to sweeten his strictures

225. T.P.'s Magazine, June 1911, pp.405-6. From this it is clear that Edwards was an interesting character in his own right. He is said to have been an Associate of King's College, London (the college that Duse himself was wrongly supposed to have attended); to have made his mark as a lecturer, debater and orator in Britain on such topics as Christian evidences and 'Native Races and the Liquor Traffic'; to have founded Christian magazines called Lux and Fraternitie and to have written a life of the African Methodist Episcopal Church leader, Bishop Hawkins of Canada, called From Slavery to a Bishopric. (This would appear to be a very rare book to-day). Edwards was born in Dominica in 1858 or 1859 of 'Ethiopian' parentage, his father being a slave born French official of some kind. At the age of twelve, his father having died, Edwards ran away to sea, and ultimately owed his further education to the patronage of a Deep Sea Missions' chaplain. He offered himself to the Church Missionary Society as a missionary candidate, but to his chagrin was rejected on the grounds that "the Society could not accept coloured men for service in the African fields, as they were not quite what was required for the work." He returned to the West Indies in bad health in 1894, and died there the same year.

226. The New Age was, apparently read by W.E.B. Du Bois, or at least came to his attention from time to time, since in the issue for 15th June 1911, p.165, there is an indignant letter from him attacking a previously published racist article by S. Verdad (J.M. Kennedy).

with acknowledgements of good British characteristics, and it is not evident that he was insincere in these compliments. He concluded his introduction to In The Land Of The Pharaohs with the words;

It is because I believe the people of Great Britain to be, not only a freedom loving race, but possessed of a genuine desire to see other nations as free as themselves, that I am emboldened to pen these pages.²²⁷

Likewise, in his final chapter he wrote;

Doubtless those reading these pages will long ere this have arrived at the wholly erroneous impression that I am anti-English.

If I have conveyed any such impression I regret it, inasmuch as I have lived too long among the English not to learn to appreciate good qualities and their sense of justice. But the unfortunate fact is, that the Englishman at home is so different an individual from the Englishman in the various colonies and dependencies ...²²⁸

He sounds notes of regret for the passing of a former age in which there were great men, now supplanted by the creatures of party politics.²²⁹

Above all, it appears that the various threats of black revolution and Oriental awakening that he made were more of a plea to the British Empire to mend its ways and live up to ideals of 'British Justice' than a clarion call to the oppressed to arise. Thus, both the article "Quo Vadis" and the prophetic final passage of In The Land Of The Pharaohs

227. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.5.

228. *ibid*, p.362.

229. Duse Mohamed Ali quoted the eminent Social Darwinist Karl Pearson on the nature of the great men of the past, and regrets that "There are no great men in these degenerate days"; *ibid*, p.363.

open with one of Duse' Mohamed Ali's favourite quotations;

'There is nothing', says Matthew Arnold, 'like love and admiration for bringing people to a likeness with what they love and admire; but the Englishman never seems to dream of employing these influences upon a race he wants to fuse with himself. He employs simply material interests for his work of fusion; and beyond these nothing but scorn and rebuke. Accordingly, there is no vital union between him and the races he has annexed.'²³⁰

Though Duse' was clearly well aware that no "vital union" of the British and their subject peoples was taking place, he nowhere had contradicted the principle of "vital union" itself. Rather he warned of the future, which England should prepare for, in which she would "need all the available goodwill of other peoples".²³¹ Yet more clearly revealing of his purpose, "Quo Vadis" concludes;

Why will Anglo-Saxons cultivate this insane and irrational policy of unwarranted colour prejudice in the interests of a false ideal? Repression, of whatever kind, has never yet been successful in establishing prestige. The duty of England is to treat her dark races in such a manner as to let them feel that they are members of the Empire in fact; by respecting their liberties, protecting them from aggression and abolishing a pernicious system of repression. There is time. That time is Now. The writing is on the wall.²³²

An attack on race prejudice in the Empire for the good of the Empire was, in effect, what this amounted to, and this was a message by no means too unpalatable for the readers of The New Age. The only letter of protest at "Quo Vadis" came from an Afrikaner, who found some of its

230. *ibid*, p.362 and The New Age, 23rd February 1911, p.387.

231. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, p.364.

232. The New Age, 23rd February 1911, p.390.

remarks about Boer women too much to stomach.²³³

Holding such views, we need not be surprised to find the politics of racial conciliation having a great appeal for Duse' Mohamed Ali at this time. Thus it was entirely appropriate that he should have become involved in the Universal Races Congress, which met from 26th to 29th July 1911 at the University of London.²³⁴ The organiser of this event, Dr. Gustav Spiller, was an active member of the South Place Ethical Society as well as a psychologist, and so a member of that circle of secularist progressives that included such figures as the anti-imperialists J.A. Hobson and J.M. Robertson.²³⁵ Meeting under the presidency of Lord Weardale, the Universal Races Congress had an impressive list of vice-presidents, including such worthies as the heads of the British Liberal, Conservative and Labour parties, the Archbishop of York, and a vast collection of Presidents of Parliaments, Rulers, Ministers of State, Governors, Ambassadors and Members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration and of the Second Hague Conference.²³⁶ With such patronage, it is not to be wondered that the Universal Races Congress

233. *ibid*, 2nd March 1911, p.427, letter from S. Coetzee. This letter indignantly rejects Duse' Mohamed Ali's suggestion that Boer women sometimes behaved towards African men on the model of Potiphar's wife, asserting instead that it was Scotch (sic) and Yorkshire women who did so.

234. Gustav Spiller, ed., Papers on Inter-Racial Problems Communicated to the First Universal Races Congress, held at the University of London July 26-29, 1911, P.S. King and Son, London, 1911.

235. Porter, Critics of Empire, p.158, n.1 and p.236, n.3.

236. Spiller, *op.cit.*, pp.xvii and xx-xxvi.

was not a revolutionary body. Likewise, the executive committee, which had no less than 52 members, was clearly more designed to demonstrate widespread support from men of note, than to provide an efficient executive.²³⁷ The General Committee, sub-divided into innumerable national contingents, was several times greater. Nevertheless, it attracted support from numerous genuinely significant figures, including a considerable number of the most important leaders of the black world, and among the papers delivered were some of real distinction.²³⁸

How Duse' Mohamed Ali may have been affected by papers, such as that of the Nigerian independent church leader Mojola Agbebi,²³⁹ who trenchantly asserted the validity of traditional African culture and denounced Europeanisation of African Christians, we can only speculate. He has left no comment on the papers delivered at the Universal Races Congress. His role was as an organiser of press publicity and of a concert party to entertain the delegates, which tasks he was requested

237. *ibid*, p.xix.

238. Among the eminent African, Afro-American and Afro-West Indian figures supporting the Universal Races Congress were E.A. Blyden, Bishop James Johnson, J. Mensah Sarbah, W.E.B. Du Bois, J. Tengo Jabavu and Dr. Mojola Agbebi; see Spiller, *op.cit.*, pp.xxiii, xxiv, xxxv, xliv, 336-41 and 341-48. Among Indian supporters, the most distinguished was (with hindsight) M.K. Gandhi, then still resident in Johannesburg; *ibid*, p.xxxvii. Among the papers delivered, those by Mojola Agbebi on "The West African Problem" and W.E.B. Du Bois on "The Negro Race in the United States of America" are of particular interest to students of Pan-Africanism; *ibid*, pp.341-48 and 348-64. Du Bois' contribution was adjudged of such distinction that unlike the other papers published in Spiller's book, it was published in full rather than as a mere summary.

239. see Agbebi, *op.cit.*, *passim*.

to undertake by Spiller himself.²⁴⁰ It would be interesting to know how Spiller had come to hear of Duse; perhaps it was through In The Land Of The Pharaohs or his articles in The New Age. Disappointed in his original design to obtain the services of the part Sierra Leonan composer S. Coleridge-Taylor, then a celebrated figure in the British music world, Duse eventually presented the delegates with a performance of the third act of Othello, with himself in the title role.²⁴¹ This was perhaps a corrective to the prevailing spirit emanating from the Congress, that sweetness and light in racial relations was just around the corner.

The only personality that Duse Mohamed Ali has recorded as having met at the Universal Races Congress was the white American patron of the National Association For the Advancement of Colored People, John E. Milholland.²⁴² He recalls having sat next to Milholland at the dinner which concluded the Congress. Milholland and himself, being impressed by the multi-national crowd of diners, hatched a plan for an International Club - which was however, to the chagrin of both, rejected by Spiller and Weardale.²⁴³ Apart from suggesting to Duse Mohamed Ali a far-fetched scheme for a lecture tour of the United States, and extolling the extent to which In The Land Of The Pharaohs had been read there, Milholland (so we are told by Duse) made a characteristic attack on Booker T. Washington.

240. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 2nd October 1937, .19.

241. *ibid.*

242. Meier, *op.cit.*, pp.181-2.

243. "Leaves From An Active Life", in The Comet, 2nd October 1937, pp.19-20.

At that time, the two men's opinions on that subject coincided, and Milholland even presented Duse with a copy of Souls of Black Folk, which he had not previously read.²⁴⁴

The Universal Races Congress, despite its lack of solid achievement, had importance in Duse Mohamed Ali's life. It confirmed him for the time being in the belief that something could be done for the black man, by reason, directed towards the dominant whites; and thus prepared the way for the launching of his greatest effort in Pan-African journalism, the African Times and Orient Review.

244. *ibid.*

CHAPTER IV

THE AFRICAN TIMES AND ORIENT REVIEW

1912 - 1920



DUSE MOHAMED ALI IN 1911

(FRONTISPIECE TO IN THE
LAND OF THE PHAROHS)

Nothing in Duse' Mohamed Ali's life better illustrates the scope of his aspirations than the African Times and Orient Review. It can therefore be regarded as one of the chief yardsticks in measuring the extent of his achievements and of his failures. Because the story of the African Times and Orient Review includes among its dramatis personae such figures as J.E. Casely Hayford, Aggrey, Marcus Garvey, Kobina Sekyi, Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, and John E. Bruce (to cite only a few) it is undoubtedly a major source for exploring currents of Pan-African and Pan-Negro sentiments in its era. But a word of caution is necessary before proceeding. Complete consistency should not be looked for in its pages, nor even expected, and the historian must beware of the temptation to misconstrue an over-orderly picture out of what was in reality partly confused and sometimes contradictory.

I : Origins and Organisation

The origins of the African Times and Orient Review are themselves complex. Thus, it should not be regarded as mere accident that Duse' Mohamed Ali, an experienced journalist with a growing political and race consciousness, should be present in London at that juncture and able to launch this ambitious effort. On the contrary, a man of his kind can be regarded as a product (if unlooked for) of the British Empire, as typical as the District Officer, the Indian Army Colonel or the Old Planter. Of course, the British Empire did not intentionally nourish vipers in its bosom. But the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brought an increasing flow of African, West Indian and Indian subjects of the Empire, seeking education for the professions; or following commercial pursuits within the Imperial economy, which was so dominated by the London Money and Produce markets. He was exceptional only in being a long term rather than a transitory resident, though even in this respect he was not unique. But being resident rather than a visitor fitted him for the role of co-ordinator of the aspirations - which were to a considerable extent similar aspirations - of the various groups of coloured British subjects passing through London. As we shall see, many such persons turned to him for advice on a wide range of the problems facing them during their stay in Britain, and indeed one of the most practical aspects of the African Times and Orient Review was its role as an advice bureau to such people. In fulfilling this role (which he had probably been doing on an individual and private basis for many years previously) he also became increasingly aware of the wider political, social and economic difficulties facing

people of African and Asian descent across the world - hence a heightened consciousness of common difficulties and the need for a common approach in surmounting them.

There can be no doubt that the Universal Races Congress was instrumental in turning his thoughts towards the idea of a magazine, London based but Empire or even world wide in its circulation, which would guard the interests of and act as spokesman for the "coloured races"¹ wherever they might dwell. Among other projects that the Universal Races Congress had considered (but never acted on) was the desirability of a periodical which could serve the cause of racial harmony.² The connection between this and the African Times and Orient Review was made explicit in the

1. ATOR, vol.I, no.1, July 1912, p.iii, describes the new venture as "devoted to the interests of the coloured races of the world."
2. Resolution 5 of the Executive Council of the Universal Races Congress, London, 26th-29th July 1911, quoted in *ibid*, p.30, contained the following paragraphs as among the objects of the Congress; "(2) To encourage the publication, in popular or other form, of sound and scientific investigations of the various civilisations of the world, and to spread the same information through the medium of the Press. (3) To secure reliable reports from the parties in conflict whenever inter-racial difficulties arise, with a view to instructing the public opinion of the world on the merits of a particular controversy. (9) To publish a 'Journal of Comparative Civilisation' for the discussion of burning social and economic questions of the day from the standpoints of the different national civilisations, ideals, and values."

forward to the review's first number;

The recent Universal Races Congress, convened in the Metropolis of the Anglo-Saxon world, clearly demonstrated that there was ample need for a Pan-Oriental Pan-African journal at the seat of the British Empire...³

Indeed, a couple of months later Duse' Mohamed Ali was asserting that he himself had taken a lead in suggesting at preliminary meetings of the Universal Races Congress delegates in London that a "racial unity" paper should be created, and complained that "... had our suggestions been followed up, a journal would have appeared long before the advent of 'The African Times and Orient Review'."⁴ He felt that a journal taking a balanced, fair and calm view of racial affairs was essential, in view of the sensationalism and distortion of the British Press over such matters. It is clear that the memory of the press publicity accorded to Theodore Roosevelt at the time of the Mansion House speech was particularly in his mind, for he illustrated press distortion with the following words; "Fearlessness in the cause of righteousness does not pay; whilst ambulant ex-Presidents are permitted, amid the plaudits of self-conscious journalists, to shape the policy of the British Foreign Office."⁵

3. ATOR, July 1912, p.111.

4. ibid, September 1912, p.80. Whether Duse' Mohamed Ali's claims about his initiative at the Universal Races Congress over the question of a "race unity" paper be accepted or not, at least one participant in the Congress welcomed the ATOR in 1912 as "a concrete result of the first Universal Races Congress". See letter from Professor Tongo Takebe, Professor of Literature, Imperial University Tokyo, ATOR, July 1912, p.15.

5. ibid, September 1912, p.80.

Such were the more general stimuli to the creation of the African Times and Orient Review; to which can perhaps be added his experience, discussed in an earlier chapter, of the successful advocacy of unpopular and minority opinions by Orage in The New Age. But the specific and immediate cause of the launching of the review was more mundane yet equally significant. He was approached by a Sierra Leone businessman, John Eldred Taylor,⁶ who was considering the publication of an African monthly periodical. Taylor, who came from a highly respectable Creole family, both his father and grandfather having been Anglican Clergymen in the Sierra Leone Colony,⁷ was the inspiration of a number of ambitious West African business projects in the spheres of fishery and produce trading, as well as investigating the possibility of jute production in his home country.⁸ Like other contemporary West African entrepreneurs of his generation, he found it convenient to visit London from time to time, and indeed he ultimately died there.⁹ At the moment when he met

6. "Leaves", in The Comet, 23rd October 1937, p.7.

7. See the obituary of John Eldred Taylor's father in Sierra Leone Weekly News, 13th February 1892. I am indebted to Mr. Christopher Fyfe, Reader in African History in the University of Edinburgh, for this information, and for all other items on Taylor from the Sierra Leone Weekly News.

8. These aspects of John Eldred Taylor's career are discussed in Chapter VI of this thesis.

9. Taylor died in December 1924; see Sierra Leone Weekly News, 13th December, 1924.

Dusé Mohamed Ali, which must have been some time in 1911, probably in Autumn,¹⁰ he was in London not only on business, but also to protest against some action of the Lagos Government against the Nigerian Times.¹¹ Thus, again like other similar British West African contemporaries, Taylor was politically conscious in a wider West African and Imperial context.

The meeting with John Eldred Taylor must have been an exciting moment, though this is not reflected in Dusé Mohamed Ali's account of it, written many years after the event, and with subsequent quarrels more in mind. He was received by Taylor in the latter's "rather extensive suite of offices in the City"¹² and it is likely that he hoped that Taylor would play the role of patron, as George Bernard Shaw had done for Orage. At that juncture, his own financial position was abysmally low - so much so that despite all previous disillusionment with the stage, he was about to embark on a provincial tour as a "very minor member" of George Dance's theatrical company.¹³ If Taylor's apparent wealth did raise hopes, they

10. It is clear from Dusé Mohamed Ali's autobiography that this meeting took place after the Universal Races Congress, which had been held in July 1911. Further, it took place shortly before he went on tour with George Dance's company in the show Kismet. This tour opened at the Theatre Royal, Portsmouth, on 30th October 1911; see The Stage, 2nd November 1911, p.8. Thus the meeting was within the months of August to October 1911.

11. Sierra Leone Weekly News, 22nd April 1911.

12. "Leaves", in The Comet, 23rd October 1937, p.7.

13. What part he played he does not say - presumably it was a 'walk on' part. The show was set in Baghdad, and had therefore a need for exotic "extras". It seems very likely that Dusé Mohamed Ali's theatrical career had returned to the point it had been at in his appearance in Claudian at the very start of his stage life. For his engagement with George Dance, see "Leaves", in The Comet, 23rd October 1937, p.7.

were soon deflated. What Taylor envisaged was a West African Trade journal, and Duse' Mohamed Ali had to confess that he knew "nothing whatever about Commerce and very little about West Africa" and that his only interest could be in a publication "dealing with social and political conditions in Africa and the Orient at large".¹⁴ Furthermore, with his theatrical obligations to meet, Duse' was about to leave London for an absence of four or five months.¹⁵

Despite these obstacles, John Eldred Taylor apparently wished to benefit from Duse' Mohamed Ali's advice. He pressed for suggestions and Duse' left with the impression that the matter would be taken further on his return from the provinces. To his evident annoyance, on his return to London, which was almost certainly by April 1912, he found that Taylor had made an unsuccessful attempt at carrying out the project in his absence.¹⁶ It is not clear, however, that there was any actual bad faith here, since

14. "Leaves", in The Comet, 23rd October 1937, p.7.

15. *ibid.* This is tallied by the fact that the last performance in the George Dance Kismet tour of 1911-12 was at the Kennington Theatre, London S.E., on 28th April 1912. However, Duse' Mohamed Ali had almost certainly left the company a few weeks before that time; on 4th April 1912 he wrote to Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee Institute from 2 & 3 Eldon Street, London E.C., on behalf of the forthcoming ATOR. See BTW Papers, Library of Congress, 1912, box 465. This Eldon Street address is presumably that of John Eldred Taylor.

16. For the dating of this event see note 15 above. For Taylor's attempt to carry on in Duse's absence, see "Leaves", in The Comet, 23rd October 1937, p.7.

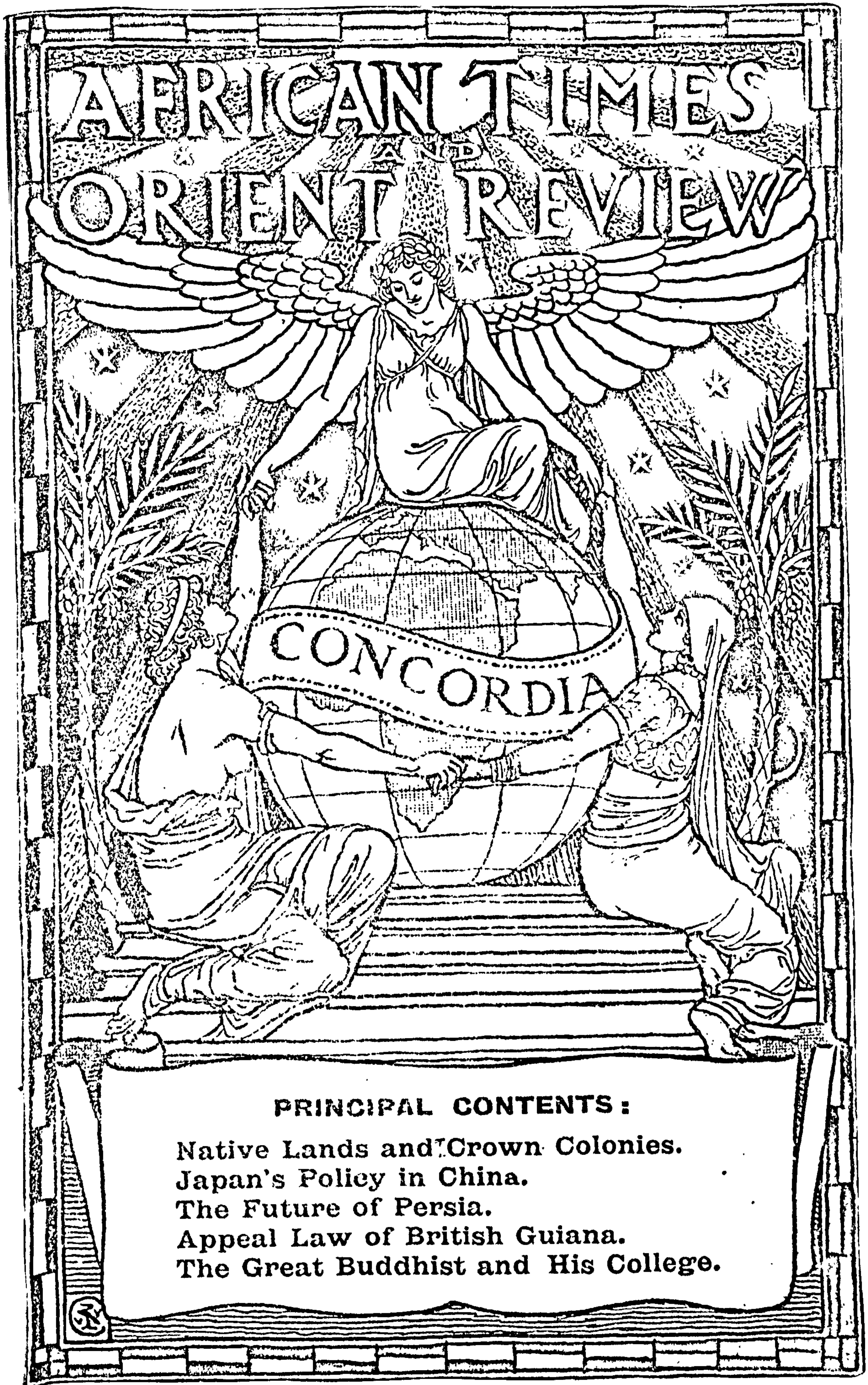
there was clearly no formal agreement between them, and Duse Mohamed Ali had rejected the original proposal. Despite finding themselves to an extent still at cross-purposes, the two men now set about in earnest the task of producing the African Times and Orient Review. Its first issue can be clearly seen as an amalgam of their separate interests - though its contents predominantly reflected Duse Mohamed Ali's interest in "social and political conditions in Africa and the Orient at large",¹⁷ yet there was nevertheless considerable space given to commercial matters. The printing was arranged by Taylor, who it appears was also to bear the costs, while Duse Mohamed Ali busied himself editorially. Scorning the cover design which Taylor had obtained in his absence,¹⁸ he commissioned the eminent graphic artist Walter Crane, a leader of Art Nouveau in Britain (and a socialist)¹⁹ to produce a more iconographically suitable as well as more artistic replacement. It is interesting to note that in his autobiography Duse claimed Crane as a friend,²⁰ but it would probably

17. *ibid.*

18. *ibid.*

19. Walter Crane was one of those British socialists who had rejected the 'socialist-imperialist' policy of the Fabian Society, adopted by that body at the time of the South African War. see Bernard Porter, Critics of Empire, British Radical Attitudes to Colonialism in Africa 1895-1914, London 1968, p.109. Although best known as an illustrator of children's books, Crane was prepared to use his art in the service of causes he approved; e.g. his book of cartoons, Cartoons for The Cause 1886-1896, London 1896, produced for the International Socialist Workers and Trade Union Congress 1896.

20. "Leaves", in The Comet, 23rd October 1937, p.7.



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be more accurate to regard him as an acquaintance. At all events, Crane did not execute this commission gratis, charging ten guineas, which Duse Mohamed Ali chose to regard as a nominal sum. No doubt for an artist of Crane's stature it was modest enough. On the other hand, the African Times and Orient Review cover design was hardly an original piece of work, being a modified version of the emblem Crane had designed for the Universal Races Congress.²¹

The Universal Races Congress not only helped to inspire the African Times and Orient Review, but also provided a practical framework for Duse Mohamed Ali's preparatory work. Dr. Spiller was persuaded to provide him with a list of the Congress's membership, and this list was circularised with the forward of the first number of the forthcoming review and a subscription form. By this means "some two hundred" subscriptions were obtained in under two months²² - this would probably represent a major part of the subscription list on the eve of publication in July 1912. This would have been a very slender base for any new publication, let alone one which (as will be seen) aimed to have a world significance.

21. cf. front cover of the ATOR, July 1912, with the device of the Universal Races Congress on the title page of G. Spiller (ed.) Papers on Inter-Racial Problems; see Record of the Proceedings of the First Universal Races Congress held at the University of London July 26-29, 1911, pub. for the Executive Council by P.S. King & Son, Westminster, 1911, p.4, for Crane's part in designing the U.R.C. emblem.

22. "Leaves", in The Comet, 23rd October 1937, p.7.

Yet on the other hand it gave him an international readership, including (as was seen in the previous chapter) some men who were leaders of African and Asian race or national consciousness, men whose ear it was worth obtaining and whose support held out a reasonable prospect of success. Another device used for securing the attention of prominent potential sympathisers was canvassing them with two questions for a symposium, to be published in the first issue of the review. Symposia of this kind were a normal feature of serious magazine journalism in Britain at that time - examples can, for instance, be found in The New Age.²³ Here was a further connection with the Universal Races Congress, since those approached were largely men whose names figures in the Congress's membership lists.²⁴ It was also, of course, a way of obtaining free contributions from eminent men. The questions clearly reflect, in a general sense, Universal Races Congress type thinking on the role of the press in promoting racial harmony. The emphasis of the questions was firmly on conciliation and mutual understanding rather than on

23. See The New Age, 12th January 1911, p.254, for a list of recent Symposia on current questions.

24. See ATOR, July 1912, pp.13-18. The following is a list of the contributors, with those who had been involved in the Universal Races Congress underlined:- Annie Besant; Sir Charles Bruce; S. Coleridge-Taylor; W.L. Courtney; Walter Crane; W.E.B. Du Bois; Jean Finot; Francis Grierson; Sir Krishna Gupta; Dr. H.C. Haddon; Tengo Jabavu; Holbrook Jackson; Sir H.H. Johnston; Sir Oliver Lodge; the Earl of Lytton; H.W. Massingham; T.P. O'Connor; Sir Sydney Olivier; A.R. Orage; Professor W.S. Scarborough; Dr. G. Spiller; Professor Tengo Takebe; H.G. Wells; the Countess of Warwick; Booker T. Washington.

agitating for fundamental change;

- 1) Are you of the opinion that a newspaper operated by coloured people - Orient and African - reflecting their opinions and stating their aims and desires, is likely to be appreciated by the British public?
- 2) Do you think that such a paper is calculated to promote peace and goodwill between Orient and Occident; between the governors and the governed of the opposite races, producing a better understanding than has hitherto obtained?²⁵

But also, the first of the symposium questions was a plea for opinions on the likelihood of support for the review from the British people. The general consensus of the British respondents was not hopeful,²⁶ and Duse' Mohamed Ali noted this, but hoped that the coloured composer S. Colridge-Taylor's call for the journal to be "heartily supported by the coloured people themselves, so that it shall be absolutely independent of the whites as regard circulation" would be heeded.²⁷ He was particularly annoyed at the lack of support from the British clergy.²⁸ On the other

25. See ATOR, July 1912, p.14.

26. See, for e.g., the reply of Sir H.H. Johnston, ATOR July 1912, p.17.

27. ATOR, July 1912, pp.16-17.

28. *ibid*, p.13, Duse' Mohamed Ali writes; "those from whom we expected the most sympathy have either wrapped themselves in a mantle of silence or feared to commit themselves to a public exposition of their views. In this wise the dignitaries of the Christian Churches and Chapels have been, with two single exceptions - the Bishop of Winchester and the Reverend F.B. Meyer - the greatest delinquents. Many of these divines did not have the courtesy to answer our letters, and the remainder were dignified but non-committal, which clinches the oft repeated charge with a sledge-hammer blow that the Churches are reactionary and by no means in sympathy with any human or humane movement. And when it is remembered with what glib avidity they discourse upon 'the equality of all men before God', 'brotherly love', and the rest of it, we were quite prepared for an avalanche of eulogistic encomiums. We were, however, not only doomed to disappointment, but fully enlightened as to the intrinsic value of the Church and Chapel profession."

hand, A.K. Orage responded generously by stating that he thought the review would be "of considerable interest on condition that it is written exclusively by coloured people, maintains a high standard, reflects their real sentiments without shame or fear, and aims at illustrating as much as expounding the genius of your race."²⁹ There is no reflection here of any animus towards Duse' Mohamed Ali for his methods of writing In The Land Of The Pharaohs.

These preparation having been made, Duse' Mohamed Ali handed over the subscription list and manuscript contributions to Taylor, and, on July 1st 1912 the African Times and Orient Review was born.³⁰ This does not, however, complete the story of its origins for, like many ill-nourished newborn infants, it nearly died shortly after birth. Taylor failed to pay the printers' bill for the first number, and consequently the printers refused to print the second until the debt was discharged.³¹ Taylor was then heavily extended in other business operations. He was busy with the affairs of a series of speculative West African fishery companies.³² Duse' Mohamed Ali alleged that Taylor was also heavily involved in shady share-pushing operations, and even that he had to bribe Horatio Bottomley, the then powerful and later notorious editor of John Bull, to withhold damaging revelations.³³ Whatever the truth of these damaging allegations it seems only fair to Taylor to recall that there was from the beginning

29. *ibid*, p.14.

30. "Leaves", in The Comet, 23rd October 1937, p.17.

31. *ibid*, 30th October 1937, p.7.

32. John Eldred Taylor's various companies are discussed in Chapter VI of this thesis.

33. "Leaves", in The Comet, 30th October 1937, p.7.

a difference in policy between himself and Duse' Mohamed Ali, and that at a time of financial difficulty the African Times and Orient Review would most likely have seemed a secondary commitment. Furthermore, the evidence at present available only tells Duse' Mohamed Ali's version of events, and it would be unwise to damn John Eldred Taylor's role in the review on this basis.

The African Times and Orient Review survived this natal crisis through the unlooked for intervention of a group of West African professional and businessmen then visiting London - a further example of the continual travelling of coloured Imperial subjects to London at that time.³⁴

34. W.E.B. Du Bois had commented on the occasion of his visit to London in 1911 to attend the Universal Races Congress; "This Empire is a colored Empire. Most of its subjects - a vast majority of its subjects - are colored people. And more and more the streets of London are showing this fact. I seldom step into its streets without meeting a half-dozen East Indians, a Chinaman, a Japanese or a Malay, and here and there a Negro. There must be thousands of people of color in this city. ... one senses continually the darker world." See The Crisis, August 1911, p.159.

For the West Africans who came to the ATOR's rescue at this juncture, see "Leaves", in The Comet, 30th October 1937, p.7, and ATOR, mid-July 1917, p.3; the names on the former list are the Hon. Casely Hayford, Frans Dove, Dr. O. Sapara, C.W. Betts and Rotimi Alade; the 1917 list names Casely Hayford, E.J.P. Brown, Dr. Papafio, Dr. Sapara, C.W. Betts, W.F. Dove, Frans Dove, and "the late" G.C. Cole.

Rotimi Alade, a disbarred barrister, Lagosian in origin,³⁵ who practised in the Gold Coast and who had been involved in political matters as far back as 1896, was so impressed by the defence of West African interests in the review's first number that he called a meeting, probably in the first week of August 1912, of a number of prominent West Africans.³⁶

Three of those involved in what began there were members of that highly significant Gold Coast body, the Aborigines Rights Protection Society.

These were, J.E. Casely Hayford - a figure now well enough known to historians of West Africa to need little introduction - barrister

35. Rotimi Alade's Yoruba name supports Duse Mohamed Ali's statement that he was in origin a Lagosian - see "Leaves", in The Comet, 30th October 1937, p.7. He had been disbarred on 12th November 1909 by the Bench of the Inner Temple, though at the same time with a recommendation that "the summing up of the learned Judge on which Mr. Rotimi Alade was convicted was unsatisfactory and that the order should be without prejudice to any application Mr. Rotimi Alade might make at any future time to be reinstated." Nevertheless, when in 1913 Alade petitioned for a free pardon in respect of his conviction in 1907, so that he might be reinstated in his profession, W.R. Townsend, the Gold Coast Attorney General, blocked his appeal on the grounds that "in my opinion the fact that Mr. Alade has complied with the sentence of the Court is not sufficient ground for re-instating him in a position in which trustworthiness is such a vital necessity." See Petition of Rotimi Alade for the King's Pardon, Governor Clifford to S. of S. Harcourt, 19th December 1913, Ghana National Archive, ADM 1/536, despatch G.C.927. For Rotimi Alade's early career in politics, see D. Kimble, A Political History of Ghana, Oxford 1963, p.299, n.1, which discloses Alade as joint drafter with C. Sapara Williams (see n.39 below) of a petition by Asantahene Prempeh for the release of himself and his companions.

36. "Leaves", in The Comet, 30th October 1937, p.7.

E.J.P. Brown and Dr. B.W. Quartey-Papafio, the first African doctor of Gold Coast nationality.³⁷ These men were in London in the course of further A.R.P.S. representations against the highly unpopular 1911 Gold Coast Forests Bill,³⁸ which the A.R.P.S. had opposed root and branch. The others were barrister Frans Dove, Dr. O. Sapara of Lagos, C.W. Betts,

37. Casely Hayford must be one of the best known of all West African political and intellectual figures of his generation, despite the lack of any monograph scholarly work on him; he is, however, well advertised through the distinction of his writings, which have never fallen into oblivion, and have in many cases been republished in recent times. His most influential major works include Gold Coast Native Institutions, London 1903; The Truth about the West African Land Question, London 1913, and his philosophical work in the form of a novel, maintaining the authentic and distinctive spiritual contribution of his race to civilisation in a crudely materialistic white dominated milieu, Ethiopia Unbound: Studies in Race Emancipation, London 1911. Kimble, op.cit., deals extensively with Casely Hayford's political career as a pillar of African land rights in the Gold Coast, the leading light for many years of the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society (centred on his home town of Cape Coast Castle), and a leader of the National Congress of British West Africa. For Hayford's part in the NCBWA, also see J.A. Langley, West African Aspects of the Pan-African Movements: 1900-1945, University of Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis, Chapters III, IV and VI.

For E.J.P. Brown (who became a member of the Gold Coast Legislative Council) and Dr. Quartey-Papafio, an Edinburgh graduate - see Sierra Leone Weekly News, 1st January 1887 - see the numerous references in Kimble, op.cit.

38. Kimble, op.cit., pp.368-70.

and F.W. Dove, Freetown Creole merchants and G.G. Cole.³⁹

Clearly, these men represented important African political and economic interests in the three major British West African territories. Their concern proclaims, in itself, the potential of the new review. The spirit of this group can surely be regarded as one forerunner of the creation of the National Congress of British West Africa following the First world war, and as such predates by two years the first moves

39. For information on Frans and F.W. Dove, see K.A.B. Jones-Quartey, "Sierra Leone's Role in the Development of Ghana", Sierra Leone Studies, n.s., vol.3, no.10, pp.77-81. F.W. (Fred.) Dove was active in Freetown politics and was a successful businessman. He had shown his interest in Pan-Africanism as early as 1900, when he represented West Africa at the 1900 London Pan-African Conference - see Sierra Leone Weekly News, 25th August 1900. I am indebted to Mr. Christopher Fyfe, Reader in African History in the University of Edinburgh, for this reference. His brother Frans Dove, is described by Jones-Quartey, op.cit., p.78, as "one of West Africa's most brilliant and best known lawyers for over half a century (who) ... became a fabulously rich man ... (and) ... single-handed educated his next three brothers in the law and medicine, then his son and first two nephews for the bar." G.G. Cole is a more obscure figure; he could have been the G. Gladstone Cole who according to the Sierra Leone Weekly News of 3rd December 1913 was claiming properties left by the late William Cole in Freetown; or perhaps the George Georgius Cole, merchant, of 210 Lunley Street, Freetown, who had subscribed for 100 10/- shares in John Eldred Taylor's Sierra Leone Deep Sea Fishing Company Ltd. in 1909 - see BT 31/18354/99352/10; the latter seems the more likely, perhaps, as a man who had £50 to pledge in a speculative venture in Freetown at that time was comparatively a man of wealth, and certainly a man willing to take financial risks. C.W. Betts was a Freetown businessman who had, like George Georgius Cole, invested in the Sierra Leone Deep Sea Fishing Company Ltd. in 1909, though to the much more cautious tune of 10 10/- shares - see *ibid.* Dr. Oguntola Sapara was a noted Lagos physician of Freetown Creole descent; his brother, the Hon. Christopher Alexander Sapara Williams was one of Lagos' most eminent citizens in the early years of this century - see "The Honourable Christopher Alexander Sapara Williams, C.M.G., 1855-1915", by Lloyd C. Gwam, in Nigerian Daily Times, 25th October 1964. This article contains information about the family background of the two brothers, and discloses that Dr. Oguntola Sapara was a graduate of both Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities.

towards the creation of that body.⁴⁰ Ironically, however, of the four members of the African Times and Orient Review rescue group later involved in some sense in the National Congress of British West Africa, only Casely Hayford and F.W. Dove were supporters, while H.J.P. Brown and Dr. Quartey-Papafio became bitter opponents of their erstwhile friends and colleagues.⁴¹

In this take-over of the ATOR, patriotism was mixed with personal animus and perhaps hopes of commercial gain. That is not to say, of course, that patriotic feeling was insincere in this case. Nevertheless, if West African patriotism were the only motive, then it would have made more sense to have joined forces with John Eldred Taylor. However, on the contrary, first Rotimi Alade sounded out Luse' Mohamed Ali privately on the group's behalf, and at the ensuing meeting at Frans Dove's lodgings, John Eldred Taylor was vilified as a person association with whom "... would be fraught with considerable harm to the Review in West Africa where Taylor's reputation was rather unsavoury."⁴² It would perhaps be wisest to view such allegations as stemming in large part from rivalry, though

40. Kimble, op.cit., .375, states "A conference of the leading men from the four British West African colonies was probably first suggested during 1914. Casely Hayford talked the plan over with Dr. R.A. Savage of Nigeria, who was then editing The Gold Coast Leader, and they asked F.W. Dove, a barrister friend in Freetown, to discuss the matter with influential people there. It will be noted that among the several links connecting these three men, all were in some way connected with the African Times and Orient Review. Savage, who like F.W. Dove had been at the 1900 Pan-African Conference in London, is discussed in relation to his connection with the ATOR in part III of this chapter.

41. Kimble, op.cit., pp.380 & 391.

42. "Leaves", in The Comet, 30th October 1937, p.7.

Taylor's business career certainly had its ups and downs.⁴³

The outcome, fortunate for the African Times and Orient Review if not for John Eldred Taylor, was an agreement that Duse' Mohamed Ali together with Alade and his associates should form a limited liability company.⁴⁴ Matters proceeded with an almost indecent haste. Acting through H.C. Mossop, an English solicitor with whom Frans Dove had previously been engaged in business, Articles of Association were prepared and the new company, African Times and Orient Review Ltd., was registered in only forty-eight hours.⁴⁵ No doubt speed was essential if Taylor was to be outmanoeuvred. On 23rd of August Mossop began the process of registration, which was completed and a certificate of incorporation issued by 26th.⁴⁶ Meanwhile Duse' had secured an office at 158 Fleet Street, which was to be his headquarters for the next nine years, and cannily registered the Crane cover design at the patent office. With Dr. Sapara he arranged office furniture (second hand) and paid off the outstanding printer's bill,⁴⁷

43. See Chapter VI of this thesis for further discussion of J.E. Taylor's business career.
44. "Leaves", in The Comet, 30th October 1937, p.7.
45. *ibid.* The solicitor's name is revealed in ATOR Ltd.'s initial declaration of compliance with the requirements of the Companies Act. See, BT 31/20888/123943/1. Mossop continued to act as solicitor for Duse' Mohamed Ali even after the collapse of ATOR Ltd.
46. See BT 31/20888/123943/1 - 6.
47. "Leaves", in The Comet, 30th October 1937, p.7.

with the result that the second issue of the review was out by mid-August.

Taylor was enraged at these transactions,⁴⁸ and at this point passed out of any active part in Duse Mohamed Ali's life. His name was, with one exception, to be discussed subsequently, never mentioned in the columns of the African Times and Orient Review. Duse Mohamed Ali remembered him in the harshest terms; "I have encountered, and been 'taken in' by, quite a few of the unprincipled fraternity, but John Eldred Taylor was so insinuatingly oily of manner that he could have extracted a life pension from a prosecuting attorney."⁴⁹ Yet even after they parted, in some respects their careers ran parallel. A couple of years later, Taylor set up his own publishing company in London and put out his own magazine, the African Telegraph. It may be significant that this paper only appeared at times when the African Times and Orient Review was in abeyance,⁵⁰ and it eventually ceased to exist in December 1919 through losing (as defendant) a spectacular libel action. The cause of this action was the publication by Taylor of material accusing Captain Fitzpatrick, a Northern Nigerian Resident, of being responsible for degrading

48. *ibid.*

49. *ibid.*

50. The African Telegraph was published from 14th November 1914 to 25th February 1915, and from December 1918 to December 1919; it was published by Taylor's African Co-operative Corporation Ltd.; the ATOR was published monthly from July 1912 to December 1913, weekly from 24th March 1914 to 19th August 1914, and monthly again from January 1917 to October 1918. Its successor, the Africa and Orient Review, was published monthly January-December 1920. In the cases of all three of these journals, there were lacunae within the main runs of publication.

punishments of innocent African women. Though losing the case with costs and heavy damages of £400, Taylor naturally became a hero and martyr in West Africa.⁵¹ But it is interesting to note that this moment of glory came through Taylor repeating what the African Times and Orient Review had done back in July 1912, when that paper had exposed a flogging scandal in Northern Nigeria.⁵² It was precisely that which had emotionally attracted the attention of Taylor's supplanters.⁵³ In fairness to Taylor, it must be conceded that to him should surely go much of the credit for this earlier exposure too. Eventually, Duse' was to follow in Taylor's footsteps in more than one sense, for later he became involved in grandiose, over-ambitious, but highly significant business ventures.⁵⁴

Before examining the contents, policies and influence of the African Times and Orient Review, it would be instructive to answer such questions as how great was its financial backing, what its circulation was and who its agents were. In the short run, Duse' Mohamed Ali himself benefitted

51. The Fitzpatrick Case of November 1919 is discussed at greater length and with full documentation in Chapter V of this thesis.

52. ATOR, July 1912, p.8.

53. In "Leaves", in The Comet, 30th October 1937, p.7, Duse' wrote; "These gentlemen on reading the first Number of the Review held a meeting ... when it was decided that the publication would be of great benefit to West Africa because they were attracted by our published report of the whipping of the two West African Government clerks, Taylor and Hall, at Zaria."

54. Chapter VI of this thesis is devoted to the study of such ventures in London up to 1921, while Chapter VII discusses them in the United States between 1921 and 1931.

largely from the creation of African Times and Orient Review Ltd. By a contract between himself and Fred. Dove (acting as trustee of the company), dated 21st August 1912, he was to receive £500 in shares and £500 in cash in return for his services. He had received £180 of the cash by 13th May 1913,⁵⁵ and though it is unlikely that the balance was ever paid, even this sum would have been enough at that time to give him temporary affluence. In addition, he was manager, editor and a director,⁵⁶ though what salary, if any, he received for these services is not known. However, very soon the African Times and Orient Review became his cross rather than his Eldorado. Early in 1914 the company collapsed and went into liquidation,⁵⁷ and he was left to support the magazine by his own efforts.⁵⁸ In December 1920, at the end of the review's existence, he

55. See BT.31/20888/123943/11, contract no. 1, for the contract of 21st August 1912; For the payment of £180 to Duse, see payments of ATOR Ltd. on capital account, in BT.31/20888/123943/13, dated 28th May 1913.
56. The Review's cover proclaimed "Duse Mohamed's" editorship; he is described in the prospectus of ATOR Ltd. as editor, director and general manager - see BT.31/20888/123943/11.
57. The order to have the company wound up was made by Mr. Justice Astbury in the King's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice on the 20th January 1914; see BT.31/20888/123943 and J.13/6470/224B51 No.00403 of 1913.
58. "Leaves", in The Comet, 30th October 1937, p.7, and ATOR, 30th June 1914, p.337.

lamented that "The Review has always been costly, and ever since its inception in 1912 it has been produced at a considerable loss, which the Editor has personally born on behalf of the cause the Review represents."⁵⁹

One of the basic reasons for the short and shaky life of African Times and Orient Review Ltd. was its very inadequate capital. Its authorised nominal capital was £3,000, but the first (and only) notice of share allotments, in May 1913, stated that only 1,664 £1 shares had been allotted. Even this disguises the true picture, since 500 of these shares, accounted as fully paid, were those promised by contract to Duse Mohamed Ali. On the remaining 1,164 shares, only £425 5s. had been paid up.⁶⁰ Who these shareholders were is nowhere fully listed, though it is stated in Duse's autobiography that C.W. Betts, the company's only other director,⁶¹ Rotimi Alade, who on occasion acted as C.W. Betts' deputy,⁶² Casely Hayford, Frans Dove and Dr. Sapara all took shares,⁶³ as very likely did the other members of the take-over (or rescue) syndicate. Possibly there were others too.

59. AOR, December 1920, p.iv.

60. See Statement of Nominal Capital of ATOR Ltd., BT.31/20888/123943/3 and Notice of Allotment of Shares in ATOR Ltd., 28th May 1913, BT.31/20888/123943/13.

61. See List of Persons Consenting to be Directors of ATOR Ltd., 26th August 1912, BT.31/20888/123943/2.

62. See BT.31/20888/123943/13.

63. "Leaves", in The Comet, 30th October 1937, p.7.

The review's special number for Christmas 1912 gave tribute to "... those at Accra and Freetown who have so nobly aided our efforts." It added, with hope that was to be largely unfulfilled, "... as we have given of our best, we trust that the other sections of the darker races will not withhold their immediate support."⁶⁴ The bulk of help received came from the group who together with himself had floated the company, and their hopes of persuading their friends in West Africa to buy shares were apparently unsuccessful.⁶⁵

To understand the untimely collapse of African Times and Orient Review Ltd., it is necessary to notice the gap between its aspirations and its means - which, in its turn has a wider significance as a reflection of the gap between the aspirations and the means of politically conscious West Africans at that time. It is thus significant that a large part of the company's prospectus was given over to a description and justification of the review's ideology,⁶⁶ rather than to mouth watering descriptions of assets and likely profitability. In truth, the company had little in the way of assets (or likely profits) to tempt the prudent investor - even the offices in prestigious Fleet Street were in fact on the top floor of a mean, narrow-fronted building.⁶⁷ When

64. See "Proem", ATOR, Christmas 1912 number, n.p.

65. "Leaves", in The Comet, 30th October 1937, p.7. An article from the black American Champion Magazine by William H. Ferris, reprinted in ATOR October 1917, p.84, acknowledges that unspecified "wealthy West Africans" had provided the means for the creation of the review.

66. Prospectus of ATOR Ltd., BT.31/20888/123943/11.

67. See photograph of the ATOR office in Fleet Street in ATOR, September 1913, p.99. This building has since been demolished.

offered to the public, only 10 shares had already been fully paid up by the promoters.⁶⁸ Eventually the company collapsed through its inability to discharge a debt of £168. 2.3. owing to Page and Thomas Ltd., the review's first printers. Here was a sad contrast between world-wide hopes and pitiful resources. After frequent and unsuccessful demand for payment Page and Thomas took the company to court, and in an unopposed hearing obtained a judgement in their favour from the King's Bench Division of the High Court on 9th December 1912.⁶⁹ The sum was not paid; the dispute toiled on via a final demand for payment from Page & Thomas's solicitors,⁷⁰ to a Companies Court order that African Times and Orient Review Ltd. be compulsorily wound up. Two days later on 20th January 1914 an official receiver was appointed.⁷¹ An ineffectual effort had been made by the company to pay its debts to Page and Thomas after the December 1912 judgement. In December 1913 the annual subscription was raised from four and sixpence to six shillings, no doubt with this debt

68. This was only marginally more than the minimum needed to comply with the provisions of the Companies Act. See BT.31/20888/123943/12.

69. See judgement in favour of Page and Thomas Ltd. against ATOR Ltd. given by King's Bench Division of High Court of Justice, 9th December 1912, J.20/1483/8334; also see Petition of Page and Thomas Ltd. in the High Court of Justice, Companies Winding Up, clauses (6) and (7), J.13/6470 No .00403 of 1913.

70. This was served on 30th October 1913; see Petition of Page and Thomas Ltd., clause (7), J.13/6470 No.00403 of 1913.

71. See J.13/6470 No.00403 of 1913 for these proceedings.

in mind.⁷² On 1st January it assigned to its creditors sums due in respect of share subscriptions.⁷³ Had those who applied for shares paid the whole sum properly due on application and allotment - a combined sum of fifteen shillings per share - then the company would have been able to meet its debts and stave off collapse. But in fact only £425. 5. 0. was received in respect of 1,164 shares issued,⁷⁴ whereas £875 ought to have been received.

Although it may seem conclusive that financial weakness caused the death of African Times and Orient Review Ltd., yet there is other evidence which makes the whole matter more mysterious. In his autobiography Duse Mohamed Ali claimed that until the time when the special issue for Christmas 1912 was under preparation, the monthly printer's bills had been regularly paid. At that point, advance payment was, he said, demanded before the printer would proceed, "claiming that his partner had imposed the new rule because there were so many outstanding accounts which seemed uncollectable."⁷⁵ Now it is obvious that this does not accord with the Companies Court records of proceedings against the review company. Nevertheless, his explanation of Page and Thomas's alleged unreasonable

72. ATOR, December-January 1913, p.187.

73. See Petition of Page and Thomas Ltd. against ATOR Ltd., clause (8), J.13/6470 No.00403 of 1913.

74. ATOR Ltd.'s prospectus - BT.31/20888/123943/11 - States that 10/- was payable on application and 5/- on allotment for each £1 ordinary share; the notice of shares allotted of 28th May 1913 - BT.31/20888/123943/13 states that £425. 5. -. had been paid in cash on the 1,164 £1 ord. shares allotted.

75. "Leaves", in The Comet, 30th October 1937, p.7.

change of policy is of the highest interest;

The sequel came a few days later. I chanced to call at the National Liberal Club where I encountered a friend who informed me that a few nights previously he overheard a conversation in the Club between a well-known Soap-manufacturer, who had connections in West Africa, and my printer. The manufacturer had been opposed by me because he had secured a tract of Land in a west African Protectorate in the centre of a palm growing section which obstructed the right of way used by the natives to reach the market. By this action the traders and farmers were compelled to do a ten mile tramp around the concession before they could arrive at the market which meant delayed arrival until it was too late to secure adequate payment for their palm kernels. The gentleman in question would only purchase at his price which was very much below that obtained at the market. Their complaint was forwarded to me and I wrote in defence of the sufferers, publishing a cartoon which they would understand and which was by no means flattering to the Soap-maker concerned. Hence his displeasure and his effort to close down the Review through my printer.⁷⁶

There can be no doubt that the "Soap-maker" was none other than Sir William Lever, the giant of the British soap and margarine industry, whose firm was then engaged in a struggle to obtain major concessions for oil palm products in British west Africa.⁷⁷ It is equally true that Duse' Mohamed Ali had used the African Times and Orient Review to attack Sir William Lever's west African projects in every way - through editorials, cartoons, a lampoon, articles and letters from readers.⁷⁸

In fact, Duse' Mohamed Ali's allegations of attempts by Sir William Lever to stifle the African Times and Orient Review go even further.

76. *ibid*, p.17.

77. See Charles Wilson, The History of Unilever, 2 vols., London 1954, vol.I, pp.163-5, 180-3.

78. Duse' Mohamed Ali's campaign against Lever Brothers and its background is fully discussed in part II of this chapter.

The review survived its December 1912 crisis, Duse wrote, because he had duplicates of his manuscripts, and was able to take them to another printer.⁷⁹ But subsequently, we are told, a retired Colonel was sent by the "Soap-maker" with an offer of £3,000 on the tacit understanding that the review would drop its role of encouraging West African opposition, and was answered thus;

'I am afraid' I replied, 'I am not for sale. If your principal desires to aid and he is prepared to place his £3,000 at my disposal devoid of strings; and will pay the natives a fair price for their produce I shall be only too pleased to use my poor influence to induce them to let your principal to have their produce. But, as I have stated, I am not for sale.'

The Colonel thanked me for my candour and promised to convey my decision to his principal. As I anticipated, I never heard any more about the remarkable offer...⁸⁰

Is this to be regarded as a mere self-exonerating myth, or could there be any substance in these sensational allegations? It is a curious coincidence that the alleged bribe was exactly equal to the nominal capital of African Times and Orient Review Ltd. It would be unwise to assert that the African Times and Orient Review would have been beneath Sir William Lever's notice. West African opposition to any scheme that seemed to threaten traditional land rights was at that time both vehement and effective - and was, of course, particularly associated with J. Casely Hayford, and other rescuers and backers of the review.⁸¹ Prominence was

79. "Leaves", in The Comet, 30th October 1937, p.7.

80. *ibid*, p.17.

81. See Kimble, *op.cit.*, pp.364-66 for Casely Hayford's role in opposition to the Forest Legislation which in his view threatened traditional land rights.

given in the review to Casely Hayford's works on native land rights and the threats to them. Thus it is not possible to dismiss lightly the possibility that Duse' Mohamed Ali may, as he claimed, have been approached with some cash offer to modify his editorial policy. Three thousand pounds would have been sufficient to give him control of over half of the company's shares, and thus make him independent of pressure from his associates, as well as enabling him to meet debts. Likewise (though more tenuously) the question remains that it may have been the case that Page and Thomas were in some way persuaded to press for immediate repayment of money owed them. But, it must be emphasised, these questions remain questions. What is clear is that Duse' Mohamed Ali believed (or wished his readers to believe) that in some way the failure of African Times and Orient Review Ltd. was linked with machinations by the commercial interests that the review had attacked. In a more general sense, he believed that "advertisers were rather shy of a venture which was primarily aimed at aiding the non-European races of the world, politically and commercially."⁸² Although it would not be true to say that the review attracted no advertising from large British enterprises, yet it is certainly true that the large British tropical produce interests did not advertise in its pages. A glimpse of Duse' Mohamed Ali's efforts to raise advertising revenue can be seen in a letter of October 1912 to Booker T. Washington which solicited an advertisement for Tuskegee Institute and itemised the review's

82. "Leaves", in The Comet, 30th October 1937, p.7.

advertising rates.⁸³ But no Tuskegee advertisement ensued. Perhaps the review's limited circulation was enough to deter many potential advertisers, regardless of any other factor.

It is a tribute to his tenacity that the African Times and Orient Review survived the collapse of its publishing company, and continued in various forms until December 1920. Its existence was, however, intermittent, proof that the financial difficulties of the review were never really solved. Its first run, as a monthly, from July 1912 to December 1913 marks the era of African Times and Orient Review Ltd. (Apart, of course, from the very first issue.) Even within that period, readers had to be content with bi-monthly numbers for December 1912 - January 1913 and February - March 1913 - the time of the breach with Page and Thomas Ltd. After the collapse of the review company, Duse' Mohamed Ali brought the review out again as a weekly on 24th March 1914. This weekly was conceived as "... a topical, spirited and inspiring history and comment on the world's passing show..."; while more reflective articles by "... the best minds..." were to be presented in a quarterly edition⁸⁴ which, however, never came to fruition. The weekly edition, on the other hand, survived until August 19th 1914. Evidently for a time he accepted that the review had then finished, for in June 1916 in a letter to his black

83. See Duse' Mohamed Ali, 158 Fleet Street, London, to Booker T. Washington, Tuskegee Institute, 23rd October 1912, Booker T. Washington Papers, Library of Congress, 1912, box 465. The rates quoted were £30 per page for one insertion, or £15 per page per insertion for twelve months; a quarter page was offered at £60 per year.

84. ATOR 24th March 1914, p.2.

American friend John E. Bruce he referred to the "late African Times and Orient Review".⁸⁵ Nevertheless, the African Times and Orient Review did re-appear from January 1917 till October 1918 - this time reverting to a monthly. However, within this period there were no issues for March to June 1918. The last run of the review appeared from January 1920 to December 1920 (but with no issues for October and November) under the slightly changed title of Africa and Orient Review. But it was still published at 158 Fleet Street, and the first number under the new title even had a symposium, like back in July 1912. Although no further issues of the review were produced after December 1920, Duse' Mohamed Ali may have had it in mind until as late as 1926 that some day the review might be started up yet again.⁸⁶

How the review was financed after December 1913 is by no means clear. Duse' himself bought the goodwill of the company to enable it to continue under the same name. In the period 1917-1920, one source of support may have been T.A. Doherty of Lagos, then resident in London. It is said that he helped Duse' in recurring financial difficulties, giving him money to pay the review's staff on several occasions. But Chief Doherty

85. Duse' Mohamed Ali to John E. Bruce, 5th June 1916, Bruce Papers, 1731, Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library.

86. Although he went to the United States at some time in the last 5 months of 1921, his original intention was to return to Britain, and only unforeseen circumstances led to his remaining in the United States for ten years. See Chapter VII of this thesis for discussion of these circumstances. The AOR continued to be advertised in the Newspaper Press Directory till 1926.

himself denies that he put money in the review.⁸⁷ No further attempt was made to support it by means of a limited liability company. Income from subscriptions and sales must have provided something. The annual subscription for the post-war Africa and Orient Review began at eight shillings and sixpence, but was raised by two shillings in its last issue in December 1920, presumably because of financial difficulties. It is hard to believe that Duse' Mohamed Ali supported a money losing magazine entirely out of his own pocket, though he was (for example) named as the sole proprietor as well as editor and publisher in the title page of the Africa and Orient Review. In fact, help was received, though often on a random, providential basis, as was admitted in the first issue of the weekly African Times and Orient Review in June 1914;

There were times when we felt we must give up the struggle, so desperate was our position, so insistent were our creditors. Nevertheless, believing as we do in the justice of our cause ... we knew that the All-Seeing would raise friends and helpers through whose financial assistance we would be extricated from our difficulties. We were rarely disappointed in this hope.

For example, after the bankruptcy proceedings over the old Company we gave our printers an undertaking to meet certain financial calls over the 'Weekly'. The day arrived when the second call had to be met. The Editor had received promises of help that did not materialise. The day arrived; it was publication day. There was no money in the bank and less in the office. We went to the bank through which remittances were usually sent. The Editor

87. Alhajji L.B. Augusto of Lagos, who lodged with Duse' Mohamed Ali in London in 1920, stated in an interview with the present writer in Lagos in 1967 that T.A. Doherty had given Duse' money to pay the ATOR's staff on several occasions. Chief Doherty on the other hand, who the writer also interviewed in Lagos in 1967, denied any such benefaction. Perhaps this is modesty on Chief Doherty's behalf; on the other hand, he pointed out to the writer that as a student in London at the time (1916-1920) he was in no position to give financial help to anybody. For Duse' Mohamed Ali's purchase of the goodwill of the company, see "The African Times and Orient Review Ltd. (in liquidation)", ATOR, 7th April 1914, p.56.

could not face the printers with excuses, and although by no means a coward, he dreaded the admission that he could not keep an undertaking with one of the best men who has ever been compelled to do business under modern conditions. The Editor walked the inhospitable streets of London in despair, not knowing where to turn for a friend. He returned to his office at 6 o'clock when the staff had returned to their homes. He opened the letter box and found two letters. An unregistered letter from an Oriental Prince to whom he had applied for assistance some three months previous, the other from a subscriber who, unmindful of the Editor's difficulties, wrote to complain of the non-arrival of his paper. The two letters were from the same country. The subscriber's was opened first. The Editor feared to open the letter of the Prince, as he regarded it, owing to its unregistered cover, to be yet another missive of regret. After reading the subscriber's letter, the Prince's was opened, and a cheque for £55 fell upon the floor. A five pound subscription to the Anglo-Ottoman Society, and £50 to help the work of the African Times and Orient Review. The tears of joy rose unbidden to the eyes of the Editor. The help which the Editor knew would come, although he knew not whence. On an earlier occasion a white friend in California, who is by no means liberally endowed with this world's goods, whilst walking on a railway line in Arizona picked up a five dollar piece. He at once bought a money order and sent it to the Editor. On the day of its arrival the Editor was at his wits end as to how postage was to be obtained to send out the paper to the subscribers and others, the money he had in hand being insufficient. On this day the money order of the Californian arrived and the situation was saved. Can there be any doubt that God takes care of his own?

... we could continue to pile up instances of this kind. The average businessman will say, it is not possible to conduct a newspaper without adequate capital. Of course, the average businessman will be right, but you see this is not the average periodical. We are exceptional and as a consequence we adopt exceptional methods.⁸⁸

Nothing could, in all probability, give a better impression of the day to day running of the African Times and Orient Review than the above. Here is displayed the essence of its hand to mouth existence, alternating between the need to butter up the printer with gross flattery, and a Micawberish faith in 'something turning up'. On the one hand, moments

88. See "Our Second Year", ATOR, 30th June 1914, pp.337-8.

of heartbreaking despair, and on the other of exultation when readers responded generously, which must have made the venture seem worthwhile.

In internal organisation, the African Times and Orient Review was necessarily modest. In September 1913, there was one other member of editorial staff in addition to Duse' himself. This was Charles Rosher, an Englishman who was the author of a number of books on North African affairs, a supporter of the Universal Races Congress, a regular contributor to the review, and an Islamophil.⁸⁹ Rosher apart, the other four

89. Charles Rosher had been involved in the ATOR from its early days, being named as the company secretary of ATOR Ltd. in its prospectus - see BT.31/20888/123943/11. According to the preface by R.B. Cunningham Graham in Rosher's book Light For John Bull on the Moroccan Question with a Note on Tripoli, London 1911, pp.14-15, he had served as Engineer to Sultan Mulai Abd al-Aziz of Morocco, and not only "in a time of universal pillage took nothing but his pay" but also "was one of those few Britons in the place who did not in speaking of the Moors, call them 'bloody niggers'." Clearly, this was a man who could work sympathetically with Duse' Mohamed Ali; he was to be Duse's loyal comrade in the Turcophil movements discussed in Chapter V of this thesis. His Light For John Bull ... was not only hostile to French Imperialism, but also to the financiers, (whom Duse' too considered to be guilty of inspiring most of the aggression against African and Asian countries) - see Rosher, op.cit., pp.61 & 81. Rosher was also the author of an anti-Italian pamphlet, The Red Oasis, A Record of the Massacres Perpetrated in Tripoli by the Italian Army, London 1912. This disclosed that Rosher was a personal friend of the eminent Sioux Indian intellectual, Dr. Charles E. Eastman. In The Red Oasis, p.32 Rosher quoted, with an approbation that Duse' Mohamed Ali would have shared, Charles E. Eastman's verdict that "it is my personal experience after 35 years experience of it that there is no such thing as Christian Civilization." For mention of Rosher as a member of the ATOR's editorial staff, see ATOR, September 1913, p.102. For his contribution of a poem to the Universal Races Congress, see Record of the Proceedings of the First Universal Races Congress, p.6.

mentioned were all coloured. They were J.H.D. Fredericks, described as Travelling Representative, Africa; Arthur A. Anderson, described as Travelling Agent, United States of America; John E. Bruce, described as General Agent for the United States; and Henry F. Downing, "author of the current serial."⁹⁰ It is evident from what has been said about the review's finances at this time that none of these four men can have been full time employees. Bruce was, of course, a veteran American Negro journalist and race patriot, largely self-educated⁹¹ - perhaps one reason for his firm friendship with Duse'. But he was certainly never a mere protégé of Duse', and would have been busy with many other things besides his General Agency. It is significant that at least two of these four men were Americans; for if the African Times and Orient Review owed its existence to West Africans, it also had from the beginning close ties with the politically and racially conscious Negroes of the United States. Clearly, an American "staff" of two could not give the review mass coverage, even within the Negro community. But Bruce in particular was clearly a man of influence and with wide connections within his community. Anderson was an obscurer but interesting figure, who developed great respect for Duse' Mohamed Ali and the African Times and Orient Review,

90. ATOR, September 1913, p.102.

91. See Adelaide C. Hill and Martin Kilson, eds. Apropos of Africa, Sentiments of Negro American Leaders on Africa from the 1800s to the 1950s London 1969, p.126 for a brief c.v. of John E. Bruce.

and later propagated a doctrine of racial separateness for American Negroes.⁹² But the most eminent of those from the New world who worked for the African Times and Orient Review was no American, but the future "Black Moses", the Jamaican Marcus Garvey, then an unknown young man. He worked for the review in a very humble capacity in 1912-1913, apparently as a mere messenger boy,⁹³ though he did contrive to have an article published in the review's October 1913 number.⁹⁴ It would not seem

92. For information on Arthur A. Anderson, see John H. Bracey Jr., August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, eds., Black Nationalism in America New York, 1970, pp.157, 160 and 177-87. There was a prophetic ring about Anderson's writings - in 1913 he demanded \$600,000,000 indemnity and a territory in the United States for Negroes from the U.S. Government as an indemnity for black slavery and the Negro blood shed in building up the country - see *ibid*, pp.180-81. Presumably of Duse' Mohamed Ali he wrote "we've a few smart men of other darker races in London that can help too. Much has already been published in the African Times and Orient Review of London to prove that among Negro American slaves are descendants of African Kings, Egyptian Potentates, Nubian nobility exiles and slaves of Turkish aristocracy." See *ibid*, pp.182-3.
93. See E.D. Cronon, Black Moses. The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association, Madison, Wisconsin, 1955, p.15; Amy Jaques Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, Kingston, Jamaica, 1963, p.9, and Duse' Mohamed Ali's obituary of Marcus Garvey in The Comet, 17th August 1940, p.4. It is clear that the two men parted on not very intimate terms after this, their first period of association. The Comet obituary states "Garvey was employed in the London Office ... for the greater part of a year, when this writer possessed every opportunity of observing Mr. Garvey at close quarters. During this period, while there was ample evidence of his determination to rise above his fellows, there was no suggestion of his subsequently becoming a leader of his people."
94. See Marcus Garvey, "The British West Indies in the Mirror of Civilization. History Making by Colonial Negroes", in African Times and Orient Review, October 1913, pp.158-60.

that Garvey's time at the ATOk was particularly happy, since as early as July 1913 he was applying to the Colonial Office for assistance in returning to his native Jamaica, and eventually left Britain in June 1914 with help from the Aborigines Protection Society.⁹⁵ Not only the New World provided staff from overseas for the review. W.F. Hutchison of the Gold Coast, a long term African resident in London, contributor to the review from its earliest years, and in 1917-18 its official war correspondent, acted as Duse Mohamed Ali's deputy editor in the period January to December 1920. Hutchison originated from the town of Cape Coast, that seedbed of early nationalism in the Gold Coast. He had as a young man served under Sir Garnet Wolseley in the second Ashanti war; and in 1886 with John Sarbah and F.C. Grant he was appointed extraordinary member

95. See C.O. to Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society (hence, APS) 30th May 1914, which advises the APS that Garvey had applied for assistance to the C.O. on 8th July 1913, and had been refused, but told that if he first entered a workhouse he might obtain free repatriation. See APS Papers, Rhodes house, Oxford, MSS Brit. Emp. S.22 G.127 "Distressed Natives". On 28th May 1914 the APS informed the C.O. that Garvey had applied to them on the advice of the Labour M.P. John Burns for assistance - see *ibid.* On 9th June 1914, the APS wrote the C.O. that Garvey had rejected the suggestion of entering a workhouse, and was attempting to raise money for his passage by private appeal - to which the APS asked the C.O. to subscribe. See *ibid.* On 19th June 1914 the APS wrote the C.O. that Garvey had left Britain previous Wednesday, and on 18th August 1914 wrote to H.J. Read at the C.O. that "the Society raised among members of the Committee and one or two friends sufficient to pay this man's passage back." See *ibid.* I am indebted to Mr. Neil Parsons, of the Department of History, University of Zambia, for this information.

of the Gold Coast Legislative Council.⁹⁶

It was certainly Duse' Mohamed Ali's hope to distribute the review throughout the United States, and to this end he tried in May 1912 to enlist the help of Booker T. Washington, who as will be demonstrated later, he had a great admiration for. Booker T. Washington was asked to contribute to the symposium, to help in finding American agents and correspondents, and was also offered free copies for distribution - presumably it was hoped for distribution to his influential friends and associates.⁹⁷ But there is no evidence of what, if any, action the great

96. Kimble, op.cit., lists W.F. and W. Hutchison separately in his index, and treats them as separate persons, remarking that W.F. Hutchison returned to the Gold Coast in 1919 after an absence of over 20 years, (see p.546) while mentioning W. Hutchison's career on the Legislative Council elsewhere (see pp.417, n.6 & 456). But a letter from Duse' Mohamed Ali to Capt. The Hon. Aubrey Herbert, 28 Bruton St., London W., 14th September 1917 states of W.F. Hutchison that he was "a British subject of the Gold Coast Colony, who has been a member of the Legislative Council of the Colony, and received a commission from Sir Garnet Wolsely, under who he served in the Ashanti War." See F.O. 395/130/186216/58. Duse' Mohamed Ali's relationship with Aubrey Herbert is discussed in Chapter V of this thesis. The same letter states that Hutchison had been chosen as a suitable person to represent the ATOR as its reporter on the Western Front; also see James Baird, F.O., to Lt. Col. Raymond Greene, W.O., 18th September 1917, F.O. 395/130/186216/58, forwarding a copy of the above letter from Duse' to Aubrey Herbert. Also see ATOR, October 1917, p.75, which states that the review had asked permission to send W.F. Hutchison to the front as its war correspondent. The War Office did not accede to these requests; this matter is further discussed in part II of this chapter. Nevertheless, Hutchison contributed a series of articles on the war to the review, which were announced in ATOR, December 1918, p.108. For the information about W.F. Hutchison's assistant editorship of the AOR in the period January-December 1920, I am indebted to Mr. Wendell L. Wray, Acting Curator (at time of correspondence in September 1965) of the Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library.

97. Duse' Mohamed to Booker T. Washington, 1st May 1912, BTW Papers, Library of Congress, box 465.

man took in response to these requests, the symposium apart. Four months later in August 1912 Casely Hayford was writing to Booker T. Washington, asking that he should, if interested, show the paper to friends, as he was "sure that it will do us a lot of good."⁹⁸ The word "us" here is of the highest interest, and shows how unwise it would be to regard the West Africa and Negro American supporters of the African Times and Orient Review as separate groups. On the contrary, they were men who already at that time had similar enough interests and problems to be able to identify with each other. Here we see the fabric of Pan-African feeling being woven. There is evidence that in October 1912 Booker T. Washington advised Duse' Mohamed Ali on how to increase the review's circulation in the United States,⁹⁹ but what that advice consisted of is not known. However, what emerges clearly is that Booker T. Washington acted as patron and adviser to this avowedly Pan-African project from its inception. This supports the rejection that has been urged by certain scholars in recent years of the old, dismissive attitude to Booker T. Washington.¹⁰⁰

98. J. C. Casely Hayford, Westminster Palace Hotel, London, to Booker T. Washington, 7th August 1912, *ibid.*

99. Duse' Mohamed Ali to Booker T. Washington, 23rd October 1912, *ibid.*, begins; "Permit me to thank you for your letter of the 11th inst. I note what you say in regard to increasing circulation of the Review in the United States."

100. See for e.g. K. J. King, The American Background of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions and Their Influences in Education in East Africa, Especially in Kenya, Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, May 1968, pp. 21-2, 27-30, 370; and Louis T. Harlan, "Booker T. Washington and the White Man's Burden", American Historical Review, LXXVI, 2, January 1966, pp. 441-67.

The overseas distribution of the African Times and Orient Review had a more organised basis than canvassing the favour of influential men. Agencies were established in every continent. Many of these were, of course, commercial booksellers and newsagents such as Gordon and Gotch, who distributed the review in the major cities of Australia and New Zealand.¹⁰¹ It cannot be supposed that such a firm would have provided more than a passive outlet, or that in that part of the world there would have been more than a handful of readers. But an examination of the review's overseas agents reveals that a number of them were men of real significance in their local communities or even in the wider world. Thus, if the overseas agents and distributors in March 1914 are surveyed,¹⁰² among them are to be found, Rev. S.R.B. Attoh Ahuma at Cape Coast, Gold Coast. Cape Coast was then very much a centre of political life in the Gold Coast, being the original home and leading centre of the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society. Attoh Ahuma was, as Secretary of the A.R.P.S., well placed to spread the message and influence of the African Times and Orient Review in Cape Coast. He had, since the eighteen-nineties, been one of the most racially and politically conscious figures in the Gold Coast.¹⁰³

In South Africa, a far more obscure but most interesting figure, Francis Zaccheus Santiago Peregrino was acting as the review's Capetown

101. ATOR, October 1912, p.11.

102. *ibid*, 24th March 1914, p.19.

103. Kimble, *op.cit.*, pp.371-2 & 519-20.

distributor. Born in Accra of Afro-Brazilian and Ga parentage in 1851, he had lived in both Britain and the Gold Coast, and had been inspired by his participation in the 1900 Pan-African Conference in London to emigrate to South Africa, thence being domiciled in Capetown till his death in 1919. In Capetown he ran a magazine called the South African Spectator and created a Coloured Peoples Vigilance Association, contemporary with the better known African Peoples Organisation. He was acquainted with such prominent political figures as Rev. W. Rubusana of the South African African National Congress and Dr. A. Abdurahman of the A.P.O., and his contacts ranged into the Southern African interior as far North as Barotseland. An active small businessman in Capetown, he would no doubt have approved of the African Times and Orient Review's stress on the need for members of the "darker races" to run their own business enterprises.¹⁰⁴ How Duse' Mohamed Ali came to know of Peregrino is speculative, but one common link was that both men were Honorary members of the Negro Society for Historical Research.¹⁰⁵

A few years later, in September 1917, one finds J.E.K. Aggrey among these overseas agents. He acted as Joint General-Agent for the United States, together with J.E. Bruce. How much Aggrey was in accord with the African Times and Orient Review's radicalism is not clear, but it is perhaps legitimate to speculate that there is here a different pers-

104. I am greatly indebted to my friend Mr. Q. Neil Parsons, Lecturer in History in the University of Zambia, for this information about an obscure but fascinating figure.

105. See list of members of the Negro Society for Historical Research, in Hill and Kilson, Apropos of Africa, pp.176-77.

pective of Aggrey from the accommodationist figure who emerges from the pages of E.W. Smith's biography.¹⁰⁶ Aggrey's connection with the review is yet another illustration of the close relationship between its American and West African supporters, for he was an intimate of J.E. Bruce.¹⁰⁷ It may be presumed that Bruce was responsible for his ATOR agency.

As well as the significant individuals who one can cite as engaged in the overseas distribution of the review, it is impressive to note the extent of its overseas outlets. If one again takes the example of the position in March 1914,¹⁰⁸ one finds that the review had more distributors in West Africa than anywhere else. The Gold Coast had an additional outlet to Cape Coast at Secondee. Nigeria had not only two outlets in Lagos, and others in Calabar, Onitsha, Baro, Zungero and Ibadan, but also had an African Times and Orient Review Committee in Ibadan. There were also two distributors in Freetown and one in Monrovia. Outside West Africa, the United States had the most distributors - in addition to J.E. Bruce in New York City, there were two in Pittsburgh and one each in Guthrie, Oklahoma; Wilmington, North Carolina; and Los Angeles, California. Other overseas agencies were in Alexandria (two); Cairo; Tokyo (two); Kuala Lumpur; Calcutta; Lahore; Colombo (two); Kingston,

106. For Aggrey's joint General-Agency for the ATOR in the U.S.A., see ATOR, September 1917, p.159, and following issues to October 1918. For the standard biography of Aggrey, see E.W. Smith, Aggrey of Africa, London, 1929.

107. Hill and Kilson, op.cit., pp.126-7.

108. ATOR, March 24th 1914, p.19.

Jamaica; Georgetown, British Guiana; Paramaibo, Dutch Guiana; Toronto; and Ancon, Panama Canal Zone, as well as the Australian and New Zealand outlets already mentioned. Additionally, twenty-three steamship lines took copies of the review for their saloons. Naturally, there was some variation in this pattern over the eight years that the review was published. For example, we find the American distributors in October 1912 being in Louisville, Memphis, and Wilberforce University.¹⁰⁹ The review claimed readers in a wide range of places far from its agencies, and this is borne out by its correspondence columns.¹¹⁰ But the overall pattern remained much the same. It can be concluded, then, that the review's overseas readership was scattered over the world, wherever sufficient literate English speaking Africans and Asians were to be found, but that the main overseas readership was presumably to be found in West Africa and the United States.

A more difficult question to answer is what the size of the African Times and Orient Review's readership was. There appear to be no reliable figures extant. As has already been shown, there is evidence that the original subscription list was a few hundred. In September 1912 the review announced "We have received pledges that warrant us in expecting an immediate subscription list of something like 5,000 ... We mean to

109. *ibid*, October 1912, p.11.

110. See the regular ATOR correspondence feature "The Arena", which appeared from July 1912, p.19. The impact of the review on its readers is discussed in part III of this chapter.

have no fewer than 25,000 annual subscribers."¹¹¹ Yet it is probably doubtful if even the lower of these figures was ever reached, while the higher would have made the review a notable phenomenon in contemporary British journalism. In assessing the impact of the African Times and Orient Review it must, therefore, be well understood that it was never a mass circulation organ; but on the other hand, though this condition was no doubt imposed by its financial weakness, yet also the review had the character of a "quality" magazine. If one compared it with its British contemporaries, it was far more akin to The New Age than to John Bull. Furthermore, the problems of distributing the magazine over the face of the globe were surely an inhibiting factor in circulation growth. Since it pre-dated the era of air-mail editions, by the time its issues reached subscribers in West Africa, India or California, its news must often have been hopelessly stale - particularly as so many of its most important articles had been gathered from such places by the same time-consuming channels. At various times, readers were urged to play their part in boosting circulation. In September 1912, a free post-paid copy of the review was offered to anyone in any part of the world who sent in an order, with cash, for twelve annual subscribers.¹¹² This had little enough success it would seem, at least in terms of Duse Mohamed Ali's wilder aspirations, for a few months later he admitted that while new subscribers were coming in, "we are still a long way from the 25,000 ...

111. ATOR, September 1912, p.101.

112. *ibid.*

we mean to have."¹¹³ Other circulation stunts were tried. The Africa and Orient Review launched a beauty competition; not, however, a merely frivolous exercise as it was open only to coloured women and extolled the concept expressed to-day by the phrase "black is beautiful".¹¹⁴ At another time, the African Times and Orient Review proffered a prize essay competition on a race destiny theme.¹¹⁵ Yet there is every reason to believe that these added inducements to the review's message failed to add the flood of new readers needed to make its existence less intermittent and its ultimate end more distant.

It remains to consider how contributions to the review were organised. A very substantial part of the review was written by Duse' Mohamed Ali himself, as might be expected in the case of a magazine with limited resources in money and staff. With the exception of the Africa and Orient Review 1920, whose editorials were shared with W.F. Hutchison, Duse' Mohamed Ali apparently wrote all the editorial articles, which were often as much as three or four pages long.¹¹⁶ This was by no means the

113. *ibid*, December-January 1913, p.197.

114. AOR, May 1920, p.111.

115. ATOR, August 1912, p.62.

116. From July 1912 to August 1914, the editorial feature appeared under the heading "Yesterday, To-day and To-Morrow". To illustrate with a particular example, the editorial for the issue of February-March 1913, pp.233-5, discussed corporal punishment of Africans in Bornu and Zaria; a recent penal proclamation in Northern Rhodesia; and the West African Land question. In the period January 1917 - October 1918, the editorial was simply headed "To-day", while the AOR editorials were all placed at the end of the magazine under the heading "The Final Word".

limit of his contributions. His reminiscences of the important people he had met from time to time have already been referred to in earlier chapters. These appeared in the Africa and Orient Review in every issue from January to December 1920. He contributed many book and theatre reviews - some of the latter appearing under the pseudonym "The Savage Stallite", but clearly issuing from his pen.¹¹⁷ Other articles and political verses appearing under the pseudonym "Delta" were also written by Duse.¹¹⁸ Appearing under his own name can be found miscellaneous items, such as a couple of short stories,¹¹⁹ editorial comments on other

117. See for e.g. AOR January 1920, pp.12-14. The reasons for supposing that these theatre reviews were written by Duse are partly stylistic, but also because it is hardly to be supposed that any other regular contributor to the magazine had his theatre experience.

118. For an e.g. of "Delta's" versifying, see "Poor Pompey's Plea to Caesar", ATOR, July 1912, p.25. The subject of this, the first of "Delta's" contributions, was the relationship between the Egyptian nation and Imperial Britain - a topic that it is safe to assume that Duse would reserve for himself in the magazine's first issue. This is given further circumstantial confirmation by the nature of some of "Delta's" prose contributions, e.g. the article "British Museum Types" in ATOR, Christmas 1912, pp.39-40, which contained a humorous description of eccentric characters to be seen in the British Museum Library, which Duse Mohamed Ali had used two years before while working on his In The Land Of The Pharaohs. But the Dusan provenance of the "Delta" articles is made certain by references in two of them to events in his own life. In ATOR 11th August 1914, p.468 "Delta" refers to having, with other Egyptians in London, unsuccessfully volunteered for military service. Even more conclusive is "Delta's" article "Rotten Row Conversations. White Women and Coloured Men", ATOR September 1917, pp.63-5, which relates the circumstances of his writing his article on the same topic for The New Age in 1909.

119. See "Katebet the Priestess" and "Abdul" in ATOR, Christmas 1912, pp.3-7 & 94-99.

articles,¹²⁰ open letters to various worthies,¹²¹ and a couple of articles under the heading "The Editor Abroad" on his visit to west Africa in 1920.¹²² Such is the cannon of more or less undisputable Dusián writing in the review. There are, however, other items that must be suspected as by him. Numbers of articles appeared in the review's earlier issues under the pseudonym "Sothis", usually taking a line more unequivocally critical of the British than editorials. The style in which these articles are written, the sentiments expressed in them, and the ancient Egyptian flavour of the pseudonym lead one to infer that he was their author.¹²³ From time to time, unsigned biographical articles about prominent or worthy coloured people appeared in the review, and it is reasonable to speculate that at least some of these would have been written by the editor. This is particularly the case where the subject of such an article was, as was sometimes the case, a man with whom he was currently closely associated.¹²⁴

120. e.g. Duse' Mohamed Ali's remarks on Kobina Sekyi's article "The Future of the Subject Peoples", Part I, ATOR, October 1917, p.78.

121. e.g. the open letter to Colonial Secretary Harcourt in ATOR, July 1912, p.

122. AOR, September 1920, pp.13-5 & December 1920, pp.35-6.

123. For an example of "Sothis'" writing, see "An Outlook on the World From the African Standpoint", ATOR, April 1913, pp.304-6.

124. e.g. the biographical article on James Carmichael Smith - a West Indian, former Postmaster General at Freetown, Sierra Leone, and author of a number of books on economics - in ATOR, July 1912, p.26. Smith was a frequent contributor to the review, and was then living in retirement in Britain.

Finally, he may well have been the compiler of the review's city column, published under the title "In My Lord Mayor's Domain". Though his commercial knowledge and interests were at first, on his own confession, limited, yet commerce soon became one of his major concerns.¹²⁵

Despite the large volume of material in the review contributed by the editor, it was by no means a one man band. It is likely that contributors were not normally paid, or were paid only a nominal sum. This can be illustrated by an anecdote in Duse Mohamed Ali's autobiography about contributions from the notable scholar of African languages, and sympathiser with Pan-Africanism, Alice Werner;

It was about the year 1913, summer time, when this rather stout lady entered my Fleet Street Office and asked whether I would like to publish a few stories about the Swahili. I requested the lady to let me read them and she deposited a fairly bulky parcel on my desk.

In due course the manuscript was read and I wrote asking her to call. She dashed in breezily, her eyes twinkling and bright: 'well, well, what do you think of it?'

I answered to the effect that I would gladly publish the stories provided she did not administer a financial shock by demanding more than I could pay.

'Oh,' she laughed, 'is that all? You'll experience no shocks from me. I wrote the stuff in a moment of leisure and as the stories relate to a people in whom I'm interested, I thought you might like to have them for your review.'

I thanked her for her kindness and was entertained and informed for some two hours with her graphic stories of the natives she had encountered...

Meanwhile she was busy at the University of London where she became a Professor. But whenever she passed through Fleet Street she always called at my office with a cherry (sic) word and an engaging smile.¹²⁶

125. Duse Mohamed Ali's developing interest in commerce from July 1912 is discussed in part II of this chapter and in Chapter VI.

126. See the editorial feature "About it and About" in The Comet, 20th July 1935, p.8.

Here we see the review being run on principles dictated by necessity, but possibly suggested by A.R. Orage's "No wage" methods in The New Age.

But few of the contributors, anyway, can have been looking for a serious fee. In most cases they were people who agreed with the review's objectives, and would have been only too glad to have the opportunity to publicise what were also their own causes.

In this category would come such contributors as J.E. Casely Hayford, with articles on Gold Coast land tenure topics;¹²⁷ Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din with Muslim apologetics and polemics;¹²⁸ Sundara Raja and Shaikh M.H. Kidwai of Gadia on Indian politics;¹²⁹ Josiah T. Gumede and R.V. Selope

127. e.g. J.E. Casely Hayford, "The Land question on the Gold Coast", ATOR, August 1912, pp.58-9.

128. Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din was an Indian missionary of the Ahmadiyya movement who came to London in 1913, and became the Imam of Woking Mosque and editor of the Islamic Review. The influence and impact of the ATOR on his work in London are discussed in part III of this chapter, while Duse Mohamed Ali's important wider connections with him are discussed in Chapter V of this thesis. For examples of his contributions to the ATOR, see "Cross Versus Crescent", ATOR, December-January 1913, pp.197-8; "Jesus, an Ideal of Godhead and Humanity, *ibid*, pp.217-22.

129. For examples of Sundara Raja's contributions to the ATOR, which were very numerous, see "The Future of Persia", Part I, ATOR September 1912, pp.102-4, Part II ATOR November 1912, pp.121-2; "India and Tarriff reform", ATOR December-January 1913, pp.188-9; "The Failure of Liberalism in India", *ibid*, pp.211-2; "India's Political Demands", ATOR February-March 1912, pp.265-7; "The Indian Press and the Men Behind It", ATOR June 1913, pp.393-4; "Politics and Public Life in India", ATOR, May 1913, pp.343-5. The writer regrets that he has been unable to find anything out about Sundara Raja beyond his authorship of these articles, which reveal him as a militant Indian Nationalist though not a supporter of violent opposition to the British in the manner of the contemporary terrorists.

Shaikh Kidwai, as one of the close associates of Duse Mohamed Ali in his political and religious activities in the era 1912-1921, is discussed in Chapter V of this thesis. For examples of his articles, see "Is India Unfit for Self-Government or is England?", Part I, ATOR July 1917, pp.31-2; Part II, ATOR November 1917, pp.96-8; "Home Rule for India", AOR, January 1920, pp.19-20; and an article showing a marked Pan-Asian spirit and denouncing moderate leaders in the Indian National Congress, "India: The Pivot of the East", AOR, February 1920, pp.12-13.

Thema on African grievances in South Africa;¹³⁰ William H. Ferris on various topics;¹³¹ Booker T. Washington on Tuskegee Institute;¹³² and various exiled members of the Egyptian National Party on Egyptian politics.¹³³

130. See for e.g. Josiah Gumede, "Britain's word of Honour to King Cetshwayo and the Zulu Nation", AOR, January 1920, pp.13-14; "British Rule in South Africa", AOR, February 1920, pp.19 & 21-2 and April 1920 p.17; R.V. Selope Thema, "Native Unrest in South Africa", AOR, May 1920, pp.12-14, and "The South African Native Policy", AOR December 1920, pp.47-9. Josiah T. Gumede, otherwise known as James T. Gumede, was to have a stormy career in the nineteen-twenties as the President of the African National Congress; he became a supporter of Communism, visited the Soviet Union, and was a South African delegate to the Moscow controlled League Against Imperialism in 1927 - see Eddie Roux, Time Longer than Rope, 2nd ed., Madison, Wisconsin, 1964, pp.211-2, and Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson, eds., Oxford History of South Africa, vol.II, Oxford 1971, p.448. However, at the time when he was in London in 1920 as a member of an African National Congress delegation, he was, according to Roux, an example of the "good boy" type of African leader - see op.cit., p.211. Selope Thema had played a radical part in the ANC anti-pass campaign of 1919, but by the late twenties was to be a tractable 'moderate' African leader; see Roux, op.cit., p.297. For the role of the two men in the ANC delegation which had brought them to London at the time they were contributing to the AOR, see K.J. and R.E. Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa, Penguin Books, 1969, pp.217-8.

131. For e.g. see William H. Ferris, "A Colored American's Estimate of the A.T.O.R.", ATOR, 14th April 1914, pp.77-8.

132. Booker T. Washington, "Tuskegee Institute", ATOR, August 1912, pp.48-54.

133. e.g. Muhammad Farid, leader in exile of the Egyptian National Party, contributed articles on "The Parliamentary Comedy in Egypt" and "Public Education in Egypt" in ATOR 28th April 1914, pp.129-30 and ATOR 5th May 1914, pp.161-2. For an examination of the relations between Duse Mohamed Ali and Muhammad Farid, see Chapter V of this thesis.

On the other hand, there was a smaller group of contributors who had some more regular connection with the review. Thus, over the years the review published numerous contributions from its United States general agent, John E. Bruce, sometimes published under his pseudonym 'Bruce Grit'.¹³⁴ Marcus Garvey contributed one article during his time with the review, but this was a piece of considerable significance.¹³⁵ Charles Rosher, already mentioned as a member of the review's staff, contributed articles, cartoons and book reviews mainly on Near Eastern and North African topics in the years 1912 to 1914, but had faded out of the picture by the time the review re-appeared in 1917.¹³⁶ W.F. Hutchison's articles were a feature from 1912 right through to 1920 - he was, Duse' Mohamed Ali apart,

134. Bruce not only contributed articles but also was responsible for drawing the attention of William H. Ferris to the review - see Ferris' article cited in n.131 above. Like Duse' Mohamed Ali, he received glowing mention in Ferris' book The African Abroad, 2 vols, New Haven, Conn., 1913, vol. II, pp. 860-66, which is a valuable source on Bruce's life. For examples of his writings in the ATOR, see John Edward Bruce-Grit, "In a Lighter Vein", ATOR, March 1917, pp.60-1; and Bruce Grit (i.e. J.E. Bruce) "The Attitude of the American Negro Towards the War", ATOR, October 1917, p.85.
135. Marcus Garvey, "The British West Indies in the Mirror of Civilization; History Making by Colonial Negroes", ATOR, October 1913, pp.158-60.
136. See for e.g., his cartoon against Lever Brothers concession in Nigeria, ATOR, February-March 1913, p.256; his article against the Christian Balkan states and their supporters in Britain, "Crusaders (1912-1913) Unlimited", *ibid*, pp.268-9.

the review's most regular journalist.¹³⁷ Henry F. Downing, who in 1913 was in some sense regarded as a member of the staff, contributed on Liberia in the pre-Great War period.¹³⁸ In the same period, one of the most frequent contributors was James G. Smith, a West Indian in origin, former Postmaster-General in the Sierra Leone colony, and the author of numerous books on economics. As a retired senior official, Smith was presumably in receipt of a pension, and his success as a writer on economics presumably brought in further income. Thus, he would have probably been in a position to provide articles on a more or less voluntary basis. Nevertheless, his work appeared so regularly in the review's earlier years that he could perhaps be seen in some sense as part of the review's staff. Even in the later period from 1917 onwards he made

137. His first ATOR article was an attack on E.D. Morel, entitled "Mr. E.D. Morel and the Land Question in West Africa", ATOR October 1912, pp.143-4. Other examples of his ATOR contributions are "Empire Development of Empire Plunder? A Review of the Proposals of the Empire Resources Development Committee", Part I, ATOR June 1917, pp.114-6; Part II *ibid.* July 1917, pp.5-8; "West Africa Twenty Years Ago", AOR, January 1920, pp.16-17; and "The British West African Conference" (i.e. National Conference of British West Africa), AOR June 1920, pp.44-6.

138. See Henry F. Downing, "The Troubles of Liberia", ATOR April 1913, pp.298-300.

contributions from time to time.¹³⁹

So far, all the contributors mentioned were people whose articles were broadly conformable to the review's editorial position. But, from time to time articles were published which ran contrary to the review's declared policy. The chief examples of such articles are a series of three articles in 1917 by the Gold Coast intellectual, Kobina Sekyi, which acidly criticised the review's then policy of preaching the salvation of the world's coloured peoples via racially directed commercial effort.¹⁴⁰

139. See biographical article on James C. Smith, ATOR July 1912, p.26 for details of his careers as a colonial postal official and as an author. His contributions to the ATOR began August 1912, pp.55-6, with the first of a series of four articles on "West African Marriage Customs"; in November 1912, pp.168-171, began a second series of Smith articles, examining the economic role of the African, past and present, entitled "The African 'wealth of Nations'". In the Christmas 1912 issue, pp.8-15, he had a long article on "Inter-Imperial Goodwill", and continued to be a very regular contributor through the next year or so. Suffice to mention here two of his more interesting efforts, "Peace, War - Or African Home Rule", ATOR December-January 1913, pp.214-5, which demanded internal self-government for Sierra Leone, and a eulogistic biographical article, "Edward Blyden", portraying Blyden's career as an illustration of Negro racial capacity, in ATOR, February-March 1913, pp.250-52. An example of his post 1917 contributions to the review is "Africa for the Africans", ATOR September 1918, pp.33-4, which castigates contemporary British socialist plans for a European controlled International Commission to rule post-war Africa. The B.M. Catalogue of Printed Books, vol.224, lists 11 works on economics by Smith, all published in Britain between 1892 and 1918.

140. See Kobina Sekyi, "The Future of the Subject Peoples", Part I, ATOR October 1917, p.78; Part II, November 1917, p.94; Part III, December 1917, pp.109-10. Sekyi was one of the most interesting figures in the Gold Coast in his day; see Langley, West African Aspects of the Pan-African Movements, pp.135-42, 189, & 241-2; also see Samuel Rohdie "The Gold Coast Aborigine Abroad", Journal of African History VI, 3, 1965, pp.389-411, which discusses Kobina Sekyi in Britain in the early 1930s.

At an earlier date, in 1912, the review published material by the Liberal (later Labour) politician, and industrialist, Josiah Wedgwood, advocating Crown ownership of West African lands as beneficial to the people of West Africa. This was directly contrary to the review's editorial policy which, as might be expected, was completely in support of Casely Hayford and the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society on this issue in resisting any interference with traditional African land tenure. Wedgwood was, among his contemporaries, a British politician comparatively sympathetic to the interests of Britain's coloured subjects and at this time was to be found harassing the Colonial Secretary in a manner agreeable to the African Times and Orient Review. Thus, despite his views on West African land tenure, he was certainly not regarded as an out and out enemy. But also it is clear that as editor Duse' Mohamed Ali realised that total conformity would make a dull magazine. This too is a lesson he may well have learned from Orage. Naturally, in the review's correspondence there was an even greater diversity of views than in its feature articles, some of them

critical of editorial positions.¹⁴¹

As well as the letters and articles that were published under their authors' names, the review was also supplied with material of a more confidential nature from West Africa. From Lagos, it was supplied with material by the veteran journalist Chief A.S. Titcombe,¹⁴² though no articles ever appeared under his name. Likewise, it received confidential

141. Josiah Clement Wedgewood, 1st Baron Wedgewood, was Liberal M.P. for Newcastle-under-Lyme from 1906 till 1919, and Labour member for the same seat from then till 1941, being a leading member of the Labour Party in the 1920s. The major object of much of his political life was Indian Independence, so although differing from the ATOR on the West African Lands question, there is no doubt that he was in general among the more sympathetic of British politicians to the causes that the ATOR was interested in. However, the ATOR was merely a small incident in his life, warranting no mention in either his autobiography, Memoirs of a Fighting Life, London, 1940, nor in the biography by his daughter C.V. Wedgewood, The Last of the Radicals, London, 1951. For an example of his hostile questioning of Colonial Secretary Harcourt, see his questions on the important and contentious West African Coinage issue on 22nd July 1912 - see Hansard, 1912, XLI, p.795. For Josiah Wedgewood's defence of the case for Crown ownership of West African lands, see "Native Lands and Crown Colonies", ATOR October 1912, pp.128-31. This was an issue which particularly interested Wedgewood; he sat on the Northern Nigerian Lands Committee of the Commons in 1908, and the West African Lands Committee 1912-16 - see B. Porter, Critics of Empire, p.272, who describes Wedgewood's policy on these committees as "a curious amalgam of Morelism and Henry George". Earlier, he had been recruited by E.D. Morel into the Congo Reform Association - ibid, pp.269-71.

142. The Comet, 26th February 1938, p.5, notes in an editorial Titcombe's retirement from the editorial chair of the Nigerian Daily Times and adds "our own connexion with Mr. Titcombe reaches back to 1912 when he became a regular Nigerian correspondent to The African Times and Orient Review ... with which we believe he served his journalistic apprenticeship."

information from Northern Nigeria in the pre-Great War period, and on this basis made allegations which were both damaging and embarrassing to the Colonial Office and the Nigerian Government. Exactly what the channels were for such information is not clear, but the Colonial Office suspected leaking of information by African telegraph clerks.¹⁴³ At all events, although the review's telegraphic address was 'Congosah' (the Krio for rumour), its information on West African matters was usually very well founded. In view of its West African backers, this is hardly surprising.

West African information was not only obtained through confidential channels, but also from the contemporary West African Press, particularly that of Cape Coast and Lagos, but also of Accra and Freetown. Indeed, not only West African but also contemporary journals in general were used, to collate information relevant to the "darker races". Indeed, the review ran a regular feature called "The Darker Races in the Press of the World", drawing widely on the British, Indian, Colonial, Dominion and United States press.¹⁴⁴ It is particularly noticeable that there was hardly an issue of the review that did not carry something from the American Negro Press. With a general agent in the United States such as John E. Bruce, with numerous black American contributors to its correspondence columns, with support from Booker T. Washington and admiration and con-

143. The ATOR's relations with the Colonial Office are discussed in part III of this chapter.

144. See for e.g. "The Darker Races in the Press of the World", ATOR November 1912, pp.168-71.

tributions from numerous other black Americans, it was only natural that the review turned to the American Negro press for information.¹⁴⁵ In general, the use of material culled from contemporaries should, however, be regarded as stemming from two causes. One was a feeling that the coloured peoples were generally reported in a distorted and unfavourable light in the white owned press, and that it was one of the review's major tasks to combat this. More prosaically shortage of cash made it impossible to maintain an extensive staff of reporters or to subscribe to the press agencies; items from other journals were cheap.

145. The AOR, January 1920, had in its "From the Press of the world" section, pp.22-3 & 26-7, items from the Negro World; the Liberator (New York); Favourite Magazine (Chicago); the New York Amsterdam News; and the Cleveland Advocate. This is a fair example of the extent to which Duseé Mohamed Ali drew on items from the black American press.

II : Policies, Campaigns and Causes

The African Times and Orient Review from its first issue, displayed a dichotomy between vigorous, even militant advocacy of African and Asian rights, and fervent expression of sentiments loyal to the British Empire and Crown. Evidently, in the period 1912-1920, Duse' Mohamed Ali and those who supported him in the review did not quite see the world as entirely polarised, and at times could envisage their aspirations being realised within the framework of the British Empire. Both aspects of this ambivalent view of the world were present in the review from the beginning. The very cover design expresses this, for while it has figures symbolic of Africa and Asia clasping hands in unity, yet also these figures sit in supplication at the foot of the globe, on top of which sits an angelic winged European figure, clasping the outstretched hands of the two supplicants beneath. However, a contrary feeling was expressed in the editorial comment, "A word to our Brother", in the first issue of the review;

As for YOU of the Black race, the Brown race and the Yellow race, this is YOUR VERY OWN JOURNAL. The more humble you are, the more need you have of us and the more readily shall we extend our sympathy and advice.

GENIUS IN EMBRYO - We want to hear from you; the young and budding Sun Yet Sens (sic), the Mustapha Kamils, the Blydens, the Conrad Reeveses, the embryo Frederick Douglasses and Paul Laurence Dunbars. If you have anything to say for the good of your race, let us hear it.

YOUR PROPER PRIDE - Remember, you sons of Egypt, of India and China, you Indians of the Americas, and you Africans in the four quarters of the earth. Remember that the eyes of the world are upon you ever. You will be discouraged in your forward march, but your destiny is writ large upon the scroll of opportunity. ...

YOUR PLACE IN THE SUN - Your day is coming. Your place in the Sun has been and will come again. As darkness overtook you for a space, it must also overtake Europe. The future of Africa, the future of India, will not be decided in the Chanceries of Europe, but upon the hills of India and the plains of Africa. See that your loins are well-girded and that you have your staff firmly in your hand when you take your place in the Sun.¹⁴⁶

Here is asserted the unity of the non-European world, pride in the great men of its past and present, and confidence in its mastery over its own destiny.

But it is in Duse Mohamed Ali's forward to the first African Times and Orient Review that we see both visions displayed together;

The AFRICAN TIMES AND ORIENT REVIEW, in stepping into the arena of Anglo Saxon literature and politics, arrogates to itself no pretensions of superiority, neither does it gird itself with weapons of offence.

The recent Universal Races Congress, convened in the Metropolis of the Anglo-Saxon world, clearly demonstrated that there was an ample need for a Pan-Oriental Pan-African journal at the seat of the British Empire which would lay the aims, desires, and intentions of the Black, Brown and Yellow races - within and without the Empire - at the throne of Caesar.

For whereas there is an extensive Anglo-Saxon Press devoted to the interests of the Anglo-Saxon, it is obvious that this vehicle of thought and information may only be used in a limited and restricted sense in the ventilation of African and Oriental aims. Hence, the truth about African and Oriental conditions is rarely stated with precision and accuracy in the columns of the European Press. As a natural result of garbled and inaccurate statements the mind of the British Public is inflamed; native desires are manufactured into native presumption. The voices of millions of Britain's enlightened dark races are never heard; their capacity underrated; discontent is fermented by reason of systematic injustice and misrepresentation.

146. ATOR, July 1912, p.2.

From this germ of injustice and misrepresentation is bred 'the agitator', 'the native rising', with its attendant bloodshed and subsequent repression. Lynchings, burnings, murders and unprovoked assault, ostracism, segregation, and a whole catalogue of impolitic legislation which alienates Oriental and African; bereaves the Anglo-Saxon name of its traditional impartiality; establishing an unnecessary resentment against Anglo-Saxon rule and tutelage, heaping indiscriminate odium upon the English-speaking race.

These evils can be avoided by what Mathew Arnold sagely terms 'Love and admiration for bringing people to a likeness which they love and admire' in place of scorn and rebuke. For the Black man, the Brown man, and the Yellow man all have religions, traditions and what not, which they love and admire, and for which they expect a little love and admiration. And this love and admiration is calculated to enhance, rather than undermine, Anglo-Saxon influence and prestige, inculcating a wholesome respect for British institutions. Love begets love and confidence is born of admiration.

We feel that the lack of understanding of the African and Oriental has produced non-appreciation, and non-appreciation has unleashed the hydro-headed (sic) monster of derision, contempt and repression. We, as natives and loyal subjects of the British Empire, hold too high an opinion of Anglo-Saxon chivalry to believe other than that African and Oriental wrongs have but to be made manifest in order that they may be righted. Laudable ambitions have but to be voiced to be appreciated, and that touch of nature which makes the whole world kin has only to be brought into operation to establish a bond of universal brotherhood between the White, Yellow, Brown and Black under the protecting folds of the Grand Old Flag, which will make the name of British Citizen immeasurably greater than the name of King!

The man, therefore, who would be well informed as to native aims, capacity and development, will be well advised to study the pages of the AFRICAN TIMES AND ORIENT REVIEW, for herein will be found the views of the coloured man, whether African or Oriental. From the pillars of Hercules to the Golden Horn, from the Ganges to the Euphrates, from the Nile to the Patomac (sic), and from the Mississippi to the Amazon - East, West, North or South, wherever the Oriental or African may found a congregated habitation - from thence shall our information spring, for it is our intention to produce the most unique and formative publication in the annals of British publishing.¹⁴⁷

Thus, from its inception, the African Times and Orient Review looked on the British Empire, Janus like, from two very different aspects. The fruits

147. *ibid*, p.iii.

of the Empire were found bitter, but, nevertheless, the heart of the British people was believed to be sound. Other seeming contradictions can be itemised here too, from these initial editorial comments. On the one hand there is the remarkable anticipation of mid-twentieth century 'third world' type concepts - "Pan-Oriental Pan-African" - which particularly calls to mind the Bandung Conference.¹⁴⁸ On the other hand, it echoes Universal Races Congress type Pan-Mankindism, and in tone is not so very different from the Imperial Unity type oratory of Leo Amery and other Round Table spokesmen.¹⁴⁹ Duse' eulogises "universal brotherhood between the White, Yellow, Brown and Black under the protecting folds of the Grand Old Flag". How was this aim of non-racial British Imperial citizenship to be reconciled with assertions of African and Asian control over their own destiny?

There can be no doubt that the cause of Imperial citizenship was a serious one for the African Times and Orient Review and not a mere *douceur* for British readers. Numerous instances can be given of a return to this theme, spread over the years between 1912 and 1920. In its Christmas

148. For the main points of the 1955 Bandung Declaration, see Colin Legum, Pan-Africanism, A Short Political Guide, rev. ed., New York 1965, p.156.

149. For the outlook and organisation of the Round Table Movement, see cap. VII of J.E. Kendle, The Colonial and Imperial Conferences 1887-1911. A Study in Imperial Organisation, London 1967, and cap. VII of A.M. Gollin, Proconsul in Politics: A Study of Lord Milner in Opposition and in Power, London 1964. For a particular example of Amery's use of language not dissimilar to the Imperial sentiments of the ATOR, see L. Amery, My Political Life, vol. I, England Before the Storm, London 1953, p.350, which quotes from an address of his to the Royal Commonwealth Institute in 1910.

1912 number, Duse' Mohamed Ali published a long article by James C. Smith entitled "Inter-Imperial goodwill", which at some length demanded an Imperial citizenship which would confer equal rights in all matters on African and Asian subjects. Smith concluded;

We must, in goodwill, unify in one mighty Federation the people of each of the political units which constitute the British Empire by the enduring ties of one Imperial Citizenship, and the human and sacramental ties of loyal devotion to the one King-Emperor; then will the United Empire continue for ever and ever, as lasting as the stars, renewing her youth like the Moon.¹⁵⁰

In May 1913, Duse' Mohamed Ali wrote along almost identical lines, stressing (as Smith had done) the non-European military contribution to the Empire, but with the more modest demands of equality of opportunity and "eligibility" for "full and complete Imperial Citizenship".¹⁵¹ In March 1914, commenting on a current Imperial Naturalisation Bill before Parliament, the review urged;

We would respectfully suggest to Ministers the concurrent introduction of an 'Imperial Citizenship Bill', which will provide that every born subject of the King-Emperor, whatever the country of his birth, shall be a citizen of the British Empire everywhere in the world, with all the rights and privileges of a British Citizen. This would at once put an end to such an anomaly as British subjects born in India being treated as aliens in the self-governing dominions, and would give the coloured subjects of the King-Emperor ... rights ... in all regions under the British Crown.¹⁵²

150. ATOR, Christmas 1912, p.15.

151. *ibid*, May 1913, p.348.

152. *ibid*, March 1914, p.3.

One can see here the tone sharpening, with a strong and hostile hint in the direction of the Borden Government's anti-Indian immigration policy in Canada.¹⁵³ It is clear that continuing demands for Imperial Citizenship were no Utopian concept unconnected with current political events, but were a response to the actual difficulties facing non-European British subjects who wished to travel within the Empire. Since the founders of the review were all in some sense in this position, its interest in this topic is hardly surprising. Duse' Mohamed Ali himself was in a particularly difficult position here as he was to find out at the outbreak of the Great War, since he was then adjudged to be an Ottoman subject, and not permitted to travel to West Africa.¹⁵⁴ That being the case, it is understandable that he returned to this theme again in June 1917, lauding the French on the grounds that "The French citizen - black, white, brown or yellow - is a citizen in all that term implies." and demanding;

We ask for that citizenship which has been denied us; a free citizenship which shall permit every subject of the Empire to travel and settle where and when he lists; a citizenship which shall be an object lesson to the world; a citizenship of which every man and every woman, whether black, brown, white or yellow, shall be proud; a citizenship representing freedom, equality and fraternity, in which there shall be no distinctions, but a bond of universal brotherhood within the Empire, where there shall be ONE KING-EMPEROR, AND ONE FLAG!¹⁵⁵

153. For a discussion of Canadian anti-Indian immigration legislation, see Arun Coomer Bose, "Indian Nationalist Agitation in the United States and Canada till the Arrival of Har Dayal 1911", Journal of Indian History, 43, Part 1, 127, 1965, p.236.

154. See Chapter VI of this thesis.

155. ATOR, mid-June 1917, p.113.

No doubt the restrictions on his own movements within the Empire were in his mind when he wrote those words. The same topic was still in Duse' Mohamed Ali's mind in September 1920, when in the course of reminiscence about Dadabhai Naorodji, he demanded, citing the French example, representation at Westminster of "... taxpayers in the Empire other than those of the United Kingdom ... who, for the most part, have been brought into the Empire against their will ..." Till this was done, there was certain to be "unrest and discontent in those sections of the British Empire where the black, the brown, and the yellow predominate ..." ¹⁵⁶ But the old confidence of the fairness of the British people had not survived. Whereas, as late as January 1917, the review had proclaimed "... the British nation, as a whole, is too fair-dealing to ignore the claims of those who came to the help of the Empire in her need", ¹⁵⁷ by 1920 Duse' discounted "in these days of super-colour prejudice in England" the possibility of "another Indian or coloured man" being elected by an English constituency to the House of Commons. ¹⁵⁸

It must be noted how the phrase "King-Emperor" was re-iterated, almost as an incantation, in African Times and Orient Review writings on the subject of Imperial citizenship. Support for the throne was one of the fundamental principles of the review. But this conservative stance was a convenient (though not insincere) method of legitimising opposition

156. AOR, September 1920, p.7.

157. ATOR, January 1917, pp.1-2.

158. AOR, September 1920, p.7.

to the real centre of the contemporary British political system - parliamentary party politics. When the review is to be found eulogising the British Crown, usually it is also to be found attacking the government, parliamentary system, and all their works. Thus, in the number for November-December 1913, we find Duse Mohamed Ali regretting the decline of the authority of the crown, and connecting this with the worsening position of coloured British subjects and the rise of a corrupt capitalist democracy;

And the utterances of Queen Victoria have also ceased to count. Queen Victoria's proclamation after the Indian mutiny, which for more than half a century has been regarded as the Charter of the 'subject peoples', with its promise of equality of opportunity, is being ignored by the exclusion of qualified 'natives' from Government Departments, and the relegation of 'native officials' to the lower ranks of the service. ... The Grandson of Queen Victoria has been reduced to a nonentity by a Radical House of Commons majority, guided by an Americanised Cabinet, permeated with Yankeeism and engaged in the pursuit of 'investments', which in less highly placed mortals would be called 'speculations'. In return the monopolist has been let loose on Africa, and the hunt for concessions is encouraged by the enacting of ordinances drafted by the Colonial Office, and forced by official majorities through local legislatures to legalise the granting of 'exclusive areas' to favoured applicants. ¹⁵⁹

This passage spells out exactly how the African Times and Orient Review conceived the decline of the Crown and the rise of liberal democracy had harmed Britain's coloured subjects. It also contains allusions to a number of highly topical events - particularly the concessions granted in British West Africa to Sir William Lever for exclusive rights to process palm products in certain important oil palm areas - which Duse

159. ATOR, December-November 1913, p.182.

saw as the evil fruits of democracy. Here, the review's principles can again be directly linked with the interests of its backers, especially those with a Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society background.

As time went on, the review made this kind of attack with increasing sharpness, which is well illustrated by the following editorial from the number for 26th May 1914;

African and Asian British subjects who, in all parts of the British Empire, are now suffering because of the denial of the economic freedom and political liberty guaranteed to them in the Royal Proclamations of her late Majesty Queen Victoria, issued during the years 1843 and 1858, should understand and realise that the Government of the United Kingdom is no longer vested in the King-Emperor; the Lords, spiritual and temporal; conjointly with the Representatives of the Electorate in the House of Commons. The Government has been usurped and is now vested in the Shogunate composed of the Premier and his Cabinet supported by the junta of the select pliant instruments and servants of the plutocrats - the successful sellers of soap, cocoa, sausages, sugar, pork, fur, wool, cotton, calico, spirits, beer, tobacco, bombs and coffins - who in the House of Commons obey the orders of the Chief Party Whip which are only the echoes of the imperative demands of the plutocrats who secretly supply the party-war-chests with the money needed to maintain the party political organisation which controls and manipulates the electorate of the United Kingdom.¹⁶⁰

It will be noted how in the two passages above the King-Emperor, though above criticism, is shown as the pawn of the party politicians, while it is Queen Victoria who is looked back to as the fountain of justice and equal rights for non-Europeans. Indeed, it would be true to assert that the African Times and Orient Review review subscribed to a Queen Victoria cult, which indeed became more marked as the years progressed

160. *ibid*, 26th May 1914, pp.218-9.

and disillusion with contemporary British policies and attitudes increased. This reached its apogee in Duse Mohamed Ali's reminiscence of King Edward VII, which appeared in January 1920, and which contained a long aside about Queen Victoria as the last effective widdler of the Royal Prerogative and defender of black rights;

Those were the good old days when a man of breeding was respected in England - then there was no 'colour bar'. A man of good character and unquestioned respectability would be received in almost any of the best houses in England; for Queen Victoria still lived and her traditional ideas of equality and justice were pretty generally observed. Riches there were, and the desire to be wealthy was quite as keen then as now, but England has (sic) not yet been treated to the invasion of a herd of cheap Americans who subsequently came to teach the Briton not only how to make money quickly, but also how to ruin the Empire with greater expedition by classifying all men of colour as 'niggers', and the other unholy political stock-in-trade of which we see pernicious fruits in present day Colonial Legislation wherever there is a preponderant coloured population.

During the period of which I write, there were those who openly declared that Queen Victoria should vacate the throne in favour of the Prince of Wales. ... Queen Victoria was justified in remaining at the head of affairs. She well knew that a bastard democracy was taking possession of the country; that there were Radical tumbings against the veto of the House of Lords, and that a quiet agitation was being carried on, having for its aim the total abolition of the Upper Chamber. While she remained at the helm she knew herself to be quite capable of effectively handling any recalcitrant Prime Minister. She also knew that abdication would give the political faddist element the chance for which they had assiduously laboured, and that her successor, notwithstanding his popularity with the masses, was by no means the ideal of the Nonconformist element. Consequently, among other things, her efforts in the direction of equity and right towards the darker elements of the Empire, which had been rigorously set forth in a series of Royal Proclamations, would be set at nought by a pack of political place hunters whose idea of liberty and justice was that they should have the exclusive right to enjoy those privileges which they would deny to others, and who had also joined greed to their Psalm-singing, whereby they might exploit those darker people in the Empire, so that they could lay up for themselves treasures for themselves in the Earth rather than in the Heaven of which they prated so glibly on Sundays.

As everyone knows, King Edward was large souled and generous. He was also a diplomat of no mean order, but the political forces at work in Britain were too strong for him. The Royal prerogative had passed to Frogmore with Queen Victoria's ashes, and King Edward was broken on the wheel of an aggressive and unprincipled oligarchy masquerading in the guise of a Triumphant Democracy.¹⁶¹

Thus, while the review was conspicuously 'loyal', its loyalism was directed above all towards the memory of the old Queen, and provided a basis for increasingly bitter attacks on the contemporary British Government and political process. This attitude, which could be described as 'seditious loyalism', permeated the African Times and Orient Review.

It is not surprising, therefore, that despite its apparent enthusiasm for the British Empire as an ideal, the African Times and Orient Review hardly bothered to consider the necessary future structure of an Empire in which non-Europeans could fulfil their aspirations. An example can be found of an editorial advocating an Imperial Parliament for a confederated Empire, but despite the usual rhetoric about "... one bond of Imperial British Citizenship, with one Parliament, one Flag and one King-Emperor", the same article also stressed that "Being of the opinion that ALL NATIONS should be allowed to order their own views, we appreciate the prospect of Irish independence even as we appreciate the prospect of Egyptian, Indian or African independence."¹⁶² This makes it clear that to Duse

161. AOR, January 1920, p.11. Duse Mohamed Ali's contention that Negroes had been socially acceptable in "the best" circles in Victorian England is borne out by Blyden's experiences as Liberian Ambassador in London. See Hollis R. Lynch, Edward Wilmot Blyden, Pan Negro Patriot, 1832-1912, London 1967, pp.173-4.

162. ATOR, 12th May 1914, pp.170-71.

Mohamed Ali, there was no contradiction between the review's Imperial ideals and the cause of national independence for Africans and Asians.

Furthermore, the review constantly stressed the numerical preponderance and identity of interest of Africans and Asians within the Empire, their common interests with their brothers in all parts of the world, and the need of Britain to conciliate them if the Empire was to survive. Linked with this theme were suspicions that the white nations were themselves combining to destroy all remnants of African and Asian independence - a not unreasonable feeling in the circumstances of the time. From this it is readily understandable why the review protested whenever independent African or Asian states seemed threatened, and saw the few remaining major independent Asian states as the natural guardians of non-European rights throughout the world. Sometimes the components of this collection of related matters were dealt with separately, but there is no doubt that they were seen as integrally related, as is shown, for example, by the editorial article "The Empire and Colour" which appeared in June 1914;

... there are three hundred and twenty-two millions of British subjects in India. There are one hundred and eighty millions in Africa of which some eighty millions are under the British flag. Any injustice done to Indians because they are coloured men, must have its bearing upon African opinion, whatever interested parties may allege to the contrary. Besides, the tendency is to introduce Indian legislation into Africa, and such legislation, by reason of its unsuitability to African conditions, is only calculated to create a bond of sympathy between the African and the Indian. Fellow-sufferers, without any undue stretch of the imagination, may become fellow-workers in the direction of a common liberty.

There is also quite another aspect of the case. It is a well-known fact that the present day European legislation is aimed at the suppression of Asiatic ambitions. In this sense Asiatic ambition of to-day will be African ambition of to-morrow.

The economic progress of Japan and her position in the comity of nations has not been to the liking of Russia. Russia is now linked with Britain in an 'understanding'. Persia has been 'protected' out of her independence, and Turkey has only been saved from European dissection by the bond-holder. An independent Asiatic state spells ruin to Russian ambitions. Consequently legislation against Asiatics, whether in or without the pale of British influence, is only aimed at the one remaining independent Asiatic state. The Japanese are well aware of this, and they have taken measures to safeguard their interests in China. Russian dominance in China would practically place Japan hors de combat, threatening her independence as no other act, short of war, could do.

It is not, therefore, in the interests of Great Britain to aid and abet Russia in her ambitious schemes; otherwise Canadian expulsion of Indian immigrants may produce rebellion in India. And a rebellion in India might be the signal for a general rising throughout the African and Asian world. And a rising of this kind would compel Japan to make common cause with the oppressed for her own protection, and then, who knows? But let it be clearly understood that whatever the result Africa will be in the running. Africa is a field which has been fallow for centuries, and being practically virgin soil is capable of great receptivity. Her sons are quickly assimilating new ideas in government and industry, and the progeny of the one hundred and eighty millions in the so-called 'dark continent' are destined to dominate their oppressors from the Bight of Benin to the Caspian Sea, and from the Cape Colony to the Mediterranean.¹⁶³

In this instance the combination feared was that of Russia and Britain.

Three weeks later, the review reacted angrily to a speech by the anglophil ex-Reichs Kolonial Minister Dr. Bernhard Dernburg¹⁶⁴ to the London Chamber

163. ATOR, 6th June 1914, p.242.

164. Bernhard Dernburg, a Jewish banker in origin, was Director of the German Colonial Department from September 1906 and Germany's first Colonial Minister from May 1907 to May 1910. His tenure of office was marked by administrative reform, and by a policy of friendly accord with England in colonial matters. See John Iliffe, "The Effects of the Maji Maji Rebellion of 1905-06 on German Occupation Policy in East Africa", pp.567-73, in P. Gifford and W.R. Louis, assisted by Alison Smith (eds.), Britain and Germany in Africa, Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule, New Haven and London, 1967.

of Commerce. Commenting on this speech, Duse pointed out that Dernburg had not only eulogised British Colonial policy, but also (like Roosevelt in 1910) had emphasised "... the solidarity of interest between all White, dominating nations, as against the subject races ..." and that one of the two big questions of colonial policy was how the European nations would maintain their hold over the darker races. It was Duse's opinion that "These two white peoples have made a compact to dominate the darker races of mankind."¹⁶⁵ without accepting any extravagant concept of conspiracy, on the eve of the Great War there was much cordiality and a wish to co-operate in colonial matters between the British Colonial Secretary, Lewis Harcourt, and the German Reichs Kolonial Minister, Wilhelm Solf.¹⁶⁶ Duse Mohamed Ali's perception in this case, though soon rendered irrelevant by the outbreak of war, was perhaps exaggerated but certainly not unfounded. His ire at Dernburg's speech is shown by his publication a week later of a violent, anti-Semitic attack on Dernburg by Frank Hugh O'Donnell, entitled "The German Jews Against ^{The} Darker Races."¹⁶⁷

165. See "Combinations White and Black", ATOR, 23rd June 1914, pp.313-4.

166. See P.H.S. Hatton, "Harcourt and Solf: The Search for Anglo-German Understanding in Africa, 1912-14", in The Theory of Imperialism and the European Partition of Africa, Proceedings of Seminar held at Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, November 1967, pp.71-96.

167. Frank Hugh O'Donnell, "The German Jews Against the Darker Races", ATOR, 30th June 1914, p.340.

But the combination that Duse' Mohamed Ali and the African Times and Orient Review most feared was that of the English speaking white peoples (invariably referred to as "Anglo-Saxons"), of the British Empire and the United States. It will be noted that in several of the passages quoted above, there is hostile reference to American influence in British political life, and it has been shown in the previous two chapters how this hostility had roots leading back to the Roosevelt Mansion House speech of 1910 and even beyond that into Duse's early years of travel and the theatre. The wider contemporary situation should also be borne in mind, with bodies like the English Speaking Union and the Anglo-Saxon Club, unofficial but supported by men of importance in British and American life, and at that time given to stressing the world "mission" of the Anglo-Saxon "race".¹⁶⁸ As he saw it, the harm done by American influence

168. See, for e.g., the report of a dinner given by the Anglo-Saxon Club in honour of the American Ambassador at the Hotel Cecil on 17th July 1913, The Times, 18th July 1913, p.7. This function was attended by such leading worthies as Baden-Powell and the Lord Mayor and Sherrifs of London. The chairman of the occasion said that "Englishmen watched the development of the United States with the greatest possible hope, because they realised that their kinsmen on the other side of the Atlantic were animated by the same ideals as themselves." He continued; "We ought to profit by each others experience. The hope of the future, the growing peace of the world, depended on the growing consolidation and unification of the Anglo-Saxon race." Ambassador Page replied in an even more high-flown vein, and much to the satisfaction of his hosts; he was "delighted to assure them that the Anglo-Saxon, or British, race, who settled in the United States first, ... to this day, no matter how many men came from how many lands, still ruled it and led it. (Cheers) And there was no time in sight when that would have changed". This happy state of affairs was explained by the Ambassador in fashionable, and pseudo-modest, Social Darwinist terms; "The Anglo-Saxon was quite as much the leader of men in the great Republic as he was in the Great United Kingdom. That was not a boast; it was a natural phenomenon. It was destiny, and they could not help it if they would. Americans deserved no particular praise for it. They believed, just as Englishmen believed, that they were born to rule the world." It might be noted in passing that not all contemporary black thinkers objected so strongly to this kind of stuff as did Duse' Mohamed Ali; Blyden, who had died in 1912, often seemed to accept that political and economic domination of the world was the proper and providential destiny of the white race - see E.W. Blyden, West Africa Before Europe, London 1905, p.25 and Africa and the Africans, London, 1903, pp.33-4.

in British public life was the introduction of American 'get rich quick' principles, which led to the economic exploitation and dispossession of Britain's coloured subjects, and the spread of American race-prejudice. The editorial column "Yesterday, To-day, and To-morrow" devoted much space to this theme in the issue for May 1913. Under the heading "The Americanisation of England", Duse Mohamed Ali asserted that "All the worst elements of American race-hatred are imported into English Government, and the good old English characteristic of fair play is becoming a thing of the past." His gloomy conclusion was that "... American influence is so strong that mere 'niggers' have no rights which the accredited Ministers of His Majesty feel bound to respect." This deteriorating state of affairs was linked to the marriages of British political leaders with American women.¹⁶⁹

The review did not have the ambivalent attitude towards the American world role that it had towards the British Empire. During the United States intervention in Mexico in 1914 the review's anti-Americanism boiled over into a violent attack on dollar imperialism; the United States was accused of having a boundless appetite for expansion in both the Eastern and Western hemispheres, and Mexico and Japan were seen as champions of "the honour, dignity and sovereign independence of all Nations and Peoples other than the Anglo-Saxon Americans." American dollar diplomacy was stigmatised as "debasing and dehumanising" and "poisoning the political life of the nations and peoples of the western civilisation." In conclusion, the Americans were abused in language reminiscent of Marxist polemic

169. See "The Americanisation of England", ATOR May 1913, p.326.

as "the pirates and brigands who threaten civilisation on land and sea for the gratification of the insatiable greed of unprincipled financiers", who could only be stopped by a united front of the nations of both East and West from "enforcing everywhere the acceptance by all nations and peoples of the practical policy of the Dollar Diplomacy."¹⁷⁰

There is a connecting thread linking those the review attacked most violently as the greatest threat to Afro-Asian interests. The threat of the Yankee, and of the liberal politician, was that both were thought to represent the interests of a capitalism which was stripping Africans and Asians of their economic birthright, reducing them to economic slavery. To them was added that bogeyman of the time, the cosmopolitan 'Jew' financier - nor is this surprising in view of Duse Mohamed Ali's earlier opinions about Jews, their personality and their role in society. In his review, he was prepared to publish material with a violently anti-semitic tone, such as the Frank Hugh O'Donnell article "The German Jews and the Darker Races" already referred to. Using an 'I'm not prejudiced but' technique, O'Donnell conceded the Jewish contribution to libertarian causes, but then made wild allegations of Jewish conspiracy;

... evidence (sic) is rapidly accumulating which convicts the Capitalist Jews in particular, of a leading part in the present campaign of tyrants and monopolists, to establish a new slavery on the hellish principle of the Colour Line ... the great financial interest among the rich Jews must now be counted among the most persistent and unscrupulous enemies of human equality and injustice.

170. ATOR, 28th April 1914, p.122. This editorial began by extolling the Mexican President, General Huerta, as "the redoubtable champion, in the Western Hemisphere, as His Majesty the Emperor of the Japanese ... is the invincible champion in the Eastern Hemisphere of the honour, dignity, and sovereign independence and integrity of all Nations and Peoples other than the Anglo-Saxon Americans."

Nor was personal abuse spared; Dernburg was "this degenerate Jew", a shameless "leading Jew Capitalist and Politician" who had "the effrontery to range the Jews among the White Races".¹⁷¹ This last statement reveals that O'Donnell was himself a very nice calculator of the colour line!

Dusé Mohamed Ali, too, could still be abusive about Jews on occasion, with editorial thunder about "Hebrew" bankers and speculators, bound up with the British Government, who were "sucking England's life-blood and sapping that sense of justice for which she was noted." It is in accord with his general outlook that Jews, Yankees and financiers in general were all attacked together at the end of 1913, in his first major editorial assault on the world economic enemies of Africans and Asians;

Even the pretence of anything save self-interest is abandoned except in the pulpit or at missionary meetings, where pious dames assemble to lionise the 'dear men' who have been 'spreading the Gospel'. The 'financier' is the modern Pope, whose commands must be obeyed by Kings and Ministers. Fiercely competing in the bourses and markets of Europe, they can unite to plunder a 'new country'. Finance has no 'fatherland', and foremost in the gang is the depatriated Jew. Oppressed, maltreated and plundered through the 'Ages of Faith' industrialism has put him on a throne. Beside him stands the Yankee, whose God is the Almighty Dollar. He has inter-married with the nobility and gentry of England, whose poverty has been relieved by the millions heaped up by the Pork-Kings, the Beef-Kings, the Sugar-kings and other monarchs of the Land of Freedom, where Government and Justice alike are venal and corrupt.¹⁷²

171. Frank Hugh O'Donnell, "The German Jews Against the Darker Races", ATOR, 30th June 1914, p.340.

172. ATOR, November-December 1913, p.182. Dusé Mohamed Ali's belief in the conspiracy of the financiers is strongly reminiscent of that to be found in J.A. Hobson's famous work, Imperialism, A Study, 7th imp., 1968, pp.56-7.

The article concluded by connecting the "Almighty Dollar" with British democracy and "a breaking down of the old ideal of 'Noblesse Oblige', the dethronement of the King, and the enthronement of the Caucus, with its machinery and its 'funds'." Thus, the three persons - the Jewish financier, the Yankee tycoon and the British Liberal politician - were joined to form an imperialist trinity.

Despite this attack on Jewish finance, the review continued the ambiguous attitude towards them revealed in its editor's writings at an earlier period. The Jews, (in their commercial and financial personae) were a model as well as a menace, and this was rammed home from the very first number of the African Times and Orient Review, in which coloured readers were advised;

Money being the motive power, take a leaf from the sons of Israel. None of you have had more trials to combat than have been encountered by the Jews. Money and thrift have brought them to a position in the affairs of the earth which it will be difficult to shake. Be edified by their example.

There is money in the land and under the land. There is money to be had in commercial pursuits. Grasp these things with both hands and - earn money. Earn it honestly - but get it! We live in a world of materialism and must take the world as we find it.¹⁷³

This note was struck again, if anything even more urgently, in the editorial column "To-Day" in the mid-January 1917 number, heralding a period in which the stimulation of Negro and Asian controlled commerce became the review's prime policy of action. This began by commending the Afro-Americans because "They are making money whilst the politicians are introducing repressive legislation. And this is your cue - make money. ... Get

173. ATOR, July 1912, p.2.

back to the soil and make money." From this point in the editorial, the phrase "make money" became an incantation, and the Jewish example was strongly urged again;

There are many thousand square miles remaining in the possession of the African and the Oriental, and there is money in this land. Hence we say, make money. Our condition has never been so bad as that of the modern Jew, yet look at his present position in the world.

He dominates parliaments and commerce, makes or unmakes wars, either marries into the aristocracy or purchases a title of his own. What the Jew has accomplished we can also bring to pass. Therefore, we say, make money. We have no desire to marry into the aristocracy of any European State. Our aristocracy is at least as ancient as that of any European country, but we need money.

Money making may not be the highest ideal, but we cannot go far without it, and money has become such a power in the modern world, that without it we are socially, commercially and politically damned! True, for the most part, we have retained our morals; and there are those who consider money getting immoral. We, however, venture to think that this applies to the means employed rather than to the end attained. Besides, we did not create present day commercial conditions. They were created for us. Hence, as we are powerless to alter existing conditions we must not only recognise accomplished facts but 'Rise from our dreams of the future' and make money!¹⁷⁴

Having seen who the chosen enemies of the review were, the tactics recommended for combating those enemies and raising "the race" to a safe and powerful position can be understood. Taking a cue from Booker T. Washington, coloured people were warned time and again not to waste time and effort in straining after professional 'white-collar' jobs - lawyers, preachers, clerks and similar occupations - but to utilise the wealth of the soil, to learn scientific agriculture, engineering, mining, to send

174. ATOR, January 1917, pp.2-3.

their sons, if necessary, to learn industrial techniques as labourers in the white man's enterprises.¹⁷⁵ The review's first number proclaimed the Booker T. slogan "The Dignity of Labour" in capital letters.¹⁷⁶ But this was not merely a call to roll up shirt sleeves and create wealth by sweat and toil alone. As seen above, the review was aware that there were still "many thousands of square miles remaining in the possession of the African and the Oriental." Undoubtedly its West African connections made it particularly aware of this. Nor was this merely seen as a future asset, for the Gold Coast cocoa farmer was recognised as a man who had already created in a few short years a new industry that was unique in the tropical British Empire, being the work of free African farmers rather than expatriate capital.¹⁷⁷

Mere possession of the land, however, was recognised as conferring no security whatever on its owners. Firstly, there were those who were a threat to coloured land rights - the white planter, concessionaire, and settler. In practice the review concerned itself with the land question in British Africa; it found the main threats to be discriminatory land legislation in the white settled lands such as the Union of South

175. *ibid*, and ATOR, July 1912, p.2.

176. ATOR, July 1912, p.2.

177. See the discussion of the development of the Gold Coast cocoa growing economy in Polly Hill, Migrant Cocoa Farmers of Southern Ghana, Cambridge 1963, pp.103-113, and The Gold Coast Cocoa Farmer, A Preliminary Survey, London 1956, pp.170-192.

Africa and Southern Rhodesia; and Forest and Crown Land legislation in British west Africa. As editor, Duse' Mohamed Ali's understanding of the importance of land in African communities was not narrowly and vulgarly economic, as is shown in the following editorial from the end of 1913;

To the African land is more important than it is to the European of to-day. In Europe to-day land is merely a possession in most cases, and in others an appendage of ... wealth. In Africa the land is the foundation of the whole social system. The 'family' or 'tribal' land is the land which keeps the community together, and the free possession of the land is the African's best protection from being reduced to serfdom and wage-slavery. As long as he retains his fertile soil which yields him an easy and sufficient maintenance, the white man cannot compel him to the perpetual toil which is the lot of the European proletariat, who must accept the pittance doled out by the 'employers' or starve.¹⁷⁸

So in the nearly two years since he had protested to John Eldred Taylor that he knew little about West Africa or commerce he had learnt a great deal. (Apart, that is, from the old error about easy living from African soil.) No doubt exposure of the writings and conversation of Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society men, in particular Casely Hayford, had helped him to form this clear picture of the importance of land to Africans. But though he took in the wider importance of land to West African communities, yet it would still be true to say that the review stressed the socio-economic rather than other aspects of the land

178. ATCR, November-December 1913, p.182.

question. The editorial quoted above also grimly warned, "The Land Question is vital to the future status of the African in his own country. On the decision of the 'Land question' rests his position as a free owner and cultivator, or relegation to serfdom to foreign capitalists."

It is hardly surprising, in view of its perception of the vital necessity of Africans retaining control over their own land, that the review regarded Southern Africa as more or less a hopeless case, to be pointed out as an awful example rather than an opportunity to be seized. The notorious Native Lands Act of 1913 was attacked editorially, but, for reasons which will be explained, with far less vigour and persistence than were the less drastic threats to African land in British West Africa: it only received one editorial mention¹⁷⁹ as against innumerable mentions of the West African land question. Six months later, the review noted that the South African Native National Congress was sending a delegation to Britain to protest against the 1913 Act, But with some bitterness towards the Imperial Government for having handed over its black South subjects to the South African Whites, it denounced the delegation as a

179. "Yesterday, To-day and Tomorrow", ATOR, November-December 1913, p.183, commented; "Legislation is proposed ... to parcel out the South African Colonies (sic) into 'Black and White' areas; in the latter of which the 'native' will be excluded from the ownership of the land. It is feared that the 'Black' areas will be restricted to the barren and undesirable portions of the territory, while the 'Whites' will appropriate all the best lands."

waste of time.¹⁸⁰ There was a tendency for the review to put the blame for oppression inside South Africa solely on the Afrikaner (always referred to as the Boer). General Smuts became one of its favourite Afrikaner targets for abuse; in February 1918 the editorial column reacted thus to a recent speech by him to the Royal Geographical Society;

His speech, reduced to a sentence, means: That the people of Africa are to remain in a condition of serfdom on their own lands and to be dealt with politically and socially in whatever manner General Smuts and his friends may deem expedient.¹⁸¹

In 1920 the review published a number of articles under the general title "British Rule in South Africa" by the future President of the African National Congress, J.T. Gumede, who was sent in 1919 with L.T. Mvabaza, Solomon T. Plaatje, Rev. H.R. Ngcayiya and R.V. Selope Thema on a second Congress delegation to Europe, no more fruitful than that of 1914.¹⁸²

180. ATOR, 16th June 1914, pp.289-90. The members of this delegation, which was totally unsuccessful, were Solomon T. Plaatje, Secretary of the newly formed South African Native National Congress, Rev. John Dube, Rev. Walter Kubusana, Thomas Makipela, and Saul Msane - see Roux, Time Longer Than Rope, p.110. There is no positive evidence to suggest that Duse Mohamed Ali encountered the 1914 delegation. It may be noted that two of these delegates, Plaatje and Dube, later became involved in the post-War Du Bois Pan-African Congresses - Plaatje at the 1919 Paris Congress, Dube in one of the London Congresses. See Wilson and Thompson, Oxford History of South Africa, vol. II, p.444.

181. ATOR, February 1918, p.2. The editorial warned that; "If the Europeans are prepared to exploit on Boer lines, they must be prepared for trouble of a very serious kind.

182. For the 1919 ANC delegation see Roux, op.cit., p.111. Gumede's contributions to the AOR in 1920 were:- "South Africa and Self-Determination", January 1920, pp.30-31; "Britain's Word of Honour to King Cetshwayo and the Zulu Nation", February 1920, pp.13-14; and a series of articles entitled "British Rule in South Africa", March 1920, pp.19 & 21-2, April 1920, p.17, June 1920, pp.29-30, and August 1920, p.15.

Gumede's articles catalogued the broken promises and betrayals by the British towards the black South Africans; Selope Thema, too contributed on native labour unrest in the Rand mines.¹⁸³ Editorially, Duse' Mohamed Ali found it only possible to lament that there was "perhaps no portion of British Africa where the rightful owners of the soil suffer greater disabilities" and that not only had the people's lands been stolen despite all promises from British authority, but also that they had "been reduced to a condition of slavery which is more iniquitous than ... in the West Indian Colonies prior to 1834."¹⁸⁴

One of the reasons why the review took a more negative attitude towards South than West Africa was that its sources of information were surely far more tenuous and second hand about the former than about the latter. But surely the determining factor was that in South Africa the African had lost almost everything, while in British West Africa the African still had control of the land. The West African future, however, seemed yet in the balance. So it was necessary and profitable to fight for it; the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society, and in a smaller way the Lagos Auxiliary of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society, had shown that land battles could be won.¹⁸⁵ Indeed, the very creation

183. "Native Unrest in South Africa", AOR, May 1920, pp.12-14.

184. AOR, April 1920, p.46.

185. For the A.R.P.S. struggle against obnoxious land legislation, see Kimble, A Political History of Ghana, pp.331-57. For successful resistance in Lagos to government expropriation of land, see James S. Coleman, Nigeria, Background to Nationalism, pp.178-9.

and survival of the African Times and Orient Review could be regarded (inter alia) as a demonstration of the determined fighting spirit of those circles.

The review soon began to show its teeth on the West African land question. As early as August 1912 - the first issue of the review under the aegis of the African Times and Orient Review Ltd. syndicate - there was a substantial and sympathetic review of Casely Hayford's Gold Coast Land Tenure and the Forest Bill 1911. Furthermore, an article of Casely Hayford's, The Land Question on the Gold Coast, which attacked E.D. Morel as the spokesman of those who wished to 'protect' West Africans from alienating their lands, by vesting control in the Crown, was reprinted from another journal.¹⁸⁶

Despite the publication of Josiah Wedgewood M.P.'s article "Native Lands and Crown Colonies", arguing the case for Crown control, in the October 1912 issue, the review continued to uphold unfettered African land rights in West Africa. Thus, Wedgewood's article was counter-balanced in the same issue by W.F. Hutchison's "Mr. E.D. Morel and the Native Land Question in West Africa".¹⁸⁷ From this time, E.D. Morel

186. For the review of Casely Hayford's Gold Coast Land Tenure and the Forest Bill 1911, see ATOR, August 1912, p.57; for Casely Hayford's article "The Land Question on the Gold Coast", see ibid, pp.58-9, reprinted from Transactions of the Royal Scottish Aborigicultural Society, July 1912.

187. See J.C. wedgewood, "Native Lands and Crown Colonies", ATOR, October 1912, pp.125-7, and W.F. Hutchison, "Mr. E.D. Morel and the Land Question in West Africa", ibid, pp.143-4.

became one of the stock villains of the African Times and Orient Review repertoire. But the article was also significant for its concern over the growth of foreign capitalist exploitation with monopolistic tendencies in West Africa, and must be regarded as one of the source streams feeding the river of editorial print against capitalism and monopoly. In 1913, the West African Land Question found its place in editorial comment on several occasions,¹⁸⁸ despite much pre-occupation with events in Turkey and the Balkans. If in later years the review had less to say on the basic premises of west African land tenure, this was surely because the status quo no longer seemed so threatened by Government legislation.

Threats to the West African's lands - or to his enjoyment of the produce of his lands - seemed imminent in the period 1912-14. In November 1912, the Nigerian Government was violently assailed by cartoon and word for a Rubber Tapping Ordinance, under which only one third of the profits of tapping went to the cultivator, the remainder being shared between Government and the Chiefs.¹⁸⁹ But the most frequent target over the question of the land and its resources was not the Nigerian Government, nor the Gold Coast Government, nor the Colonial Office, nor even E.D. Morel, but Sir William Lever, who since 1910 had been seriously considering British West Africa as a source of supply for palm kernels and palm oil, and had been keeping an eye on the West African oil trade since at least 1902.¹⁹⁰

188. For e.g. see ATOR, February-March 1913, p.235; ATOR, April 1913, p.282; ATOR, June 1913, pp.369-70.

189. ATOR, November 1912, pp.166-7.

190. See Charles Wilson, The History of Unilever, vol.I, London 1954, pp.165-7 & 180.

It is not really possible to fully understand the African Times and Orient Review's attitude to Lever's intrusion in West Africa without first making some assessment of the nature of that intrusion. Unfortunately, there is no really satisfactory study of this question. Charles Wilson's History of Unilever devotes only a few pages to this issue, and suffers the disadvantage of having been published in 1954, at which time the fifty year rule at the Public Record Office prevented consultation of the relevant official papers. A less excusable weakness of this work by an eminent economic historian is that although it discusses at length European competitors of Unilever, no attempt is made to do so in the case of West Africans who are apparently regarded as economic nobodies, and whose skillful, strenuous and successful opposition to the firm's West African plans is passed over. The failure, ultimately, of these plans is attributed by Wilson entirely to Colonial Office policy, which is at best a half truth.

Nevertheless, Wilson does at least, if inadvertantly, make it clear why West Africans found Lever's plans so obnoxious. Sir William Lever misconceived the West African Chief as being a landed proprietor on the model of the British aristocracy. He was, Lever believed, allowed by the C.O. to be obstructive and "neither develop his own land, nor allow anyone else to do so". Also;

He was equally unimpressed by the arguments in favour of tribal organization. Natives should be treated as 'willing children', schooled, housed, doctored, and moved from place to place as might be required. Above all, they should be taught the value of regular habits and of working to time. Under such a regime, how could they fail to become both healthy and industrious, and how then could they fail to be happy.¹⁹¹

191. *ibid*, p.167.

With this attitude of mind, the dire warnings of impending economic slavery to be found in the African Times and Orient Review seem not fanciful but rather an agonised perception of what could very well be in store. The Congo, which proved a congenial climate for the Lever scheme of things,¹⁹² was well recognised by the review as a horrid example of what could follow unfettered white monopolistic exploitation.¹⁹³

In British West Africa there was, however, an obstacle to Congo style concessions. This was, "... the settled policy of the Colonial Office that the native populations of West Africa ... should in general have secured to them rights to hold their ancestral soil without disturbance, to cultivate it as they would, and to do with its produce as they thought fit."¹⁹⁴ This was tantalising, for not only was British West Africa (above all the Niger Delta hinterland) very rich in natural oil palms, but also Lever recognised that modern processing of palm fruit would enormously increase yields.¹⁹⁵ By 1910, he thought that he had found a way around the difficulty. Over the next two years, he bought up three of the weaker of the old West African Trading firms.¹⁹⁶ The next step

192. For the beginning of Lever Bros. operations in the Congo, see *ibid*, pp.167-179.

193. See the reference to Leopold and the Congo in the anti-Lever broadside printed in the ATOR, February-March 1913, p.235.

194. Wilson, *op.cit.*, p.166.

195. *ibid*.

196. These firms were W.B. MacIvor & Co.Ltd. of Liverpool, mainly trading in Nigeria, Peter Ratcliff & Co., trading in Sierra Leone, and the Cavalla River Co. in Liberia. See *ibid*, p.181.

was to set up local mills for extracting oil from the palm pericarp and for crushing the palm kernels, which had hitherto been shipped to foreign markets uncrushed. The first mills were set up at Opobo and Apapa, Nigeria, in 1910, and another followed at Yonnibannah, Sierra Leone, in 1912.¹⁹⁷

The Colonial Office had been by no means enthusiastic about these developments, but by 1912 Colonial Secretary Harcourt had been won over to support a further scheme, this time in the Gold Coast, by which a monopoly of mechanical processing of palm fruit and construction of light railways would be given over a large area. Despite the objections "as a matter of principle" of Governor J.J. Thorburn and his Executive Council, Harcourt insisted that a draft Bill be introduced in the Gold Coast giving these rights over an area with a radius of ten miles.¹⁹⁸ Thus, in a modified way, the Colonial Office under Harcourt was prepared to assist Lever's plans, so long as the principle of African land ownership was technically intact. The Bill was published in the Gold Coast in August 1912.

There was a delay of some months before this business produced a reaction from the review. This was remedied in the issue for February-

197. *ibid.*

198. Kimble, Political History of Ghana, p.46. It is interesting to note, in view of his well known opposition to Lord Leverhulme's attempt to create a palm-product plantation economy in Nigeria after the First World War, that in 1913 Sir Hugh Clifford, then Governor of the Gold Coast, was already worried about the consequences for Africans of concessions to another company, Apol Ltd. - see Clifford to Harcourt, 13th June 1913, Gold Coast despatch 372, and *ibid.*, 8th July 1913, Gold Coast despatch 451, Ghana National Archives, Original Correspondence, ADM 1/531.

March 1913. Editorially, attention was drawn to Governor J.J. Thorburn's misgivings; and the invitation given to the review's own backer, Dr. O. Sapara, to give evidence on the lands question to the West African Lands Committee of the Commons, was denounced as a sham, "only intended to eliminate the charge of partiality." Furthermore, it was questioned whether the chiefs and people of the area concerned in the Gold Coast had had the implications explained or were satisfied with the conditions.¹⁹⁹ The Hansard record of recent hostile questions to the Colonial Secretary by two M.P.s, Mr. Touche and Mr. Rupert Gwynne, on Lever's Sierra Leone concession, was reprinted in the same issue,²⁰⁰ which furthermore carried a virulently anti-Lever cartoon²⁰¹ and the following jingle;

King Soap was no generous fool,
 When a palace he gave to John Bull;
 For that splendid palace - I say without malice -
 Ensured him a very 'big pull'.
 And as all West Africans know;
 For his quid he gained a fat quo,
 In the native lands granted and owners supplanted
 To work for his weal and their woe.
 For 'Lu-Lu' has granted the soil
 Of the blacks, who hereafter must moil,
 So that King Soap may fatten and on them may batten
 Through enslaving and underpaid toil,
 Where the genuine sunshine doth blaze, -
 While his sunlight the Soap King displays
 To unfortunate niggers, who cut sorry figures,
 While he tells 'em to work - 'cause it pays
 Forget not the Congo atrocities,
 And Leopold's smart reciprocities!
 But 'mid this day's 'infernals' - take stock of palm-kernels
 And King Soap's benign unctuousities.²⁰²

199. ATOR, February-March 1913, p.235, and Kimble, op.cit., p.46.

200. ATOR, February-March 1913, pp.276-7.

201. *ibid*, p.256.

202. *ibid*, p.235.

There can be no doubt at all of the target of these verses, with their clear references to Lever's company town, Port Sunlight - and it will be noted that under the prudent cover of inference, the review was prepared to attack its man in most damaging terms. It was not alone in alleging that there was an element of corruption in Lever's concessions in West Africa. C.O. records have preserved a cutting from the Daily Citizen of 21st November 1912, quoting the Labour Leader as saying;

In the House of Commons Mr. Harcourt was most indignant when it was suggested that the Government had been led to grant the concession as a recognition of Sir W.H. Lever's gifts to the funds of the Liberal Party. But what other explanation will satisfy the public?²⁰³

The question referred to here is almost certainly one asked by Mr. Moore M.P. on 13th November 1912.²⁰⁴

In the Gold Coast itself, opposition to the Bill was led by the A.R.P.S., whose petition against the Bill to the Legislative Council was augmented by an address by E.J.P. Brown, another of the creators of African Times and Orient Review Ltd.²⁰⁵ This was some months after the review began its attack. In July 1913 the editor made a prolonged attack on Lever's interests in West Africa, defending African land rights there, and accusing Lever of introducing South African type exploitation.²⁰⁶ Lever's

203. The Daily Citizen, 21st November 1912, in C.O. 554/10/37806.

204. See Hansard, 1912, XLIII, p.1968, 13th November 1912 - "Mr. Moore: May I ask if the application has been put forward by Sir William Lever for exclusive rights to twelve miles of land, and was this specially granted to him in return for any services to the Radical party?"

205. Kimble, op.cit., p.47.

206. ATOR, July 1913, p.2.

re-appeared as a target in the pages of the Africa and Orient Review in 1920, at a time when they were rapidly expanding their position in West African produce and shipping markets. During the war they had expanded considerably in those directions, acquiring three more trading firms and a steamship line, but the great coup was the acquisition of the Niger Company in 1920, which with the African and Eastern Trade Corporation had been one of the two great West African Trading interests.²⁰⁷ From this time it could be said that Lever's were the major West African trading company, and were on the last lap to the creation of the near monopolistic United Africa Company, which came into being in 1929. It was henceforward Lever's that West Africans and their friends had in mind when they complained of the 'combine' which was said to be manipulating prices of both produce and imported goods so as to crush the independent African merchant and control the West African farmer. The belief (or perhaps one might say experience) that there was a combine working against the West African farmer and trader was of course considerably older than 1920. It had existed since before the Great War.

This feeling was well reflected in the pages of the African Times and Orient Review. It should be regarded as part of the motivation behind the bitter generalised attacks on the role of would-be monopolistic European capital in Africa, already noted. More specifically, anti-combine feeling

207. The post-War expansion of Lever Brothers in West Africa is discussed in Chapter VI of this thesis. For the firm's wartime expansion, see Wilson, op.cit., vol.I, pp.237-9.

was revealed to a high degree in the review during the war, when many in West Africa believed that the 'combine' or 'interests' were manipulating the war situation to their own selfish monopolistic purposes.²⁰⁸ Thus we find the review in its first issue of the 1917-1918 series attacking the proposed £2 per ton export duty, to be imposed on palm kernels exported to any destination outside the British Empire. The review's city columnist, "Change Allee", pointed out that this duty was only remitted after the receipt of evidence that the consignment had been received by a purchaser within the British Empire. This system, the review believed, worked against the small African merchant and in favour of big, well-capitalised, European firms. It saw an "obvious objection that the existence of an export duty may create combination among the local purchasers and shippers to depress prices to the natives and maintain prices to consumers in England."²⁰⁹

Even more objectionable to the review in 1917 was the Empire Resources Development Committee, an unofficial body of businessmen and politicians

208. See for e.g. M. Perham, Lugard, The Years of Authority, London 1960, pp.600-01 for wartime opposition by Lagos African merchant interests to the system of allocation of shipping tonnage; the African merchants felt that the 'combine' was unduly favoured at their expense.

209. ATOR, January 1917, p.21. For details of this controversial proposal, which was attacked by British Liberal and Labour spokesman from its inception, see Sir W.K. Hancock, Survey of Commonwealth Affairs, vol. II Problems of Economic Policy 1918-1939, Part I, London 1940, pp.115-19. The operations of 'combines' in shipping as well as produce trading were attacked again in the ATOR in March 1917, p.56, by M.J. Hughes, an African businessman operating in Nigeria and Dahomey, in an article entitled "African Co-operation; An Appeal to Afro-Americans".

advocating control and development of Imperial economic resources via an 'independent' body of businessmen, who would have vast overall powers and a vague obligation to act in the public interest.²¹⁰ A fair sample of E.R.D.C. propaganda can be found in an address delivered by Mr. Alfred Bigland, M.P., to the colonial section of the Royal Society of Arts on 27th February 1917.²¹¹ Bigland was not only an M.P. but also at that time H.M. Controller, Oil Seeds and Fats,²¹² and claimed "intimate knowledge"

210. For a hostile critique of the E.R.D.C. see Sir W.A. Hancock, op.cit., Part II, London 1942, pp.106-9, 113, 116 & 122. Hancock derides the E.R.D.C.'s plans and outlook as "this farrago of cant and greed" (p.108); as appealing "to the spite and greed of the masses" (p.109); as "bringing economic rabbits out of their imperial top hats" (p.113). He sees the £2 per ton export duty on palm kernels as their sole solid victory - "The trick of the vanishing war-debt and the six-hour day and two months holidays for the British working-man - achieved scientifically and without deception by exploiting the resources of the British colonies - no longer figured on their programme. But there was quite a modest item with palm kernels to which they were particularly attached. To their joy, the British government itself undertook direct responsibility for this performance." - *ibid*, p.113.

211. Alfred Bigland M.P., "The Empire's Assets and How to Use Them", Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, LXV, 3,358, March 30th 1917, pp.355-63. Among those taking part in the subsequent discussion was H. Wilson Fox, M.P., another prominent member of the E.R.D.C. - see *ibid*, p.364. Wilson Fox himself had addressed the R.S.A. earlier on "The Development of Imperial Resources", and had received the backing in discussion of his colleague Alfred Bigland. See Journal of the Royal Society of Arts December 1916, pp.78-89.

212. See W.F. Hutchison, "Empire Development or Empire Plunder? A Review of the Proposals of the Empire Resources Development Committee", Part II, ATOR, July 1917, p.5.

from "forty years' business experience" in West Africa.²¹³ He enthused over the prospects in West African vegetable oils and cocoa in a manner that would have raised the hackles of any West African trader, produce farmer or professional man;

The proposed development scheme would afford a splendid means of facilitating the civilisation of our natives, as their labour would be harnessed to the chariot of progress and productiveness, and their purchases would be to a greater extent than at present under Government Control...

To one point I wish to draw your particular attention, and it is that West African resources are not undeveloped, but capable of much further development. The oil palm, for instance, now growing wild might well be susceptible of improvements by the application of scientific methods.²¹⁴

It takes no great penetration here to see that "scientific methods" would most likely be a euphemism for European owned and run plantations, which could, of course, only be created by alienating African land and proletarianising African farmers. Anticipating a charge of monopoly, Bigland airily stated that "so far from initiative being diminished, it would be increased by the friendly rivalry between different branches of the organisation to produce the best results."

It is hardly to be wondered at that the African Times and Orient Review responded to such talk like a bull to a red rag. As early as February 1917 its editorial was attacking the E.R.D.C. secretary, H. Wilson-Fox,

213. Bigland, op.cit., p.357.

214. *ibid*, p.359.

215. *ibid*, p.362.

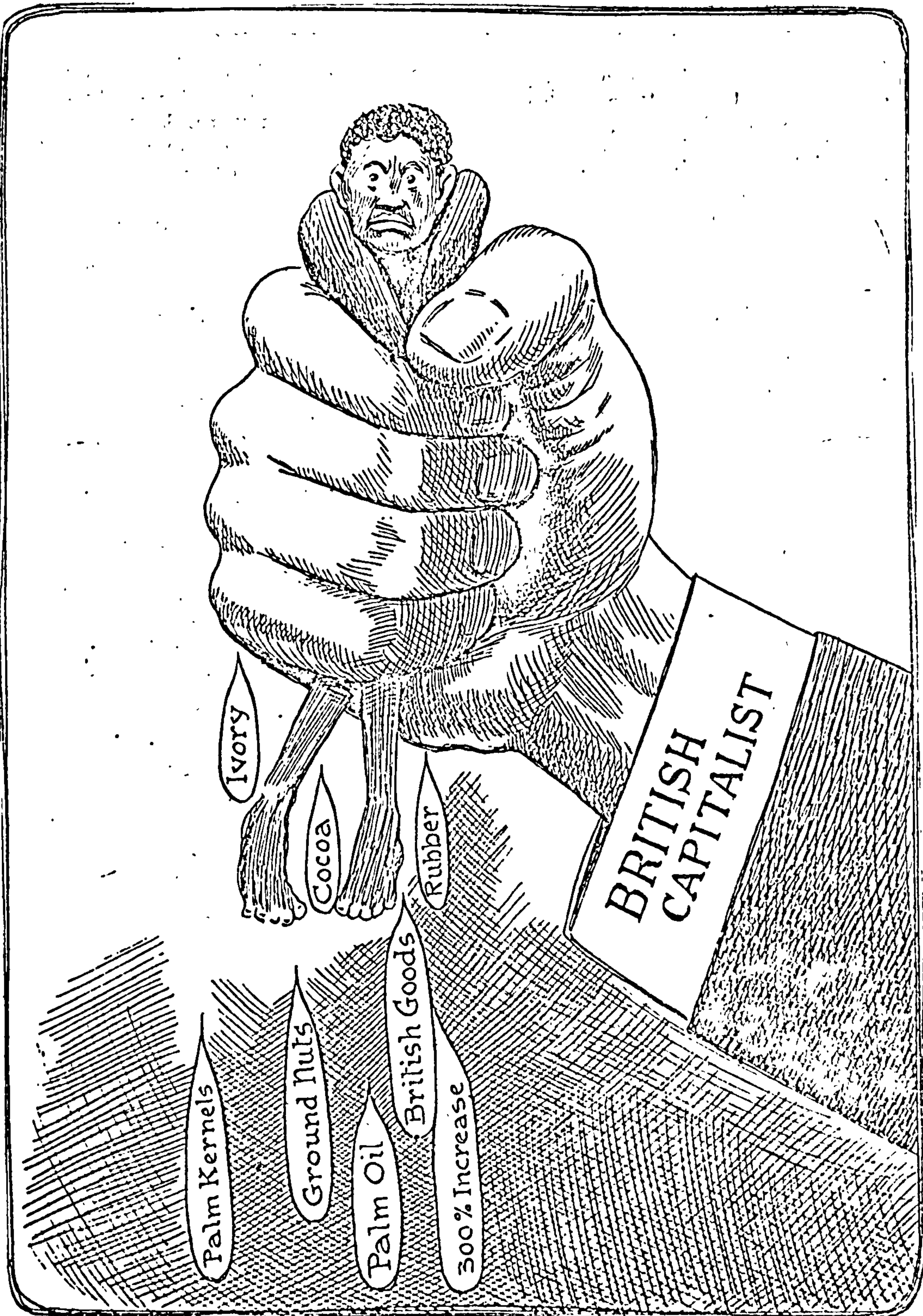
for the neglect of the interests of the natives "upon whose lands these palms are grown".²¹⁶ But the main burden of the review's attack was undertaken by W.F. Hutchison in two consecutive articles headed "Empire Development or Empire Plunder? A Review of the Proposals of the Empire Resources Development Committee".²¹⁷ In the first of these he exposed the exceptionally strong element of British South Africa Company men in the E.R.D.C. The B.S.A.C. was, of course, an example to Hutchison and all who thought like him of the worst type of European expropriation of African lands and exploitation of African resources. Sir Starr Jameson, B.S.A.C. President, was the E.R.D.C. Chairman; H. Wilson-Fox had been connected with the B.S.A.C. since 1898 and was currently one of its Directors and a member of its Executive Committee; and three others out of the E.R.D.C.'s total of 32 members had B.S.A.C. connections. In commenting on the E.R.D.C.'s belief that Imperial resources should be developed by a junta of businessmen, unhindered by civil servants, Hutchison observed "men, in short, like the chairman and directors of the British South Africa Company." He also pointed out that it was the Committee's declared intention to develop the Empire's resources thus;

for United Kingdom purposes, under United Kingdom auspices, giving the United Kingdom an adequate share of the profits for the relief of the burdens of the United Kingdom. The burdens imposed on the Empire do not appear to enter into the Committee's calculations.²¹⁸

216. "To-day", ATOR, February 1917, p.23.

217. W.F. Hutchison, "Empire Development or Empire Plunder? A Review of the Proposals of the Empire Resources Development Committee", Part I, ATOR June 1917, pp.114-6; Part II, ATOR, July 1917, pp.5-8.

218. Hutchison, op.cit., Part I, p.115.



"The proposed development scheme will afford a splendid means of facilitating the civilisation of the Nations."—Mr. Alfred Bigland, M.P.

"THE TIGHT SQUEEZE"

Anti-Empire Resources Development Committee

cartoon in

Africa and Orient Review, Sept. 1920, p.26.

This charge appears to be borne out by the speech given by Bigland to the Royal Society of Arts, who, to a British audience, was at pains to point out that it was no "necessary" part of the E.R.D.C. scheme "to lump together the entire war debts of the several Dominions with those of the Mother Country."²¹⁹ This implies that in Bigland's scheme the Colonial Empire would not be so exempt.

But in his paper Bigland spent far more time enthusing over prospects than in detailing proposals. This aspect of E.R.D.C. propaganda did not escape Hutchison's notice; after quoting at length from the Committee's Manifesto, he said;

The latter portion of the Manifesto is reminiscent of the prospectuses of a boom-time. There is the same vagueness as to localities, the same indefiniteness as the methods, the same unbounded liberality in the promise of profits, and the same careful provision for the remuneration of managers and directors.²²⁰

In his second article Hutchison further developed the point that it was implied in the E.R.D.C. view of things that the African was a mere "undeveloped national asset" rather than a human being. He accused Wilson-Fox and Bigland of belonging to the "lazy-nigger" school, and pointed out that the B.S.A.C.'s policy in Rhodesia had led to discontent, revolt and economic stagnation, whereas in West Africa the African as a free agent had created a dynamic trade in various products - timber, palm products and above all cocoa. Not only was it, said Hutchison, the

219. Bigland, op.cit., p.362.

220. Hutchison, op.cit., Part I, p.116.

"considered policy of the Colonial Office" to protect African land right and African utilisation of land profits in West Africa, but also it was in the interest of British manufacturers to sell to the prosperous peasants of West Africa. In Rhodesia, under the sort of land policy advocated by the E.R.D.C., the Africans were poverty stricken landless "serfs".²²¹ The review was not yet finished with the E.R.D.C.; in February 1918 it reported at length a hostile speech made by Rotimi Alade at a public meeting held by the Committee at Cannon St. Hotel, London, on the 30th of the previous month. Alade, like Hutchison before him, stressed that in Nigeria all land since time immemorial had been either utilised or at least owned by the people, and was not, therefore, available to be disposed of as an "unused asset".²²²

In the post-Great War boom year of 1920, the enemy most feared on the economic front was once again Lever Bros. - now, as has been shown, the 'combine' par excellence. Sir William Lever was now Lord Leverhulme - a honour that would make the worst impression on Duse' Mohamed Ali, with his belief that plutocrats purchased such honours by contributions to Government party funds. This was, of course, a belief shared by innumerable British people in the last years of the Lloyd-George regime. The 1920 series of the review had in its first number a cartoon showing

221. *ibid*, Part II, p.6.

222. *ATOR*, February 1918, pp.6-7. This meeting was addressed by Alfred Bigland M.P. In his contribution, which can hardly have been a welcome one to the organisers of the meeting, Rotimi Alade stressed the willing voluntary contribution of Nigeria to the imperial war effort.

a coroneted octopus squeezing not only its West African victims, but also the Isle of Lewis, recently acquired by Leverhulme as a vast hobby-farm.²²³ Other cartoons of this sort followed in subsequent issues.²²⁴ And in the review's final issue in December 1920, in the course of revealing a new business scheme which was held to be the salvation of Africa, Duse' Mohamed Ali must have had Lever's chiefly in mind when he wrote;

These are the days of combines and syndicates among the Europeans, who intend to squeeze the African out of his birthright, and it is up to us to show that we do not intend to become commercial or industrial slaves. We must show the world that we are indeed awake, and that a period must at length be put to the exploitation which has been proceeding on the African continent for upwards of 300 years.

If we are men we must acquit ourselves as men.

We have said enough. Those who are wise will act with promptness. We can afford to leave the fool to his folly and to his subsequent enslavement.

AFRICAN SOLIDARITY

The time has arrived when there should be a decided solidarity among the peoples of African origin.

On every side we see the rising tide of aggression, segregation and oppression which threatens to engulf us.

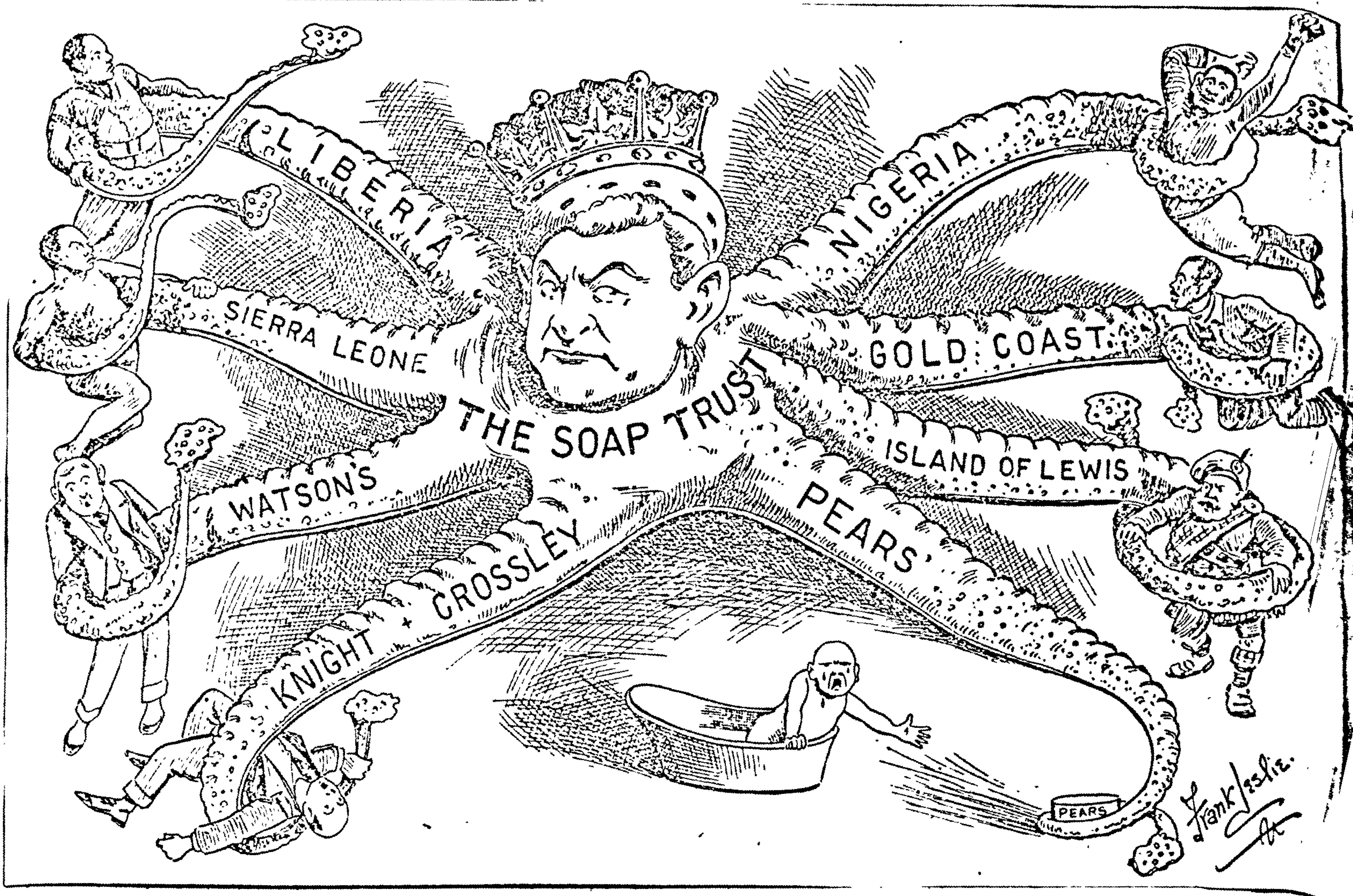
Combines in African raw commodities whilst crowding out the smaller European trader, threaten to undermine the fabric of African agriculture and Native endeavour.

Now, these combines are financially powerful and politically strong. Because of the English party system of government it is only necessary for these exploiters to pay the party chest a sufficiently large cheque, ... for the wire-pullers to start operations for the purpose of obtaining from the party or coalition the most favourable trading advantages for the contributing exploiters ... Some of these interesting gentry have even been known to obtain a seat in the House of Lords in exchange for a six-figure donation to the party chest.²²⁵

223. AOR, January 1920, p.24.

224. e.g., AOR, May 1920, p.24.

225. AOR, December 1920, p.61.



"THE OCTOPUS"

Anti-Lord Leverhulme Cartoon

from

Africa and Orient Review, Jan. 1920, p.24.

Thus the African Times and Orient Review and Africa and Orient Review were vigilant and doughty defenders of surviving African land rights. But the review was by no means entirely defensive and negative over economic questions, as has already been shown in general terms. Not only did it run a regular city column and other factual commercial information but also it encouraged coloured enterprise in a variety of ways. Among the biographies published in the review, many were of aspiring or successful coloured men in the world of commerce. Sometimes these were men who were at that time involved in business deals with the editor - for example, in February 1917, there was published a biography of an Indo-Persian business man, M.H. Ispahani, managing director of the London firm of Jules Karpeles and Co.²²⁶ Behind the scenes, Duse' Mohamed Ali was intimately involved with this firm's plans for expansion in West Africa,²²⁷ and he was prepared to recommend the firm to his readers in no uncertain terms in his editorial; Karpeles was said to be a trustworthy firm which was hoping to expand into Nigeria, having established itself on the Gold Coast, and whose managing director, being an Indian, would deal sympathetically with other 'coloured' businesses.²²⁸ This commercial involvement with Ispahani is only one example of the increasingly complex business activities that Duse' Mohamed Ali found himself involved in as a 'spin-off' from his magazine's economic and commercial advice to

226. "A Prominent London Merchant", ATOR, February 1917, p.38.

227. See Chapter VI of this thesis.

228. ATOR, July 1917, p.31.

its readers. Indeed, the story of these enterprises is complex and large enough to demand treatment under a separate heading, though they should all be borne in mind as related to the review, and some of them were run entirely through the review, as advice agencies and mail order firms.²²⁹ But Ispahani's relations with Dusé and his review cannot be understood simply as commercial 'spin-off' from the review's policies. The two men were both active in Muslim organisations in London, which gave them religious, social and political ties in common.²³⁰

The review was also aware of the problem of finding banking facilities and capital, not tied up with the 'combine', which the African trader and farmer could have easy access to for the purpose of financing their independent overseas marketing of African produce. Dusé Mohamed Ali's efforts in this direction, too, will be discussed in detail in Chapter VI. It suffices to point out here that the review was fully prepared to give space to articles aimed at encouraging such developments. For example, in September 1918 it published an article from O.T. George, secretary of the Native and Foreign Native Traders Association of Kano, entitled "Trading Possibilities in Nigeria and Coloured Capitalists Abroad", bemoaning the apparent unconsciousness of such men of his country's rich mineral and agricultural resources, and calling on them to establish

229. See Chapter VI of this thesis.

230. These Muslim circles in London in the years 1912-1921 are fully discussed in Chapter V of this thesis.

trading relations with "coloured friends" in Nigeria.²³¹ George was editorially commended for this contribution, and the editor's own detailed plans for trade along such lines revealed.²³²

There are other reflections of West African interest in American Negro finance in the review in addition to O.T. George's appeal. As early as August 1913, the review published two letters from West Africans appealing for help from American Negro banks. One, simply signed "An African", from Southern Nigeria, asked for;

the names and addresses of two or more insurance companies, banks, cotton mills etc. owned by Negroes in the United States to whom I can write for the purpose of establishing branch offices along the West Coast of Africa where everything at present is in the hands of the white capitalists.

The other, from J.S. Davies of Sierra Leone, argued that agriculture was seen by thinking members of the community as the only money making road left for Africans, owing to the disastrously successful competition of Europeans in trade. But the difficulty in agriculture was lack of capital;

Now, with the Negro banks one reads and hears of in America could nothing be done to induce them to establish an agricultural bank in this country, or establish some sort of advancing agency whereby they would be doing good not only to themselves but to this straitened community.

If, however, Negro financiers find it unworkable, could any bank or body of financiers in England be induced to undertake it.

... I am satisfied that you will put forth your best endeavours to ventilate the subject in the interests not only of this colony in particular, but also of the African race in general.

231. O.T. George, "Trading Possibilities in Nigeria and Coloured Capitalists Abroad", ATOR, September 1918, pp.26-7. George was secretary of the Native and Foreign Native Traders Association of Kano - see *ibid*.

232. See "To-day", ATOR, September 1918, pp.25-6. The development of Duse' Mohamed Ali's trading plans at this time is discussed in Chapter VI.

Although Dusé Mohamed Ali duly promised to forward his correspondents' names and addresses to "interested parties in the United States of America"²³³ it is clear that in general no American Negro banker stepped forward as financial saviour of the West African business community. Indeed, the first concrete support given by the review to a particular bank was to advise in January 1917 "all West Africans who are anxious for the material welfare of the Motherland should rally to ... support" The Colonial Bank. This was a British Bank, long established in the West Indies, and now wishing to expand in West Africa.²³⁴ Here again, there seem to have been behind the scenes negotiations involved which will be discussed in Chapter VI.

This puff for the Colonial Bank did not, however, imply that the review had lost interest in the possibility of Afro-American finance. In March 1917 an African business man, M.J. Hughes, operating in Nigeria and Dahomey, contributed an article entitled "African Co-operation; An Appeal to Afro-Americans."²³⁵ The disappearance of German competition, the subsequent strengthening of the combine, and the harmful effects of

233. See ATOR, August 1913, p.79, for these two letters and Dusé Mohamed Ali's comments on them.

234. ATOR, January 1917, p.4.

235. M.J. Hughes, "African Co-operation; An Appeal to Afro-Americans", ATOR, March 1917, p.56.

the palm kernel duty was made the grounds for his plea;

In these circumstances I appeal to business men among the Afro-Americans in the United States to turn their attention to the Racial Motherland, which offers them an opportunity, and holds out an invitation, for profitable enterprise.

On the other hand, some caution was exercised by the review in respect of the bona fides of Afro-Americans wishing to trade with West Africa, and the review was prepared to denounce an organisation which it believed to be fraudulent. For instance, it attacked the African Union Company of Brooklyn, N.Y. City. The officers of this company were named as Charles W. Chappelle of Pittsburg, Pa., President; Dr. W.R. Pettiford of Birmingham, Ala., Vice-President; Joseph L. Jones, of Cincinnati, Sales Manager; and John D. Birch of Brooklyn, Treasurer. The company, which was entirely composed of coloured people, had according to the New York Amsterdam News of 3rd April 1914, recently held a meeting at Cincinnati at which it announced its purchase of the Charles W. Chappelle Company. This firm was supposed to have been trading for two and a half years in Africa for mahogany, and to have a 4,000 sq.m. mahogany concession valued at \$1,000,000 in the Gold Coast. This is a fascinating fragment of information, showing both black American commercial interest in Africa before the Great War, and the ATOR's close surveillance of and familiarity with the black American press. But Dusé had to point out that although in general the ATOR welcomed black American interest in the Gold Coast, yet this company must be regarded with suspicion since Gold Coast law only permitted concessions of 40 sq.m. He classed the company with the Chief Alfred C. Sam movement as the sort of scheme that fancifully portrayed the long-lost African homeland as an idyllic land flowing with milk and

honey, and which would fill the pockets of Afro-Americans with untold wealth.²³⁶

Nevertheless, the emphasis of the African Times and Orient Review with respect to the question of how to strengthen and develop the economic position of the "darker races" fell heavily on the side of the need for willing co-operation between coloured people in different parts of the world. In practice, most of the schemes mentioned in the review (excepting M.H. Ispahani's) involved a Pan-African effort of American Negroes acting with West Africans. The word 'co-operation' became the watchword, as stated in an editorial in August 1917, which enjoined preparation for the post-war world;

... wealth is what we must have if we are to survive the 'development' schemes that are very much in evidence just now.

In the first place, you must combine. African and Oriental planters must form societies on a co-operative basis. They must get in touch with coloured traders of the United States, where there is a ready market for their produce. Traders must combine for the purpose of obtaining commodities in the cheapest market. India, Japan, and the United States will offer these facilities. Not only can cotton goods be obtained cheaply in those countries, but other classes of goods ... may be secured at a very low rate, thereby giving Africans and Orientals an opportunity for competing with their rivals who are more fortunately placed from the point of view of capital. ... but you must combine. ...

236. See ATOR, 21st April 1914, pp.99-100. For the Chief Sam Movement, see William E. Bittle and Gilbert Geiss, The Longest Way Home; Chief Alfred C. Sam's Back-to-Africa Movement, Detroit 1964, and Edwin S. Redkey, Black Exodus; Black Nationalists and Back to Africa Movements 1890-1910, New Haven and London 1969, pp.291-3, which puts the Sam Movement in a wider context of contemporary back-to-Africa movements in the U.S.A. It should be noted that the ATOR was not implacably hostile to the Chief Sam Movement; it was prepared to publish pro-Sam statements - see the letter from "Accra Native" in ATOR 7th July 1914, p.380 - but not to endorse them editorially.

This war has given the Japanese their commercial opportunity, and we may be assured that they will take it with both hands. This is also the opportunity of the African and the Oriental. We must readjust our perspective; we must begin to appreciate the dignity of labour.²³⁷

The co-operation exhorted here was not that of the Rochdale Pioneers or the Co-operative Wholesale Society. It is evident that the editor was thinking in much looser, more general terms. Any arrangement that combined people of African descent or (to use his usual phrase) Africans and Orientals, in larger, stronger, units, more competitive with the Europeans, was to be welcomed. This would certainly include any sort of coloured owned limited liability company, as was made clear by a 1920 eulogy of a Nigerian businessman, S.W. Duncan of Lagos, whose company had been connected with the review since January 1917;²³⁸

This energetic young West African merchant, who was in this country in 1916, is again in London working at a large scheme for the benefit of his countrymen. His last visit was in connection with the shipping question and the allocation of a fair proportion of tonnage to native shippers. He interviewed many people, including Mr. Alfred Bigland, the H.M. Controller of the Trade in Oils and Fats and succeeded in getting more consideration for Native shippers. Mr. Duncan's present plans are for fostering co-operation of a joint stock company (sic) on the liability principle for the purpose of enabling West Africans to hold their own in competition with the wealthy European companies engaged in this trade. Mr. Duncan has already shown his capacity for the conducting of such an enterprise by the foundation of the British and African Supply Company, which he managed so well that within three years the profits almost equalled the original capital, while the value of the assets of the Company was even larger than the sum with which the business was started.

237. ATOR, August 1917, p.59.

238. For further discussion of the business connections between Sam Duncan and Duse' Mohamed Ali see Chapter VI of this thesis.

The principle of co-operation is so thoroughly proved by European experience and its possibilities in West Africa have been so brilliantly proved by Mr. Duncan's brilliant experiment, that it is to be hoped that his countrymen will rally round and support the projected company with alacrity and zest. The best of good-fortune to Mr. Duncan and his undertaking.²³⁹

The African Times and Orient Review's view on the coloured peoples' world economic position and prospects have been dealt with at length, in the belief that there is to be found its most characteristic and considered doctrines - doctrines which, as will be shown in Chapter VI, were also simultaneously attempted in practice. Yet although the review stressed the economic angle, preaching its doctrine of Pan-African or Pan-Afro-Asian mutual co-operation and self-help to beat the threatening forces of white capitalism, nevertheless it by no means neglected other matters. Indeed, it had much to say in three other broad areas: (i) defence of the national independence of surviving Afro-Asian States and of the national rights of subject Afro-Asian peoples, (ii) defence of the dignity and human rights of Africans and Orientals, and (iii) defence of African and Asian culture and religion. Naturally, in actuality these themes were not dealt with in watertight compartments, totally separate from each other and the themes already discussed. Thus, defence of the national independence of African and Asian nations involved support for the Ottoman Empire in its troubles of 1912-13 and 1920; and this was intimately connected with support for Islam as a non-racial, colour blind religion, suffering from white Christian hostility and aggression. However, as a matter of convenience, these themes will be taken in sequence.

239. AOR, January 1920, p.45.

When it came to the question of defending National independence, no nation received more sympathy from the African Times and Orient Review than Turkey, threatened in the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 and again, by imminent disolution, in 1918-1922.²⁴⁰ As a Muslim, Duse' Mohamed Ali was bound to have particular sentiment towards the Sultan in his role of Khalif. Of course, during the Great War, the review had to keep its Turkophil sympathies to itself, and its editor was under enough suspicion from authority without printing what would have amounted to seditious or even treasonable material. But in 1920, the review returned to its pre-war position as an apologist for the Turks.

This attachment to the Ottoman Empire was no deluded love-affair in which the beloved's blemishes were not recognised. The review's immediate editorial reaction to the first Balkan War was to attack the corruption of Turkish officials who had sent an unprepared, ill-equipped army to its doom. But at the same time, there was a lesson in this defeat for the entire Afro-Asian world;

There is a lesson in all this. If the people of Africa, and the people of Asia will but profit by Turkey's misfortunes. Lack of unity, lack of patriotism, were the basic elements of Turkey's humiliation. The house divided against itself and it fell.

Europe stretches out her arms on every side to squeeze the darker races to her own advantage, because she knows the people of Africa and the people of Asia to be divided. Her aim has ever been to promote division. It therefore behoves you, men of Asia, men of Africa, to join yourselves in one common bond of lasting brotherhood.

240. For a discussion of the ~~role~~ nadir of Turkish fortunes after the Great War, and revival under Ataturk, see Bernard Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey, London 1961, pp.234-49.

Sink your petty religious differences. Curb your insane pride. The only pride you require is the pride of country, the pride of brotherhood, for in that pride you must gain the respect of the nations of Europe, and in that bond of brotherhood you will give pause to the European aggressor.

Your hearts may be cast down by the difficulties and the dangers that beset you, but YOUR TIME is not yet. The wise see it dimly. The very greed which has produced your subjugation will indubitably lead to the undoing of your oppressors ...²⁴¹

At the beginning of 1913, during the London Peace Conference, the editor bitterly reproached the European powers for ill-faith and false friendship towards Turkey. Britain was not excluded from these strictures. He sadly (and prematurely) concluded;

... the humiliation of Turkey and the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire is a foregone conclusion, and it will be for Turkey to accept the inevitable and retire to Asia, consolidating her forces there, renewing her life, for it is absolutely impossible for her to depend upon the promises and 'cordial intentions' of European Nations.²⁴²

Up to August 1914, Turkey was frequently discussed in the review's editorial columns. Despite some gratification in 1913 at the saving of Eastern Thrace and Adrianople for Turkey, the review continued to be worried about the long term position. It considered that "... the disposition of the Powers is not friendly to Turkey, nor does it appear that they intend allowing any non-European State to exist ...", and "as the Europeans have made up their minds to exploit the non-European races of mankind in the interests of their money making schemes, they do not consider their interests are sound unless they absolutely uproot the Turk from the Councils of Europe."²⁴³

241. ATOR, November 1912, p.iii.

242. ATOR, December-January 1913, p.185.

243. ATOR, August 1913, p.45.

In 1920, the editorial pen was equally busy in defence of the defeated Ottoman Empire, deploring the Greek action in Asia Minor and the possibility of handing over Constantinople to the Greeks, and drawing attention to the need of both the British and the French to placate pro-Khalif Muslim feelings within their Empires if they would have peace.²⁴⁴ Speaking in his role of admonisher of the British for their foolish errors, which were undermining the Empire, he said;

England is still technically at war with Turkey, and although Indians are loyal to the British Empire, even the most illiterate Muslim soldier knows there is something wrong. He has fought in France, Flanders and in Palestine. He was a soldier. He did his duty, but deep in his heart ... Well, the Khaliphate is the Khaliphate, and the Sultan of Turkey is the leader of the Faithfull.²⁴⁵

In the same article it was insisted that Turkey had not been the aggressor against England in the Great War.

In both the pre and post war periods, the magazine printed considerable numbers of articles in support of the Turkish Empire. In the earlier period one could pick out an attack on the Balkan States and their Christian sympathisers in Europe under the title "Peter the Painter, Peter of Servia and Peter the Hermit", by Ellis Schaap, and a similar article by the review's own man, Charles Koshier, entitled "Crusaders

244. AOR, December 1920, p.59.

245. "Turkey and the Muslim World", AOR, April 1920, p.44. In this same editorial, Duse Mohamed Ali made clear the racial as well as religious basis for his support of the Ottoman cause; "The sympathetic attachment of Muslims to Turkey, and, I might add, the sympathy which extends throughout the coloured world, is to be found in the fact that, with the exception of China and Japan, Turkey is the last independent non-European power we have left to us."

(1912-1913) Unlimited", concentrating its fire in particular on British Turcophobes.²⁴⁶ Another article, by William H. Seed in May 1913, advanced the idea that Turkey was beaten because of her lack of economic development.²⁴⁷ This line of argument clearly tied in with the review's overall belief in the need for Africans and Asians to promote their economic strength if they were to combat the assaults of white capitalism. If the articles in 1920 on Turkey are examined, among them is to be found an offering by Marmaduke Pickthall, Duse' Mohamed Ali's erstwhile opponent of his days as a writer for The New Age, who had since then become a comrade in the fight to preserve the Ottoman Empire.²⁴⁸

But perhaps more important than these editorials and articles in support of the Ottoman Empire was the fact that the review's editor played an active role in fostering Turcophilic pressure groups in Britain, and used his magazine to give full publicity to pro-Ottoman organisations and public meetings. Indeed, the offices in 158 Fleet Street became a meeting place and corresponding address for many such organisations. This, however, will be discussed at length in the following chapter, in the course of a full examination of Duse's political activities during the period 1912-1921.

246. See ATOR, November 1912, pp.151-52 and *ibid*, February-March 1913, pp.268-9.

247. William H. Seed, "Why Turkey is Beaten", ATOR, May 1913, pp.327-8.

248. Marmaduke Pickthall, "The Fate of Turkey", AOR, January 1920, pp.33-4. For the growth of the association between Pickthall and Duse' Mohamed Ali, see Chapter V of this thesis.

The review was interested in the repercussions of Anglo-Turkish relations on India, and was broadly in sympathy with Indian nationalism. On the whole it expressed this sympathy through throwing open its columns to Indians living in London, rather than via editorials. The post-Great War Khilafat movement in India was the only Indian political movement to be regularly referred to in the review's editorial columns.²⁴⁹ Even this was important to the review less for its internal significance in India, than as a threat and warning to Britain to respect Islam if she would preserve her Empire. As in his writings in the earlier years the editor chose to emphasise the numerical position of Muslims within the British Empire, in which of course the Indian Muslims were the largest Muslim component.²⁵⁰ But in general, the review's Indian politics were less to be found in specific issues than more generalised defence of Indian human rights, which will be discussed presently. An exception can be made of the editorials of the Great War years, which took the line that "Equality of risk of life and limb, equality of risk of financial war burdens must receive equality of political treatment";²⁵¹ i.e., India must be conceded full Dominion status as enjoyed by the other Dominions as a result of her loyalty to and efforts for Britain during

249. For a survey of the literature of the Khilafat movement and the wider question of the relationship between the late Ottoman Empire and Indian politics, see Chapter V, notes 31 and 117.

250. See "Turkey and the Muslim World", AOR, April 1920, pp.43-4 which spoke of the 400 million Muslims of the British Empire.

251. "To-day", ATOR, November 1917, p.92.

the war. The Montagu Mission of 1917 was well received, and likewise it was noted with delight that India was to be represented at Imperial Conferences.²⁵² All this is far short of the detailed and intimate knowledge of and comment on West African or even black American affairs to be found in the review's editorials.

To some extent this was counterbalanced by numerous articles, many of them long and detailed, on Indian Nationalism by Indians. Some of these contributors were to be found on the same platforms as Duse' Mohamed Ali in his political activities in London, as will be shown in the next chapter. In this category were Sayyid Abdul Majid and Shaikh M.H. Kidwai. The most frequent contributor on Indian political topics in the review's pre-war years, however, was Sundara Raja, whose articles would have constituted a political education in Indian Nationalism for African, American and West Indian readers. Notable among these were "India and Tariff Reform", violently assailing Free Trade for its destruction of Indian cottage industries and incipient manufacturing industries in the interests of Lancashire.²⁵³ This was, of course, not only more grist for the mill of the review's economic theories, but also a widely accepted view

252. *ibid*, & ATOR, June 1917, p.111.

253. Sundara Raja, "India and Tariff Reform", ATOR, December-January 1913, pp.188-9.

among Indian Nationalists of the reason for Indian poverty.²⁵⁴ Other notable Sundara Raja articles on Indian politics were "India's Political Demands",²⁵⁵ which related the terrorism of pre-First World War India to the frustration of Indians over a wide range of issues, including education, taxation, the Public Service, repressive legislation and progress to self-government; "Politics and Public Life in India"²⁵⁶ which gave summaries of the Indian National Congress, All-Indian Muslim League, and their leaders, with no hint at differences between them; and "The Indian Press and the Men Behind It", which was not only descriptive, but also attacked censorship.²⁵⁷

254. The most notable exponent of this theory in the ranks of early Indian nationalists was of course none other than Dadabhai Naoroji. His Poverty and un-British Rule in India, London 1901, comprised a collection of his most important speeches and writings on Indian economic affairs. Another influential Indian intellectual who attacked the effect of British tariff policies on the Indian economy was the economic historian Romesh Dutt, in his work The Economic History of India in the Victorian Age. From the Accession of Queen Victoria in 1837 to the Commencement of the Twentieth Century, 1st ed. London 1903. Dutt believed that "when every civilised Government on earth is endeavouring to help home manufactures, the Indian Government has cruelly repressed the infant mill industry of India under the mandate of Lancashire", and attacked the Indian fiscal measures of 1879, 1882 and 1896 by which this was done. See op.cit., 7th ed., London 1950, pp.531 & 543-4.

255. Sundara Raja, "India's Political Demands", ATOR, February-March 1913, pp.265-7.

256. Sundara Raja, "Politics and Public Life in India", ATOR, May 1913, pp.343-5.

257. Sundara Raja, "The Indian Press and the Men Behind It", ATOR, June 1913, pp.393-4.

It is perhaps hardly surprising that in the review's pages Indian Hindus and Muslims were always brothers.²⁵⁸ Sundara Raja's writings for the review also show an interest in Pan-Asianism and Pan-Islamism. In November 1912 he contributed a notably anti-European article in praise of the Chinese Revolution, entitled "China and Her Mission" - that mission being, in short, to exert her vast potential strength against the Europeans who were oppressing her and the entire Asian continent.²⁵⁹ A little earlier two articles of his were published, on events in Persia.²⁶⁰ Therein, the Anglo-Russian partition of Persia was attacked, and England's humanitarian pose denounced as bogus. Though Russian repression (with English connivance) had apparently succeeded, he believed that;

When revolutions fail, they do not bring the downfall of nations, but only lay a formidable foundation on which to base future revolutions which will be more effective.²⁶¹

Pan-Islamic unity, which Sundara Raja saw not as a possibility but as a reality would come to Persia's aid, and he believed that the Hindus of India would unite with Muslims over the Persian issue.²⁶² In conclusion,

258. There does not appear to be any example in the ATOR of an acknowledgement that Hindus and Muslims might at times regard each other as having divergent, let alone antipathetic, interests.

259. Sundara Raja, "China and her Mission", ATOR, November 1912, pp.149-50.

260. Sundara Raja, "The Future of Persia", Part I, ATOR, September 1912, pp.102-4, Part II, ATOR, October 1912, pp.121-2.

261. *ibid*, Part I, p.104.

262. *ibid*, Part II, p.121.

he affirmed "... I believe in the future of Persia and the Persian people as I believe in the future of Asia and the Asiatics"²⁶³ - a resounding Pan-Asian hope.

Turning to the national movement in Egypt, there as might be expected the review both took a close editorial interest and opened its columns to Egyptian nationalists. The question of Dusé Mohamed Ali's exact relation with the Egyptian National Party and with the wafd in the years 1912-1921 will be discussed in the following chapter, but his continuing interest in and support for Egypt's national struggle is amply demonstrated in the pages of the review. Three periods can be discerned in the review's Egyptian interests; (i) the period up to the outbreak of the Great War, during which support was given to the old Egyptian National Party led by Muhammad Farid; (ii) 1917-1918, during which the review demanded British sympathetic consideration of Egyptian aspirations in the post-war era; and (iii) 1920, during which the review supported the demands of Zaghlul Pasha and the wafd in the then current Egyptian constitutional crisis.

The first of these periods began on a pessimistic note, for in the review's first issue its editor lamented that "... there is no gainsaying that the Egyptian National movement has never recovered the prestige

263. *ibid*, p.122.

which it lost with the untimely death of Mustapha Pasha Kamil."²⁶⁴

This comment suggests that the review was sufficiently in touch with Egyptian politics to form a realistic estimate of the current fate of al-Hizb al-watani, then languishing fast into a body whose main leadership was in exile and increasingly out of touch with the Egyptian masses.²⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the review was, in the period up to the outbreak of the war, prepared to support the National Party exiles. As, in a sense, an exile himself, Duse would hardly condemn the party's leaders on such grounds. Its congresses and publications on the Continent of Europe were publicised - as for example the so-called Egyptian National Congress held in Geneva in 1913.²⁶⁶ In line with the leader of the National Party, the 1913 granting of an Egyptian legislative assembly by Lord Kitchener was editorially denounced;

If Lord Kitchener is ... only anxious to come to a 'real' understanding with the Egyptian people, the essential thing they naturally expect him to do, is to secure to them a real Constitution conferring on a really representative body reasonable powers in dealing with their own affairs. Otherwise the Constitution will only be a sham, which will fail ...²⁶⁷

264. *ibid*, July 1912, p.3. This opinion is confirmed by the recent work of Arthur Goldschmidt Jr., "The Egyptian Nationalist Party: 1892-1919", in P.M. Holt, ed., Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt. Historical Studies from the Ottoman Conquest to the United Arab Republic, London 1968, pp.322-333.

265. Goldschmidt, *op.cit.*, pp.328-9.

266. ATOR, June 1913, pp.370-1.

267. *ibid*, p.371.

A generally respectful tone was maintained by the review towards the Khedive, but, again in line with the leaders of the National Party, the editor insisted that "... His Highness cannot hope to succeed unless he can regain the confidence of his people" and "... he can do nothing effectively until he has cleansed his court, made his peace with Turkey and, above all, satisfied his people of his sincerity."²⁶⁸ In line with his usual ambiguity towards the British Empire, the editor was inclined to phrase his advice, at times, in terms of the 'true' best interests of the Empire;

... it is in the highest interests of Great Britain to cultivate the gratitude and friendship of the Egyptian nation, and this can only be obtained by helping the Egyptians to the establishment of truly representative institutions, placing the military system on a basis which will be worthy of the country, ... which ... may prove a most valuable support when the Mediterranean is cast into the melting pot.²⁶⁹

Appeals to Britain's better judgement were not, however, always acceptable to all the Egyptian National Party. On one occasion the review printed what was, in effect, an implied rebuke from Dr. M.M. Rifaat, emigré editor of the paper La Patrie Egyptienne in Paris. Rifaat wrote;

... I would like to draw the attention of your readers to a common mistake, which is often overlooked by many enthusiastic Egyptian correspondents in England.

This, I am sorry to state, is their reckless and repeated appeals to English justice! and public opinion, to lend us their hands in the carrying out of the various reforms we need in Egypt.

268. *ibid*, September 1913, pp.89-90.

269. ATOR, 2nd June 1914, p.242.

They unfortunately think that by appealing to English public opinion, something may be gained for Egypt; but a short study of Irish history and of English rule in India and South Africa should soon dispel this illusion. What Egyptians must do, as they will soon discover, is to trust to themselves, to educate and to organise.

Indeed some of them have gone so far as to advocate the creation of an Anglo-Egyptian Committee for the purpose of promoting good feeling and understanding which might eventually lead to evacuation.

Certainly our people are living in an illusion if they think that the occupation of Egypt by England is likely to come to an end without a deathly struggle. What the English have achieved by treachery, they will not abandon without shedding the last drop of English blood.²⁷⁰

Clearly, this was rather a case of 'if the cap fits, wear it'. Whether Duse Mohamed Ali had been among those advocating the "Anglo-Egyptian Committee" is not known, but his continuing and frequently declared belief in the good-heartedness of the British people (as opposed to Politicians, Capitalists and Colonial Officials) clearly puts him in line to be a recipient of Rifaat's criticism.

As well as editorial support for Egyptian Nationalism, the period 1912-1914 was one in which the review published many articles by Egyptian exiles. The most important and frequent of such contributors was the leader of al-Hizb al-Watani, Muhammad Farid.²⁷¹ Farid actually visited

270. Dr. M.M. Rifaat to editor ATOR, ATOR, 31st March 1914, pp.42-3. Also see Rifaat's article "Liberty or Death. Our Programme", in ibid, p.28.

271. Muhammad Farid acted as Mustapha Kamil's lieutenant in the leadership of the Egyptian National Party, and succeeded as leader after Mustapha Kamil's death in 1908. He was one of the original five members of the party with Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid, Mustapha Kamil, Khedive 'Abbas II, and "a pharmacist from Zagazig". See Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid, Egypt and Cromer. A Study in Anglo-Egyptian Relations, London 1968, pp.164, 186 & 200-01. The development of Duse Mohamed Ali's relations with Muhammad Farid is further discussed in Chapter V.

Britain in 1914, and was entertained by Dusé Mohamed Ali during his visit; this will be discussed further in the next chapter. From the platform offered by the review Muhammad Farid attacked his political enemies in Egypt - often in detail that must have been somewhat bemusing to the majority of the review's readers.²⁷² As examples of his contributions to the review, he used it to denounce the 1913 Legislative Assembly and attack the record of the Occupation regime in the field of education.²⁷³

During the period 1917-1918, Egypt was not a major pre-occupation of the review. In July 1917 the editorial column "To-Day" accepted that the Protectorate declared in 1914 was in the best interests of the Egyptian people. This was certainly not the line of the surviving remnants of al-Hizb al-watani, in particular of those under the influence of Shaikh "Abd ul-'Aziz Shawish, who spent the war years actively supporting the Central Powers.²⁷⁴ On the other hand, the same editorial stressed Egypt's right to speak for herself at the post-war peace conference. The most lengthy statement about Egypt in this period came in October 1918 on the eve of the armistice, when the entire editorial

272. e.g. his attack on the new ministry in Egypt in ATOR, 21st April 1914, p.105.

273. Muhammad Farid, "The Parliamentary Comedy in Egypt", ATOR, 5th May 1914, pp.129-30, and "Public Education in Egypt", Part I, *ibid*, pp.161-2, Part II, *ibid*, 12th May 1914, p.175, Part III, *ibid*, 19th May 1914, pp.201-2.

274. "To-Day", ATOR, July 1917, p.2. For the wartime activities of Shaikh "Abd ul-'Aziz Shawish, see Chapter V.

was given over to "Egypt and Self-Determination".²⁷⁵ This was an essentially moderate, even conservative statement, as it said that there was every reason to believe in President Wilson and Prime Minister Lloyd George's professions about independence for subject peoples being applicable to Egypt. A statement by Lloyd George on Egyptian self-determination was "patiently" awaited, though the possibility of trouble was foreseen if Britain did not fulfil expectations. The essential conservatism of the review's Egyptian views at this time is shown by its hoping for the restoration of the Organic Law of 1881. If in July 1912 the review had looked back nostalgically to the days of Mustapha Kamil, now it was dreaming of an even remoter past, the era of Arabi Pasha.

Naturally, the harsh reality of political events in Egypt between the last 1918 issue of the magazine, in October, and its next issue, in January 1920, modified these beliefs. In the interval a new era in Egyptian Political history, that of the dominance of the Wafd, led by Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul had come into existence. Zaghlul had been regarded in the pre-war era as 'moderate' - he had been a successful Minister and then a leading member of the Assembly that briefly met between 1913 and 1914. Since the end of 1918 he had been locked in increasingly bitter conflict with the British authorities, who had outraged all Egypt by a stubborn attempt to maintain the Protectorate (which the Egyptians had seen as a temporary wartime measure) and by refusal to permit Egyptian

275. Dusé Mohamed Ali, "Egypt and Self-Determination", editorial, ATOR, October 1918, pp.37-8.

representation at the Peace Conference in Paris. Zaghlul had become the hero of the nation, leading the Wafd to unheard of lengths of defiance against British power; no Egyptian politician dared be openly his enemy or thought to be willing to co-operate with the British against him. The British found themselves unable to maintain order or to find any kind of effective anti-Wafd Ministry.²⁷⁶

In these circumstances, it is not surprising that there was a vast gulf between the last editorial of 1918 and the first of 1920, which accurately summarised the development of Egyptian affairs during and since the war;

At the outbreak of hostilities in 1914, the world was told that the Entente Powers were at war to maintain the rights of small nationalities. The people of Egypt were led to believe that the protectorate was a war measure to safeguard the national interests of the country. They were also informed that their religious susceptibilities would not be tampered with and that they would not be called upon to take up arms against Turkey. Notwithstanding these promises, enormous labour corps were raised in Egypt. Funds were demanded and liberally supplied for Red Cross work. The food of the fellah was taken for the use of the army in Mesopotamia and Palestine.

It will be said that ... these demands were necessitated by the war. Quite so. But ... why give pledges or promises with reckless prodigality. Were British Statesmen so vilely informed that they believed the ignorant masses of Egypt incapable of rising? Was it thought that the indignities heaped indiscriminately upon uneducated and educated and refined Egyptians by native-despising white colonial troops would be so readily forgotten?

276. For the origins, rise and fulfilment of Zaghlul's political career, see Mahmud Zayid "The Origins of the Liberal Constitutional Party in Egypt", pp.338 & 340-5; and Elie Kedourie "The Genesis of the Egyptian Constitution of 1923", pp.349-51 & 354-8, both in P.M. Holt, ed., Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt.

Was it conceivable that a race of men, who had been led to expect justice and liberal treatment at the hands of a country which gloried in proclaiming itself the Mother of free political institutions would remain passive while such semi-barbarous countries as Slavonia and Esthonia were being accorded self-determination?

Is it a matter for wonder that a country which Prof. Dicey said in 1908 was more fitted for self-government than Turkey would be content with a Milner Commission of Enquiry when it saw self-determination granted to Arabia?

Could the people of Egypt possess themselves in patience whilst their leaders were being deported to Malta, because they asked to be permitted to lay their claims before the Peace Conference at Paris? Finally can they be content when they find their accredited representatives to the Peace Conference voiceless in Paris and not permitted to lay their just demands before the British throne and people?²⁷⁷

Despite this full and accurate rehearsal of Egyptian grievances, the article should yet be regarded as basically conservative, for it concluded by a cry for "one liberty loving patriot in the British House of Commons" to take the lead in arranging "a solution of the question which will give satisfaction to the Egyptian nation."²⁷⁸

The search for such a "patriot" among the British, within or without the House, was promoted by means of a symposium appearing in January 1920. The questions appear to have only been put to Britishers - at least answers from none other were acknowledged, which strongly suggests this. The absence of any attempt to gather Afro-Asian support for Egypt at this point must be regarded as a striking omission. The questions asked were;

- (1) Are you of the opinion that the time is ripe for the restoration of the Egyptian Constitution of 1881 which was suppressed in 1882 at the beginning of the Occupation?
- (2) Have you an alternative solution to suggest?²⁷⁹

277. "The Final Word", AOR, January 1920, p.42.

278. AOR, January 1920, p.5.

279. AOR, January 1920, p.5.

Once again we find the editor, now no longer a young man but a man of over fifty, somewhat stuck in the events of his youth. Only a very few bothered to answer these questions - eleven in all. Two of these, Lord Lamington and C.F. Ryder, had been involved in Islamophil political movements with him, as will appear in the next chapter. The others were Sir Harry H. Johnston; W.L. Courtney, editor of the Fortnightly Review; Sir Theodore Morrison; Sir J.D. Rees; Lord Russell of Liverpool; George Bernard Shaw; Father Bernard Vaughan; H.G. Wells and the Countess of Warwick.²⁸⁰ Sir Harry rather contradictorally replied "Yes" to the first question and in answer to the second outlined a scheme for gradual tutelage under British protection, with the object of an eventual independent kingdom, but with Britain in permanent military occupation of the Suez Canal, Sinai and the Sudan. Duse's old associates Lord Lamington and C.F. Ryder abstained from any outspoken support, though Duse was pleased with Ryder's reluctant admission that "whether we like the new departure or not", the Russian Revolution had "sounded the death-knell of Imperialism everywhere." The Countess answered in vague terms about the need to abolish frontier lines in the interests of the wider brotherhood of man. H.G. Wells answered in favour of a further twenty years tutelage, after which Egypt should be "a state on exactly the same footing

280. See *ibid* for the answers of these persons. A further 12 persons - Earl Stanhope, Admiral Sir E.R. Freemantle, Viscount Buxton, Cardinal Bourne, the Bishop of London, the Archbishop of York, the Editor of Truth, Walter Long M.P. (former Colonial Secretary), the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Beaverbrook, Lord Northcliffe, and the Editor of The Nation - were listed in *ibid*, p.6, as having been approached, but having refused a statement.

of (sic) Canada and Australia." As might be expected, the most pithy answer came from Shaw; he also showed the most clear understanding of political reality in such a situation;

The time is always ripe for the restoration of a nation's liberty from the point of view of the nation, and never will be ripe, from the point of view of the invader. When the British pledged themselves to evacuate Egypt, the Egyptians should have asked them to fix a date. The date at present contemplated is the day of judgement.²⁸¹

Shaw's answer apart, this symposium was more a justification of Dr. Rifaat's scepticism about appealing for British sympathy than of Dusé Mohamed Ali's tendency to trust in British decency. Yet in his foreward to the first issue of the Africa and Orient Review in January 1920 Dusé had repeated;

... the British people are not only enamoured of their own freedom, but they are also anxious that other peoples should be as free as themselves. This is proved by the fact that they have fought for five years to maintain the rights and liberties of small nationalities.

If subject peoples of the British Empire have not enjoyed the freedom they have so justly merited it is because the British nation is misinformed or possesses no information with regard to the aims and desires of Africa and the Orient.²⁸²

281. *ibid*, p.5. Despite his career as a Fabian Imperialist - see Bernard Porter, Critics of Empire, pp.111, 114-7, 119 and 231 - Shaw had as early as 1906 shown abhorrence of British brutality in Egypt. He cited the Dinshawai incident as an example of the menace of military influence in the British Empire; "soldiers pay the penalty of their slavery and outlawry by becoming, relatively to the free civilian, destructive, dishonest, tyrannical, hysterical, mendacious, alarmist at home and terrorist abroad, politically reactionary and professionally incapable." See G.B. Shaw, John Bull's Other Island, rep. 1947, pp.45-6.

282. AOR, January 1920, p.4.

Through 1920 the review followed the fortunes and supported the struggle of the Wafd. But it must have been with relief that the review was able in June 1920 to announce with approval the coming of three Wafd representatives to London to negotiate with Lord Milner. At last it must have seemed that the British were behaving as they ought, and in July 1920, with an almost audible sigh of relief the review stated;

Egyptians have never held any enmity towards the English people. We have always said and we still maintain that the English are a fair-dealing and a freedom loving people, and that they only desire that the grievances of any body of people within the Empire should be made known to them for such grievances to be righted.

The English people, as such, can always be depended upon to do the right thing, but the bureacrats, of whom the British tax-payer is having a taste just now, are and have been of late years at the root of the evil.

The official advisers have been blind and they have fed the British people on information that was blinding, and, being blind, they found the ditch of political unrest and discontent without any very special difficulty.²⁸³

Clearly, there is more of self-justification in this than reality. Indeed, there is a great irony in that from the British side the realisation of the need to make some concession to the Wafd came not from the British public but from the arch-Imperialist Lord Milner.²⁸⁴ The same note of self-justification was struck in the very last issue of the review;

we learn that the finding of the Milner Commission has been accepted by the British Government, and we are glad to note that many of the views expressed by the Editor of the African Times and Orient Review, both in these columns, and in ... "In The Land Of The Pharaohs" - have been accepted and embodied in the Egyptian settlement.²⁸⁵

283. AOR, July 1920, pp.48-9.

284. See A.M. Gollin, Proconsul in Politics, A Study of Lord Milner in Opposition and in Power, London 1964, pp.587-95, for Milner's role in creating a settlement of the post-Great War Egyptian crisis.

285. AOR, December 1920, p.48.

But it would surely be unreasonable to condemn this attitude as unduly smug. The cause of Egyptian Nationalism had been supported in season and out of season, and if the settlement achieved by the Wafd has appeared, in the light of history, less than satisfactory, it should be recalled that these were unheard of concessions from Britain to a non-European part of her Empire at that time, and decades ahead of any similar advances elsewhere in the non-white British Empire.

The review was not only concerned about the National struggle in Egypt, but was also interested in national movements elsewhere in Africa. It is unnecessary to repeat here what has already been stated about its interest in South Africa, other than to recall the publicity given to the Native National Congress and its delegations to the United Kingdom. Naturally, in view of its strong connections with West Africa, attention was given to nationalism there. The review's pre-war years coincided with what could be regarded as the nadir, politically, of the educated West African. He could look back on a not so remote past when such figures as Dr. Easmon, Sir Samuel Lewis and James Africanus Beale Horton had held official positions of real importance.²⁸⁶ But by 1912, it was

286. For the career of Dr. J.F. Easmon, see Christopher Fyfe, A History of Sierra Leone, Oxford 1962, pp.423, 433 & 618; for Sir Samuel Lewis, see John Hargreaves, A Life of Sir Samuel Lewis, London 1958; for James Africanus Horton, see introduction by George Shepperson to James Africanus Beale Horton, West African Countries and Peoples, British and Native, with the Requirements Necessary for Establishing that Self-Government Recommended by the Committee of the House of Commons, 1865, and a Vindication of the African Race, 2nd ed., Edinburgh 1969, pp.vii-xxiii, and Davidson Nicol (ed.), Africanus Horton. The Dawn of Nationalism in Modern Africa, London 1969, pp.1-15.

undoubtedly the spirit of the times that Europeans, however junior in service or inferior in qualifications, should not be subordinated to Africans, however senior or well qualified. This was explicit in the case of the West African Medical Service, precluding the possibility of anyone following in Easmon's footsteps, but in practice the W.A.M.S. rules were a working convention in all branches of government service.²⁸⁷

In Nigeria, which as the largest colony should have offered the most scope for the able and ambitious West African government servant, the dominating figure of Lugard was systematically imposing on Southern Nigeria the concepts of indirect rule that had earlier been developed

287. Christopher Fyfe remarks of this process in Sierra Leone in the opening years of this century; "Cardew's policy of appointing Europeans to Senior Posts, continued by his successors, slowly squeezed out Creole officials. As they died or retired Europeans replaced them", and "Denied hope for the future ... (the Creoles) could only look back to a Golden Age, the vanished era of Queen Victoria and the departed Creole giants." See *op.cit.*, pp.615 & 618. For the type of argument used to "justify" the exclusion of qualified Africans from the West African Medical Service, see Report of the Departmental Committee on the West African Medical Staff, with a Despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Cmd. 4720/1909, pp.xx-xxi, para.55; "the witnesses who had local experience were practically unanimous in deprecating the appointment of natives of West Africa, or of India, to the West African Medical Staff ... They think it, however, desirable to add that the question of the employment of West Africans as a Subordinate Medical Service ... deserves consideration." In general, the appointment of West Africans to any senior post in any branch of the government service in West Africa became so uncommon in the early twentieth century that the career of such a figure as Dr. Henry Rawlinson Carr of Lagos, who rose to the major position of Resident of Lagos (1918-1924) seemed like a miraculous exception. For the life and works of Henry Carr, see Lloyd C. Gwam, "Dr. Henry (Rawlinson) Carr, M.A., D.C.L., I.S.O., C.B.E., 1863-1945", Ibadan, no.17, November 1963, pp.3-8.

in the North.²⁸⁸ In that system, the educated native was a disturbing and disagreeable anomaly.²⁸⁹ No wonder, then, that Lugard was in the African Times and Orient Review's rogues gallery! He stood there as the archetype of the arrogant colonial official, imposing indignities on the African people. A typical editorial comment on Lugard would be the following retrospective remarks of April 1920;

The ex-Governor General always talked about making Nigeria pay, but it will be found that his was a most expensive administration. Had he filled some of the higher posts in the Civil Service with capable Natives, he could have given them a salary upon which they could have lived in comparative comfort and contentment, reduced the cost of the administration, and Nigeria would have been made to pay its way in a manner quite beyond the limited conception of Sir Frederick.

288. For Lugard's attempt to introduce his principles of administration into Southern Nigeria, see Sir F.D. Lugard, Report by Sir F.D. Lugard on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, 1912-1919, Cmd.468, London 1920, passim; I.F. Nicolson, The Administration of Nigeria, pp.180-215, passim - a largely hostile critique of both Lugard and his biographer, Margery Perham; and M. Perham, Lugard, The Years of Authority, pp.408-56, passim.

289. This point may be illustrated by the words of Charles Temple, perhaps the greatest dogmatist of the theory and practice of indirect rule, who regarded the "Europeanised native" as "a kind of nondescript colourless entity aping in a lackadaisical and futile manner the appearance and shibboleths of the European, all the time knowing in his heart that he is not and never can become one of them", but acknowledged that "they are an important wheel in the social machinery we have created, and I admit forcibly, though with regret, that it is too late to turn back now." See Temple, Native Races and their Rulers, London 1918, pp.218 & 220.

The ex-Governor General was, however, too busy trying to create a sort of white Nigeria, where the black man was to become the serf in his own country. Where life and limb was to be at the mercy of irresponsible District Commissioners and Residents, who would and did use the Native authority as a cloak for their wanton cruelties, because under the Lugard régime the people of the soil had no rights which the white official felt bound to respect.²⁹⁰

Nigeria, as we shall see presently, figured largely in the review's attempts to defend African dignity and human rights. But by 1920, the review was also strongly interested in Lagos political life, then in great ferment over the protracted Eleko controversy,²⁹¹ which was well calculated to engage the review's sympathies, as it could be used as a basis for questioning the whole position of the British in Lagos and even the rest of Nigeria. Under the skillful guidance of Herbert Macaulay, the sort of educated African who Lugard most loathed,²⁹² the man who for many years dominated Lagos politics, and who is now widely regarded as the father of Nigerian nationalism, the Eleko dispute became a thorn in the side of the British administration. As part of his campaign,

290. AOR, April 1920, p.44.

291. For the Eleko controversy, see Coleman, Nigeria, Background to Nationalism, pp.195-6; M. Perham, Native Administration in Nigeria, London 1937, pp.264-71, and Herbert Macaulay, Justitia Fiat: the Moral Obligation of the British Government to the House of King Docemo of Lagos, London 1921.

292. For a sample of Lugard's private remarks on the Lagosians, see Lugard to Lady Lugard, 9th December 1919, quoted in Perham, Lugard, The Years of Authority, p.594; "I have spent the best part of my life in Africa ... after 29 years, and after nearly 12 as Governor here, I am free to say that the people of Lagos are the lowest, the most seditious and disloyal, the most prompted by purely self-seeking money motives of any people I have met."

Macaulay came to London in 1920 with Chief Oluwa, one of the so-called 'white Cap' chiefs of Lagos. The review opened its columns to Macaulay's able and vituperative pen, which produced a diatribe against the ill-treatment of the old Lagos ruling family, the house of Docemo (or Dosumu). The piece was given the characteristically Macaulayan title of "Honour or Infamy", and the same issue of the magazine also had an unsigned profile of Chief Oluwa, giving more details of the complex background to the dispute.²⁹³ This can probably be regarded as the beginning of the good friendship that was to develop between Herbert Macaulay and Duse' Mohamed Ali, which was to continue until Duse's death in 1945.

Despite the role of Sierra Leone Creoles, such as the Doves and C.W. Betts, in the review's foundation, Sierra Leonean politics found a comparatively negligible place in the review. One major exception to this was a long piece on the past glories and present miseries of the Creoles by a Sierra Leonean, presumably a Creole himself, Rev. W.T. Thomas. For no group in British West Africa was there a more unpleasant contrast between the past and the present. Thomas's article made this feeling very clear;

As Sierra Leonians were found to be intellectually capable, they were assigned very important posts in the Government and in mercantile houses. They also acted as a very useful medium between the whites and the aborigines. Posts now occupied by whites were occupied by Sierra Leonians. As the number of Europeans increased positions had to be found for them, posts were created, and Sierra Leonians were ousted from their positions as heads or assistants

293. Herbert Macaulay, "Honour or Infamy", AOR, July 1920, pp.12-18. For the profile of Chief Oluwa, see ibid, p.29.

of departments, so that to-day, all heads of departments, whether in the government or mercantile houses are whites, as are their assistants. A Sierra Leonian, however qualified, is considered inferior to a European, however ignorant and incompetent, and Europeans on their arrival have to be instructed by Sierra Leonians who are to serve under them.²⁹⁴

But the number of articles of all sorts on Sierra Leone was modest, and even declined as the years went on. In April 1920 the editor received a complaint from "our old friend and agent, C.W. Betts, of Sierra Leone, ... that there is too little about Sierra Leone in our pages, and that this has not helped our subscription list in that colony." His reply to the ex-director of the former review company stressed the review's interest in Pan-Coloured affairs rather than local matters;

Obviously the Sierra Leonians have failed to grasp the inwardness of our Review. We have always dealt with West African Imperial affairs rather than with matters of a purely insular and domestic character.

If our Review stands for anything, it represents the common interests of the entire branch of the dark-hued members of the human family.²⁹⁵

Liberia, like Sierra Leone, was not in practice one of the review's major concerns, but neither was it totally neglected. Indeed, with Haiti, it had a particular symbolic importance for the review, as one of the world's two black republics. In December 1920, Duse' Mohamed Ali was so distressed at the prospect of an imminent American loan with "... clauses ... that are likely to divest the African Republic of its independence",

294. Rev. W.T. Thomas, "The Position of the Sierra Leonian in Sierra Leone", ATOR, April 1913, p.312.

295. AOR, April 1920, p.44.

that he devoted an article to Liberia. He chided American and West Indian Negroes for not emigrating in greater numbers to the Republic; the Liberians for not advertising their country more among their brethren. But also he uncovered a plan to meet Liberia's financial difficulties;

As a matter of fact, there could be no better time for her ... than the present, when there is so great a Negro political revival permeating the world. If her Government is wise it will seize this opportunity to float an all-African Loan issuing Loan Bonds, not only to the extent of her present indebtedness, but also to leave a sufficiently large margin in hand to carry on the work of improvement and development which is so sadly needed in the Republic at the present time. The Liberian debt with the interest thereon amounts to about two million dollars, and we feel certain that there are at least five million patriotic English speaking Negroes in the world who would be prepared to buy a one dollar Liberian Government Bond to extricate the Republic from a Circassian (sic) domination, which must eventually come if the patriotic sons of Africa do not speedily arise from their too lengthy slumber.

The Editor of this Review is not only prepared to give advice, but is ready to act. We are ready to buy the first 100 Bonds at one dollar each in Liberian Government stock, and we should like to hear from those of our readers who are not only sufficiently patriotic, but are alive to the extreme urgency of the situation. You might not have a hundred dollars, but you may very possibly have a dollar which burns a hole in your patriotism, and we shall be very glad to hear from you.

We must rescue the Liberian Republic from the fate that has overtaken Haiti.²⁹⁶

Haiti's fate was, of course occupation by United States marines; as in the case of African lands, the review preferred to concentrate on what still existed rather than lost causes. As will be seen in the next chapter the offer to give a lead in raising this All-African (one could say Pan-African) loan was by no means an impulse of the moment. For some years, the editor had been involving himself more and more in various

296. *ibid*, December 1920, pp.60-1.

financial schemes, and the year 1920 was the culminating point of such efforts. This particular scheme, however, proceeded no further, as the issue of the review in which it appeared was the last. However, although nugatory, the Liberian loan idea provides a useful illustration of the review's doctrine that financial independence was a pre-condition for true political independence. As the Japanese Professor of Economics Kiroku Hayashi had written in the review back in August 1912, "When a country loses its financial independence its sovereignty is little more than a name."²⁹⁷

Another West African question which must be asked is, what connection the review had with the National Congress of British West Africa.²⁹⁸ Since those who financed the review contained both some of the chief future organisers, and opponents, of the Congress, it might be expected that the review would take a strong stand over the Congress in one direction or another. Its first mention of the Congress movement came in October 1917, when the review briefly mentioned in its "To-Day" column that it was "delighted" to learn that the Lagos Weekly Record was pressing for a General West African Conference to take place after the war.²⁹⁹

297. Kiroku Hayashi (Professor of Economics at Keio University, Japan), "Racial Reconciliation and Economic Pressure", ATOR, August 1912, p.39.

298. For the National Congress of British West Africa's history, see Langley, West African Aspects of the Pan-African Movements 1900-1945, pp. which is probably the most thorough and authoritative study of this body to date.

299. ATOR, October 1917, p.76.

But no other direct reference can be found until 1920 when, with the Congress' delegation in London, and many of its members visiting Duse' Mohamed Ali at his house,³⁰⁰ it was an unavoidable topic.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to see the Africa and Orient Review as more than a footnote in the story of the National Congress of British West Africa, although an interesting footnote. It is clear that in 1920, despite its generally excellent contacts in West Africa, the review had no advance information about the Congress. The report of the N.C.B.W.A. Conference which met in Accra in March 1920 was only received by the review in time for comment in its May number. This was the first mention that the Conference received in the review, and despite slowness of posts before the era of air-mail, it would have been by no means a difficult matter to arrange advance information for the review if the Conference organisers had so desired. Of course, they had plenty of other, more urgent, things to do, not only in organising the Conference, but also in combating their many and powerful enemies among the Chiefs and old A.R.P.S. hands in the Gold Coasts.³⁰¹ Not a breath of those difficulties sullied the pages of the Africa and Orient Review, either in May 1920 or later.

Though the report of the Accra Conference arrived too late for more than a mere brief mention in the May issue, the review did venture an

300. Information from Alhajji L.B. Augusto of Lagos to the author, Lagos, 1967.

301. For a brief account of these difficulties, see Kimble, A Political History of Ghana, pp.379-80 & 389-96.

editorial comment on the broad issues;

We have all along said ... that unity among West Africans is an essential to commerce and political prosperity. As things are, it is but natural that a West African visiting England, for instance, should be accounted a stranger and a foreigner, but it is unthinkable that a Native of Sierra Leone should be accounted a foreigner on the Gold Coast or in Nigeria or vice versa.

This being an age of combinations of one kind and another, it behoves the coloured people of the world to show a solid front. There must no longer be the question of a coloured foreigner in the country of other coloured men. All non-Europeans are labelled 'niggers' by Europeans; coloured peoples being therefore in the same political and economic ship, it is extremely ludicrous for men of the same ethnographic stock to regard each other as foreigners.

If for no other reason, the organisers of the Congress should be congratulated upon their ability to bring the leaders of West African thought together, where understanding and appreciation of each other's qualities, aims and desires may be unfolded for the common good.³⁰²

The last sentence would almost suggest that the editor saw the Conference in Accra as little more than a localised version of the Universal Races Congress! Clearly, he drew inspiration from the Accra Conference in much wider (if vaguer) pan-coloured terms, bringing his own concern about "combinations" and economic unity into the picture too. It was left to W.F. Hutchison, by this time assistant editor, to write enthusiastically and at length about the Accra Conference itself, in June 1920.³⁰³

Thus the review could definitely be accounted among the N.C.B.W.A.'s supporters, and insofar as a considerable proportion of its readers must have been West Africans, a force working in the Congress' favour.

However, it is hard to imagine who among the review's West African readers would not have heard its news about the Accra Conference long before

302. "The Final Word", AOR, May 1920, pp.45-6.

303. ibid, June 1920, pp.44-6.

June 1920. Little more was heard about the Congress in the review, though there was an item signed "V.H." in the review's final number, headed "The West African Problem" and giving details of the petition and memorandum being brought to London by the Congress' delegates.³⁰⁴ It was feared by the writer that the influence of British traders at the Colonial Office would prejudice the delegation's chances of success - in other words, the "combine" was seen as being at its conspiratorial work again.

So the review's moderate level of interest and involvement in the N.C.B.W.A. brings us back to its policy of what could be called "Seek ye first the economic kingdom and all things shall be added unto you"; or, one might say, "Power grows out of a safe full of dollar bills." Yet despite the continuing priority given to economic over political struggle, the review did develop more precise and specific political views than given in the answer to C.W. Betts. These views emerged out of the situation of the Great War. The review's attitude to the war must, therefore, be considered in some detail.

Even before the Sarajevo Crisis, the African Times and Orient Review had speculated that in the event of a major war fought by the United States, one consequence could be real emancipation for the American Negro. Writing at the time of the United States-Mexican crisis in Spring 1914, the editor envisaged that in the event of the United States trying to

304. V.H. (probably Vivian Harris, a regular contributor to the review in 1920), "The West African Problem", AOR, December 1920, pp.39-42.

conquer Mexico, climatic conditions would demand the raising of a black army, 150,000 strong;

At the end of the war, with the United States victorious, the return home of this victorious Afro-American army would, once for all, either put an end to the lynchings, and other abominations practised upon Afro-Americans by the mean Anglo-Saxons of the United States, or, with sufficient provocation, this Afro-American army would be in a position to do what Jefferson and Davis (sic) failed to do ... and create an Afro-American nation within the limits of United States territory, south of Mason's and Dixon's line. This or amalgamation is the manifest destiny of the Afro-Americans.³⁰⁵

Though what we have here is a speculation, a dream, rather than a prediction, this was a line of thinking which he developed, in a modified form, during the Great War.

Nevertheless, on the very eve of war, at the end of July 1914, he objected to British involvement in a quarrel which would line her up with Russia, a "drink-soddened and superstition ridden land, honey combed with rebellion and discontent", which was "a menace to every Asiatic" and in particular to the Muslims of the Near East. Furthermore, he believed that "the direct expenses, and still more the indirect losses caused by trade and by the dislocation of finance, will have to be met by millions of African and Asiatic subjects of Great Britain."³⁰⁶ The actual outbreak of war produced a different reaction - dread of the extension of German rule over "vast numbers of Black and Brown men" by those "who know something of what German rule means and of their treatment

305. ATOR, 12th May 1914, p.171.

306. ATOR, 28th July 1914, p.433.

of Africans in Togoland, Kamerun and other African colonies." In view of the war hysteria and jingoism accompanying the outbreak of the war no doubt there was an element of convenience in these remarks. But the main burden of this editorial was far from accommodating;

We can only watch and pray. Unarmed, undisciplined, disunited, we cannot strike a blow we can only await the event. But whatever that may be, all the combatants, the conquerors and the conquered alike, will be exhausted by the struggle, and will require years for their recovery and during that time much may be done. Watch and wait! It may be that the non-European races will profit by European disaster. God's ways are mysterious, and out of the proud man's pride and the cruel man's cruelty he ... contrives their own punishment, and the afflicted and oppressed are relieved of the burdens which pride and cruelty had heaped upon them.³⁰⁷

This may seem a curious mixture of two contrary spirits - 'Europe's difficulty is our opportunity' on the one hand and 'If chance will have me King ...' on the other. But it shows a more realistic awareness of the likely long term consequences of war than the sentiments then prevailing in Europe, such as illusions about being 'home by Christmas'. The passivity of this article did not endure long; by the next week, "Delta", in his "Rotten Row Conversations", was envisaging the certain use by France of African troops, and reluctant use by Britain of Indian troops, in the European struggle.³⁰⁸

At this point the review petered out, due largely to official hostility,³⁰⁹

307. ATOR, 4th August 1914, pp.449-50.

308. 'Delta', "Rotten Row Conversations", no.II, ATOR, 11th August 1914, p.468.

309. This point is discussed in Part III of this chapter, under discussion of the review's influence and impact.

not to re-appear till January 1917, by when the editor had thought out more fully the political implications of the war for Africans and Asians. His considered view was that if the coloured peoples supported the Allies to the utmost, then they would have earned the right to have their interests considered at the peace settlement;

It is the duty of everyone within the British Empire to loyally support the Empire to the last drop of blood and the last penny remaining within their coffers. If you do this loyally and willingly, when the day of settlement arrives you cannot be left out of the reckoning. We have had it on the highest authority that this is a war for the protection of small nationalities. All of our people ... represent ... small nationalities.³¹⁰

Thus the propaganda version of British war aims as a kind of war of national liberation for 'gallant little Belgium' etc., reinforced in 1917 by Wilsonian rhetoric in the Fourteen Points, deluded the review (as many others) into believing that loyal war service was a practical tactic in the struggle for Afro-Asian freedom. This view was shared by such diverse people as W.E.B. Du Bois, and some leaders of the Indian

310. "To-day", ATOR, January 1917, pp.1-2.

National Congress.³¹¹ It was a mistaken view, but not an eccentric one. Nevertheless, there is a sharp contrast between the review's awareness of white double-dealing before the war, and its acceptance of white good faith during the war. This can be well illustrated by comparing advice given to Afro-Americans in respect of Woodrow Wilson in November-December 1913 and mid-August 1918. In the former case,

311. W.E.B. Du Bois' immediate reaction to the outbreak of the war was support for the Western Powers, and when the United States entered the war in 1917, he saw the situation as producing "opportunities for arguing the Negro cause, and providing expanding employment for Negroes in Northern factories." By the summer of 1918, he was unequivocally supporting the war effort, giving his now famous call to the black Americans to "close ranks", fight "without hesitation or protest", and thereby "by serving their country ... gain justice from a grateful America". See Francis L. Broderick, W.E.B. Du Bois, Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis, Stanford, 1959, pp.106-10. But Du Bois perceptive essay "The African Roots of the War", Atlantic Monthly, CXV, May 1915, pp.707-14, which made an analysis in some ways anticipating V.I. Lenin's Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, noted the conflicting interests of the white aristocracy of labour in the metropolitan imperial countries, and the discontented poverty stricken world masses, mainly coloured. In India, at the outbreak of the war, G.K. Gokhale, the moderate dominant figure in Congress, pledged Indian support for Britain, as did Gandhi, who even set about raising an Indian Volunteer Corps in Britain; see Herbert Lüthy, "India and East Africa: Imperial Partnership at the end of the First World War", Journal of Contemporary History, 6, 2, 1971, p.79. Even with the death of Gokhale and the assumption of the dominant role in Congress by the far more radical L. Tilak, Congress never refused co-operation with the British, as it was to do in World War II. For Congress and the British during the Great War, see Percival Spear, India, a Modern History, Ann Arbor, 1961, pp.337-46.

the advice was;

With touching faith the Negroes voted into power the party represented by a 'Southern Gentleman' as President on the strength of election promises and belief in the broadmindedness of a scholar. ... We would suggest to our brothers in the United States that the time has come for Afro-Americans to cease to be either Republicans or Democrats, and to organise a 'Negro Rights Party' ...³¹²

By August 1918, Afro-Americans were being urged to give their all in the war, so that;

... President Wilson will be forced to see that those men who have fought for the freedom of small nationalities in Europe and elsewhere shall not be denied that freedom to which they are so justly entitled in the United States of America.³¹³

The review's attitude to Lloyd George was equally mistaken. Having quoted a Lloyd George dictum that the principle of national self-determination applied to the German colonies as much as to occupied European territories, it enthused rather breathlessly;

... there is not the slightest attempt at equivocation. The Allies are REALLY fighting for a lasting peace and the RIGHTS of ALL small nationalities. It therefore behoves us all ... to support Great Britain and her Allies to the death ... this war is the work of men, and only those who prove to be men can hope for those political rewards which men have a right to expect. No excuse must be given to those in authority for withholding our just rights.³¹⁴

The final sentence of the above introduces a note of caution, which helps to lift the review's attitude to the Great War above mere gullibility

312. ATOR, November-December 1913, p.183.

313. ATOR, August 1918, p.13.

314. ATOR, January 1918, pp.129-30.

The key was seen to be the Peace Settlement, at which it was essential that Africans and Asians should be represented. The prize there was a say in the disposal of the conquered German colonies. It has already been seen how the review welcomed the prospect of Indian representation at the Peace Conference and pressed for the representation of Egypt also. Likewise, the review considered it essential that Africa in general should have its say in the post-war settlement, and noted with resentment that there seemed to be no prospect of this. Thus, though welcoming India's admission to full representation at Imperial Conferences, the review "regretted that the African, who has saved the African Continent from the ruthless hand of Germany, has been entirely omitted." In view of Africa's equal share in the dangers and burdens of war, British Africans should as a minimum be admitted to the councils of the Post-War Imperial Conference.³¹⁵ The great danger was the exclusion of Africans from any active part in deciding the disposition of the former German Colonies;

It is inconceivable that an African population, representing some 24,000,000 souls, should be handed from one master to another when the hour of settlement arrives without the possibility of any form of native representation.

We shall, no doubt, be faced with the threadbare tale that Africans are a backward people, and that being so their interests will be served more effectively by European representation than by any purely native effort in that direction.³¹⁶

That being the review's fear, it is not surprising that it hit savagely at any white group that arrogated to itself the role of self-

315. ATOR, June 1917, p.111.

316. ibid, p.112.

appointed 'spokesman' for the African. The chief target here was what the review called "patronising Anti-Slavery Society slime"; in particular the view of that Society's secretary, Rev. John Harris, that though victory conferred no real right on Europeans to barter native populations, yet "common sense" precluded the summoning of wild illiterates to a European Peace Congress. This was considered intolerable;

The whole difficulty which faces the Anti-Slavery Society and other European bodies dabbling in native affairs is to be found in the assumption that such bodies consider themselves capable of dealing with native conditions without first consulting the native as to his own requirements. For this reason such efforts are foredoomed to failure. Throughout the continent of Africa the various peoples and tribes have managed their own affairs for centuries before the coming of the European, and we claim that the native, being neither child nor fool, can continue to 'carry on' without the meddling of these busybodies.³¹⁷

However, the review was somewhat mollified the next month when Harris had called a conference to consider the conquered German colonies from the standpoint of their inhabitants, at which it was accepted that African wishes could be consulted via their Chiefs and Councils. Having argued by citing traditional African self-government, the review could hardly do otherwise. But now a further demand was made, namely that Harris should support the review in insisting on African representation

317. *ibid*, pp.112-3. It should be noted that the 'child races' approach remained in vogue in Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society Circles long after 1917. Thus, the pamphlet put out by the society in 1938 to mark the hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the Aborigines Protection Society in 1837, stated as fifth in its list of the society's objects, "to secure the general acceptance of the doctrine that the child races of the world constitute for the stronger races a Sacred Trusteeship". See The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, London 1938, p.13.

at the Peace Conference and Post-War Imperial Conference, and President Wilson was quoted (in capitals) on the necessity of not forcing any people to live under a sovereignty which it did not wish.³¹⁸

The Anti-Slavery Society was not the only suspect for the crime of acting as unwanted spokesman for the African's interests. In October 1918 the editor denounced a scheme recently proposed by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle in the Evening Standard for an international council to govern the ex-German colonies; if the African did not have the right to choose his own government "then the War pronouncements of our Statesman are valueless and these warriors are fighting to uphold a sham."³¹⁹ Even more plain speaking was a two part article by James C. Smith (by this time a rare contributor) appearing in September and October 1918, bluntly entitled "Africa for the Africans".³²⁰ Smith stated that "... Autocratic Government by Europeans of Africans in Africa is the one principle unifying the Utopian suggestions..." and was shrewd enough to see that the British left was as guilty here as any other body of European opinion - he specifically denounced here the British Labour Party, E.D. Morel, J. Ramsay MacDonald, H.N. Brailsford and H.G. Wells.³²¹ He scorned the 'socialist'

318. ATOR, July 1917, pp.1-2.

319. ATOR, October 1918, pp.45-6.

320. James Carmichael Smith, "Africa for the Africans", Part I, September 1918, pp.33-4, Part II, October 1918, pp.38-9.

321. ibid, Part I, p.33.

blueprint for Africa;

... to the same utter helplessness as are pheasants in Europe in the presence of the shooting party.

Such is the contemplated situation to which the Africans in Africa would be reduced if effect could be given to the special recommendations of European Socialism, ... in their anxiety for securing the possession and use by Europeans in Europe of the ... products of tropical and sub-tropical Africa.³²²

An H.G. Wells plan for governing Africa by a commission consisting of Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Portugal, South Africa, Asian representatives of India and African representatives of Egypt he ridiculed by asking the likely success of an autocratic commission for Europe consisting of China, Japan, Siam, Persia, Arabia, the Jews of Europe, African representatives of Abyssinia and European representatives of Greece.³²³ Appearing in the closing weeks of the war, these criticisms perhaps reflect underlying anxiety in ATOR circles.

The review made great efforts to publicise the military role of Africans and Asians in the war. Not only did it refer to the deeds of African and Asian troops in editorials, but also the editor made determined efforts to have W.F. Hutchison sent to France to report on coloured front line and support troops there.³²⁴ The Foreign Office was approached through the good offices of Duse's acquaintance the Hon. Aubrey Herbert M.P.

322. *ibid*, p.34.

323. *ibid*.

324. The ATOR announced its request that Hutchison be permitted to go to France as a war correspondent in October 1917, p.75.

In a letter to Herbert, Duse explained his purpose;

As the coloured people of the world are taking a considerable part in the present war, both as combatants and industrially, there is a great desire on their part to know what their compatriots who have been recruited for service are doing. Being in touch with the coloured people throughout the Empire and the United States I know that they are eager for fuller information on these points. The British Empire with its well known friendship for its coloured subjects has, I am sure, nothing to fear from the fullest publicity and it will greatly encourage the coloured races in their traditional loyalty to the British Crown to know that their people, serving at the various seats of war, are well treated and that their services are appreciated. I have received requests from the Coloured people of the United States for such information, in view of the entry of the United States of America into the war. It is most important that such information should be given by a coloured man, as there will be a tendency to look upon the reports of white men as biased or, at least, written in the interests of the white rather than the coloured man. I therefore, would ask you to use your kind offices to procure the necessary permission from the War Office to enable me to send out a well-qualified pro-Ally representative (Mr. W.F. Hutchison) ...³²⁵

Herbert forwarded this request via the Foreign Office, which in turn passed it on to the War Office with a distinct lack of enthusiasm.³²⁶

On the request being duly turned down, on the grounds that "accommodation for visitors to the Front is already taxed to the limit",³²⁷ Duse Mohamed Ali tried again, this time stressing in a letter to the Foreign Office that a short visit was all his journal had in mind.³²⁸ But his generally

325. Duse Mohamed Ali to Captain the Hon. Aubrey Herbert M.P., 14th September 1917, F.O. 395/130/186216/58.

326. James Baird, FO, to Lt.Col. Raymond Greene, D.S.O., M.P., W.O., 18th September 1917, states; "I enclose a letter from the Editor of the "African Times and Orient Review" ... Buchan wishes me to put this forward to the authorities. It is, however, a matter that he does not wish to press." F.O. 395/130/186216/58.

327. See Col. J.L. Fisher, M.I.7.c., W.O., Whitehall, to James Baird, F.O. 21st September 1917, *ibid*, and S.A. Gillon, F.O., to Duse Mohamed Ali, 24th September 1917, *ibid*.

328. Duse Mohamed Ali to S.A. Gillon (sic), Department of Information, F.O., 4th October 1917, *ibid*.

accommodating manner had no effect. In inter-departmental correspondence he was bluntly referred to as "The nigger editor".³²⁹ However, since the Foreign Office did arrange the supply of official material, on the grounds that "it may serve to encourage the coloured Press in the United States and the Allied Niggers generally",³³⁰ Hutchison was able to produce articles in 1918 entitled "The Coloured Peoples' Part in the War".³³¹

By the closing months of the war, the review had decided that as a specific reward for Negro war services, one of the ex-German colonies in Africa ought to be handed over to those of African descent in the New World. It is not clear exactly when the editor became an advocate of 'Back to Africa'. But in August 1918 its editorial proclaimed;

As for the Africans of the British Empire, it will be necessary for the British Government to recognise their undoubted claim to consideration. Already there is an organisation in existence known as the National Association of Loyal Negroes, which has issued a most comprehensive manifesto. The Association claims that the members of the Negro race have fought to free the world from the Prussian domination, and that inasmuch as the Slavs, Czechs, Jews, Armenians, and other subject peoples are claiming the right to self-government, those Negro people in the British West Indies, the United States of America, Canada, and South America, having been denied the recognition they deserve in those countries, should be given one of the late German colonies, where they may be permitted to govern themselves and to be free from the exasperating restrictions prevailing in those countries where the European remains the dominating factor.

329. See James Baird, F.O., to Col. J.L. Fisher, M.I.7.c., W.O., ? September 1917, *ibid.*

330. See James Baird, F.O., to O.S. Ashcroft, Wellington House, 6th October 1917, Baird to Duse Mohamed Ali, 6th October 1917, F.O. to Duse Mohamed Ali, 12th October 1917, and Ashcroft to Baird, 8th October 1917, all in F.O. 395/130/186216/58.

331. W.F. Hutchison, "The Coloured Peoples' Part in the war", Part I, ATOR, January 1918, pp.132-3; Part II, ATOR, February 1918, pp.10-11.

There is much to be said for this claim. If in the early days of the last century Sierra Leone could be made a British Settlement for freed slaves, and Liberia an independent Negro State at the instance of American philanthropists, at which time the Africans were for the most part illiterate and were quite unfamiliar with modern ideas of representative government, it seems to us that the aims of the National Association of Loyal Negroes ought to be carried out by Great Britain with a greater prospect of success than obtained in the case of the Sierra Leone settlement. We throw this out as a hint to Mr. Lloyd George and the British people at large, and we are rather sanguine that the idea will receive sympathetic consideration.³³²

The National Association of Loyal Negroes remains an obscure body. It was apparently "formed among the coloured British West Indian residents in Panama", but the "manifesto" referred to above was sent to the review by Dillon C. Govin of Montreal, Canada, and dated 22nd July 1918. It is probable that Govin was a West Indian or a black Canadian. Since the review endorsed his document, and it has an interest in its own right as illustrating the political consciousness of a hitherto largely unknown organisation of New World Negroes at the end of the Great War, it is here given at length;

Under the present circumstances I am forced, in conjunction with a few members of a local society, to take the initiative which should properly be taken by one better situated.

The matter which I am bringing to your attention and consideration is one which we sincerely believe is agitating the minds of Negroes all over the world.

There is no doubt that changes of great importance will ensue as a direct result of the present war.

With victory or the ultimate advantage resting in the hands of the Allies, we are led to expect a greater measure of world democracy - the freedom of all nationalities to work out their respective destinies.

332. "To-day", ATOR, August 1918, p.14.

Belgians, Serbians, Roumanians, Montenegrins, Greeks, Poles, Jews, and the people of Ireland all are promised independence and freedom of national development after the war. We cannot fail to notice, however, that in the face of such pledges to such peoples, despite the loyalty of our race, despite our readiness to render any service asked or even expected of us, above all - despite our active participation in the present bloody struggle - not a word has been made relative to our status, both now and following this great struggle.

Dear Sir, the time is fitting that we should rise to claim the dignity of a nation, and to do so without much noise or hysteria.

In many countries where our race have lived for centuries and have raised their children with an idea to the same equality of opportunity and rights of citizenship as accorded to all other citizens, native and foreign born, such countries are openly declared 'white man's' countries, and to all intents and purposes the white man is determined to be the ruler therein.

Clearly such a policy must retard or stultify the development of our integrity and highest possible powers, and as a means of avoiding an ever increasing racial friction and clashes, we must find a means of outlet for employment of and scope for the development of our young manhood and womanhood.

No nation can deny our inalienable right to a domain in Africa, Are we, though weak, to stand idly and speechless, to see another partition of Africa, our fatherland? Are we to witness a repetition of Congo atrocities, separate native restrictions and exploitations at the hands of the white nations? Are we to be crowded off the face of the earth and subject to the will of white men all over the world? Never, if truth and justice is still supreme. We should not fear, though weak at present, the ultimate triumph of our cause, even as the Allies expect to defeat German autocracy.

In accordance with our right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, we should colonise, develop, and maintain a large African State. Still further, as the reward for the loyalty and service of our race in the past, and as a mark of gratitude for the service our manhood is now rendering on the European battlefields, a large independent African colony should be given us.

That steps should be taken to petition the Allied Council on behalf of millions of Negroes is the object of this letter.

As a representative member of your race, will you (i.e. the editor) co-operate? Please send us your opinion and suggestions as early as possible. If for any private reason you would not care to be actively associated, that is, to be nominated, if so chosen, as one of the prime movers in organising the World Negro Conference and presenting the petition, we expect that at least you will sign the petition when forwarded to you.³³³

333. "National Association of Loyal Negroes", ATOR, September 1918, p.29. The present writer has had the benefit of discussing this organisation with the leading authority on the history of the Negro in Canada, Dr. Robin Winks, who feels it is clearly of considerable interest. The writer regrets that at the time of writing Dr. Wink's major work on the history of the Negro in Canada was not yet available from its publishers.

This document made a strong mark on Duse' Mohamed Ali. Chapter VII of this thesis will show him taking up the idea of a Negro State in former German East Africa as a member of the Garvey movement in the United States. And in the final issue of the ATOR, he personally supported, and called for general world-wide Negro support for the National Association of Loyal Negroes plan.³³⁴ Thus at the end of the Great War the review had travelled far from its original, vague, sense of the war era affording an opportunity, to be awaited passively. By autumn 1918, it had endorsed the idea of New World Negro settlement in ex-German Africa. This was the only purely political scheme of a Pan-African nature that Duse' Mohamed Ali was ever personally involved in. It was Pan-African in the sense that 'the return of the exiles' has been an abiding thread, running through the history of the movement.³³⁵

In turning from the theme of national independence and national rights in the African Times and Orient Review to that of human dignity and human rights, we are moving to a closely related topic. Economic oppression and political oppression were seen as inevitably entailing a regime of brutality. Geographically, the areas in which the review found and attacked brutality towards coloured people were the British Empire, the United States and to a lesser extent the German Empire. Its views of the French Empire, in what may be called the 'civil rights' field, were suprisingly rosy. Here, the French policy of granting

334. Duse' Mohamed Ali, open letter to Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, ATOR, October 1918, pp.45-6.

335. See G. Shepperson, "Notes on Negro American Influences on the Emergence of African Nationalism", Journal of African History, 1, 2, 1960, pp.299-312, esp. pp.301-303.

French citizenship and even participation in metropolitan political life was undoubtedly the factor which produced a favourable response. This could be contrasted with British Imperial policy in those respects - here, as we have seen, the review was gravely dissatisfied with the existing situation. In addition, the review, as very much an 'anglophone' production, was correspondingly much less well informed about the actual situation in French colonies.

Like any crusading journal, from time to time the review took up individual cases of injustice which it believed to have a wider significance. Indeed, it began its life with an exposé of an incident in Northern Nigeria which came to be known as the 'Zaria whippings' or 'Zaria Incident'. Not only does this present the best example of the review at work in defence of African dignity and rights, but also it proved to be the key to the review's survival, for it was this which so impressed Rotimi Alade and his friends in July 1912 that they decided to come to the review's aid.³³⁶

The incident involved was small, but poignant, and could be taken by the review as a paradigm of much that was wrong with the treatment of coloured subjects within the British Empire. The facts of the incident were, at the time in dispute, but, as will be shown, the review's version was substantially accurate. It opened its campaign with an open letter from Duse Mohamed Ali to Colonial Secretary Harcourt, in the course of

336. See "Leaves", The Comet, 30th October 1937, p.7.

which it described what had happened as follows;

It would appear that on the afternoon of February 14th, 1912, several African native clerks of Zaria were engaged in a game of football in their playground. Third class Resident Laing, in charge of the Zaria province, passed the field. The players, who did not see the Resident, failed to salute and prostrate themselves, as is the custom established by the European officials in the Protectorate. Resident Laing ordered their arrest for failing to show those marks of homage which he considered himself entitled to as a third class Resident - having previously given them a severe thrashing with a walking stick.

The African clerks - named Taylor and Hall respectively - were taken under arrest to a town about two miles from the Cantonment, and placed in the native jail. On the morning of February 15th the clerks were brought before Resident Laing, who being both judge and accuser, ordered them to be taken to the native market place, stripped of their clothing, and, in a state of complete nudity, whipped by the dogaries.

The African native clerks, unable to bear the horrifying sight of indignity and torture to which their fellows had been subjected by the Resident wired the Governor and Chief Justice a second time.

The Governor telegraphed Resident Laing in code and in code did the Resident reply to the Governor.

Hence, as there was no possibility of the clerks ascertaining the will and intentions of the Governor, or the representations of the Resident, the African native clerks, porters, fitters, and carpenters, to the number of 170 men, struck work, refusing to perform any further duties till the Governor should 'give some ruling' in the matter. The ringleaders of the strike were subsequently fined and imprisoned for contempt of court.

These clerks, though 'non-natives' of Northern Nigeria, are African natives of the coastal towns ... 337

The source of this story was most likely The Lagos Standard, which carried news of the 'Zaria whippings' as early as March 1912 - this version being in all respects conformable with the above, but omitting the details about the strike.³³⁸ From that moment the whippings were a major preoccupation

337. Duse Mohamed Ali, "Open Letter to the Right Honourable Lewis Vernon Harcourt, P.C., M.P.", ATOR, July 1912, p.8.

338. Lagos Standard, 13th March 1912.

of The Lagos Standard for several months.³³⁹ Its feeling that such events "court disaster to British rule" and showed "what lengths the tin gods of Northern Nigeria are allowed to go to"³⁴⁰ coincided exactly with the views Duse Mohamed Ali had been expressing a few years earlier over British high-handedness in Egypt.

The exact channel by which this information was passed to the review is not entirely clear. But in June 1912 The Lagos Standard feature "News, Notes and Comments" requested;

Will the gentleman who furnished us with the report of the flogging of the Native Clerks at Zaria on Feby. last please send us further details about it. We reported this incident in our issue of March 12, and commented editorially upon same in our issue of March 20, this has caught the eye of an influential person in the heart of the Empire who has written to us for further and better particulars as he intends moving on the matter.³⁴¹

In view of the close similarity between Duse Mohamed Ali's allegations and those originally made in the Standard, might not he or John Eldred Taylor be the "influential person" referred to here. Of the two, Taylor would seem far more likely, as prior to the publication of the review, Duse Mohamed Ali cannot have been widely known in west Africa, though it is possible that a handful of the intellectual élite had heard of In The Land Of The Pharaohs. Of course, the Lagos Standard may have been

339. See further reports and comments on the Zaria whippings and their consequences in the Lagos Standard, 27th March 1912; 17th April 1912; 15th May 1912; 26th June 1912; 7th August 1912; 28th August 1912; 11th September 1912; 6th November 1912.

340. *ibid*, 13th March 1912.

341. *ibid*, 26th June 1912.

referring to someone else. It is unlikely that a member of the London Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society was the recipient of this information, as that society did not take the matter up until the following year.³⁴² Another possible intermediary here was an obscure Englishwoman, Miss S.E. Marples, who was a subscriber to The Lagos Standard, an ardent Afroophile, and who was regarded at the Colonial Office as "a fussy lady who takes in the Lagos Papers and who writes to us at intervals in this style" and one whose "bias against British officials in W. Africa ...

342. Travers Buxton and John Harris wrote to the Colonial Secretary as follows on 8th July 1913; "The Society desires to recall your attention to the Zaria public floggings. This incident has, we understand, been fully reported to the Colonial Office, but as the report has not been published, we are compelled to rely upon information obtained from private sources, and by question and answer in the House of Commons. The main facts are, however, not in dispute. The offence alleged against the men was the comparatively trivial one of playing football in the market place against local regulations, and for this the men were taken - it is also asserted stripped naked - and then publicly flogged. It is admitted that this punishment received the sanction of the Resident. It has been publicly affirmed that the real reason for the punishment has not been disclosed, and our Society has been credibly informed that for the alleged simple offence the men were not only publicly flogged, but dismissed their employment. The whole incident savours so strongly of vindictiveness as to provide additional proof that the real motive had a more than remote connection with a refusal to prostrate.

We realise that though the widest difference of opinion prevails as to the efficacy of flogging as a punishment for and preventive of serious moral crimes that an unanimous opinion will not hesitate to condemn such a degrading spectacle as the flogging of grown men stripped nude in a public place, and our Committee again expresses the hope that British officials will at least be instructed to refrain from giving official sanction to public floggings in future." But having weathered vigorous and well organised protest from the West African press, the ATOR, questions in Parliament, and private individuals the previous year, the C.O. was not impressed by this tardy protest, and replied with a bare acknowledgement on 22nd July 1913. See C.O. 583/8/23740.

makes her a fitting chorus to the Lagos Standard."³⁴³ She bombarded the Colonial Office with letters on the Zaria incident from as early as April 1912, drawing her account from The Lagos Standard.³⁴⁴ Later, she became involved in the African Times and Orient Review's battle on behalf of Hall and Taylor, and was remembered years later with much affectation by Duse Mohamed Ali in this respect. But in his recollection of 1935 (not always at that time very accurate with regard to the order of events), she had not approached the review till after its first issue, which had brought her "post haste from Birkenhead to my office."³⁴⁵

343. See minutes dated 29th & 30th April 1912, C.O. 446/109/12594.

344. See Miss S.F. Marples to S. of S., C.O., 23rd of April 1912. The tone of her letter, typical of much of her correspondence, was exactly calculated to irritate the C.O.; "I am afraid there is no doubt of the truth (of the Lagos Standard report of 13th March) for such things are unhappily only too frequent ... Is the time never to come when our representatives will realise the fact that we are in Africa as an exemplification of the unchristian law of Might over Right - and that the least that justice calls for is that we should at any rate deal justly even if mercy and common sense are left out of the question. Who are such tin gods as these despicable men are, who require 'prostrations' from men who are equal as men and far superior as gentle-men to those who claim this disgusting allegiance. I am thankful those unfortunate natives are at last beginning to feel their power and resolved to strike to show their detestation of what their countrymen were suffering. I hope that if this case is proved to be true, that this 'cad' for he is nothing else whatever his position - may not only be censured - which only brings added cruelty when the chance arrives - but publicly disgraced and brought home." C.O. 583/8/23740.

345. The Comet, 20th July 1935, p.8.

whatever the channels of communication between Nigeria and the review may have been in this case, it is clear that, despite stonewalling by the Colonial Office in its answers to the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society,³⁴⁶ and by the Colonial Secretary to questions in the House of Commons,³⁴⁷ the allegations against Resident Laing were substantially true. It is not provable that he actually struck the two clerks at the time of their arrest, but it seems virtually certain that the real reason for their arrest and subsequent flogging was that they had not given him the prostration that he considered due to his dignity. On investigation of the case, Sir Frederick Lugard, who can hardly be suspected of undue sympathy for educated 'native foreigners', more particularly if they were defendants in his beloved Native Authority courts, decided that;

With regard to the recent events in Zaria ... I am of opinion that this Officer acted most unadvisedly, although no doubt the measures he adopted were within the law as it stands.³⁴⁸

This, however, was the whole burden of the Lagos Standard and African Times and Orient Review case against Resident Laing - that sheltering behind the relevant regulations (in this case Northern Nigerian Proclamation No.1 of 1906) he had procured the cruel and degrading punishment of the two men by the Native Authority. They had alleged the offence

346. See note 342 above.

347. These Parliamentary questions are discussed in Part III of this chapter.

348. See Lugard to Harcourt, Confidential, 18th November 1912, C.O. 446/107/39033.

to be nominally for disobeying the orders of the Native Authority police (dogaris) not to play football in a public place, but in reality to be failing to prostrate to the Resident. It is surely significant that not only did Lugard not support Laing's actions but also Laing was refused permission to take legal action against one of the Lagos Standard articles which he considered "grossly defamatory".³⁴⁹ Presumably Lugard did not want his inferior to have to face the cross-examination of defending council in the Lagos Courts³⁵⁰ - a process which could hardly have been, from Lugard's point of view, an edifying spectacle, regardless of the outcome of the case. Indeed, he privately accepted that things were going wrong in the North, that his critics "truly say that this is the Northern Nigeria system and point to some monstrous things which have been done." However, the system, Lugard thought, was sound enough; the trouble was caused by "the example ... from the top, Temple and Co.", and was the result of "Temple and Co.'s trying to carry the native administration system to extremes." To his wife he could even admit, "the whole attitude of the European on the Coast to the trousered Black is wrong - one slips into it oneself in an unguarded moment."³⁵¹

349. For Laing's request to be permitted to take legal action against the Lagos Standard, see E.H.B. Laing, confidential memo to Sir F. Lugard, quoted in *ibid.* Laing was informed subsequently by the C.O. that "Sir F. Lugard is of opinion that it would be inadvisable to re-open the matter in the Lagos Courts, and considers that no action should be taken by the Government in this case. In this view Mr. Harcourt concurs." See draft of H.J. Read, C.O., to Resident Laing, Zaria, C.O. 446/107/39033.

350. The Lagos Courts followed normal British legal procedures, Lagos and its immediate environs being a Crown Colony.

351. For these remarks, see Lugard to Flora Lugard, 29th December 1913 & 9th February 1914, quoted in Perham, Lugard, The Years of Authority, p.604.

The African Times and Orient Review ran a campaign on the Zaria Incident lasting well into the following year, and developing into an attack on what it saw as a general trend towards official brutality in the British Empire. Even in the opening shot of this campaign, wider issues were raised. Harcourt was challenged, "there are other cases which must have been brought to your notice" and he was asked;

to enquire into this matter in the best interests of humanity and justice, of official harmony in Northern Nigeria, and for the protection of the persons of His Majesty's loyal native subjects from indignity and violence at the hands of irresponsible white officials who tarnish the fair name and fame of Britain by reason of their ruthless and aggressive methods.³⁵²

So a conservative seeming appeal to British traditions of justice, could be used to criticise British actions and defend African dignity. It was stressed that the victims were civilised men and therefore that;

the humiliating ceremony of salutation and prostration before those Europeans who are 'warmed by the same summer and cooled by the same winter' as the African native, is by no means congenial to the tastes and inclinations of men possessing that manly pride which is natural to all men, and is not the exclusive property of the European.³⁵³

In its next issue, the review amplified its attack. It emphasised that Hall and Taylor were "officials of the Crown", asked "whether a European official of the Crown would be handed over to the Native Courts of Northern Nigeria to be dealt with in this lighthanded manner" and commented that the Crown lost "dignity and prestige" by such proceedings. Also,

352. See note 337 above.

353. *ibid.*

like a good sea lawyer, the review quoted section 10 of Chapter LVI of Northern Nigerian Proclamation Number 1 of 1906, "that no punishment involving mutilation or torture, or which is repugnant to natural justice and humanity, may be inflicted", and asserted;

If the whipping of British officials in a state of complete nudity in a public place be other than torture, and is not repugnant to natural justice and humanity, then we have no knowledge of the value of words.³⁵⁴

In the later months of 1912 the review was preoccupied with the Balkan War, but in the new year of 1913 it returned to the attack on floggings of native officials in Nigeria, not only digging up the memory of cases previous to that of Hall and Taylor, but also producing the new instance of a Sierra Leonean telegraphist called Jones in Bornu province. In December 1912, Jones had been fined 40/- and publicly given twelve lashes by a Bornu Native Court.³⁵⁵ A pathetic letter was printed from railway clerk Hall, telling of persecutions since his floggings - after a dispute of a more or less petty nature with a European railway official, but seemingly involving the latter's sense of what was due to him as a 'white man', Hall had been deprived of his job, sentenced to six months hard

354. ATOR, August 1912, pp.37-8.

355. ATOR, February-March 1913, p.233, states "telegraphist Jones, a Sierra Leonean of the Bornu Protectorate, was dragged before the Alkali's court on the respective days of November 26th and 30th last, on a charge of adultery; the witnesses being Christians refused to swear on the Koran - the Alkali dismissed the case, and on December 13th Jones was summarily ordered before the doctor to be examined, and was then sent to the Alkali, who informed him that the resident had ordered the telegraphist to be fined forty shillings, and to receive twelve lashes in the open streets of Bornu."

labour by Assistant Resident Bovill, and deprived of back pay. In conclusion he wrote; "So this is all I suffered for the simple reason of being black."³⁵⁶ In the review's next issue, it was noted with delight that telegraphist Jones had been given compensation as recompense for wrongful punishment. The amount - £10 - was accounted inadequate, however, and with the bit now well between its teeth, the review demanded the repeal of the proclamation under which Jones, Hall, Taylor and others had suffered. Lugard, as author of this proclamation, was held personally responsible for its repeal.³⁵⁷

By easy stages, the review's campaign about the Zaria and other Nigerian whippings became transformed into a campaign against the whole structure of Lugard's administration. Thus when the review was informed that an African barrister, a member of that influential and highly respected Dove family, which had played a major part in maintaining the review's existence, had been flogged by soldiers at Onitsha, indignation overflowed;

in Nigeria ... Governor Lugard has abolished law to establish order! This began with the whipping of Native officials at Zaria two years ago ... Now we have the march of progress with vengeance, for Mr. Barrister Dove, a well-known and highly respected practitioner, who is noted for his inoffensiveness, has been flogged at Onitsha by men of the Nigeria Regiment. ...

It is not a far cry from whippings and prostrations to 'lynching bees'. When will the Colonial Office see the necessity for dropping its insane policy of permitting insults and petty indignity to Natives at the hands of its officials.³⁵⁸

356. *ibid*, p.233.

357. *ibid*, April 1913, p.282.

358. *ibid*, 7th April 1914, p.50.

The extension of Lugard's concepts of colonial administration into Southern Nigeria in the years 1913 and 1914 were a natural target, since thereby all that was most obnoxious about Northern Nigerian administration, to its critics, was introduced into the South.³⁵⁹ As early as July 1913, we find the review attacking Lugard's proposed re-organisation of the judicial system, and in particular the abolition of the Supreme Court's jurisdiction over the mass of the Nigerian population. A journal which was greatly concerned about the right of Imperial subjects to 'British Justice', which was backed by, among others, West African lawyers, and which was already concerned about the autocratic powers of administrative officials in the North, could hardly pass this by. It noted that the powers of District Commissioners, already "something approaching autocratic power", were "to be extended to Life and Death, and the Supreme Court is practically going to be abolished." This was connected with Lugard's well known penchant for making the country pay its own way. As the profits of justice in the native courts were a source of revenue, it concluded "that the Native 'malefactor' is in for a pretty lively

359. It has taken a surprisingly long time for the considerable contemporary opposition to Lugard, which came not only from educated natives but also from some of his colleagues, to be reflected in the scholarly world. Miss Perham's magisterial biography of Lugard by no means ignored such opposition, but, it would be fair to say, defended her subject against his old enemies with partiality as well as skill. Not till the publication in 1969 of I.F. Nicolson's The Administration of Nigeria 1900-1960 was a major scholarly work on the history of Nigerian administration published in a spirit overtly hostile to Lugard; this work is all the more interesting as Nicolson himself is a former Nigerian administrator, and is at pains to defend traditions of his former service which he clearly feels to have been neglected and even besmirched by Lugard and his partisans.

time."³⁶⁰ With the passing of the Nigerian Provincial Courts Ordinance shortly after the achievement of amalgamation in 1914, the review noted tartly that "whipping" regulations had now been extended to Southern Nigeria and that by depriving prisoners "maliciously" from "the assistance of a lawyer", Nigerian subjects were being deprived of British justice;

It would appear that the lawyer has been excluded from the courts of the District Commissioner in order that the Nigerian subjects of His Majesty King George shall be denied that protection which the meanest English felon is accorded in Great Britain. He may refer his case to the Governor if considered of sufficient importance, but it is notorious that an Executive is hardly the most competent body to deal with the life and liberty of the subject.³⁶¹

It was clear to the review why the barrister - particularly the native barrister - was being removed from the courts of Southern Nigeria. This action was taken as tantamount to an admission "that the Nigerian regards the barrister as a natural protector"; the District Commissioner was

360. ATOR, July 1913, pp.2-3. For Lugard's grounds for amalgamation, see his "Report by Sir F.D. Lugard on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria ...", paras. 16-23, in A.H.M. Kirk-Greene (ed.), Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria. A Documentary Record, London 1968, pp.16-74. Note particularly in para.29 p.73; "A check was put on the deprivations of Lagos land-speculators, whose actions, backed by certain native lawyers, had already gone far to break down the native system of land tenure." Kirk-Greene's introduction to *ibid*, pp.1-35, gives a balanced picture of pro and con elements in Lugard's amalgamation, despite disclaiming (p.26) that it "does not aim at evaluating the balance-sheet of the 1914 amalgamation." For a favourable critique of the amalgamation, see M. Perham, Native Administration in Nigeria, London 1937, pp. 61-80; for an unfavourable critique of amalgamation, see Nicolson, *op.cit.*, pp.180-215.

361. ATOR, 14th April 1914, p.74.

ignorant of the law, and felt animus against the barrister because;

Vested as he is with unlimited authority, he could not brook the wound dealt at his prestige by a mere Native - especially when the Native possesses the legal qualifications which the District Commissioner so sadly lacked.³⁶²

It seemed very clear to Duse Mohamed Ali that a régime of corporal punishment and erosion of legal rights related directly to the encroachments and demands of white capitalism in the Empire. Thus we find him editorialising in April 1914 on the different methods of coercion used by the British capitalist in Nigeria and Great Britain;

White subjects of His Majesty, King George V, prate about their liberties in this year of grace, 1914; but this is more imagined than real. The underfed and underpaid stalk through the cities of Britain and the sweater is held in high esteem. We need only take a morning walk to the termini of suburban passenger traffic and observe the infant and aged madly cashing to the arms of the industrial octopus, to realise how truly the Briton is enslaved. Five minutes after the allotted time may mean a weeks rest with its attendant want. Ten minutes would result in dismissal, with the gaunt spectre of starvation talking in the foreground. This is the meaning of cheap labour in England, but in Nigeria punctuality will probably be enforced with the rod. The average company promoter finds the contentment of the Black man too great and his freedom too unconfined to suit his purpose. It is therefore needful that the 'nigger' shall be made to labour in order that Nigeria be made to pay. First we have whipping Ordinances; these will be followed by forced labour Ordinances which will compel the Nigerian to work as the sweated ones of Britain are made to work; and being a man accustomed to freedom, should he resist the whipping Ordinance will do its fell work - for Nigeria must be made to pay!³⁶³

362. ATOR, 28th April 1914, p.122.

363. ATOR, 21st April 1914, p.31. This piece also made a violent attack on Lugard in person.

Frank Hugh O'Donnell supported Duse's line with a piece in May 1914, violently assailing the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society for ignoring the current changes in Nigeria while concentrating on matters outwith the Empire such as the Putamayo atrocities.³⁶⁴ This article was given editorial backing. In June 1914 the review was to be found once again harping on the tie up between administrative oppression and capitalist exploitation;

The capitalist has so great a hold on the Colonial Office that he has but to express his behest and the Colonial Office is ready to obey. We stated some time ago that Nigeria was to be made to pay; and the Governor-General was reputed to have guaranteed this to the City jugglers in African ventures. And the way to make Nigeria or South Africa pay the company promoter, is to introduce laws which deprive the Native of his only legitimate means of having his grievances redressed; the rest is easy.³⁶⁵

One must clearly ask to what extent the review's opinions were well founded in respect to its views on the connection between colonial oppression and the intrusion of capitalism into new areas in the tropics. Few would perhaps care to dispute that in general terms Duse Mohamed Ali was right in his view that in an old industrial society (such as Great Britain) the workers had long been broken in to the drastic labour discipline required by modern industry, and were held in check by the evident threat

364. Frank Hugh O'Donnell, "Mr. Fecksniff at home", ATOR, 5th May 1914, pp.155-6, reprinted from The New Witness, 30th April 1914.

365. ATOR, 9th June 1914, p.265.

of want. As the old Black Country saying has it "If yo do' werk, yo do' ate". The Nigerian rural population had no such compulsion, as long as each individual had the security of his share in the produce of the land owned collectively by his kindred. Thus it was unlikely that he would take to plantation work without being driven to it, lacking economic forces working to compel him. On the other hand, can Lugard or the Colonial Office be regarded as pliable tools of British big business at the time the review was making this allegation? I.F. Nicolson's recent hostile study of Lugard actually argues that his era as amalgamator was an economic disaster, undoing the careful 'development of the tropical estate' undertaken by Southern Nigerian predecessors such as MacGregor.³⁶⁶ In general, though Lugard was no state-socialist, he was suspicious of the capitalist concession-hunter, and hostile to "the idea that there were large areas of land in Nigeria which, with ready labour, would allow for European enterprise."³⁶⁷ Indeed, as Miss Perham has pointed out, he "thought of himself as primarily a political man", and on the evidence of his "very full" 1918 instructions to political officers - omnicompetent personages that they were - he had little interest in economic development, as such, at all.³⁶⁸ As for the Colonial Office, it is clear that Lord

366. See Nicolson, *op.cit.*, p.72, for a summary of Governor William MacGregor's achievements in developing Lagos; see *ibid*, pp.194-6 for examples of Lugard's interventions in the economic development of Nigeria - his cancellation of the geographical survey of the South begun in 1903 by Sir Ralph Moor, and the fiasco of the ostrich industry he tried to create in Bornu.

367. Perham, *op.cit.*, p.579.

368. *ibid*, pp.554-5.

Leverhulme, who will do very well as a test case here, would have been astonished at any suggestion that it was partial to him. Long before the final rejection of his Nigerian schemes by Governor-General Clifford,³⁶⁹ the Colonial Office was running out of patience with his importunity. No better witness of this could be given than the following account by the redoubtable Sir George Fiddes of the Colonial Office of a meeting with Sir William Lever's factotum, Harold Greenhalgh,³⁷⁰ in January 1914, over a requested palm processing concession at Uyo, Southern Nigeria;

You saw Mr. Greenhalgh for $\frac{1}{2}$ hour this afternoon. You pointed out that though the justification for granting such privilege was that Lever's were introducing special machinery which would largely increase the output of oil, we had no evidence that such machinery had yet been introduced in S.Leone and the Gold Coast and was a success; that in the case of S.Leone Lever's had asked that the amount they were to spend on machinery should be reduced from £15,000 to £1,000, which looked as if the special machinery was more an excuse than anything; & that if (as he said) they had patented their machine in S.Nigeria, why would not this sufficiently protect them without a special monopoly for which legislation would be necessary which would cause considerable opposition. To this he replied that machinery for dealing with 3,000 tons of fruit a year had been established for some time in the Gold Coast and that machinery for 6,000 tons of fruit per annum had been set up in S.Leone, and that Lever's were quite satisfied with the machinery, though no doubt it was not perfect. The chief difficulty was that so far the natives preferred to make and sell the oil rather than bring the fruit to the factory, and that this was the real reason why they wanted special protection since otherwise, when they had induced the natives to give up oil making & sell the fruit, a competitor would step in and compete on equal terms with Lever's who had spent money for 2 or 3 years in converting the natives from their old

369. Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism, p.436 n.10.

370. Wilson, The History of Unilever, Vol.I makes it clear that Greenhalgh was much used by Lever during his search for new sources of supply of palm-products before the First world war; see pp.160, 165 & 234-6.

methods. You pointed out that the first motor car manufacturer might have used a similar plea in favour of a monopoly of making motor cars, and that such monopolies were alien to the spirit of the age, & as experience had shown, led to suspicions as to the ultimate intentions of Lever's towards the natives and trade competitors and as to the Government's reasons for granting such privileges. That you felt sure that before the S. of S. would consider their S.Nigerian application further (even if they could find a more suitable area) he would have to be satisfied that the factories in S.Leone or the G.C. were fulfilling the expectations which led to those concessions being granted. Mr. Greenhalgh professed to think that this would be easy - but did not seem very confident. You suggested that Sir E. Merewether might be asked to inspect the S.Leone factory on his return and report the position there. He said Lever's would be glad to show Sir E. Merewether everything.³⁷¹

This fascinating account not only shows the Colonial Office's hostile tone to Lever's at that time, but goes far to explain why Lever's failed to either obtain further British West African concessions or make much profit out of their existing ones. It is important to note that Harcourt, far from Duse' Mohamed Ali's image of him as virtually in Sir William Lever's pocket, endorsed Sir George Fiddes line with the remark "Yes, Sir G. Fiddes was at his best".³⁷²

It can thus be shown that Duse' Mohamed Ali's views on the relation between on the one hand flogging and diminution of legal rights in Nigeria and on the other a supposed puppet role by Governor-General Lugard and

371. Sir George Fiddes, account of meeting between himself and Lever Bros. representative Mr. Greenhalgh, 29th January 1914, C.O. 583/27/3447. This meeting was held at Lever Bros. request - see Lever Bros. to under S. of S., C.O. 24th January 1914, C.O. 583/27/3080.

372. C.O. 583/27/3447, 2nd February 1914.

Colonial Secretary Harcourt in relation to capitalist interests were wide of the mark. On the other hand, he cannot be regarded as a mere crack-brained sensationalist. Such accusations should be placed in the context of contemporary African history, of which he was only too aware. The Leopold régime in the Congo; the British South Africa Company's treatment of Africans in Rhodesia, where the review dug up yet another whipping scandal;³⁷³ the fate of Africans in the Union of South Africa; all were examples that made it perfectly reasonable to deduce that where a European régime in Africa was to be found imposing floggings and reducing legal rights, the ultimate object was the African's economic subjection and exploitation.

However, Duse' Mohamed Ali was never a completely systematic thinker, and this is well reflected in an alternative explanation appearing in the review for events such as the 'Zaria Whippings'. This alternative explanation was none other than the re-appearance, in one form or another, of that bane of Egypt, exposed in In The Land Of The Pharaohs, T. Swellibus Esq. Thus, in July 1913 an editorial made the following snooty announcement;

In the old days, the Colonial official being drawn, for the most part, from a class of traditional rulers, representing, as they usually did, the off-shoots of the nobility these men knew how to govern; and, although in many cases despots, they were benevolent.

373. ATOR, February-March 1913, pp.234-5, notes the provision in Northern Rhodesian regulations gazetted on 18th December 1912 for whipping of native policemen for certain offences, and comments; "It will be observed that the native policeman is liable to all the pains and penalties of the European policeman, but in order that the native policeman shall not entertain a sense of equality or stand upon his dignity, he is to be treated to a whipping."

In these days of Board School education and scholarships a new element has been introduced into the ruling class, and the Colonies are cursed with a shoal of nobodies, who, being for the most part beggars on horseback, are more concerned about their own prestige than about the prestige of His Majesty whom they so effectively misrepresent. And those short-sighted incompetents are at the bottom of all the so-called Native unrest that we read about.³⁷⁴

In April 1914, more in this vein appeared, though a little more conciliatory than the above in acknowledging that there were "many good Englishmen in the British Colonial Service." These, however, were "frequently compelled to administer to a system in the interests of a false prestige", while the "Jack-in-office, ... vested with an authority which is strange to him, and for which his early training does not qualify him, proceeds forthwith to abuse that authority in order that a few inches may be added to his artificial importance." Such men were responsible for the "hatred with which extremists regard Great Britain."³⁷⁵ In general, it is clear enough that this was a much more conservative line of explanation than that which explained brutality in terms of the demands of the capitalist economy.

Outside British Africa, the review exposed few African scandals. In the years from 1912 the clamour about the Congo of a few years earlier had largely died down, and the Congo only figured in its pages as an aside. But the review did take note of accusations of brutality in the German

374. ATOR, July 1913, p.2.

375. ATOR, 28th April 1914, p.121.

West African colony of Togoland. This was not, however, pursued with the same tenacity or vigour as similar events in Nigeria, though the allegations were perhaps even more serious. In July 1913, the review printed an article making the gravest allegations,³⁷⁶ but the editorial comment two months later was surprisingly mild;

It is alleged that German officials have been murdering native chiefs and others, running harems, and generally playing the very duce. If one half the accusations are true the matter calls for immediate investigation. We are firmly convinced that these alleged atrocities are committed without the knowledge and consent of the German Emperor. His Imperial Majesty is too humane, and has too high a sense of his divine responsibilities to admit of his countenancing such acts ... In justice, however, to those directly concerned we are forced to suspend further comment until we are supplied with names and dates.³⁷⁷

Perhaps this rosy view of Wilhelm II can be accounted for by Duse' Mohamed Ali's penchant for monarchy, and the fact that the Emperor of Germany still enjoyed the powers that, to Duse's regret, the British monarchy had lost. A rather more astringent reference to German colonial practice was made in April 1914, in the course of editorial comment on a Gold Coast rumour that Togo was to be exchanged for Northern Nigeria - "The Nigerian, as is well known, would rather swallow the hated measure with its whipping clauses ... than be subjected to the German 'civilising' influence."³⁷⁸

376. "Quashie", "The Gold Coast and German Togoland", ATOR, July 1913, pp.20-21.

377. ATOR, September 1913, p.89.

378. ATOR, 28th April 1914, p.121.

Turning from Africa to Asia, there we find editorial interest in 'human rights' issues, but on a more intermittent and less detailed scale than that in Africa, and a concentration on India to the near exclusion of other areas. No doubt this was for the same reason that within Africa the review concentrated on West Africa, i.e., because it could easily learn about Indian affairs from Indians in London, from the Indian English language press and from the British press. Apart from periodical references to the rudeness and arrogance of British officials in India, such as in Duse's 1917 reminiscence of complaints made to him by the Maharajah of Cooch-Bihar,³⁷⁹ the review did from time to time confront specific Indian 'civil rights' issues in its editorials. Thus, in June 1913 it attacked what it considered to be a "judicial outrage" in India in the form of the retrial of three Indians who had been acquitted of murder, two of the accused being subsequently executed and the third sentenced to penal servitude for life. Again appeal was made to British standards;

What is the political or social justification in India which makes it permissible to put a British subject in jeopardy twice, when the law of England makes it impossible for a similar thing to happen in this country? It is an ironclad rule of law, that a man shall not be tried twice for the same offence.³⁸⁰

As the review was in abeyance when the most spectacular example of British repression and lack of respect for Indian life, the Amritsar massacre of

379. ATOR, November 1917, pp.91-2.

380. ATOR, June 1913, pp.369-70.

1919, took place, it had no immediate, hot-blooded reaction to that event. It did, however, in August 1920, note with approval the House of Commons condemnation of the massacre, though noting at the same time the existence of a die-hard minority in the Commons and majority in the Lords.³⁸¹

But the 'Indian' human rights issue which received the most attention in the review was also a North American one - the Canadian Government's discrimination against the flow of Indian immigrants into Western Canada. This was attacked in as early as 1912,³⁸² and as late as June 1914 the editor was still bearing the anti-Indian measures in mind when discussing American relations with Canada under the heading "Yankeeism in Canada". In this article he advocated mass Indian immigration into Canada as a bulwark against the country "being absorbed in the United States", to make Canada financially solvent, and as a means of strengthening Imperial British interests in North America.³⁸³ Though this would have fitted in with his own private vision of a non-racist British Empire, acting as a bulwark against racist America, it can hardly have been envisaged as a serious possibility.

Far more detailed and persistent was the review's interest in the human and civil rights of black Americans. Thus, it contained innumerable items on lynchings.³⁸⁴ Interestingly, the review did not share the

381. AOR, August 1920, pp.43-4.

382. See for e.g. "Canadian Colour Prejudice", ATOR, October 1912, p.136.

383. "Yankeeism in Canada", ATOR, 9th June 1914, pp.266-7.

384. e.g., ATOR, August 1912, p.61, which contained a photograph of 4 Negroes lynched near New Orleans for alleged stealing, and statistics of lynchings in the U.S.A. between 1885 and 1911.

conciliatory view of Booker T. Washington that lynching was a phenomenon of declining importance. Booker T. Washington's views in this respect were not overtly contradicted, and were even reported³⁸⁵ - it would seem that he was regarded as above direct criticism. Editorially, however, the review found the outlook over lynching far more intolerable than Booker T. Washington did in his public utterances on the subject at that time. As in West Africa, the review had its private sources of information. Thus, in July 1914, acting on private information on the lynching of a black woman, Marie Scott of Muskogee Oklahoma, for killing a white man who was attempting to seduce her, the review angrily demanded Presidential action. In particular, this editorial stressed the true sexual background to many lynchings;

From the days of slavery until the present time there has been a continuous system of raping of coloured women by white men, but we never hear of these things in the public press.

As in 1910-1911, the editor pointed the discrepancy between the remarks made by ex-President Roosevelt in his Mansion House speech about Egypt, and the lawless violence suffered by Afro-Americans. Also, the 'Potiphar's wife' syndrome was again brought up as the explanation of so-called sexual assaults by blacks on white women.³⁸⁶ News of lynchings, especially

385. See letter dated 8th January 1913, from Booker T. Washington to the Editor of the New York Times, in ATOR, February-March 1913, p.255.

386. "Lynch Law and Lawlessness", editorial in ATOR, 7th April 1914, pp.49-50.

if the victim were a woman, reactivated Duse' Mohamed Ali's bitter feelings about the sexual mistreatment of black Americans over the centuries, and his equally bitter feelings that in the circumstances any white American spokesman should dare to criticise the state of law and order in Egypt.

The review took particular care to investigate Theodore Roosevelt's attitude to Negro civil rights during the presidential election campaign of 1912, during which Roosevelt was standing as candidate for his new Progressive Party. The editor sent him an open letter on this question, dated July 2nd 1912, but printed in the August 1912 issue, headed "Roosevelt's Remarkable Reticence";

Sir,

Your opinions on Egypt and British East Africa I cannot see my way to accept with that seriousness which you evidently intended them to be received. I think this is made evident in the chapter dealing with your Guildhall speech in my work - 'In the Land of the Pharaohs'.

Having made this quite clear, we come to the object of this letter.

The Press, both European and American, inform us that you mean to found a new party. Doubtless this is a wise step, inasmuch as your old party has become lukewarm in regard to those traditions left by Abraham Lincoln, as an immortal heritage to the Republican Party.

Being quite aware of this, I am emboldened to ask your intentions touching the political and social amelioration of ten or eleven million Negroes of the United States of America.

I know that should you make any statement, such statement will be influenced by conviction, and I think that such a statement should be made by you at this critical period of your career.

You are quite capable of dealing with the trusts, and I am one amongst the number who believe that, given the opportunity, you will deal with them in a most drastic and effective manner - but that is not the point.

Our journal will be read by every thinking coloured man in the world; and every coloured man - especially in the United States - and not a few white men, who will read our pages, would like to have an authoritative statement from you with regard to your intended treatment of those afore-mentioned Negroes. - should you reach the White House via the New Party or otherwise.

I therefore ask that you will favour us with a statement of your intentions for publication in the August number of the African Times and Orient Review ... 387

Thus we see Duse' Mohamed Ali combining his old feud with Roosevelt, with a concern for the civil rights of black Americans. The response of Roosevelt's campaign organisers to this letter will be discussed in the third section of this chapter.

Though Duse' Mohamed Ali used the review to expose brutality against and deprivation of rights of coloured men in far away places, that is not to say that he was indifferent to similar things happening within the United Kingdom. He retained a sharp eye for racist attitudes in the British press. Thus, in July 1912 the editorial attacked the Daily Telegraph and The Star for their sneering remarks about Negro representation at the Chicago Republican Party Convention.³⁸⁸ In May 1913, a coloured barrister having been excluded from the Northern circuit's mess, the English bar was attacked for its racism and hypocrisy.³⁸⁹ Having an

387. Open letter to Theodore Roosevelt from Duse' Mohamed Ali, ATOR, August 1912, p.60. For Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Party's equivocal attitude to the race question in the 1912 Presidential election, see Henry F. May, The End of American Innocence. A Study of the First Years of our Time, 1912-1917, New York, 1967, p.27; and Richard Hofstadter, The American Political Tradition, And the Men Who Made It, London 1962, chapter IX, passim.

388. ATOR, July 1912, p.3.

389. ATOR, May 1913, p.326. Here Duse' Mohamed Ali observed; "the English members of the Bar do not consider it beneath their dignity to practise in Colonies where their clients are no less swarthy than the practitioners to whom they object, and in which places they enter into competition with the natives in the natives' own country.

English wife himself,³⁹⁰ Duse' Mohamed Ali was naturally sensitive to any suggestion that black men were unfit husbands for white women. In March 1920 he attacked certain British clergy who had refused to perform marriage ceremonies for such couples.³⁹¹

390. Little is known about Duse' Mohamed Ali's first wife, whom he abandoned when he left Britain in 1921. An article in the ATOR, July 1918, p.8, reprinted from the Walsall Observer (n.d.) comments that he was married to an English lady. On occasions, she accompanied him to receptions and political meetings associated with the causes he supported - e.g. she was at the reception given for Muhammad Farid at the Savoy Hotel, London, 21st February 1914 - see ATOR 24th March 1914, p.5; and rose to being a member of the managing Committee of the London Central Islamic Society - see ATOR, February 1918, p.11. The personal particulars noted from his wartime identity book in C.O. 554/40/21897 merely state that she was English and that her maiden name was Pardoe-Nash. Her Christian name was Beatrice - see her photograph in ATOR, July 1917, p.25. From time to time she contributed verses to the review (sometimes over the initials B.M.). On occasion, these were on racial themes showing her solidarity with her husband's outlook - e.g. her verses "Unity" in ATOR, August 1913, p.76;

Come, join ye Blacks with unity
 'Tis up to you to show
 The sons of white community,
 Thy manhood's not laid low!
 with Unison your might will come
 Let all thy racial pride
 Burst forth as does the morning sun
 On life's great seething tide!
 Outwit them in their spheres of life,
 And care not what they say
 Since words do only end in strife
 Plod on, and win the day!
 Thro' dark clouds runs a silver thread,
 A proverb tried and true!
 And after all the rain is shed
 Come skies of azure blue.

391. AOR, March 1920, p.38.

Indeed, the review on more than one occasion specifically defended inter-racial marriage. For example in a book review in June 1913, the following comment was made;

It is all an excellent plea for inter-racial marriage; and as such the 'African Times and Orient Review' cannot but applaud. Race prejudice must live so long as men and women bow the knee to the god of ignorance by abstaining from inter-racial marriage.³⁹²

But more fundamentally, the review was wont to attack the racist concepts which were then current, widespread and respectable among many white people;

There has grown up a fashion among Teutonic Europeans during the twentieth century of speaking and writing about the Child Races of Africa, as being like minors, in need of European guardianship, control and government, in state, church and school.

The Teutonic Europeans seem so blinded by colour-prejudice, that when dealing with African affairs they forget the history of the human race, and the discoveries of their own archaeologists, concerning the long dead and buried civilizations of tropical and sub-tropical Africa.³⁹³

Possibly the most sustained attack in the review's history on racist mumbo-jumbo came from the pen of "Sothis" writing in April 1913. This article scorned physical anthropology's stereotypes of African physiognomy; rejected low estimates of African intellectual capacity as demolished by the numerous examples of African intellectual ability; and rejected reflections on African courage by examples ranging from the battles of Lake Trasimene and Cannae to the recent examples of thousands of Africans walking unflinchingly up to the muzzles of maxim guns.³⁹⁴ Indeed, on

392. Unsigned review of "All of one Blood", by Thomas H. Spence of Louisville, Kentucky, in ATOR, June 1913, p.356.

393. "The Mature Races of Africa", editorial in ATOR, 2nd June 1914, p.243.

394. "Sothis", "An Outlook on the World. From the African Standpoint", ATOR, April 1913, pp.304-5.

occasion the review even asserted in Social Darwinist language the superiority of coloured over white races;

... is it that the Anglo-Saxon fears the rapid intellectual and industrial strides the darker races have made? Is it that they fear competition from the Black Man, the Brown Man, and the Yellow Man? We know that the white races are bound to be swallowed up by the darker races. These latter, being the fittest, are bound to survive.³⁹⁵

However, more usually the review was more occupied in defending its "darker races" from accusations of inferiority, and subjection to indignity, than in asserting their superiority.

In defending the "darker races" from the racist theories of the day, the review often asserted the positive achievements of African and Asian civilizations through the ages. Thus we arrive at the last category in this survey of the review's policies, campaigns and causes, namely, its defence of Afro-Asian culture. The review was particularly sensitive to the charge that the Negro had no history, and apart from many incidental references to the antiquity of civilization in Africa, on one occasion an entire editorial was devoted to outlining the Negro role in history as the editor saw it; the article devoted itself to the task of "proving" that such contributions to culture and civilization as had emerged from the European Continent were attributable to those who had "Negroid" blood. These included Magellan, Columbus, the Normans and the "Mulattoes and lesser Negroids ... to be found to this day in Spain, Portugal, Italy and France", descendants from the "mainly Negro" armies of Carthage in

395. ATOR, 9th June 1912, p.265.

the Punic Wars and "the incursions of the Romans into Gaul with Negro legions." The slow development of the inhabitants of the British Isles - found unclothed savages by the Romans, sold by the Romans in slave markets, and still in a state of savagery at the time of William the Conqueror - was contrasted most unfavourably with the rapid development of Afro-Americans in their fifty years of freedom. Indeed, in a nicely ironic inversion of the accepted scale of racial valuation then obtaining in Britain, Northern Europeans in general were found to be a poor backward lot;

England, although always a maritime nation lacked the initiative and imagination of the Latin Negroid. Your Anglo-Saxon or Teuton, who is the only reputed genuine specimen of the white man, have (sic) never possessed imagination and certainly never originated anything. They are both improvers and adapters whether we take their so-called inventions or their bogus philosophy. The Negroes were the first iron smelters, and they taught their iron smelting to the people of Europe; they were also the first manufacturers of glass ... Negro philosophy was taught in Egypt, Babylonia, Syria and Arabia.

It appears to be generally forgotten that it was the Negroid Moor in Cordova, who during the middle ages of Northern European intellectual darkness and semi-savagery kept the lamp of science burning ... The power of the white man of Northern Europe has been force, not intellect. This has been proved by his action throughout the ages from the ruthlessness of the Gauls and Vandals in Rome to the recent military picnics in Egypt and Amritsar, where we find Lieutenant-Governor Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and his willing henchman General Dyer, disgracing the name of Britain ... by their Hun-like ruthlessness. Where he has possessed intellect or initiative it will be found to have been the result of a strain of blood from this very inferior Negro ...

It was the heavy and unimaginative German who invented the Aryan myth. There never was such a creature as the Aryan. The real facts of the case are to be found on the bogus claim of the Germans to intellectual superiority over that of other white men in Europe. The descendants of the Goths could show no civilization. They knew that all the wisdom of the West came from Africa and the Orient... The Greeks of Homer and the Etruscans were coloured people ... The portrait mask of Rameses the Great, which is to be seen in the British Museum, proves him to have been a Negroid ...³⁹⁶

Obviously, there is more of polemic than exposition in this approach to black history, but it must be borne clearly in mind that the review was not the reflective product of an ivory tower academy, but a response to very real pressures. To hit the ball back into its opponents' court was an urgent task. It could hardly have found a more pugnacious way of doing this than turning the racist negrophobe's arguments against himself.

One way in which the review expounded the African and Asian contribution to civilization was through obituaries, and as already mentioned, biographical articles. To give some impression of the variety of subjects, mention could be made of articles on "The Late Emperor of Japan"; the musician Samuel Coleridge-Taylor; the President of Wilberforce University, Dr. W.S. Scarborough; and "Sarbah, the African Savant", by various authors; and on Muhammad Farid, Ahmad Arabi and Sir William Conrad Reeves by the editor.³⁹⁷ On a more general level, in its Christmas 1912 number, the review published a long article on the creation, objects and organisation of the then recently formed Negro Society for Historical Research, of New York.³⁹⁸ This article made clear what the object of

397. "The Late Emperor of Japan", ATOR, September 1912, pp.85-6; Duse' Mohamed, "The Late Samuel Coleridge-Taylor. The Man and his Music", ATOR, September 1912, pp.81-3; ATOR, August 1912, p.70, on Dr. W.S. Scarborough; W.F. Hutchison, "Sarbah, the African Savant", ATOR Christmas 1912, pp.35-7; and Duse' Mohamed Ali, "Mohamed Farid Bey", "Arabi Pasha", and "Sir William Conrad Reeves", AOR, February 1920, pp.5-8; April 1920, pp.5-8; and June 1920, pp.6-7.

398. "The Negro Society for Historical Research", unsigned, ATOR, Christmas 1912, pp.26-8 & 30. The society had been founded by J.E. Bruce, Arthur A. Schomberg, David D. Fulton, William Wesley Weekes and Ernest W. Braxton at Bruce's residence, Sunny Slope Farm, Yonkers, New York City, on 18th April 1911 - see *ibid* p.27. This places the foundation of the society a little earlier than that usually given, which is 1912 - e.g. in August Meier, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915. Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington, Ann Arbor, 2nd imp., 1964, p.262.

Negro History should be;

It was to instruct the race and inspire love and veneration for its men and women of mark that the Negro Society for Historical Research was brought into being. Our principal aim is to teach, enlighten and instruct our people in Negro history and achievement. ... We believe that the race can be made stronger and more united if it can be made to know that it has done great things.³⁹⁹

It was equally certain of the need for such work;

There is nothing more disheartening and weakening to a struggling people ... than to feel that he (sic) has contributed nothing to civilisation; that he has simply been an onlooker while others builded and planted; that he has been a beneficiary of what others have achieved.⁴⁰⁰

There is a close parallel between the Society's emphasis on "veneration for its men and women of mark" and the review's policy of publishing biographical studies of significant coloured men. However, African social customs were not totally neglected, despite this emphasis on the individual great man. The review's major effort in that direction was the series of articles by the former Freetown Postmaster, James C. Smith under the title "West African Marriage Customs", defending as well as illustrating and explaining the traditional marriage system of the interior of Sierra Leone.⁴⁰¹

The review kept a careful eye through its book reviews on any work having any bearing on Africa or Asia. A sample of a few issues of the

399. ATOR, Christmas 1912, p.27.

400. *ibid*, p.26.

401. James C. Smith, "West African Marriage Customs", ATOR, August 1912, pp.55-6; September 1912, pp.90-2; October 1912, pp.125-7; February-March 1913, pp.245-7.

review gives a fair impression of the nature and scope of these. Thus, in July 1912, there were reviews of three works on Africa and a novel with an Afro-American context. The African works were, Light for John Bull on the Morocco Question with a Note on Tripoli, an anti-French and Italian polemical work by the magazine's own Charles Rosher, which was naturally received with approval; Mrs. Mary Grant's Alone in West Africa, which was condemned as an example of the 'intrepid English gentlewoman among black savages' genre; and Captain Orr's The Making of Northern Nigeria, a classic of early colonialist writing from Nigeria, which was received as a valuable work.⁴⁰² The comments made on Mrs. Grant and Captain Orr are of some interest. The former was ridiculed for having claimed to be "alone" - it was pointed that throughout she had the help and support of a variety of West Africans; and her opinion of Sierra Leone Creoles gave offence;

She hurls ridicule at the Sunday clothes of the respectable coloured youths and maidens of Freetown ... with a wordy superficiality that takes the breath away.⁴⁰³

Orr, on the other hand, was quoted at length and with great approval on the genuine religious feeling behind the jihad of Usman dan Fodio, the superiority of Islam over Christianity as a religion for Negroes, and on the need for the colonial authorities to support native rulers.⁴⁰⁴

402. For these reviews, all unsigned, see ATOR, July 1912, pp.21-5.

403. *ibid*, p.22.

404. *ibid*, pp.24-5.

All this may seem, from the present time, nothing but the standard apologetics of indirect rule in Northern Nigeria, and it may seem bizarre to find the magazine commending aspects of a system which it was in other respects bitterly opposed to. Yet it should be remembered that what was found obnoxious about indirect rule was not its respect (whether genuine or feigned) for African culture, but its deprivation of westernised educated African subjects of traditional British rights. Furthermore, the reviewer picked out Captain Orr's defence of the African against the common charge of idleness; his appreciation of African labour in constructing the Northern Nigerian Railway; and his belief in the superiority of African peasant over European plantation cotton cultivation in Northern Nigeria.⁴⁰⁵ As for the novel reviewed in the same batch, it was clearly a much more lightweight production - The Valley of Shadows, by Stephen Swift⁴⁰⁶ - on the theme of American Slavery, and expressing all the correct liberal sentiments.

Moving on to February-March 1913, one finds a long review article by Dr. W. Macgregor Reid of John Harris' Dawn in Darkest Africa.⁴⁰⁷ Not only was exception taken to the fact that the book had an introduction by (and, in effect the imprimatur of) the Earl of Cromer, but also the

405. *ibid.*

406. *ibid.*, p.26.

407. ATOR, February-March 1913, pp.257-63. The writer has been unable to find out more about the reviewer, Dr. Macgregor Reid, apart from the fact that he was a regular contributor to the ATOR and supporter of the causes that its editor was fighting for between 1912 and 1921.

whole thesis of a 'Dark Continent', lacking any past but savagery and horror, was indignantly rejected. For example, the review contrasted an African past of liberty and communal law with the atrocities of Leopold's Congo and the racial prejudice and exploitation by big business in British West Africa. It asserted that "Africa belongs to the Africans" and in general was a powerful counterblast to Harris, who was at that time one of the most eminent proponents, as secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, of the school that wished to 'protect' the 'child races' of Africa from their own ways as well as from external forces. On the other hand, the same issue of the magazine ridiculed a shilling booklet purporting to provide a short cut to genius via so-called Indian occult wisdom.⁴⁰⁸ Thus, there was no automatic praise for writing claiming to represent African or Asian thought.

Popular writing was carefully scrutinised for matter bearing on Africa or Asia. Perhaps this was only to be expected from an editor who had himself witnessed for so many years on the stage the force of colour prejudice in British popular culture. One of the most interesting examples of a book review of this type appeared in the issue for April 1913, when A.E.W. Mason's enormously popular novel The Four Feathers was reviewed by Kathleen Fraser.⁴⁰⁹ Mason's novel has surely been read by

408. *ibid*, pp.263-4.

409. ATOR, April 1913, pp.318-20.

millions over the years, and can be regarded as a major event in the popular culture of British Imperialism in Africa.⁴¹⁰ The reviewer's reaction to the book could best be summarised by her own words;

It is the old story, and the whole story of England's vaunted Imperialism. Not only is there robbery and repression, but we find scorn and contempt for the robbed and oppressed.⁴¹¹

For good measure, this review included some highly critical and uncomplimentary remarks about the Earl of Cromer.

Though so concerned to keep a watchful eye on British writing about the Afro-Asian world, the African Times and Orient Review by no means neglected the works of contemporary coloured writers. Thus, in the same issue that reviewed The Four Feathers, appeared a most commendatory review of The Soul of the Indian by Charles A. Eastman, one of the most distinguished American Indian intellectuals of the day.⁴¹² The inclusion of

410. For a brief summary of Mason's novel's place in the popular culture of British Imperialism, see Chapter II, n.102 p.61. Kathleen Fraser is not known to the writer outside her ATOR contributions. She was clearly interested in and knowledgeable about race affairs: see her article "Frederick Douglass", ATOR, August 1913, pp.55-6.

411. ATOR, April 1913, p.319.

412. For the review of Charles A. Eastman's book, The Soul of the Indian, London 1911, see ATOR, April 1913, pp.320-21. For the story of Eastman's life, see his From the Deep Woods to Civilisation: Chapters in the Autobiography of an Indian, London 1916. Eastman was also a contributor to the Universal Races Congress in 1911; see his paper "The North American Indian", in Spiller (ed.), Papers on Inter-Racial Problems, pp.367-76.

this work in its book reviews is a clear illustration of the magazine's wide ranging interest in all non-European peoples and cultures. The work by Duse' Mohamed Ali's black American admirer William H. Ferris, The African Abroad, was given a glowing notice in October 1913.⁴¹³ This was to be expected of a work which highly praised Duse' Mohamed Ali himself; but this was perhaps more than a case of mere mutual admiration. The book was a monumental example of the genre that attempted to demonstrate the capacity of Africans and those of African descent by expounding the deeds and virtues of their great men, past and present.

On occasion, book reviews were used to attack men and ideas within the Afro-Asian world that in some way the magazine was at loggerheads with. A fine example of such a review is that of W.E.B. Du Bois' Darkwater, reviewed in June 1920 by William H. Ferris, and pursuing to the full partisan pro-Booker T. Washington sentiments. What particularly annoyed Ferris here was the claim by the publishers that Du Bois, even more than Washington had been, was the chief spokesman of the world's coloured peoples. This called forth a tirade;

When we consider how one of Du Bois 'Close Ranks' editorials and his aspiring to be captain in the U.S. Army and editor of the Crisis at the same time was raked fore and aft by the Negro Press of the country in the summer of 1918 and how the Washington division of the N.A.A.C.P. rose in open rebellion, it tempts one to ... interrogation ...

But it is not our purpose in this revue to go into the extravagant and exaggerated claims of Dr. Du Bois' friends and followers. We will not consider whether Oswald Garrison Villard was spiritually

413. ATOR, October 1913, pp.169-70. The review is unsigned. Ferris' view of Duse' Mohamed Ali and the ATOR is discussed in Part III of this chapter.

blind when he recognised Du Bois as the only intellectual luminary on the African plane. We will not consider whether Du Bois is too aristocratic and hypercritical, too touchy and sensitive, too dainty and fastidious, too high and holy to lead the masses of his race. We will not consider whether Du Bois did or did not make fatal blunders when he attempted to referee the work and worth of other coloured men ... We believe that, if our Anglo-Saxon friends and well wishers will cease trying to select leaders for the Negro race, thereby putting men in positions which their natural tastes and aptitudes and previous training and preparation unfit them for, there would be more peace and harmony within the black ranks.⁴¹⁴

Du Bois was accused of having "no constructive plan and programme", unlike Booker T. Washington, who had these, even if in some respects defectively.⁴¹⁵

The book was dismissed as irrelevant to the demands of the black masses;

'Darkwater' is an amazing revelation of the soul of a cultured, refined Negro of mixed blood. We see in it the agony of soul of a Negro of mixed blood, writhing and twisting and turning in the cage in which the Anglo-Saxon has confined it. It is the white blood of Du Bois crying for its own. It is the disinherited coloured offspring of the Caucasian, weeping and wailing and cursing and damning because he has been disinherited by his Caucasian brother ... But, while the black and brown masses resent the exploitation of Africa by Europeans, and lynching, restricted economic and industrial opportunity, jimcrowism, segregation and disfranchisement in America as keenly as Du Bois does, they are not as sensitive about social ostracism as Du Bois and the mulattoes, quadroons and octoroons are.⁴¹⁶

This attack may seem unduly vituperative. But to place it in context, not only was Ferris by this period probably an associate of Garvey in the

414. William H. Ferris, review of W.E.B. Du Bois Darkwater: voices from within the veil, London 1920, in AOR, June 1920, p.20.

415. ibid, p.23.

416. ibid, p.22.

Universal Negro Improvement Association and therefore a party to the open feud between Garvey and Du Bois,⁴¹⁷ but the review also had a grudge against Du Bois dating back to the days of its foundation, when Duse' Mohamed Ali had taken offence at the dampening view held by him of its prospects.⁴¹⁸

As well as reviewing works by non-European writers, the African Times and Orient Review also printed, over the years, a large body of verse by Africans, Afro-Americans and Asians. Undoubtedly the most regularly published African poet was Kobina Sekyi. His poems were, however, not overtly political but invariably short romantic and lyrical works. The same could be said of the many poems (in English) by a Japanese, Gonnoske Komai, which the review presented.⁴¹⁹ On the other hand, some of the large body of Afro-American verse carried by the review had an overt tone of race pride and assertion of black cultural values.⁴²⁰ From time to time verses by Duse' Mohamed Ali himself were

417. For the conflict between Du Bois and Garvey, see Cronon, Black Moses, pp56-7 & 130-1 and for Ferris' association with Garvey, *ibid*, pp.35 & 46 which mentions Ferris as "the able William H. Ferris" to whom Garvey "soon turned over most of the burden of editing the paper" (i.e. the Negro World). Cronon gives no date for the start of the Garvey-Ferris relationship.

418. Du Bois' answer to the symposium questions had been "I think it would be a good thing if a review like yours could be supported in London, but I do not see how it could possibly pay" - an answer that was fully justified by events. Duse' Mohamed Ali's annoyed rejoinder was "Dr. Burghardt Du Bois is, to say the least, disappointing and pointless." ATOR, July 1912, pp.13-14.

419. For an example of Kobina Sekyi's verse as published in the review, see "A Stifled Dawn", AOR, February 1920, p.8. For an example of Gonnoske Komai's verse in the review, see AOR, July 1920, p.27.

420. An example of such Afro-American verse is quoted and discussed on p.364 below.

published under the pseudonym "Delta". These made satirical comments on British Imperialism.⁴²¹

The review showed great interest in black roles - and black performers - in the performing arts. In the review's first issue a current performance of Othello, with Beerbohm Tree in the lead, was attacked for its portrayal of the Moor as light-skinned;

Burbage, the actor, ... made 'Othello' black. David Garrick, Charles Kean and John Kemble all made up the Moor black, as Shakespeare intended he should be. The Continental actors have always made him black, thereby bearing out the express language contained in the text. It was reserved for the American actors to introduce him as a sort of washed out mulatto, and as the 'leading' latter day lights of the English stage - following the trend of American 'artistic' improvements and vulgar opinion, which sees nothing good in the black man - have revised the old-established order, grading the colour of the Moor chocolate brown to roseate pink, we can quite conceivably expect to see 'Othello' - save the mark! - masquerading as an Anglo-Saxon.⁴²²

Though unsigned, this was surely from the editor's hand. It is to be doubted that any other person connected with the review had his knowledge of the stage, and would have felt quite so keenly the 'whitewashing' of a black part. In the attribution of the 'whitening' of Othello to American influence, we see again his belief in the malign influence of America on British life. At the end of the review's life span, we find further criticism of London productions of Othello, in January and March

421. See for example "Poor Pompey's Plea to Caesar (Every Briton is a Caesar)", ATOR, July 1912, p.25.

422. ATOR, July 1912, p.33.

1920,⁴²³ with interesting reminiscences by Duse' Mohamed Ali on different Othellos he had seen over the years; as might be expected, his preferences were for those actors who had made the Moor unequivocally Negro. In August 1920, reviewing the play The Garden of Allah, Duse' Mohamed Ali took exception to references to the Muslim people of Algiers as children.⁴²⁴ It would be a fair generalisation that most of his theatre criticism written for the review contained some assertion of race pride.

The review took great satisfaction in extolling the achievements of famous contemporary Negro artists. There was no equivalent in the years 1912-1920 of the great Ira Aldridge, but there were one or two Negroes of international repute in the world of music. Two of these received marked attention. The first of these was the Anglo-West African composer Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, still remembered in amateur choral circles, and until his early death a few months after the review came into existence, one of the most eminent men in British music, with an international reputation. The acclamation given by all sections of the American community to Coleridge-Taylor in the United States was a source of deep race pride and inspiration to black American contemporaries;⁴²⁵

423. AOR, January 1920, pp.12-14, on the production of Othello at the Scala Theatre, and AOR, March 1920, pp.13-17, on the production at the New Theatre.

424. AOR, August 1920, p.16.

425. For S. Coleridge-Taylor's influence in the United States, see Ellsworth Jannifer, "Samuel Coleridge-Taylor in Washington", Phylon, 28, 2, 1967, pp.185-96.

His rising eminence naturally had special meaning among the colored people of the United States during the early years of the present century. Lampooned and ridiculed in cheap minstrel songs which were sweeping the country and forming a negative image of them both nationally and internationally, Negroes were almost totally excluded from all phases of American cultural and social life. ... To Negro Americans he was a champion - a symbol of race pride and cultural fulfillment un-attainable in their native land.⁴²⁶

One might add that to Duse Mohamed Ali, Coleridge-Taylor could well have served as a symbol of attainable status in his adopted land. The composer's opinion on the outlook for the new magazine had been sought by way of the "Symposium" in its first issue. His sympathetic answer throws interesting light on a man not usually thought of in political terms;

I certainly feel that the issue of a newspaper such as the African Times and Orient Review will be a most interesting event. Whether it will or will not be appreciated by the British public is, however, a point on which I am not so certain.

There is, of course, a large section of the British people interested in the coloured races; but it is generally speaking a commercial interest only. Some of these may possibly be interested in the aims and desires of the coloured peoples; but taking them on the whole, I fancy one accomplished fact carries far more weight than a thousand aims and desires, regrettable though it may be.

It seems that the different sections of the whites are not even interested in the aims of each other (excepting, perhaps, financially), and I doubt if more than a few will be inclined to study the aspirations of those of another race.

Therefore, it is imperative that this venture be heartily supported by the coloured people themselves, so that it shall be absolutely independent of the whites as regards circulation. Such independence will probably appeal to the average Britisher far more than anything else, and will ultimately arouse his attention and interest - even his support.

That some medium for promoting a better understanding between Orient and Occident is wanted goes without saying; and as the African Times and Orient Review is setting itself out to be such a medium, it will be welcomed by all thoughtful and unprejudiced people as something which fulfills a long-felt want.⁴²⁷

After Coleridge-Taylor's untimely death, the September 1912 issue of the review was designated as a "Coleridge-Taylor Memorial Number". The kernel of this was an appreciation by the editor which made clear the basis of his admiration - as contemporary black Americans would have said, he was a good 'race man';

Ever proud of his race, ever proud of his achievements, because of the benefits those achievements were likely to confer upon the people of his father.

He knew the darker races to be so indiscriminately villified, and their intellectual abilities so frequently under-rated, that he always believed himself a pioneer for good, and a living testimony to their intellectual possibilities.⁴²⁸

Coleridge-Taylor's memorial concert was reported in November 1912, with details of the notables who attended in tribute to the dead man; and the review launched its own memorial fund.⁴²⁹

427. ATOR, July 1912, pp.16-17; see *ibid*, p.13, for Dusé Mohamed Ali's comments on Coleridge-Taylor's remarks, which were accepted with approval contrasting strongly with his response to Du Bois' laconic pessimism.

428. Dusé Mohamed, "The Late Samuel Coleridge-Taylor. The Man and his Music", ATOR, September 1912, pp.81-3.

429. *ibid*, p.81.

430. For the memorial concert, see ATOR, November 1912, p.154; for the ATOR memorial fund for S. Coleridge-Taylor, see ATOR, February-March 1913, p.264.

This interest in Samuel Coleridge-Taylor was echoed towards the end of the review's existence by enthusiastic attention to the great black American singer, Roland Hayes. His performances were reported during his European debut in 1920 in London, which Duse' Mohamed Ali helped to arrange - and Hayes was presented with a formal document of appreciation from black admirers in the ATOR circle.⁴³¹

Even more striking than praise of individual black achievements was the embracing by the review of the concept "black is beautiful", asserting the comeliness of black men and women, and rejecting the then commonly held view that Negroes were hideous. As "Sothis" wrote in April 1913, "We are concerned with the claptrap usually pasted on to the African by would-be wiseacres - the receding forehead, dolicocephalic ... ad infinitum!"⁴³² From time to time the review published items lauding blackness - for example a poem "The Child of the Night", by an Afro-American poet, Walter Everette Hawkins, which appeared in the Christmas 1912 number.⁴³³ This

431. For the AOR's publicity for Roland Hayes appearance in London in 1920, see AOR, July 1920, p.47 and AOR, December 1920, pp.28-30. This latter included the formal document of appreciation presented to him by Duse' Mohamed Ali, and, among others, Oguntola Sapara, Casely Hayford, and G.H. O'Dwyer, a member of a leading Calabar merchant family of Sierra Leonean origin - for this family, see Allister Macmillan, Red Book of West Africa, London 1920, pp.124-5. Another signatory was T.A. Doherty, of Lagos, then lodging as a student in Duse's house, but in 1932 to be, as editor of the Nigerian Daily Telegraph, Duse's employer and benefactor; information to the writer from Chief T.A. Doherty, Lagos, 1967. For Duse' Mohamed Ali's role in arranging Roland Hayes' European debut, see Khalil Mahmud, introduction to In The Land Of The Pharaohs, 2nd ed., p. xviii-xix.

432. ATOR, April 1913, p.304.

433. ATOR, Christmas 1912, p.20. Ibid, pp.61-6, has a review by "W.F.H." (W.F. Hutchison?) of several of Hawkin's works, and a brief sketch of his life.

began with the lines;

Born of the night am I,
 I am its son;
 Scorn for the light have I,
 Paleness I shun.
 Blackness was over me when I was born;
 I court the night spirits and scoff at the morn;
 Midnight and ebony my features adorn.
 Blacking the light I am,
 Backing the night I am,
 Child of the night am I
 I am its son.

But the most remarkable effort made by the review in the "black is beautiful" direction was the beauty competition it ran in 1920. Though this may seem a descent to the banal world of circulation boosting stunts, the editor presented the competition in serious terms;

It has been customary for Europeans to select the most unprepossessing woman of colour of some primitive tribe, publishing her portrait under the style, 'An African Beauty'.

We know that there are remarkably beautiful types of Ethiopic womanhood, and we desire to find the most beautiful for the enlightenment of our unlightened European readers and the edification of our dark-hued friends. Consequently, we expect every reader throughout Africa, the United States of America, the West Indies and South America to seek out the most beautiful coloured women of Negro origin and send her photograph.⁴³⁴

There was a considerable response, even if not on quite the scale exhorted. Despite the incongruity of such a competition in a serious magazine, there can be no doubt that it was completely in accord with "Sothis'" remarks of seven years previously; any incongruity was of style, not concept.

434. AOR, May 1920, p.47.

Dusé Mohamed Ali's animus against institutionalised Christianity as a white man's religion was evident enough from the days of his writing for The New Age. It also, as we have seen, was inferred by much of his editorial writing in his review - on such topics as the fate of the Ottoman Empire, or the hypocrisy of the British, with their exploitive industrial civilisation, sending missionaries to Africa and the Orient - that Christianity was normally to be counted among the coloured man's enemies. On the other hand, this was never precisely formulated as such. It may be concluded that one of the reasons for this was that many of the review's readers in Britain, West Africa and the United States were Christians, and though as black men sensitive about white domination in their churches, nevertheless equally likely to resent root and branch rejection of Christianity as such. The potential difficulties which might arise here were illustrated by advice to drop militant support for Islam against Christianity, tendered in The Lagos Standard in February 1917.⁴³⁵ Though welcoming the review's return, the Lagos paper requested the elimination of religious matters from its columns, or, if they must be included, they should only be from the pens of readers. The blunt warning was given, "The Editorial staff must stay out of it."

If one looks back to the 1912-1914 era in the review's history, one can see what lay behind The Lagos Standard's irritation, for the review gave considerable space in that period to Islamic apologetics, often of

435. Quoted in ATOR, April 1917, pp.76-7.

a directly anti-Christian hue. These were not from the editor's pen (though, as will be seen in the next chapter, he did contribute articles of this sort to contemporary journals), the chief author of such being the Indian Ahmadi missionary, Khwaja Kamal ud-Din, who was to become a close associate of the editor in various other activities.⁴³⁶ A

typical Khwaja Kamal ud-Din contribution was the article "Cross versus Crescent" which appeared in the number for December-January 1913.⁴³⁷

In this, clerical fanaticism in Britain against Islam, particularly in the context of the recent Balkan war, was accused of reviving the mediaeval era of Holy wars. Though stressing that Ahmadis, following the teachings of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, believed jihad to be justified only in defence of Islam, and that "Muhammaddans in India have no reason or just occasion to raise the standard of insurrection against the Government" yet it was "their religious duty to help their brethren in Islam."

Further, "circumstances brought into existence by the Christians in Europe"

436. According to a potted biography of Khwaja Kamal ud-Din published in the ATOR, Christmas 1912, p.93, he was born in Lahore in 1871, was educated at Foreman Mission College, Lahore and Punjab University where he took a medal in Political Economy. Subsequently, he became Professor of history and Economics at an Islamic Arts College, and in 1898 joined the bar and became a successful advocate. He nearly became a Christian, but instead adhered to the teachings of the Muslim reformer Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, regarded by many orthodox Muslims as heretical. His later career was as an Ahmadiyya religious teacher, first in India, and then in Britain, where he had arrived shortly before the publication of this article. His association with Luse Mohamed Ali in London is fully discussed in Chapter V.

437. Khwaja Kamal ud-Din, "Cross Versus Crescent", ATOR, December-January 1913, pp.197-8.

could turn Pan-Islamism, "as yet a myth, and an invention of some priestly schemer against Islam", from a myth into a reality. Among other contributors on Muslim and anti-Christian themes were converts to Islam, Marmaduke Pickthall and Khalid Sheldrake, both of whom were associates of the editor's in activities outside the field of journalism,⁴³⁸ and Ellis Schaap, who issued "An Open Letter to Lord Kinnaird and the World's Evangelical Alliance" in the review's October 1912 number, attacking Christian missions to Islamic countries as aggressive and superfluous, and denouncing the churches as accomplices of white Imperialism.⁴³⁹ Instances of pro-Muslim and anti-Christian articles in the review could be multiplied at length, but the point has perhaps been sufficiently made that the editor was prepared to publish even blunter attacks of this kind from contributors than he was in the habit of including in his editorials.

No other non-Christian religion received this degree of backing, but in the review's first year or so considerable emphasis was given to Buddhism in Ceylon, articles being published on leading Buddhist

438. Khalid Sheldrake had an article appealing for funds to build a mosque in London in the first issue in July 1912, p.20. For an example of Marmaduke Pickthall's writings in the review, see "Reflections on the Turkish Treaty", AOR, August 1912, pp.111-2.

439. Ellis Schaap, "Open Letter to Lord Kinnaird and the world Evangelical Alliance", ATOR, October 1912, pp.116-7.

clergy there and on Buddhist conflicts with the British authorities.⁴⁴⁰

At that time, Ceylon's Buddhists were becoming self-assertive for the first time since the unsuccessful rebellions of the mid-nineteenth century, and this has been recognised recently by the Ceylonese historian K.R.

de Silva as a hitherto overlooked element in the growth of modern Ceylonese nationalism.⁴⁴¹

The great issue around which Buddhist resentment crystallised was the Colombo Government's policy of raising revenue through taxation on alcohol. This offended Buddhist traditions of abstinence.

It is remarkable that the African Times and Orient Review discovered this issue, attacked the Ceylon Government's policy editorially, and opened its columns to Buddhist spokesmen, showing a remarkably sensitive

440. e.g. see unsigned article "Ceylon - Drunkenness by Act of Parliament", ATOR, October 1912, pp.117-8; the editor commented on this article that as the Ceylonese People regarded Government as directly carrying out the King's orders, the creation of Government distilleries in a land whose religion enjoined total abstinence indirectly affected loyalty to the sovereign. In the same issue, pp.131-4, there was an unsigned article on the Buddhist leadership in Ceylon entitled "The Great Buddhist and his Colleagues"; it seems likely that only a Ceylonese could have been responsible for these articles. Possibly this was the K. Sri Nanissara who contributed an article on "Buddhism in a Nutshell" in ATOR, June 1913, pp.392-3.

441. See K.R. de Silva, "The Formation and Character of the Ceylon National Congress 1917-1919", Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies, 10, 1 & 2, 1967, pp.70-3.

'nose' for a significant but then rather obscure topic.⁴⁴² This example of the truly world wide vision of the African Times and Orient Review is perhaps a suitable note on which to conclude this survey of its "Policies, Campaigns and Causes".

442. *ibid*, p.71, de Silva opines "The Buddhist revival and its ancillary movement, the temperance agitation, one sees in retrospect as an integral part of the recovery of national pride in all parts of Asia." In *ibid*, p.70 he notes that this movement "identified the government with Christianity and Christianity with a corrupt way of life." This attitude would, of course, have been very congenial to the ATOR.

III : Influence and Impact

There are considerable difficulties in estimating the African Times and Orient Review's influence and impact, and from the outset it must be understood that an impression rather than an exact calculation is all that can be achieved. Clearly, by the very nature of things, only partial and to some extent random data on the influence of such a magazine survives to be unearthed. But additional to such hazards are two others. Firstly, it is necessary to recognise that the editor had many other strings to his bow during the years 1912-1920 - produce trading, organising a war charity, organising Islamophile and Turkophile pressure groups, participating in African organisations in London, writing for other magazines⁴⁰³ to name only a selection. Naturally, most of these had some connection with the review, if only that the review was a useful medium to advertise them; furthermore, 158 Fleet Street was used as a headquarters for many of these activities. They continued to flourish there even at times when the review was in abeyance. Clearly, they connect in some sense with the review's "influence and impact". However, their extent and other affiliations warrants them being given separate treatment, and they will not be considered in this chapter. Secondly, there is a related problem - how far is it possible to disentangle the influence of the review from that of Dusé? This is perhaps even more difficult, since on the one hand the review was far from the sum total of his life between 1912 and 1920, but on the other, as a small scale

403. These activities are considered in Chapters V & VI of this thesis.

operation, the review was dominated by him. Nevertheless, the attempt has been made here to include only material that clearly reflects his influence through his editorial activity.

Before looking at some more objective evidence, it is of interest to see the claims the review made at intervals over its first two years for itself. In the Christmas 1912 number, emphasis was put on the impact in Britain of its Zaria revelations;

... we have in some measure enlightened the right-thinking and influential section of the British Public, we have succeeded in winning many of them over to our views. Such opposite sections of the British Press as 'Truth' and 'The British Congregationalist' have come to our rescue, jointly lamenting the unfortunate Zaria incident, and demanding a fuller enquiry into the methods of the responsible official. Mr. Joseph King, the member for Somerset, deserves the highest appreciation ... ; for his fearless attitude and insistence that the British Colonial Secretary should investigate the ... Zaria whipping ... prove that there are numberless Englishmen who are not merely politicians. ... It must be borne in mind that the Zaria incident occurred on the 15th day of February 1912 - five months after we came into existence - and the first mention made in any paper published in Great Britain was in the pages of the African Times and Orient Review of July, and as we reverted to the matter in each subsequent issue, we at length succeeded in drawing attention to the grievance, which resulted in Mr. King's questions in October and November respectively, and the notices appearing in 'Truth' and 'The British Congregationalist'.

Also, credit was claimed for drawing the attention of Parliament to rubber collection in Nigeria;

... the Native Council Rule No.1 (1912) was published in July, and it was not until Mr. Rosher's excellent cartoon, the publication of the section of the Ordinance, and our comments thereon in the columns of our November number, that the members of the British Parliament knew of the existence of this Ordinance and Mr. Wedgewood was sufficiently informed to put the question to Mr. Harcourt in that month.

The review considered that the above efforts, together with its expounding the views of the coloured man the world over, allowed it to regard itself as having redeemed its initial pledges.⁴⁰⁴

At the end of its first year, Duse' Mohamed Ali made similar claims about influence in West African affairs, together with a suggestion of influence in the 1912 American presidential election;

... we have howled to some effect. A few Governors of colonies have heard our cry, and the British Colonial Office have often wished that we had not cried so lustily. For have they not appointed a new commission to enquire into West African Land Tenure? We do not claim all the credit for these achievements, but we do know that our efforts have had some weight in the deliberations of the Mighty. Even the great Roosevelt could not ignore us, and we know that we had some influence on his presidential chances.⁴⁰⁵

Moving on to May 1914, we find an editorial still talking about Zaria, but also claiming new triumphs which, it suggested, had also created powerful enemies;

His Excellency Sir Frederick Lugard has arrived in England having been called home by a cablegram from the Colonial Office. The Provincial Courts Ordinance has been hung up in the meanwhile, and we do not hesitate to say that the African Times and Orient Review has 'been and gone and done it', with the Whipping Ordinance even as it scotched the aggressive methods in Zaria some eighteen months ago and saved Adrianople to the Turkish Empire. So far good. But we are still on the watch and we shall not lull ourselves to rest in a cradle of false security. We learn from authentic sources that we are 'black listed', both at the British Foreign and at the Colonial Office. To be 'black listed' means that we shall be watched. Reports will be circulated about us, in order that we may be discredited. Many of these statements will spring from

404. Editorial to ATOR, Christmas 1912, n.p.

405. ATOR, June 1913, p.369.

our own people who would rather have the smile and promised preferment of those in authority than fight for the highest good of the country. For like the poor, the sycophant and the traitor are ever with us.⁴⁰⁶

In the review's 1917-1918 and 1920 series, there was much less of a tendency to chalk up successes. On the other hand, it is evident that in 1920 the review had little impact on the new force in Egyptian nationalism, the Wafd, even though Sa'd Zaghlul's visit to London in that year might be supposed to have offered an opportunity in that direction. But the Wafd, unlike the Egyptian National Party in its latter years, was a firmly Egyptian based organisation, and one would not expect it to have a great interest in emigré politics. Duse Mohamed Ali was given an interview with Zaghlul at the Carlton Hotel,⁴⁰⁷ and later a further interview was given to a reporter from the review.⁴⁰⁸ But it is evident that no close rapport was established. Information given was limited to the uninformative statement that "negotiations with the British Government were not completed, and that it was not advisable at that date to state exactly what demands of the delegation had been ceded, but His Excellency is satisfied with the progress made so far as it goes, and he has every hope of realising the claims he has made..."⁴⁰⁹ This was merely a polite "no comment". Years later, in 1936, Duse Mohamed Ali made the following

406. ATOR, 5th May 1914, p.147.

407. AOR, July 1920, p.48.

408. AOR, August 1920, p.44.

409. ibid.

sour comments on Zaghlul and his one and only meeting with him;

Zaghlul in my humble opinion was not a leader. His ideas were not those of diplomacy. I met him in London. He was not the man with the creative mind. He could not have successfully carried through the recent Treaty negotiations. He possessed little English, which was a distinct disadvantage in British diplomacy. He was honest but belonged to an old school of thought. Nahas Pasha is an intellectual giant compared with Zaghlul.⁴¹⁰

This reads much like slighted dignity. No doubt Zaghlul was as unimpressed by Duse' Mohamed Ali's lack of Arabic as Duse' was by Zaghlul's scant English, and considered that to be a "distinct disadvantage" for an Egyptian nationalist. Though in December 1920 the Africa and Orient Review welcomed the acceptance of the Milner Commission's findings by the British Government, it did so with a tone of hurt dignity;

... we are glad to note that many of the views expressed by the Editor of the African Times and Orient Review, both in these columns, and in ... 'In The Land Of The Pharaohs' - have been accepted and embodied in the Egyptian settlement ...

We have not received any credit for our assistance and advice either from the British Government or from our compatriots, but we do not mind in the least. Egypt will have a fair measure of independence and we are satisfied.⁴¹¹

Thus, it is possible to see, from the various assertions made by the review, areas in which it felt it was making some impression, even if sometimes a negative one. These were, West Africa, especially Nigeria; in Britain, especially among 'sympathetic' politicians and journals; in the United States; and in Turkish affairs. Added to these can be

410. The Comet, 29th August 1936, p.7.

411. AOR, December, 1920, p.59.

the supposed malign interest of the Colonial and Foreign Offices, plus the calumny of coloured "sycophants" and "traitors".

Much of this can be at least partly corroborated from other evidence. Let us begin with the question of its influence in feeding information to various members of Parliament on West African abuses. Here, there is a difficulty in that the asking of a question in the House of Commons on a topic that also appeared in the African Times and Orient Review does not prove a direct connection between the questioner and the review. Thus, in 1912-1913, there were numbers of questions in the Commons on Sir William Lever's concessions in West Africa,⁴¹² but the members concerned could have obtained their information equally well through other channels, such as the Gold Coast A.R.P.S., the Lagos Auxiliary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, or even more likely from the London Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, the traditional British 'guardian' of African interests. Thus, a clear division must be made between the possible and the proven extent of the review's connections with sympathetic Members of Parliament. However, about the questions asked by Josiah Wedgewood on the so-called Nigerian

412. For example, see the series of questions put to Colonial Secretary Harcourt, on the proposed Lever Bros. concessions in the Gold Coast, by Mr. A. Lyttleton, Mr. J. Wedgewood and Mr. Moore, on 13th November 1912 - see Hansard 1912, XLIII, pp.1967-8; and the questions put by Mr. Touche to Harcourt, on Lever's Sierra Leone concessions, on 24th April 1913 - see Hansard, 1913, LXII, pp.519-20.

Rubber Ordinance and Joseph King on the Zaria Incident there can be little doubt.⁴¹³ The review would hardly have exposed itself to the possibility of an embarrassing disclaimer from these men.

The British Congregationalist (of which King was the editor) and Truth carried the articles referred to by the review in its Christmas 1912 issue.⁴¹⁴ Neither acknowledged the African Times and Orient Review as their source, but both stuck very closely to the review's version of events. It is hard to see from where else this information could have come except the West African press - a rather more unlikely source. It is interesting to note that the British Congregationalist, an organ of nonconformist radicalism, agreed with Dusé Mohamed Ali on the effects of the intrusion of 'unsuitable' types into the Colonial Office;

The chief fault in modern colonial administration - and the same remark applies to our Indian Civil Service - nowadays is that fewer gentlemen with refined instincts are finding their way into these services. We would point out that it is useless to expect either tactfulness or manners - both of which are indispensable in the government of natives - from men who have come of a rough-hewn stock and who have inherited neither of these qualities, but only brains and the ability to pass academic examinations.⁴¹⁵

413. For Wedgwood's question, to the Colonial Sec., 20th November 1912, see Hansard, 1912, XLIV, p.272; for Joseph King's, 16th October 1912, see ibid, XLII, p.1202. King asked the Colonial Sec. a further question on Resident Laing's treatment of Taylor and Hall on 7th November 1912; see ibid, XLIII, p.1441. And as late as 27th January 1913, Mr. Molteno asked Harcourt if clerks Taylor and Hall had in fact subsequently been dismissed the Government service; see ibid, XLVII, p.990. In all these cases Harcourt refuted the allegations made or implied and refused to concede that there was any cause for alarm or need for redress.
414. See British Congregationalist and Examiner, 5th December 1912, p.868, and Truth, 23rd October 1912, p.972 & 13th November 1912, pp.1159-60.
415. British Congregationalist, 5th December 1912, p.868.

To move to less certain ground, twenty-five years after the review first appeared, Duse' Mohamed Ali claimed to have made a successful approach to the Parliamentary Labour Party to raise African questions in the House of Commons;

Meanwhile the Labour Party was making its presence felt in the House of Commons and the late member, Mr. Poynter (sic), having demonstrated through his activities that the Party was very much alive, I requested Mr. Ramsay MacDonald to form a small Committee that could be depended upon to deal with African and Oriental affairs by asking questions which were daily supplied by me accompanied by the fullest information on the subject matter of those questions. And the fact that the questions subsequently appeared in the columns of the 'African and Orient Review' (sic), Officialdom naturally concluded that they emanated from my office.⁴¹⁶

Little evidence has appeared to substantiate this allegation, and it clearly contains an element of exaggeration. It is hardly possible to conceive of a "daily" supply of information, or that the Labour Party would simply act as a mouthpiece without exercising its own political judgement. Some sort of contact and supply of questions is, however, credible. A detailed recent study of British anti-Imperialism of the period 1895-1914, Bernard Porter's Critics of Empire (London 1968), makes no mention of this arrangement; but this work is little concerned with Parliamentary opposition to Imperialism, being more concerned with theoretical and ideological currents. There is a scrap of circumstantial evidence in the editorial of the African Times and Orient Review for 19th May 1914, which praises the Labour member Pointer for questions in the House about Fiji, West Africa and in particular the case of the flogging

416. "Leaves", in The Comet, 27th November 1937, p.7.

in Nigeria of a black man called Ben Nicholls.⁴¹⁷ The Nicholls case had been raised in the review. But the connection between the review and Labour Party interest in the Commons in African and Asian Imperial affairs must remain an unproven possibility.

Even if more positive proofs of Parliamentary influence could be established, there were narrow limits to the help likely to be achieved thereby. It has been shown how the exposure of the Zaria incident was certainly an embarrassment to the Colonial Office, and the officer concerned was privately rebuked; but no public admission of injustice was extracted from the Secretary of State. Over the years, Duse Mohamed Ali became realistically disillusioned about what could be achieved through sympathetic Members of Parliament, as he made clear in April 1920;

From time to time during the past seven years we have ventilated the grievances of these voiceless millions in the pages of this Review. We have enlisted the sympathies of Members of Parliament who have asked questions of responsible Ministers of the Crown, and although these gentlemen promised improvements or investigation, matters have been allowed to drift, and 'vested interests' have stepped in to mar the work of those who were deeply concerned about the future of the Empire and the well-being of its subject peoples.⁴¹⁸

This would perhaps be the best estimate of the influence exerted by the review in Parliamentary circles; it was possible to get grievances aired, but virtually impossible to have them redressed.

417. ATOR, 19th May 1914, p.193.

418. AOR, April 1920, p.45.

In fact, the review found it easier to make enemies than effective friends in ruling circles. Duse' Mohamed Ali's belief that his review was watched with unfriendly eyes by the Colonial Office, the India Office, and the Foreign Office, a piece of information given him by Frank Hugh O'Donnell,⁴¹⁹ was only too well founded. On a number of occasions the review seriously embarrassed the Colonial Office by its revelations of confidential African matters. It could hardly have been unaware of the part played by the review in publicising the Zaria whippings; even if the review's opening salvos in that affair had been overlooked, the Colonial Office's attention would have been drawn by the assiduous Miss Marples, who gave the ATOR a glowing mention in a letter to the Lagos Standard in August 1912, which the Colonial Office noted.⁴²⁰ But as the Secretary of State was able to brazen the matter out in the House, perhaps the Zaria revelations caused no undue alarm.

Far more alarm was caused by an article in the review in October 1913 - "Utopia Unlimited", written by an informant in Zungeru, Northern Nigeria, under the pseudonym "Maganin Karia".⁴²¹ The Colonial Office had little doubt that this man was a black clerk in the Zungeru Secretariat; his article was based on highly confidential material, and entangled the

419. "Leaves", in The Comet, 30th October 1937, p.17.

420. See cutting of Miss Marples's letter to Lagos Standard of 7th August 1912 in C.O. 446/109/20176.

421. "Maganin Karia", "Utopia Unlimited", ATOR, October 1913, pp.138-9.

Colonial Office in a most embarrassing fracas with the formidable and well-connected figure of Sir William Geary Bart., an influential barrister practising in Nigeria.⁴²² The core of the article was a confidential cablegram from Charles Temple to Lugard, then in England;

Geary and Peele, resident in Kano for some time at house of London and Kano trading Company, not engaged in trade but it is to be presumed in exercise of profession, Peele already caused notice serving Emir Kano without reference to in anyway Resident, and as I understand in contravention of order of Supreme Court. Matter receiving attention, meanwhile position Kano unsatisfactory. Presence Geary and Peele worse than missionaries. Suggest Secretary of State requested allow short Proclamation, obligatory persons obtain permission Governor sojourn for the night in native town, as per scheduled list, including towns such as Kano and Zaria. Attorney General agrees immediate action should be taken. Existing legislation inadequate.⁴²³

It is evident that this text was substantially accurate, for in the ensuing row the Colonial Office never attempted to repudiate its authenticity. "Maganin Karia's" remarks on the cablegram rubbed these unpleasant revelations in and added a hint of further inside knowledge of another matter which the Colonial Office wished to hush up - the very high casualties inflicted by a punitive expedition known as the Mada Hills Patrol.⁴²⁴

422. For the circumstances of Geary's becoming a practising barrister in Nigeria, see his Nigeria Under British Rule, London 1927, pp.9-13.

423. This text, taken from "Maganin Karia's" article - see n.421 above - was acknowledged as "apparently" correct, and it was correctly observed that "it is calculated to annoy not only Sir W. Geary and Mr. Peele, but also the missionaries" and "we shall hear more on the subject", in a minute dated 27th November 1913 in C.O. 446/114/41035.

424. See *ibid*, which remarks "there is an obscure reference to the Mada Patrol which looks as though he knew more about the subject than has been made public."

Geary's account of the events in Kano makes the Colonial Office' embarrassment even clearer, though it does mention the ATOR; he and his junior, Peele, were appearing as counsel for a firm "whom the Government sought to eject from their factory in Kano City which they held under rent from the Emir and a payment to the Government."⁴²⁵ In the course of this, he found it necessary to serve a writ on the Emir. One can see how this was an offence against the spirit of one of the most sacred cows of indirect rule, held to even more firmly by Temple than by Lugard - the dignity and authority of a Native Authority, in this case the Emir of Kano. Temple's telegram showed the Government of Nigeria as willing to contemplate legislation specifically for the purpose of removing the counsel of a body it was engaged in litigation with. Its preference for administrative autocracy and dislike of normal judicial procedure could not have been better illustrated. Geary, however, was not expelled; the Colonial Office did not sanction the requested Proclamation, and he stayed to win his case.⁴²⁶

There is no record of any missionary society taking up with the Colonial Office the slight to missionaries in Temple's cablegram. It is not to be supposed that the African Times and Orient Review, with its pronounced anti-missionary and pro-Muslim tone, was much countenanced in mission circles. Geary, on the other hand, was a man whose profession

425. Geary, Nigeria Under British Rule, p.12.

426. *ibid.*

caused him to mix far more in African circles than was common with white men at the time, who had a good knowledge of Lagos public opinion and its organs, and who considered himself sympathetic to the educated African and his point of view.⁴²⁷ It is even possible that he was a subscriber to the review. But by whatever channel he became aware of "Maganin Karia's" disclosures, he was not content to let the matter rest. At the end of November 1913, his solicitors sent a sharp letter to the Colonial Office, in which they demanded "explanation and apology" to their client from the Deputy Governor of Northern Nigeria, and insisted that the cablegram cast a reflection on him and was liable to injure him in his profession. A copy of the ATOR's article was sent with this letter. The Colonial Office decided to stonewall, and replied "that Mr. Harcourt is unable to enter into any discussion with regard to confidential communications which may be received in this country from Colonial

427. Note Geary's remarks in *ibid*, p.14, in defence of the educated Africans of Lagos and the coast; "these Africans combine a hearty dislike and contempt for official methods with an affectionate regard for England, just as many a good Christian has a loathing for the clergy. I have heard the ... wish expressed that West Africa shall be another India. God forbid! The condition of India is not so satisfactory to either the governors or the governed; and let us avoid methods which might lead to similar results. The sound old system in West Africa was to consider the African as an 'Englishman with a black face'. In return the African used to talk about going 'home to England'. A snob might sneer. But this good feeling is the result of the statesmanship of Wilberforce and his friends ... and of Lord Palmerston's ordering the taking of Lagos. Let us take care that no latter day policy, or lesser men, and least of all any 'damn nigger' prejudice, may undo the work of the great men of the past and estrange the love of our adopted children." But the last sentence of this was disingenuous, written in 1927, for with his residence in Lagos from 1900 to 1913, Geary must have known that in the opinion of leaders of African thought there the 'damn nigger' era had already arrived, and was expressed in incidents such as the Zaria whippings of 1912. For the Lagos press reaction to the Zaria incident, see pp. 398-9 below, and Chapter IV, Part II, pp.322-3.

Officials."⁴²⁸ However the Colonial Office also wrote as follows to Lugard about the solicitor's letter and "Maganin Karia's" article;

I do not know whether the text as given is correct, but it is clear that the words referred to are substantially those of the telegram from which you quoted in your despatch Number 76 of the 21st of April last.

It is obvious that a serious leakage of information has taken place in N. Nigeria. You will notice that the telegram referred to above is not the only instance of leakage; in particular I would draw attention to an obscure allusion to the Mada Hills Patrol from which it would seem that the writer has had access to confidential correspondence on the subject.

I have to request that you will make careful enquiry into the matter, with a view both to detecting the person responsible and to the prevention of future occurrences in future (sic).⁴²⁹

Meanwhile, Geary's solicitors were by no means satisfied with the answer to their first letter, and made it clear that though they were not after Temple's head, they did consider that a serious point of principle was involved;

Sir William Geary ... is prepared to assume that Mr. Temple acted bona fide, through a misconception, and without having realised that his proposed action was interference with the course of justice. Sir William Geary presumes that the Secretary of State will not under the plea of confidence justify a proposal which is clearly improper ... any more than if a crime were proposed confidentially.

... Unless a lawyer is at liberty to get up his case he cannot properly present it to the Court. If Mr. Temple's proposal had been carried out Sir William Geary would have been expelled from Kano, and prevented from returning there, and thereby disabled from getting up his case, and his clients would have been prejudiced. The Government was attempting to use administrative power to assist its position as a litigant. The proposition needs only to be stated to be demonstrably indefensible.

428. St. Barbe, Sladen & Wing to S. of S. Harcourt, 28th November 1913, and H.J. Read, C.O., to St. Barbe, Sladen & Wing, 5th December 1912, C.O. 446/114/41149.

429. Draft of Harcourt to Lugard, 8th December 1913, C.O. 446/114/41035.

There may be reasons of policy for excluding lawyers from appearing in really petty disputes between natives and natives, but if the British rule over subject races stands for the cause of justice, parties to serious litigation, especially when the Government is a litigant, must be at liberty to retain legal advisers, and when retained the practitioner must be at liberty to conduct his case as he thinks best in his client's interests.

These considerations are more material as a question of legal re-organization is pending in Nigeria on the amalgamation.⁴³⁰

Thus, this case raised the key points - the exclusion of legal counsel from provincial courts and extension of administrative 'justice' - in objections to the judicial and legal aspects of Lugard's amalgamation plans.⁴³¹ However, in their second reply, the Colonial Office hit on a better riposte than a refusal to discuss confidential official matters; it was pointed out that Geary had, after all, stayed in Kano and won his case, and that "as it does not appear to be alleged that Sir W. Geary's freedom was in any way interfered with, the S. of S. does not see any occasion for pursuing the matter further."⁴³² The affair then died down,

430. St. Barbe, Sladen & Wing to Harcourt, 19th December 1913, in C.O. 446/114/43686.

431. Lugard's proposals not only, as might be expected, enraged African barristers, but even led to the resignation of a member of the Southern Nigerian bench, Mr. Justice Stoker. Stoker was so opposed to the Lugardian judicial system that in 1919 he was prepared to appear as a defence witness in the sensational Fitzpatrick Case, in which the entire Lugardian system was assailed by John Aldred Taylor. These events are discussed in the following chapter. For Stoker's resignation, see Nicolson, Administration of Nigeria, p.204.

432. C.O. to St. Barbe, Sladen & Wing, 30th December 1913, C.O. 446/114/43686.

and perhaps the review never knew of the trouble it had given the Colonial Office. Had it done so, Duse' Mohamed Ali would surely have been delighted, though not satisfied with the outcome.

It would appear that from this time, if not earlier, the Colonial Office kept its eye on the review, and did not forget the trouble it had caused. When shortly after the outbreak of the Great War Duse' Mohamed Ali applied to the Colonial Secretary for permission to visit the West African Colonies under safe conduct, Sir George Fiddes commented as follows;

His paper is a notorious disseminator of sedition and lies mainly circulated among Mohammedans. A good deal of space is devoted to Indian and Egyptian 'grievances' ... It is a strong supporter of the 'Pan-Ethiopian' or Africa for the Africans movement - also of Sir W. Geary. It seems to me highly probable that he is going out to stir up discontent.

? Reply that the S. of S. can take no action in the matter.

? And ask E.L. & Co. to let us know if and when Mr. Duse' Mohamed sails. I think we shall warn the W.A. Govts. to keep an eye on him.⁴³³

Action followed as suggested⁴³⁴ and although Duse' Mohamed Ali made further efforts to visit British west Africa over the next few years, he was unable to arrange a travel permit until 1920.⁴³⁵ But much more serious

433. See Duse' Mohamed to Harcourt, 22nd September 1914, & Sir George Fiddes, minute 1, 25th September 1914, in C.O. 554/23/36403.

434. See draft of H.J. Read, C.O., to Duse' Mohamed, 26th September 1914; draft of C.O. to Elder Dempster, 26th September 1914; and Harcourt to the Governors of Gambia, Sierra Leone and Gold Coast and Governor-General of Nigeria, confidential, 2nd October 1914, all in C.O. 554/23/36403.

435. Duse' Mohamed Ali's several applications for travel permits to visit west Africa between 1914 and 1920 are discussed in Chapter VI of this thesis.

than this was the fact that shortly after the outbreak of war in 1914, his magazine was banned in both India and British Africa. Supt. Quinn of Scotland Yard referred to these bannings in his report on Duse' of March 1916;

'The African Times and Orient Review' appeared to have a fairly good circulation in Africa and among the Orientals abroad until the outbreak of the War, when owing to its circulation being prohibited, in Africa and India, its last publication appeared on the 18th August 1914 and Duse' Mohamed, who had invested his money in the concern, seems to have lost his entire fortune in the venture.⁴³⁶

Thus official ill-will was directly responsible for the cessation of publication in 1914 - a compliment of a sort to the influence the review was believed to possess. Duse' Mohamed Ali was right in believing that he was known to, and in the bad books of, the India and Foreign Offices as well as the Colonial Office. However, the I.O. and F.O. animus against him was primarily on account of his political activities rather than his journalism, though of course the one related closely to the other; as a consequence of this official suspicion, Duse' was closely watched, questioned, and even raided by the police in the early years of the Great War, though never imprisoned or charged with any offence.⁴³⁷

As well as powerful official enemies, the review also had enough bite to attract the hostile attention of E.D. Morel's magazine, The African

436. Supt. P. Quinn, Special Branch, New Scotland Yard, Duse Mohamed, 27th March 1916, p.2, in F.O. 371/3728/1316.

437. The I.O. and F.O. views and police and M.I.5 surveillance are discussed in Chapter V.

World, which in April 1914 made the following attack;

The path of those who have sympathy with the yearning of the African race for a 'larger place in the sun' is not an easy one to tread. They frequently find themselves pushed, hustled and heckled by sections which, however disinterested and pure in motive, do harm to the cause they espouse by retarding the advance of public opinion. That is caused by the extreme attitude taken up which deters some men who might be induced to fall into line, whilst others turn back because they realise that the preaching of a gospel of hate and distrust to public officials in a position of high responsibility is more likely to harden than relax the general outlook on questions in countries where England either rules directly or exercises control. Such results as we indicate will probably be produced by speeches of the kind delivered on Egyptian affairs by Mohamed Farid Bey at the Westminster Palace Hotel and before the Sphinx Society. It is to be regretted that things practical, which might be obtained by moderate presentation of the case, are overshadowed by the high doctrines set up. These remarks also apply to the London organ of the views, the African Times and Orient Review, which has just altered from a monthly to a weekly publication. The change should give the journal greater strength and influence, but we do not think that probable while it persists in the present policy of extravagant and unreasonable preaching against white people in general and the British in particular.⁴³⁸

E.D. Morel was regarded in the African Times and Orient Review circles as a bad example of the type of white 'Afrophile' who knew better than the African himself what was good for him, one whose intervention in the West African Lands question allied him with the would be capitalist exploiter.⁴³⁹ In reply to The African World's attack, Duse' Mohamed Ali

438. The African World, 4th April 1914, p.461.

439. See W.F. Hutchison's "Mr. E.D. Morel and the Land Question in West Africa", ATOR, October 1912, pp.143-4.

bluntly characterised it as an organ of capitalism;

We ... remind our esteemed contemporary that there are two points of view; the capitalist view, which the African World so worthily represents, and our view, which is the view of the underdog.

Furthermore, he corrected the African World's "small but important error" of supposing the African Times and Orient Review to be a party organ;

We are not the London organ of any clique or party. Our columns are open to all, even the Editor of the African World. We are merely doing battle for those who cannot defend themselves.⁴⁴⁰

The extent of the review's ties with outside interests have already been made clear. Though it had strong connections with and support from West Africa, there is no evidence that its editor ever had less than carte blanche in editorial policy. As for the implied connection with the Egyptian National Party, this was one of general sympathy, not affiliation.⁴⁴¹ Indeed, it is instructive to see that one of Britain's supposedly most 'Afrophile' organs of the time found the review intolerably abrasive and dangerously radical. It is by no means certain that Duse' Mohamed Ali wished to be ultra-radical, as is seen from an autobiographical reminiscence;

Gradually the office of the 'Africa and Orient Review' became internationally known and was the rendezvous for all sorts and conditions of reformers which necessitated a well-balanced cranium in order to avoid the pitfalls attendant upon a too great popularity among a group of irresponsibles who were most anxious to lead me up the by-paths of irresponsible agitation.⁴⁴²

440. ATOR, 14th April 1914, p.74.

441. This point is discussed in detailed in Chapter V.

442. "Leaves", in The Comet, 30th October 1937, p.17.

In London, the review achieved sufficient stature for its editor to be commonly invited to functions concerned with African and Asian matters. Thus we find him in 1913 attending a meeting of the Royal Empire Society to discuss (abortively as it turned out) the need for a hostel for African students in London.⁴⁴³ On another occasion we find him complaining to the Anti-Slavery Society that "no invitation has been forwarded to the Editor of this paper for Monday's function to (sic) West Africans at the House of Commons." He asserted to the Anti-Slavery Society that "no gathering of West Africans in London can be complete without the Editor of the African Times and Orient Review who represents them here."⁴⁴⁴ On other occasions there was a happier outcome to such claims. On 20th July 1920, at a meeting of the African Progress Union in London, Duse' Mohamed Ali "of the Africa and Orient Review" attended as a new member of the organisation's ruling body; likewise his membership of various Islamic and related bodies, ~~that~~ cannot be divorced from his editorial position.⁴⁴⁵

443. This meeting and the role played in it by Duse' and some other members of the ATOR circle are discussed in Chapter V.

444. Duse' Mohamed to Rev. John Harris, A.P.S., Denison House, 10th July 1914, in A.P.S. Papers, Rhodes House, MSS British Empire S.19. Sir J. Harris, letters recd., box 44D 4/6.

445. Duse' Mohamed Ali's relationships with the African Progress Union, Islamic organisations, etc., are discussed in Chapter V.

The review found some support in other London published journals with interests in Islamic and Middle Eastern affairs. The Near East, an authoritative journal on the Ottoman lands, found the ATOR's appearance of sufficient interest to comment briefly, mentioning Duse' as "best known as the author of 'In The Land Of The Pharaohs'."⁴⁴⁶ Much more enthusiastic was the support given to the ATOR by Muslim India and Islamic Review (later simply known as the Islamic Review), which first appeared in February 1913 under the editorship of Ahwaja Kamal ud-Din. In November 1916, anticipating the reappearance of the African Times and Orient Review, this journal paid enthusiastic tribute to its past and hoped for success in the future;

We are happy to welcome the re-birth of the Orient Review and African Times (sic) under the able editorship of Mr. Duse' Mohamed, who is well known for his literary attainments, and whose classical work 'In The Land Of The Pharaohs' is recognised to be a very valuable addition to the literature on Egypt. Being liberal in his views, he holds progressive views not only for his own country, Egypt, but for all countries. When the Orient Review (sic) was published before it kept open its columns to Indian contributors, both Muslims and Hindus. ... Month after month a well-known Hindu gentleman contributed to it on some Indian topic. The paper, although cosmopolitan in its character, was always open to our Islamic contributions and to other matters relating to Muslim countries and Muslim Peoples. Recently, as the Hon. Secretary of the Indian Muslim Soldiers' Widows' and Orphans' War Fund, which was started under the auspices of the Central Islamic Society, Mr. Duse' Mohamed, although himself coming from the land of the Nile, rendered very valuable services to the cause of his suffering brothers and sisters on the shores of the Ganges. We shall be very glad indeed if his paper at its re-advent receives its deserving welcome in India at the hands of both Muslims and Hindus.⁴⁴⁷

446. The Near East, 5th July 1912, p.274.

447. Islamic Review, November 1916, p.528.

Clearly the review had made its mark in Khwaja Kamal ud-Din's circle. Furthermore, it is evident that Duse' Mohamed Ali's work outside journalism contributed to the affection with which the review's "re-advent" was received.

But beyond this, it is perhaps of significance that when Khwaja Kamal ud-Din launched his magazine, he did so in a spirit remarkably similar, in some respects, to that of the first issue of the African Times and Orient Review. Thus, we find the forward to the first issue of Muslim India and Islamic Review saying;

During our sojourn in this country nothing could amaze us more than the striking contrast which, to our great surprise, we observed between the readiness of the English nation to do justice, and its misplacement for want of proper information. That John Bull would defend the weak and side with the aggrieved is as true of him to-day as it was in days gone by. But he is a human being, and is liable to make mistakes if misinformed. In a country like England, where the public voice acts as an effective agency to mould the trend of events, while it in itself receives its shape chiefly from the Press, it is a matter for regret if the latter is not a free and unbiased channel of enlightenment.⁴⁴⁸

This almost paraphrases some of Duse' Mohamed Ali's dicta, not only in the ATOR but also in In The Land Of The Pharaohs. That does not establish that Khwaja Kamal ud-Din was modelling his outlook on Duse's, but the possibility must be allowed. There is no doubt that Khwaja Kamal ud-Din was already acquainted with Duse' Mohamed Ali at the time his magazine started, and even to some extent, it would seem, indebted to him.⁴⁴⁹

448. Muslim India and Islamic Review, February 1913, p.1.

449. See Chapter V for the relationship between Duse' and Kamal ud-Din.

In other respects the Islamic Review ran parallel to the African Times and Orient Review. As might be expected, it took great interest in the woes of the Ottoman Empire, from the Balkan Wars to the threatened dismemberment of the Caliphate in the aftermath of the Great War.⁴⁵⁰ Like the ATOR, it saw the Balkan Wars etc. as a Christian European conspiracy against the existence of independent Muslim political units. It was stated in an open letter from Khwaja Kamal ud-Din to the All-India Muslim League in February 1913⁴⁵¹ that he did not bring such ideas to Britain with him. On the contrary, his original purpose was only to preach Islam, but his stay in Britain had revealed to him things previously unknown;

It is not merely a gradual dismemberment of the Muslim kingdom leading up to their total extinction that has been engineered, but the very existence of the Muslim community is threatened. The fate of the Moors in Spain awaits us everywhere and our annihilation is only a question of time.⁴⁵²

Or, as he also wrote in the first issue of his review;

Christianity has proved to Europe an efficacious means to further her wordly aggrandisment. Missionaries are sent to foreign lands to create occasions for European interference. Conversion to Christ is a hint to Europe to presume future subjugation to her sway.⁴⁵³

450. See for e.g. Khwaja Kamal ud-Din's criticisms of the British diplomatic and press reactions to the Balkan Wars, in Muslim India and Islamic Review, February 1913, pp.1-2; and the account of the telegram sent from the worshippers at Woking Mosque on 29th June 1919 to protest at Allied treatment of Turkey, in Islamic Review, June 1919, pp.242-3.

451. *ibid*, February 1913, pp.65-70.

452. *ibid*, p.65.

453. *ibid*, p.14.

Indeed, this threat was seen as one to the entire non-Christian non-European world, again in close coincidence with the African Times and Orient Review outlook on the world. In many articles and editorials, the Islamic Review made particular play of the threat of Christian Imperialism to Africa and its oppressed people.⁴⁵⁴ Indeed, one can even find an article, apparently from a Gold Coast Muslim, commending Casely Hayford's Gold Coast Native Institutions; Mojola Agbebi, for the pro-Islamic sentiments in his paper to the Universal Races Congress; J. Mensah Sarbah; and, as might be expected in view of his Islamophil attitudes, Blyden.⁴⁵⁵ Thus although a specifically Indian and Muslim journal, the Islamic Review displayed interest in African affairs and knowledge of contemporary African leaders of thought. Though it cannot be proved that Duse and his review were responsible for this, it would be most unreasonable, in view of the close association between the papers and their editors, not to consider that the Islamic Review was in all likelihood strongly influenced in its African outlook by the African Times and Orient Review.

Having seen this probable influence on Khwaja Kamal ud-Din, an Indian living in London, let us turn to the question of the ATOR's influence in India itself. As we have seen, the review circulated there, and had

454. See Sayyed Rauf Ali Khan, "Islam and Christianity in Africa", Islamic Review, May 1913, pp.156-9.

455. See Abdul Karim (D.K. Gwira), "Islam and the Negro", Islamic Review, June 1913, pp.220-4. Gwira is a Ghanaian name.

numerous other Indian contributors and connections. Nevertheless, its Indian influence cannot have been on the masses, in view of the vast size of India's population and its linguistic heterogeneity. Indians who came into contact with the review found it congenial. Here, the example of Sundara Raja, who was to become a regular contributor (probably the Hindu contributor referred to by Khwaja Kamal ud-Din in 1916), may be cited. His reaction to the review was as follows;

Allow me to congratulate you upon your splendid magazine. It has been for long my idea to have a responsible monthly to voice the sentiments of the Asiatics and the Africans, and I am very glad to see that your monthly has more than fulfilled my expectations. It is a glorious object to look after the interests of the two great continents, which have practically retired from the field of politics. But more, it is a heroic object to attempt to help the surging forces of progress that are silently, but nevertheless potently, sweeping along the shores of Asia and Africa. It is unpleasant, indeed, to recount all the horrors which these two innocent victims of western civilization have suffered, but it is anyhow a slight consolation that those who have inflicted never-to-be-forgotten wounds can be made to recant and atone for the wrongs done and the cruelties inflicted, by infusing in them a better concept of humanity, a nobler ideal of administration, and, above all a better sense of humanity. These, I fervently believe, your magazine will, in a measure, accomplish.⁴⁵⁶

Sundara Raja was, however, English speaking and then resident in Britain. Had he stayed in India his chance of directly encountering the review must have been small, and had he not known English would have been fruitless.

Nevertheless, there is some evidence of the review making its mark in India via the editors of various Indian papers. Several such wrote to

456. ATOR, August 1912, p.67.

the review, either sending articles for inclusion or letters of approval and admiration. Thus in the August 1912 issue there was an enthusiastic letter from the editor of the Rajput Herald, Thakur Shri Jesrajsinghi Seesodia, insisting that there was a need for not one but many newspapers "representing the interests of Asia and Africa, to be published in London" and every possibility of them being successful.⁴⁵⁷ The review's hope of informing the British people of African and Asian wishes and feelings and creating a better understanding was commended. As might be expected, the Indian Muslim press was if anything even more enthusiastic about the ATOR. The Kashmiri of Lahore, writing on the need to bring Muslim pressure to bear on the London authorities, singled Duse out from among those Muslims who had issued papers in London. It believed he deserved "the special regard and thanks of the Muslim world at large." Not only did The Kashmiri's editor highly recommend the ATOR to its English speaking readers, and undertake to take subscriptions, but also he stated that "we shall often translate articles from it for the benefit of our readers and publish them."⁴⁵⁸ Even more important was the close connection that built up between the ATOR and Zafar Ali Khan, editor of another Lahore vernacular newspaper, The Zamindar. This was the largest circulation

457. *ibid.*

458. See The Kashmiri, 28th November 1913, quoted in letter from its editor to ed., ATOR, in ATOR, 24th March 1912, p.12.

vernacular paper in India at that time, and had a reputation for sedition and anti-Government militancy, especially over the question of Muslim rights. Zafar Ali Khan was a regular contributor to the ATOR, and when in London in 1914 was regarded by M.I.5 as a suspicious member of the ATOR circle.⁴⁵⁹ Thus it would perhaps not be claiming too much to say that the review contributed something to the swelling political consciousness in India during the years 1912-1920, even if the precise details of that contribution at present remain vague - buried perhaps in the vast bulk of the Indian press of those years.

Turning from India to West Africa, there the review's influence is much more clearly discernible, much more specific and was surely much more considerable. It should be recalled that the English speaking, educated, West African élite, among whom the review circulated in West Africa, were a close knit and comparatively small group. Thus Doves were to be found in at least three, and those the major three, of the British West African colonies, with Fred Dove in Freetown, Frans in the Gold Coast, and Silas in Onitsha, not to mention the numerous cadet members of the family. This was a society in which everybody knew everyone else, and in which ideas would easily percolate informally from

459. For e.g.s of Zafar Ali Khan's contributions to the ATOR, see "The Basis of a Common Indian Nationality", April 1913, pp.295-8, & "The Morley-Minto Reforms", 24th March 1912, pp.9-10. For the importance of The Zamindar, see Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Modern Islam in India. A Social Analysis, London 1946, p.196; for M.I.5's suspicions of Zafar Ali Khan, see F.O. 371/2355/15047.

one to another. Thus, unlike in India, in West Africa the review's name and influence would readily spread throughout the educated class. The garnering of grievances and information from clerks in the still remote hinterland of Northern Nigeria is evidence of this. Clerks, such as "Maganin Karia" and the wretched Taylor of Zaria were at the bottom end of this group, and their use of the review is an even better indication of the extent of its penetration in West Africa than the patronage and approval of the professional and mercantile grandees of Lagos, Accra, Cape Coast and Freetown. But its influence among the latter is even more easily demonstrated, especially as this was the class of West Africans that was in the habit of making trips to London, where undoubtedly many made the personal acquaintance of the editor. The list of contributors to the review's memorial wreath for S. Coleridge Taylor is an indication of its extensive connections with the West African educated elite, being a veritable roll call of the most influential families - among them were numerous Doves, Renners, Saporas, Johnsons, Macaulays, Dohertys, Assumpcaos, Cousseys, Folarins, Akitoyes, Bannermans, Vanderpuyes, Easmons, etc.⁴⁶⁰ A similar, though less extensive list,

460. ATOR, September 1912, p.80. The full list of contributors was; Mrs. Easmon; Mrs. K. Agasa; Mrs. T.J. Palmer; Miss Ore Green; Miss Smith; Miss Easmon; Misses E. and A. Sapara; Dr. W. Renner; C. Mory Esq.; Dr. O. Sapara; Frans Dove; C.W. Betts; F.W. Dove; W.R.S. Renner; J.E. Taylor; O. Moore; S. Hughes; H. Assumpcao; Dr. Kapo Easmon; K. Doherty; C.F. Hutchison; M. Ogunviyi; Prince Ansah; T.K.E. Phillips; C.E. Quist; J. Henley Coussey; Mr. Evans; Charles Bannerman; Henry Bannerman; A.V. Labuigo; E.T. Scott; Granville Johnson; Adeyenu Johnson; D.D. Johnson; A. Olumuyiwa; Prince Ibinkunle Akitoye; J.A. Mensah; Mr. Hebron; J. Korateng; Edward Renner; D. Miles Abadou; Mr. Hyde; Bruce Vanderpuye; J.F. Folarin; Mr. Wood; Kojo Thompson; N.W. Holm; E.P. Beckley; M.F. Daniel; Dr. K. Faderin; E.J. Harrison; Dr. F.E. Lowe; J.S. Moraku; M.R. Macaulay; Dr. M. Mahlengi; Mr. A. Pearce; Dr. I.L.D. Rowan; M. Sebata; B.A. Young; Prince K. Ata Amonn; C.P. Renner; Silas Dove; Arthur F. Dove; Horace G.B. Dove; Willie Renner; Francis Williams; Josu Tamao; J.G. Lawson; Dusé Mohamed.

accompanied the formal document of appreciation presented by the review to Roland Hayes in 1920.⁴⁶¹ Of course, it should not be assumed that any West African whose name appeared in these lists was an active friend of or even regular subscriber to the review. This can be demonstrated for in the Coleridge-Taylor list appeared the name of John Eldred Taylor. But all these people (and their families) were evidently to a greater or lesser extent aware of the review's existence, and prepared to respond to its appeals; which were all the more significant in view of the fact that these were also overt appeals to race pride.

The Nigerian and Gold Coast press provide many references to and commendations of the African Times and Orient Review. To begin with the Lagos Press, the Lagos Standard responded warmly to the review's appearance. In its first reaction it is interesting to note that it referred to Duse' Mohamed Ali as a man "who has already made a reputation as ... the author of 'In The Land Of The Pharaohs'."⁴⁶² With the second number of the review, the Lagos Standard became even more complimentary;

It is not often that the second number of a new magazine attains, much less exceeds, the standard of excellence promised by the initial number; yet this is what has happened in the case of the African Times and Orient Review, the August number of which is to the full as entertaining and instructive as the first number. ... The Zaria incident again comes in for some scathing but just and well-deserved editorial comment.⁴⁶³

461. AOR, December 1920, p.29.

462. "Lagosian On Dits", Lagos Standard, 28th August 1912.

463. *ibid*, 11th September 1912.

The Lagos Standard then proceeded to quote approvingly Duse's August editorial on the Zaria affair. Since the Lagos Standard had been the original exposé of the case in Nigeria, it was no doubt grateful for this support from London. But it is clear that the flow of information was not only from the Lagos Standard to the African Times and Orient Review, for in November 1912 the Lagos paper noted the publication of two letters from clerk Taylor in the October issue of the London magazine, and quoted from and commented on them at length.⁴⁶⁴ The admiration of the Lagos Standard for the African Times and Orient Review was largely a product of the latter's taking up cudgels for clerks Hall and Taylor and similar sufferers. The first reference to the review in its pages was in a letter from Miss Marples, telling of the Colonial Office's response to her enquiries about Hall and Taylor, and adding;

I have just read with great pleasure the first issue of the 'African Times and Orient Review' which is to be a monthly magazine devoted to the interests of the dark races and is published at the modest price of five shillings per annum postage included - and which I sincerely hope will be purchased by educated natives in all parts of the world. As the editor has given an account of the Zaria trouble I am sending him a copy of the official report ...⁴⁶⁵

Thus it seems that the Lagos Standard was helped to become conscious of the review through Miss Marples agency. It continued to be the ATOR's chief friend among the Lagos papers, and welcomed the ATOR's revival in 1917.⁴⁶⁶

464. *ibid*, 6th November 1912.

465. Lagos Standard, 7th August 1912.

466. Lagos Standard, 28th February 1917, quoted in ATOR, April 1917, pp.76-7.

On the Gold Coast, the Cape Coast paper the Gold Coast Leader, with its close relationship with Casely Hayford,⁴⁶⁷ became a strong supporter of the London review. In its praise of the review's appearance, it significantly connected it in spirit with the 1900 London meeting of the Pan-African Association;

We consider the publication of the African Times and Orient Review such an important event in the struggle of British subjects for recognition and political freedom that we have decided to give as much prominence as lies in our power to our review of the journal. We have read this new journal over and over again and the more we read it the more we like it. In 1900 a number of coloured ladies and gentlemen led by the late Mr. Sylvester Williams of Trinidad met in conference in London and founded the Pan-African Association. This Association aimed at unifying the interests of British coloured subjects all over the world and presenting their points of view on questions affecting their interests at the bar of British justice in the heart of the Empire, and acting generally as a medium of understanding between white and coloured people. This idea was Mr. Sylvester Williams' and it was a noble one. With characteristic energy Mr. Sylvester Williams set himself to the task but he encountered great difficulties. Some gentlemen in England well known for their interest in the cause of the coloured man disliked the idea and opposed it. On the other hand the movement met with apathy and indifference on the part of coloured people in the British Colonies who took practically no interest in it. But Mr. Williams persevered and with the encouragement given by noble minded English ladies and gentlemen ... a number of coloured people including American coloured citizens among whom was Bishop Walters of the A.M.E. Zion Church met in London at the Westminster Town Hall in August 1900 and founded the Pan-African Association. The publication of a journal identical in aims with those of the African Times and Orient Review was one of the objects of the Pan-African Association but owing chiefly to lack of support from coloured people in the Colonies, the Pan-African Association soon collapsed and its contemplated journal never saw the light of day. All this happened twelve years ago, but the African Times and Orient Review, has inspired us with such confidence that we have hopes that Mr. Duse' Mohamed may succeed where the late Sylvester Williams failed. It is a tremendous undertaking that Mr. Duse' Mohamed has set himself to accomplish. To be the medium for focusing the views of the

467. See Kimble, op.cit., p.375-77.

diversities of races comprising the coloured subjects of the British Crown is no light work; but by the ability and the sense displayed in this first issue of Mr. Duse Mohamed's journal we have hopes that the African Times and Orient Review shall yet fulfil the expectations of its promoters. ... if the African Times and Orient Review is to succeed, if the aims and objects of its Editor are to be realised, coloured people in all parts of the Empire will have to make up their minds to support it, subscribe to it, keep up and increase its circulation. ... As we have said it is a very great task that Mr. Duse Mohamed has set himself to accomplish. To publish a journal in London that will continuously interest the millions of the many and diversified races that go to form the coloured subjects of the British Crown is a work of no mean magnitude and is an undertaking that must task to the utmost even the genius and energy of a W.G. Stead. But the author of 'In The Land Of The Pharaohs' is a man of great ability and the first issue of the African Times and Orient Review has furnished ample evidence of the capability of its Editor. We commend the African Times and Orient Review to the support of our people on the Gold Coast and to the good will and assistance of coloured people all over the world.⁴⁶⁸

Since the then editor of the Gold Coast Leader, Dr. R.A. Savage, had actually been present at the 1900 London meeting of the Pan-African Association and was fully conversant with the fate of its journal, The Pan-African, this was no mere 'puff' for an allied paper but an informed comparison.⁴⁶⁹ It is notable that Savage was fully aware of the very real difficulties facing the magazine, in view of the magnitude of its undertaking. Indeed, he quoted at length from Samuel Coleridge-Taylor's advice that if the review was to succeed it should not look to white

468. Gold Coast Leader, 31st August 1912, p.5.

469. See Kimble, op.cit., p.375, for Savage's editorship of the Gold Coast Leader; see Langley, West African Aspects of the Pan-African Movements, p.278, for his presence at the 1900 Pan-African Conference. Dr. I. Geiss has speculated that the ATOR was consciously modelled on The Pan-African - see his "Notes on the Development of Pan-Africanism", Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, 111, 4, June 1967, p.730.

people for support but must be supported by coloured people themselves.⁴⁷⁰

The Gold Coast Leader was not alone, among the Gold Coast papers, in joining the ATOR in condemning the Zaria whippings. The Gold Coast Independent, for example, towards the end of 1912, lambasted those responsible for the Zaria and similar incidents.⁴⁷¹

The Gold Coast Leader, however, continued over the years to be the review's firmest Gold Coast friend. It not only took its place alongside the review in attacking the Zaria whippings, but also when the review ran into trouble at the end of 1912 and beginning of 1913, was solicitous;

... we are glad that there has been nothing amiss in the management and that the journal pursues as vigorously as ever its spirited policy. We are particularly pleased to note that the editor of the journal continues his vigorous denunciation of the iniquitous system of government that obtains in Northern Nigeria - a system that allows the whipping of educated natives in the service of that Government.⁴⁷²

On the return of the review in 1917 the Gold Coast Leader - now edited by Casely Hayford himself - welcomed "the re-appearance of the 'African Times and Orient Review' under the continued editorship of that brilliant

470. Editorial, Gold Coast Leader, 31st August 1912, p.5.

471. Gold Coast Independent, 30th November 1912.

472. "Editorial Notes", Gold Coast Leader, 3rd May 1913, p.4.

author and publicist, Mr. Duse Mohamed", and endorsed its new editorial line of seeking the salvation of black people through agriculture and trade.⁴⁷³ In July 1920, at the time of Duse Mohamed Ali's long delayed visit to West Africa, the Gold Coast Leader published a veritable panegyric, which is valuable evidence of the way in which he was regarded on the West African Coast after eight years, on and off, of the review, and gives us a picture of 158 Fleet Street as a focus of coloured visitors in London;

The June number of the African Times and Orient Review makes interesting reading from cover to cover. The Editor of this monthly is not unknown to our readers. Indeed, the name of Duse Mohamed Ali is a household word in West African literary circles; and we have referred to him before as the author of that remarkable historical work, 'The Land Of The Pharaohs'. An Egyptian by birth, he went to England in early years and there received a most practical education which fitted him for the literary role he was to play in maturer years in the interests of our common race. Africa and Orient Review is circulating freely in West Africa and in one of the front pages may be seen the picture of our illustrious countryman. We know him personally and some West Africans must also have made his acquaintance in his Fleet Street, London, Office, where he receives every worthy African and Oriental who comes to see him on important questions of the day. Those who have not had this privilege may have chanced to meet him on the S.S. Abinsi on her last outward voyage (July 14), his destination being Nigeria whence he hopes to visit the Gold Coast before returning to England in September. Duse Mohamed Ali is of deep brown colour, the same type as you meet in West Africa every five minutes as you walk the streets of its principal towns. We mention this to show that he is bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, and African in every sense among Africans. And we are proud to own him, for any people, any race, may well be proud to own a man of his calibre. He is fearless, and he wields a pen which may make the mighty quake in high places and the craven tremble in their shoes. And his chief weapon is the exposition of the truth. Men fear the truth unless they have attained unto truth and live by the truth; and that is the reason why Duse Mohamed Ali and his likes are unpopular and are a trouble to officialdom.

473. Gold Coast Leader, n.d., quoted in ATOR, April 1917, pp.77-8.

Why do we make a point of Duse' Mohamed Ali being an African? Not that there are not many such cultured Africans in the four corners of the globe, but for the simple reason that our detractors have a way of denying African origin to anything particularly good ... When they are confronted with the fact that Africa is the cradle of the world's civilization and philosophies and religions, and Egypt is pointed out with its mighty Pyramids and the everlasting silence of the Sphinx, they coolly turn round and say that Egypt is not Africa.⁴⁷⁴

In 1912 Duse' Mohamed Ali was, we may be reasonably sure, virtually unknown in West Africa except to a few who may have come across his book; by 1920, he could be held up to view as a well known figure, a "fearless" fighter against official injustice, "bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh", a famous model of the attainments of his race. This picture can be confirmed by the fervent reception he was given in Lagos on arrival there in 1920. It was even proposed that a day be annually celebrated in Lagos as Duse' Mohamed Day!⁴⁷⁵

The impact that the ATOR made on individual West Africans can be traced through its correspondence columns. Thus, Mr. Okotie Eberekwele of Agbash Chambers, Warri, Southern Nigeria, thought the review an appropriate channel to air his opinion that ex-Oba Overami of Benin should be rehabilitated and repatriated by the British Government.⁴⁷⁶

474. "Editorial Notes", Gold Coast Leader, 7th August 1920, p.4.

475. Duse' Mohamed Ali's reception in Lagos in 1920 is discussed at length in Chapter VI.

476. Okotie Eberekwele of Warri to editor, ATOR, February-March 1913, p.272.

Mai Hankuri, of the "Northern Provinces Nigeria", forwarded to the review a copy of a letter from himself to the Northern Provinces Director of Education, requesting that official to reply to a series of critical questions about education policy, via the editor of the ATOR.⁴⁷⁷ Such instances could be multiplied abundantly; but one more will suffice as it illustrates the close connections that sometimes developed between Duse and his readers. In January 1917 the review published a letter from Akinpelu Obisesan of Ibadan, a pioneer cocoa farmer there, later to be a sympathiser with Garveyism.⁴⁷⁸ Obisesan's letter made it clear that he had been a pre-war reader of the review, which he referred to as "our organ". He hoped that there would be "changes this time in supporting this organ of ours", and stated that "as a patriot I deem it necessary to be sending a supporting fee ... and as long as I live I will keep steady." Three months later a postal order for £2.10s. was duly received.⁴⁷⁹ Three years later, as one of the leading cocoa farmers in Ibadan, Chief Obisesan was to organise hospitality and support for Duse Mohamed Ali during his visit to the city.⁴⁸⁰

477. Mai Hankuri, open letter to Director of Education, Northern Provinces, Nigeria, ATOR, 14th July 1914, p.405.

478. Akinpelu Obisesan to editor, 9th December 1916, in ATOR, January 1917, pp.188-9. Information about Obisesan from Dr. J.B. Webster and Dr. R. Gavin, then of Dept. of History, University of Ibadan, February 1967.

479. Obisesan to editor, 23rd February 1917, ATOR, April 1917, p.80.

480. See Chapter VI of this thesis.

There can be no doubt that one of the review's most valuable functions was in providing a London meeting place for coloured people, as mentioned by the Gold Coast Leader. This was even formalised into a regular service. From early in 1913, the review carried a notice addressed to parents, guardians and visitors to England; visitors were informed that they were always welcome at the review's offices and that suitable hotels and apartments could be obtained for them; parents and guardians were told that "The Editor ... will willingly undertake to find suitable schools in England, and superintend the education of children from Africa and the Orient."⁴⁸¹ There are still some men who remember the experience of being taken under Duse' Mohamed Ali's wing in this way, and their reminiscences provide valuable details of his role of helper and protector of visiting coloured people. One such is Chief T.A. Doherty of Lagos who came to Britain as a very young man in 1916. Even before then, as a schoolboy in Nigeria, he had read the review, which he recalled in 1967 as giving a new and wonderful insight into the outside world for his generation. Arriving in London in 1916 from Manchester, he knew nobody in the capital, but made his way to the African Times and Orient Review office, the address of which he had. Thus, even at times when the review was in abeyance, the name it had already established attracted coloured visitors in need of help. Chief Doherty found lodgings with Duse' Mohamed Ali and his wife at their house in Clapham, where there were also from time to time other African student boarders. We have

481. ATOR, February-March 1913, p.254, and subsequent issues.

Chief Doherty's testimony that in 1920 Duse' Mohamed Ali made arrangements for the accommodation in London of Herbert Macaulay, Chief Oluwa, Chief Oluwa's son and Mr. E.T. Scott, who were in Britain both as National Congress of British West Africa delegates and in furtherance of the Lagos 'white Cap' Chiefs dispute with the Nigerian Government. Indeed, this was but a further example of the sort of service that Duse' had been providing for years, for according to Doherty he had met and helped the Nigerian delegation which had come to London in 1913 to protest against Government plans to extend to Southern Nigeria the Governor's control over all land rights.⁴⁸² As this delegation included not only professional Lagosians but also chiefs from various inland Yoruba towns, it no doubt provided the occasion for Duse' to extend his Nigerian contacts.

Among the African students who were contemporaries with Chief Doherty as lodgers at Duse' Mohamed Ali's house was a young Fanti from the Gold Coast, Claud Ennin, who had been placed under Duse' Mohamed Ali's guardianship by his brother-in-law, the Omanhene of Anomabu. He spent almost a year thus placed, "improving his commercial knowledge", and returning to West Africa in summer 1917.⁴⁸³ This was a real indi-

482. Information to writer from Chief T. Adebayo Doherty, Lagos, 2nd April 1967. For the visit of Herbert Macaulay and Chief Oluwa to London in 1920, see Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism, pp.195-6. For the 1913 delegation to London, see *ibid*, p.181.

483. ATOR, July 1917, p.12.

cation of Duse's reputation in the Gold Coast at that time, for Omanhene Nana Amonoo V was one of the most influential Fanti Chiefs of the day, a supporter of the A.R.P.S. and from 1916-1921 a member of the Legislative Council.⁴⁸⁴ No doubt the review's A.R.P.S. connections provide an explanation of why Nana Amonoo V should have entrusted his young relative to Duse Mohamed Ali's care. Another source of information on coloured people staying with Duse Mohamed Ali in London is Alhajji L.B. Augusto of Lagos, who spent six months under his roof in 1920. He recalls frequent visits by the National Congress of British West Africa delegates to the household - now removed to a 'better' address. Others Alhajji Augusto remembers as staying in the house included not only Mr. Lokko, a lawyer from the Gold Coast, but also Roland Hayes and his accompanist.⁴⁸⁵

Mention of Roland Hayes brings us to the consideration of the review's influence and impact in the New World. In a letter to J.E. Bruce in September 1919, Duse wrote "Hayes the tenor has written to me asking me to present him in England and I am going to try to do this."⁴⁸⁶ Whether Hayes knew of him through his editorship or was put in touch with him through the good offices of mutual American friends is not known. Though equivocally an example of ATOR influence, Hayes' appeal is surely at least indirectly attributable to this.

484. See Kimble, *op.cit.*, pp.391, 456 & 473-4.

485. Information to writer from Alhajji L.B. Augusto, Lagos, 29th March 1967

486. Duse Mohamed Ali to J.E. Bruce, 12th September 1919, p.3, Bruce Papers, Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library.

Indeed, in general the review's influence in the United States can at present be more surmised than demonstrated, though there can be little doubt that in the files of the contemporary Negro Press might be found numerous references, illustrating that influence well enough.⁴⁸⁷ The review itself carried from time to time commendatory items from the American Negro Press.⁴⁸⁸ It is very likely that Duse' Mohamed Ali was contributing articles to the American Negro Press during the period 1912-1920, particularly at times when his editorial duties in London were interrupted.

It will be recalled that the review claimed to have had some influence on Theodore Roosevelt's prospects as a presidential candidate in the 1912 election. Duse's open letter to Roosevelt challenging him on his race policy was at first 'answered' with a laconic and uninformative reply from the ex-President's secretary, Frank Harper;

Mr. Roosevelt wishes me to thank you for your letter, and to say that at the present time he is unable, on account of the pressure of other work, to write any article, or to go into that matter which you write to him about. He has already stated his position

487. To follow up this point thoroughly would require research in the United States, which the writer was unable to arrange; unfortunately, no British library has significant holdings of even the major black American journals of the era 1912-1920.

488. For example, see the praise in the Boston Chronicle for the first issue of the AOR, in AOR, April 1920, p.31. Of Duse' Mohamed Ali, the Boston Chronicle wrote; "The Editor needs no introduction to the American people. He has on two occasions toured this country, the West Indies, South and Central America. As a dramatist and actor he is well known. But his history of Egypt stamps him as an International Statesman."

fully and specifically, and his views have been widely published. All his addresses and speeches have been issued in volume form ... and you could obtain full particulars about his views ... by referring to these volumes. Beyond this, Mr. Roosevelt has nothing to say on the subject.⁴⁸⁹

Not surprisingly, this answer was not found acceptable, and after Duse' Mohamed Ali had registered his dis-satisfaction⁴⁹⁰ he received not only a more conciliatory answer from Harper but also a short but apologetic letter from Philip Roosevelt, the ex-President's son.⁴⁹¹ Neither had, however, a great sense of the appropriate, for both these letters contained, as an exposition of Theodore Roosevelt's Negro policy, a copy of his open letter on the subject to Mr. Julian Harris, son of 'Uncle Remus':

On this, Duse' tartly observed;

... the promises embodied in that document are so touchingly solicitous for the welfare of Afro-Americans, that we look forward to the arrival of the millenium in the United States for the coloured people, should the Colonel reach the presidential chair which he feels it his duty to sit on in the interests of truth and righteousness.⁴⁹²

489. ATOR, August 1912, p.60.

490. *ibid*, p.60.

491. Harper to Duse' Mohamed, ATOR, September 1912, p.79 & Philip Roosevelt to Duse' Mohamed, ATOR, October 1912, p.114. Philip Roosevelt began his letter; "It is too bad that Mr. Harper sent you such an unsatisfactory letter. As a matter of fact, at the time your letter was received, Colonel Roosevelt was busy formulating his views upon the Negro question."

492. ATOR, October 1912, p.114.

None of this amounts to a decisive influence on the mass of American Negro voters; the general indifference of the Progressives to Negro wrongs⁴⁹³ and the seating of 'lilywhite' delegations at the Progressive Convention in Chicago were more persuasive than anything in the African Times and Orient Review. Yet at least the Roosevelt camp's second thoughts imply that it was considered that the review's hostility might influence some Negro voters, directly or indirectly. But at election times politicians are super-sensitive, and it would be unwise in default of more substantial evidence to read too much into all this.

It is evident that to some extent the review's readership in the United States was spread by personal recommendation. Thus, William H. Ferris was sent the review's 1912 Christmas number by John E. Bruce, and was immediately impressed, by comparison with the "standard" American magazine Christmas numbers, with its "vigour and originality"; in his turn Ferris showed the magazine to both "men of colour" and to white University professors.⁴⁹⁴ It seems that what particularly impressed Ferris was the world ranging scope of the articles;

I read because they were illuminating, because of the light that they threw upon conditions in America, Hayti, The West Indies, West Africa, South Africa, Egypt, China and Japan.

493. See Henry F. May, The End of American Innocence, p.27.

494. William H. Ferris, "A Colored American's Estimate of the African Times and Orient Review", ATOR, 14th April 1914, p.77.

Your articles upon 'Drama as an Educational Factor' are worthy of an appearance in a permanent form. The Hon. James Carmichael Smith's economic articles are characterised by a masterly grasp of the subject. The 'Outlook on the World from the African point of view', by Sothis, was more than an 'outlook'; it was an 'inlook' as well ... And the article by Marcus Garvey, Junior, upon 'The British West Indies in the Mirror of Civilisation' in a recent issue was powerful and telling summing up the history of the west Indies.

As a descriptive picture of life lived in the East, I know nothing to compare with the African Times and Orient Review. But it is something more. To the thoughtful and reflective mind, it shows how the Black Man, the Brown Man and the Yellow Man, psychologically react against European arrogance and caste-prejudice.⁴⁹⁵

It is hard to imagine that Ferris was the only man to whom the influential and respected Bruce sent copies of the review, let alone the wider number whom he, in all probability, would have urged to subscribe to it.

Some black American readers looked to the review to organise Pan-Coloured institutions. One such was Charles de Patters, of Yonkers. In 1914 he looked to the review to act as the organising headquarters of a vast international coloured organisation;

... organise a universal society consisting of men and women of African extraction and whose directors, chosen by the members throughout, shall have their headquarters in a suitable spot in London, which shall be selected by the directors of the African Times and Orient Review.

The aim of this society shall be to co-operate with our African brothers in the motherland and settle in those parts of Africa not occupied by any European wolf, and to build it up, form a government with a national flag, promote education; in one word rule that special part of Africa.

Every black man in the world should contribute ten cents a month to provide a fund to finance this dream. The money was to be banked, by the London headquarters committee, in the Bank of England, and would, de Patters hopefully believed, amount to at least \$50,000,000 in five to ten years.

Dusé Mohamed Ali was asked to request his readers to send their names and donations to the ATOR office. The ultimate outcome envisaged was no less than "a United Africa under one head of the African Empire."

Dusé Mohamed Ali's response was to claim that these ideas were "embodied in the League of Justice" - an organisation he was then engaged in promoting - which he hoped de Patters would co-operate with.⁴⁹⁶ The de Patters

scheme, pipe-dream though it may have been, shows that the sort of ideas later expressed by Marcus Garvey were already current among New York Negroes before the Great War, and help to explain the response Garvey was to find among them. Nor was de Patters the only black man in the New world to look to the editor of the ATOR to act as focus of a Pan-African Movement.

In 1918 the Toronto group, the National Association of Loyal Negroes, approached him in a similar spirit.⁴⁹⁷ In 1912, an individual named

Agustus Warren from Philadelphia declared "we on this side of the Atlantic know nothing of what is transpiring in Africa and Asia ... without the aid of your most valuable magazine", He called for delegates "of the darker races only from every country where they live in numbers" to meet

496. See de Patters' letter and Dusé Mohamed's reply in ATOR, 19th May 1914, p.212. For Dusé Mohamed Ali and the League of Justice, see the following chapter.

497. See ATOR, August 1918, p.14, & September 1918, p.29.

and discuss all important matters affecting them.⁴⁹⁸

Not only black, but also occasionally white voices were raised across the Atlantic in appreciation and support of the ATOR. One such was the editor of the Jamaica Times, T.H. MacDermott, who in November 1912 wrote to José Mohamed Ali;

I was very pleased to receive the July issue of the review. I am putting you down to receive a complimentary copy of our paper, anticipating the courtesy of copies of your publication right along from August. I will see what can be done with the business about exchange of advertisement. Personally I am very keenly and sympathetically interested in your venture, and I believe it can be made a success if you give it a broad enough base and bring it to a sufficient combination of well-informed thought and knowledge. I would make the suggestion, that you do not confine your agents and correspondents rigidly to the limits of race. There are hundreds of white men and women who take a broad and thoroughly sympathetic view of the position, aspirations and genius of 'the Native' sections of the world.⁴⁹⁹

But in the West Indies, as elsewhere in the New World, the ATOR's natural constituency, T.H. MacDermott notwithstanding, was among black people.

On 9th July 1913 a group of leading professional men in Georgetown, British Guiana, gathered in the chambers of barrister B. Basil Marshall. They formed a committee, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Fred. T. Mills, "to spread ... (the ATOR's) circulation and bring it into some prominence

498. ATOR, December-January 1913, p.214.

499. *ibid*, February-March 1913, p.272.

before the public, both in this Colony and in the West Indies."⁵⁰⁰

One is bound to wonder if the members of this committee included any who remembered Duse from his visit of so many years before to their country. But it is evident from their action that they considered the ATOR to be of unique importance. Perhaps, having surveyed the full range of the review's achievements, others might agree that Duse Mohamed Ali's boast that he intended it to be "the most unique" in the annals of British journalism⁵⁰¹ was not, in the event, entirely empty.

500. ATOR, August 1913, pp.77-8. The full membership of the Committee was:- Dr. Fred. T. Wills, M.D., Chairman; Barrister, N.J.S. McArthur; Barrister, J.S. Johnson; Rev. James Persaud; D.E. Wells; Hannibal Johnson, Treasurer; B. Basil Marshall, Agent and Secretary for British Guiana and the West Indies; Solicitor, A. Mclean Ogle, Assistant Secretary.

501. ATOR, July 1912, p.iii.