

COMMUNICATIONS IN AFRICA, 1880-1939

GENERAL EDITOR
David Sunderland

ADVISORY EDITOR
Godfrey N. Uzoigwe

Volume 5
Other Forms of Communication



PICKERING & CHATTO
2012

COMMUNICATIONS IN AFRICA, 1880-1939

GENERAL EDITOR
David Sunderland

ADVISORY EDITOR
Godfrey N. Uzoigwe

Volume 5
Other Forms of Communication



PICKERING & CHATTO
2012

*Published by Pickering & Chatto (Publishers) Limited
21 Bloomsbury Way, London WC1A 2TH
2252 Ridge Road, Brookfield, Vermont 05036-9704, USA
www.pickeringchatto.com*

All rights reserved.

No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means,
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise
without prior permission of the publisher.

Copyright © Pickering & Chatto (Publishers) Limited 2012
Copyright © Editorial material David Sunderland 2012

To the best of the Publisher's knowledge every effort has been made to contact
relevant copyright holders and to clear any relevant copyright issues.
Any omissions that come to their attention will be remedied in future editions.

BRITISH LIBRARY CATALOGUING IN PUBLICATION DATA

Communications in Africa, 1880–1939. – (Britain and Africa)

1. Railroads – Africa – Planning – Sources. 2. Railroads – Africa – Design
and construction – History – 19th century – Sources. 3. Railroads – Africa –
Design and construction – History – 20th century – Sources. 4. Railroads –
Africa – Management – History – 20th century – Sources. 5. Railroads – Africa
– Economic aspects – History – 19th century – Sources. 6. Railroads – Africa
– Economic aspects – History – 20th century – Sources. 7. Communication
and traffic – Africa – History – 19th century – Sources. 8. Communication and
traffic – Africa – History – 20th century – Sources. 9. Great Britain – Colonies
– Africa – Administration – History – 19th century – Sources. 10. Great Britain
– Colonies – Africa – Administration – History – 20th century – Sources.

I. Series II. Sunderland, David.

385'.096'09034-dc23

ISBN-13: 9781848930643



This publication is printed on acid-free paper that conforms to the American
National Standard for the Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials.

*Typeset by Pickering & Chatto (Publishers) Limited
Printed and bound in the United Kingdom by the MPG Books Group*

CONTENTS

Roads	1
A. S. Cripps, <i>How Roads were Made in the Native Reserves of Charter District, Mashonaland 1934-5</i> (1936)	5
<i>Committee to Enquire into the Costs of Distribution of Imported Goods and Local Products in Southern Rhodesia</i> (1936)	17
H. A. Campbell, <i>Kenya's Road Policy</i> (1945)	59
R. J. Van Reenan, <i>The Free State Roads</i> [1916]	111
<i>Report of the Commission on Roads (Transvaal)</i> (1921)	139
<i>Notes on Road Construction</i> (1933)	155
<i>Replies to Questions of the Private Enterprise Committee by the Governor of Sierra Leone</i> (1923)	177
Canoes and Boats	183
J. Stevenson, <i>The Water Highways of the Interior of Africa</i> (1883)	185
<i>Report upon the Grobbelaar's River Irrigation Scheme</i> (1896)	203
Sir W. B. Griffith to Lord Knutsford (1891)	215
Shipping	245
Crown Agents to Colonial Office (15 September 1908), with Messrs Freeland to Crown Agents enclosure (29 August 1908)	251
H. H. Clarke, <i>The Shipping Ring and the South African Trade</i> (1898)	259
<i>Report on the Control and Working of Mombasa (Kilindini) Harbour Kenya Colony</i> (1926)	287
Air Transport	301
F. Tymms, <i>Prospects of Civil Aviation in East Africa</i> (1929)	305
P. E. L. Gethin, <i>Report on Aviation in the Uganda Protectorate</i> (1936)	335

Personal Communication	351
<i>Agreement Providing for Facilities in Kenya for Air-Service Wireless Communication</i> (1939)	353
<i>Report of the Committee Appointed to Consider the Whole Question of Rural Telephones</i> (1929)	363
<i>Report of the Postmaster-General for the Year 1892</i> (1893)	369
Editorial Notes	419
Index	427

ROADS

The progress of road construction varied greatly between countries (see Table 1). Early routes included the Stevenson, MacKinnon-Sclater, and a number of Rhodesian roads. The Stevenson roadway ran between Lake Nyassa in Nyasaland and Lake Tanganyika in Central Africa and was constructed in the early 1880s to counter German claims to the hinterland and to extend British commercial and missionary interests, and, in so-doing, to end the slave trade.¹ By the late 1920s, this highway had been joined by three more Nyasaland routes – Chikwawa on the Tchiri River to Blantyre, the country's commercial centre (25 miles); Blantyre to Zomba (40 miles); and Blantyre to Matope on the Tchiri river (30 miles).² The 600-mile MacKinnon-Sclater road, built in the early 1890s, comprised two sections. The Mackinnon route, so-called because it was funded by Sir William Mackinnon, the founder of the British East Africa Company, linked Mombassa in Kenya to Kibwezi, and was constructed by the Australian George Wilson to increase trade with Uganda. This road was then extended by Captain B. Sclater of the Royal Engineers to Busia at the Uganda border.³ Subsequent road construction in Kenya was impressive. From 1902 to 1940, feeder routes were built to link the main agricultural areas with Nairobi, the Uganda Railway and the usable sections of the MacKinnon-Sclater road (much of which fell into disuse after the arrival of the railway), and, by 1947, the country possessed 27,162 km of highway.⁴

Progress in Uganda was less dramatic. By 1932, there were just 1,800 miles of roadway, including the 55-mile Kampala to Toro route.⁵ Early Rhodesian roads included Salisbury to Chimoio, Bulawayo–Tati (120 miles), Bulawayo–Charter–Salisbury and the Moodie Trek, running from Fort Victoria Eastward, all of which were built from 1891 to 1895. By 1923, the country possessed over 8,000 miles of highway, though the quality varied considerably (see Cripps, *How Roads were Made in the Native Reserves of Charter District, Mashonaland* (1936) and *Southern Rhodesia. Committee to Enquire into the Costs of Distribution of Imported Goods and Local Products in Southern Rhodesia* (1936), below).⁶ As regards South and West Africa, at the end of the First World War, South Africa had 47,000 miles of 'provincial' roads and even more miles of 'farm' roads (see

Campbell, *Kenya's Road Policy: Repercussions of South African Practice: Report on a Tour of South African Roads* (1945); Van Reenan, *The Free State Roads* (1914); and *Report of the Commission on Roads* (1921), all below), and, by the early 1920s and late 1920s, Nigeria and the Gold Coast possessed 6,000- and 4,588-mile road systems, respectively (see *Notes on Road Construction* (1933) and *Replies to Questions of the Private Enterprise Committee by the Governor of Sierra Leone* (1923), below).⁷

Table 1: African Roads, 1935.⁸

Colony/country	Kilometre of road per square kilometre of land
Basotland	0.02
Bechuanaland	0.001
Gambia	0.004
Gold Coast	0.04
Kenya	0.03
Nigeria	0.02
N. Rhodesia	0.02
Nyasaland	0.06
Sierra Leone	0.03
S. Rhodesia	0.04
Swaziland	0.11
Tanganyika	0.02
Uganda	0.03
<i>British Empire</i>	Average 0.02
French Equatorial Africa	0.07
French West Africa	0.01
<i>French Empire</i>	Average 0.009
Belgian Congo	0.02
Ruanda Urundi	0.10
Angola	0.02
Mozambique	0.03
South Africa	0.11

Notes

1. J. B. Wolf, 'Commerce, Christianity, and the Creation of the Stevenson Road', *African Historical Studies*, 4:2 (1971), pp. 363–71; J. McCarthy, 'Connecting the Lakes: Two Scottish Pioneers', *Society of Malawi Journal*, 57:2 (2004), pp. 1–11.
2. M. Elias, 'Feeding and Fleecing the Native: How the Nyasaland Transport System Distorted a New Food Market, 1890s–1920s', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32:3 (2006), pp. 505–24.
3. C. Miller, *The Lunatic Express. An Entertainment in Imperialism* (London: MacMillan, 1971); G. Bennett, *An Informal History of Motoring in Kenya*, available online at <http://www.vccck.org/index.php/kenyan-motoring/kenyan-motoring-history/50> [accessed 20 March 2011]; M. F. Hill, *Permanent Way. Volume Two. The Story of the Tanganyika Railways* (Nairobi: East African Railways & Harbours, 1957).

4. R. T. Ogonda, 'Transport and Communications in the Colonial Economy', in W. R. Ochieng and R. M. Maxon (eds), *An Economic History of Kenya* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1992), pp. 131, 133.
5. C. Ehrlich, 'The Uganda Economy 1903–45', in V. Harlow et al. (eds), *History of East Africa*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), vol. 2, p. 459.
6. S. M. Alois, 'From Dirt Tracks to Modern Highways: Towards a History of Roads and Road Transportation in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890 to World War Two', *Zambezia*, 21:2 (1994), pp. 147–66.
7. D. H. Houghton, 'Economic Development, 1865–1965', in M. Wilson and L. Thompson, *The Oxford History of South Africa* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 20; S. Heap, 'Transport and Liquor in Colonial Nigeria', *Journal of Transport History*, 21:1 (2000), pp. 28–53; F. M. Bourret, *Ghana. The Road to Independence, 1919–1957* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 30.
8. Source: J. Herbst, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 86.

A. S. Cripps, *How Roads were Made in the Native Reserves of Charter District, Mashonaland, Southern Rhodesia, 1934-5* (London: 'West Africa', 1936).

How Roads were Made in the Native Reserves of
Charter District, Mashonaland

1934-5

By

ARTHUR SHEARLY CRIPPS¹

WITH A PREFACE ON ROAD - CONSTRUCTION CON-
TRIBUTED BY A ROAD - CONSTRUCTOR

Price One Shilling /

CHAPTER I.

Unpaid Forced Labour

EARLY in the year 1935 reliable news had reached me of how a big burden of unpaid forced labour was being laid upon Africans in Charter District, Mashonaland. Complaints reached me concerning road-making as well as the multiplication of work at dip-tank centres. An outspoken denunciation of the way in which Africans were being oppressed under the authority of a dip-tank supervisor reached me from, a European resident in a somewhat remote part of the District.

Not long after receiving this indictment, I wrote a letter, and followed it up by paying a visit, to a Native Department official at The Range, the headquarters of that Department in Charter District. I appealed to this official to stand up for the Africans concerned, but he gave me to understand that the dip-tank supervisor was working under his own supervision and authority, and that the

Africans of our District, who, he alleged to have been idle for years, must do the road-making required of them.

I had come to this District of Mashonaland first in the year 1901, and I had put in some twenty-eight years there of bona-fide residence since my arrival, so I could certainly claim to know it fairly well. In March, 1935, I proceeded to make a personal investigation into that allegation of Unpaid Forced Labour in the area, whence such a stirring protest had reached me, an area that I had frequently visited in years past, in the neighbourhood of the Sabi River. A local Methodist Missionary-in-charge, the Reverend Walter Howarth, proved of great service to me in helping me to carry out my investigation.

After I had obtained much evidence myself by foot-travel, he took me on his light lorry over a great stretch of country, and showed me what an astonishing extension of road-making had been achieved in the course of a few months by Africans (already miserably overtaxed) called out under our Native Department's authority. The amount of work accomplished must have been a stupendous burden upon those who were called out from their own employments to do it – with their own cattle, their own sledges, their own ploughs, their own hoes, and their own axes, without any regular rationing,* and without any wages whatsoever. I want to submit that it was a public disgrace that this vast multiplication of road-making on the Sabi Reserve, Charter District, and on an isolated adjacent Mission farm, which had been pushed / forward in a few months, should not have been paid for. It was disgraceful that no wages were given, no regular rations supplied, and no remission of poll-tax promised or conceded to the road makers employed. My comrade the Methodist missionary assured me that the new banking-up and ditching of roads policy,* which I saw exemplified, compared very unfavourably with the old system of scuffling and stubbing of tracks – from a motorist's point of view. The increased burden of forced unpaid labour, entailed already by the making, and threatened by future upkeep of this new ambitious, if ineffective, roads scheme, is appalling to contemplate.

All needful roads in the Southern Rhodesian Native Reserves ought to be made and maintained by voluntary labour, paid at least fifteen shillings a month, regularly and sufficiently rationed, and efficiently directed by our Public Works Department.

The Southern Rhodesian settler (so lavishly subsidised out of Africans' poll-tax revenue, as well as out of the Beit Trust) ought surely to find the wherewithal for this reform, which is long overdue now. The African of Southern Rhodesia, harassed by heavy taxation,† juggled out of a fair return for what he grows by Maize Control legislation, impoverished by a Cattle Levy devised to help to pay

* See Preface.

† See Appendix II (not included).

for the Europeans' cattle-export trade, ought not in these days to be left at the mercy of a huge undefined policy of forced labour, a vast additional impost. Will the interests of African Development be pleaded as an excuse for an extortion of forced unpaid labour in Africans' own Reserve land?

I want to ask two plain questions of those people who may plead any such excuse.

- (i.) How many African-owned waggons, Scotch carts,² or sledges will be allowed to travel freely over (and to impair) these motor-roads made and maintained by Africans for European motorists?
- (ii.) How much of the Southern Rhodesian African's miserly allowance of Native Reserves is being whittled away by the abandonment of old tracks, which are left to erosion, and by the multiplication of new motor roads – the unrestricted use of which is grudged, or debarred, to the old-fashioned vehicles of those Africans, who have been sweating unpaid to make them?

In the Preface to the third edition of his book 'Kenya,' Dr. Norman Leys³ has told us that even the most conservative of his informants 'agree that the payment of labourers on communal work is of prime importance. In a country where most of the workers are paid sixpence a day or less, the requiring of unpaid / labour from a single section of the population,* and that section the poorest, amounts to slavery.'

In a leading article, dated April 20th, 1935, based upon those revelations as to Unpaid Forced Labour, which 'The Manchester Guardian'⁴ had printed for me on April 12th, 1935, 'West Africa' (published in England) spoke out strongly to the following effect as to the shameful character of the allegations I had made against Southern Rhodesia, inasmuch as Southern Rhodesia formed part of our British Commonwealth of Nations. – 'It is scarcely necessary to remind people interested, in African matters that one of the strongest counts in the indictment of the Liberian Government by the Christy Commission was the use of forced, unpaid labour. Many comments passed in this country upon the Liberian authorities then responsible have gone so far as to suggest that Liberia, owing to the charges made by the Christy Commission and others, should be deprived of membership of and reliance upon the League of Nations. It is therefore incumbent upon countries which form part of the British Empire to show that they neither impose nor tolerate practices of the nature of those which came to light in Liberia several years ago.

'On general grounds it is to be hoped the Southern Rhodesia Government will make strict and prompt inquiry into the truth of Mr. Cripps' charges. It is a high political interest and a high commercial interest of Great Britain that Afri-

* See Appendix I.

cans under European Administrations in British Africa should be left in peaceful possession of their natural human rights and should be contented and prosperous. But in the case of Southern Rhodesia there are certain special reasons why public inquiry should be made. The country's Prime Minister frequently speaks as if his Government had hit upon some new and better way of dealing with its African population than other Governments have been able to evolve. Then, the country has just reported a Budget* claimed to be the most favourable in its history, which fact suggests that it could afford to pay the standard wage for Government-directed labour. Further, it is a country which professes great pride in its foundation by Mr. Rhodes and its devotion to his principles. If the case stated by Mr. Cripps is not disproved, it will be no matter for surprise if impartial critics say either that the principles of the founder of Rhodesia were unjust to Africans or that those who to-day govern the country he founded are departing entirely from his principles.'

CHAPTER II.

'An Inquiry Necessary'

THAT leading article from 'West Africa', which I have quoted, is headed 'An Inquiry Necessary'. 'West Africa' says of me, the compiler of this pamphlet: 'When therefore he makes in the *'Manchester Guardian'* a serious charge against the Government of Southern Rhodesia, that Government will no doubt feel that it cannot with due regard to its own fair fame leave it uninvestigated.'

On May 14th, 1935, the following question was put in the British House of Commons to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs,⁵ the Right Hon. J. H. Thomas,⁶ M.P., by Mr. Mallalieu,⁷ M.P.:—

'Whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that the natives of Mashonaland, Southern Rhodesia, are now being subjected to compulsory labour for the making of roads without receiving any payment of wages or rations whilst at work and without any remission of poll-tax; and whether he will say under what legislation this labour is being exacted?'

To this question Mr. Thomas is recorded to have replied as follows:—

'I have made inquiries and understand that certain roads, of about twenty-four miles in extent, are being constructed in one of the reserves of Mashonaland in order to give better access to dipping tanks and so attract purchasers to whom the natives may sell their cattle. These roads have been made by native cattle owners at the suggestion of the dip-tank supervisor. No compulsion has been used and no complaints have been received from the natives.'

* See Appendix III (not included). /

Did this answer refer to recent happenings in my own District of Charter, Mashonaland? If so, it contained two bare-faced terminological inexactitudes.

I allege that wide-spread compulsion has been used here, and that complaints have most certainly been received from our local Africans.

Moreover, I allege that our dip-tank supervisor, who acted as the compelling European agent, received his compulsive power from the local Native Department Office of our Government.

In the 'Manchester Guardian' of June 26th, 1935, I wrote: 'Southern Rhodesia is a large country containing many native districts. I profess to know only one native district comparatively well, the Charter District of Mashonaland, and I allege that / the information given by Mr. Thomas does not fit the facts as to that district. If the Government of Southern Rhodesia does not see its way to grant an impartial inquiry into the allegations I made as to unpaid forced labour in this district, I hope to publish and to circulate a pamphlet entitled 'How Roads were made in the Native Reserves of Charter District, S. Rhodesia, 1934-5'.

Such a Government Inquiry as I suggested has not been afforded to me. About the end of August, 1935, I was told by a Chief Native Commissioner, who has recently come into office, that he could not well afford me such an inquiry, since his doing so might seem to reflect on his predecessor in office (who was supposed to have made some sort of an inquiry into the matter concerned on a brief visit that he paid to Charter District about April, 1935).

If the information referred to in the British House of Commons emanated from that predecessor, who is now out of office, and was meant to refer to this district of Charter, wherein I am now residing, I repeat that it does not fit the facts, as I know them. I repeat that wide-spread compulsion has been used in Charter District, and that complaints have most certainly been received from local Africans, domiciled in Charter District. In my next two chapters precise information may be found as to compulsion having been used, and as to complaints having been made.

CHAPTER III.

How Compulsion was Used in the Charter District

SINCE the information, which I have quoted, was given in the British House of Commons, on May 14th, 1935, I have made personal researches far and wide in Charter District, supplementary to that research which I had made in the Sabi Reserve neighbourhood, and reported in my letter of April 12th to 'The Manchester Guardian'. I have found evidence as to an imposing amount of Unpaid Forced Labour having been exacted in the period 1934-5. The extent of the new road-making in that Sabi area, which I investigated in March, 1935, may have

been about 24 miles in extent, but I have found that that road-making is but a portion of a far-flung scheme of Unpaid Forced Labour superimposed upon our Charter District's Native Reserves by a certain / dip-tank supervisor under the authority of the Native Department's Office at The Range in the Charter District.

I found that this dip-tank supervisor did indeed come about last June, some time after that misleading (not to call it utterly disingenuous) explanation had been given in Parliament as to unpaid road-making in Mashonaland, to one particular centre of Africans, and remark that the roads which he had set them to make were for the purpose of getting cattle-buyers to buy their cattle. Elsewhere I have found no trace of this explanation having been given by him to Africans, however tardily. I suggest that this explanation may have been an after-thought, as far as he was concerned. In June, 1934, some time before the pressure of Unpaid Forced Labour, so far as I can estimate, reached its height in our District, the whole District without exception, was, I believe, closed to the movement of cattle – a local outbreak of African Coast Fever⁸ having been discovered. I remember putting the question in March, 1935, to an African dip attendant as to when he had last seen cattle-buyers at the dip which I found him to be serving, and being told that it was at a time earlier than that when our Coast Fever quarantine came into force. I have heard from a European source that quite another explanation has been given by the dip supervisor of his road-making activities – that he has alleged his desire to free Africans from the extortionate tyrannies of local traders. But I do not think that either the one explanation or the other is of very much importance, or to be taken very seriously. The fact remains that the dip-tank supervisor, backed by the local Native Department, forced an astounding amount of labour from Africans, who had cattle to dip, in that region of Charter District and Buhera Sub-District which was under his control, using African dip attendants as his agents or overseers. I feel no reasonable doubt, after making extensive and intensive researches into the history of his proceedings, that in his policy of bluff he used threats of gaol. I believe in the general accuracy of the report given to me in the Manyene Reserve of Charter District as to this dip-tank supervisor having proclaimed: 'Ndini ishe doktera we mombe: yitayi basa re road: kana musingayite basa ndinokuyisayi mu torongo.' This proclamation, being interpreted, means: 'I am the Chief, the Cattle Doctor: do the road-work: if you do not do the work, I will put you in gaol.'

Mr. Thomas told the British House of Commons that, according to his information, no compulsion was used. At a Paramount Chief's centre (in the Mondoro Reserve of Charter District), when I was investigating our Unpaid Forced Labour scandal, an African used an argument that appeared to me to go straight to the root of the matter. He asked a question of this kind: 'If we were not forced, should we be punished?' Here is an instance of the sort of punishment inflicted. /

I allege (and I offer evidence in support of my allegation) that a brother of this same Paramount Chief was punished for absenting himself from work on the road, when other people went to that work, by being sentenced to work in a dip-garden.

I allege that another man of the same Chief's people, who had been looking about for lost cattle, and so had absented himself from road-work, was punished by being given a week's roadwork. I submit that a woman in the same neighbourhood, whose husband was alleged to be looking for Tax, was penalised for a day. And so on, and so on.

I offer evidence that in this particular Reserve (from which I have been drawing these particular instances, that I have given of the penalising of defaulters) the rule was that, if a man were sick, his wife must be sent; if she were not sent, he must work when he got better. In the Manyene Reserve, not very far from where I live, I submit that I have evidence taken in the presence of a Paramount Chief that the rule there was apparently that, were a man away, his wife or child must take his place at road-making. An African, whom I know intimately, who lives and owns cattle upon a Native Purchase area – dipping his cattle at a tank on the Manyene Native Reserve – has told me that at one time his daughter acted as his substitute in his absence from home.

One of the most sinister features of the whole had business appears to have been the use of women's labour, while their husbands were away at work, or seeking their tax-money.

The dip-tank supervisor worked his Unpaid Forced Labour scheme by means of African dip-attendants, through whose hands those dipping cards passed, on which the numbers of the various African owners' cattle were entered. Each card-owner might be warned to complete a strip of road, about fifty yards in length. One dip attendant assured me that he only allowed a woman to help her husband on a strip, but not to take over a strip, when the husband was not available, but I am offering evidence to prove that all our Charter District dip attendants were not so scrupulous. (In both a Reserve to the west of Charter District, and in another to the east of the same District, I have gathered this evidence of mine.) I assert that, through the custody of their cattle-tickets, leverage of a bluffing kind has been brought to bear upon our Africans in Charter District to bring them out in wholesale fashion for Forced Unpaid Labour, both labour for road-making, and also labour at dip-tank centres.*

By the machinery of the Adult Male Africans' Registration Certificates, native labour for wages is regulated, and coerced from / desertion before the periods of labourers' contracts may have expired. By the machinery of the African cattle-owner's dipping ticket (used with a liberal amount of bluff by some

* See Appendix IV (not included).

dip-tank official – acting as the Native Department's go-between) a vast amount of labour has been secured by the Native Department of our Charter District in Mashonaland, without money and without price.

The son of a Paramount Chief pointed out his view in my presence that the dipping ticket was a second Registration Certificate. I think that I understand what had prompted that view, to which he gave such significant expression. Surely the vague menace of being refused back one's dipping list of cattle by a dip attendant, who represented a dip-tank supervisor with some reputation for rough dealings* at dips, who in his turn represented the Southern Rhodesia Native Department, may have proved wondrously successful in extracting Unpaid Forced Labour among the very submissive African cattle-owners inhabiting Mashonaland.

Assuredly it may have been found an easy task to bluff them thereby into surrendering their services on a gigantic scale to further an organised scheme of unpaid navvying. In certain places a great amount of raised roadway was substituted for old tracks. Not only the African people, already taxed almost out of existence as individuals, but the people's cattle,† axes, hoes, sledges, ploughs were commandeered for communal work on roads, or on dip tanks' embellishments. One African gave testimony that he had used twelve cattle for a day's work with an iron road-smoothing apparatus. I maintain that such use of man's and cattle's labour without wage reflects little credit on that Native Department, under whose authority he was employed. In Kenya, so we have been told, communal work was required by law from Africans, who preferred their own free village life to plantation life as wage-earners for Europeans.‡ Here in our Charter District of Southern Rhodesia I submit that I have found evidence of the communal labour of road-making having been exacted from women while their husbands have been busied with the business of wage-earning or Tax-seeking. It is an outstanding disgrace, I maintain, to that district of Mashonaland wherein I have made my home for so many years now, that Unpaid Forced Labour should have taken the repulsive shape that it did in the period. 1934-5.

CHAPTER IV.

How Complaints were Made in Charter District

THE Right Hon. the Dominions Secretary told the House of Commons that, according to his information, no complaints had been received from the Natives about that road-making in Mashonaland of which he spoke. I allege that in

* See Appendix VI (not included).

† See Preface.

‡ See Appendix I. /