

DUSE MOHAMED ALI AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAN-AFRICANISM

1866 - 1945

VOLUME II

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CONTENTS

VOLUME II

Chapter V	"The Well Known Agitator" 1912-1921	pp. 416-562
Chapter VI	Business and Pan-Africanism 1912-1921	pp. 563-649
Chapter VII	In America 1921-1931	pp. 650-723
Chapter VIII	Back to Africa 1931-1945	pp. 724-783
Conclusion		pp. 784-787
Bibliography		pp. 788-822

Illustrations:

Duse Mohamed Ali, with Chief Oluwa of Lagos, his son Mohamed Yahya, and the Imam, outside Woking Mosque June 1920	p. 416
Duse Mohamed Ali as an Old Man in Lagos	p. 724
Gertrude La Page and her Rosicrucian Students	p. 729

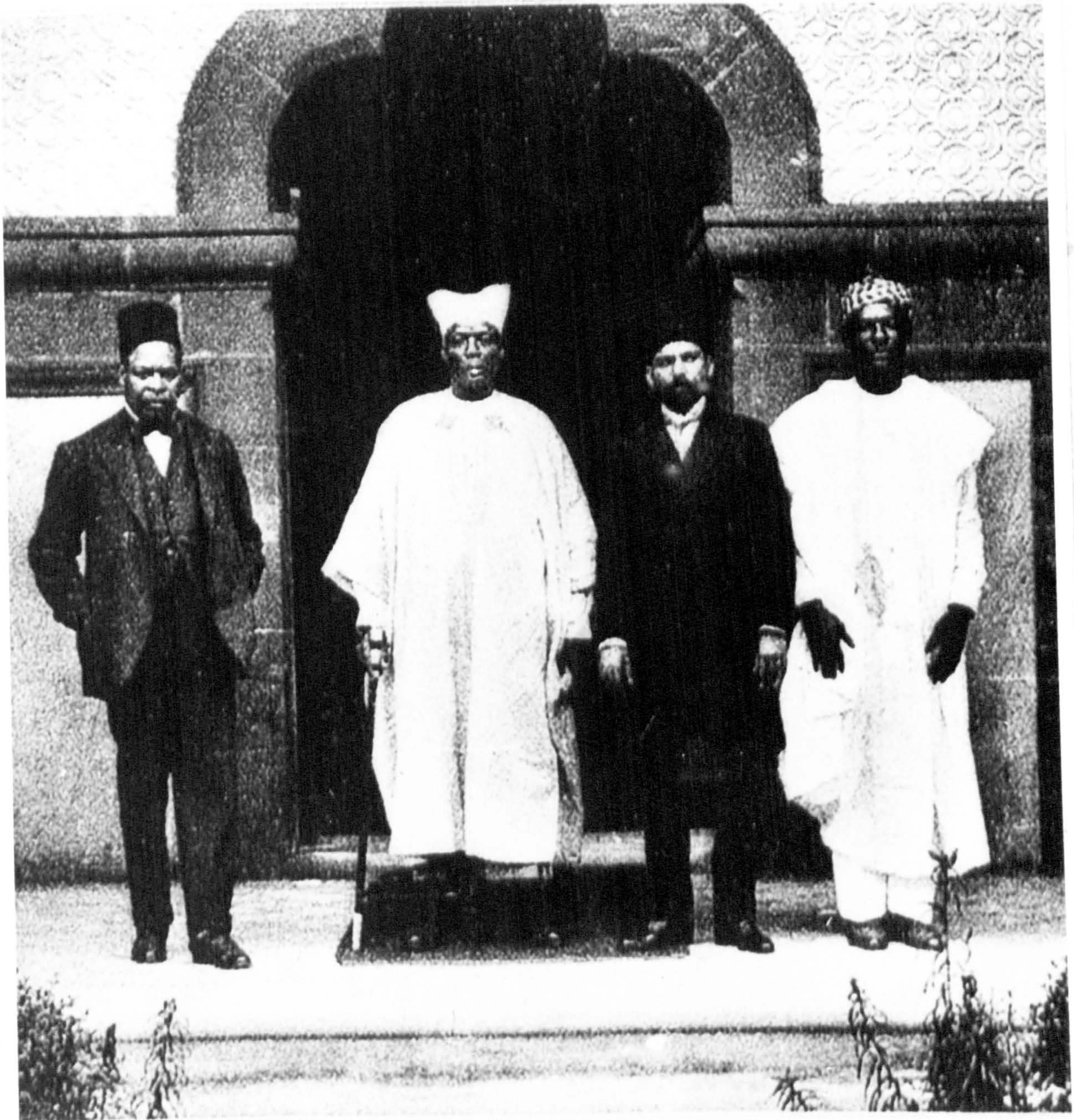
CHAPTER V

"THE WELL KNOWN AGITATOR"

1912-1921

1. Description of Duse Mohamed Ali in J. Loder, F.O. to Col. J.F. Carter, Director of Intelligence's Office, Scotland House, 13th August 1919 and Carter to Loder 15th August 1919; see F.O. 371/3728/1316.

OUTSIDE THE MOSQUE AT WOKING: Eid-ul-Fitur Festival,
June, 1920.



Duse Mohamed Ali.

Chief Oluwa of Lagos.

The Imam.

Mohammed Yaya, Son of
Chief Oluwa.

Duse Mohamed Ali, Chief Oluwa, The Imam and
Mohammed Yaya, son of Chief Oluwa, outside Woking Mosque,
Eid-ul-Fitur Festival June 1920

(from Africa and Orient Review, July 1920 p.30)

Between 1912 and finally leaving Britain in 1921, Duse' Mohamed Ali was more than a "unique" crusading journalist. He was also an active member, and often organiser, of a whole range of clubs and societies, whose names are perhaps the best introduction to their nature:- the Oriental, Occidental and African Society; the Central Islamic Society; the Ottoman Committee; the Anglo-Ottoman Society; the Albanian Committee; the League of Justice of the Afro-Asian Nations; the Sphinx Society; the Egyptian Association of Great Britain; the African Progress Union; the Indian Muslim Soldiers' Widows and Orphans War Fund; the Five Continents Club; the Society for Spreading Knowledge on the Capabilities for Civilization of Coloured People. Some of these were ephemeral - as a rule of thumb, the longer the title, the more shadowy the organisation. His role in them varied in importance and intensity. But clearly there was here a life of commitment to organised action of a religious cum cultural cum social cum political kind, which tied in closely with his editorial policies in the ATOR and AOR. Further, since he evidently spent so much of his time between 1912 and 1921 busying himself with a multitude of organisations in London operating in certain spheres, it must be asked why he was not to be found in the ranks of some similar others - notably the Ottoman Association, the Society of Peoples of African Origin, and the Du Bois organised Pan-African Congresses of 1919 and 1921. In addition to the organisations he did belong to, or might have been expected to belong to but did not, he was a frequent attender of public meetings and discussions on issues

related to Islam, the Negro, Africa, Asia and the Ottoman Empire.²

The organisations he belonged to, or might have been expected to belong to, fall into a number of fairly clear, if somewhat overlapping, categories. Firstly a group of societies connected with Islam may be discerned; more exclusively, this applies to the Central Islamic Society and the Indian Muslim Soldier's Widows and Orphans War Fund, but also in some sense to all the societies connected with the Ottoman Empire (as more than just a Muslim state, but one ruled by the Khalif), and to the Egyptian Societies (which included the Sphinx Club). The Albanian Committee can also be placed in this Islamic group. However, while some connection with Islam was a common factor of all these organisations, they were autonomous in function. Secondly, there were the Afro-Asian organisations - the Oriental, Occidental and African Society, and the League of Justice of the Afro-Asian Nations (normally referred to simply as the League of Justice). Thirdly, there were the purely Pan-African organisations - the African Progress Union, the Society of Peoples of African Origin, the Pan-African Congresses. Fourthly there were miscellaneous groups; perhaps the most shadowy of the lot, the Society for Spreading Knowledge on the Capabilities for Civilization of Coloured People; and the Five Continents Club, a projected inter-racial club.

2. An example would be his attendance in 1918 at a meeting of the British Worker's League in London to protest against the Labour Party's policy of permitting Germany to retain her colonies; see The Times 1st November 1918, p.3: cf. his letter to Sir A. Conan Doyle, ATOR, October 1918, pp.45-6.

Since Islam, even more than Pan-Africanism, seems to be the common ground of the greatest number of these organisations, it would perhaps be the best starting point from which to attempt the unravelling of this chapter in Duse' Mohamed Ali's life. At exactly what point he returned to formal observation of Islam is not, from present evidence, clear. To W.S. Blunt early in 1911 he appeared as a Muslim, though one ignorant of the simplest elements of his faith, but shortly after, in The New Age, he had declared allegiance to no particular religion.³ It is intended as no slur on the sincerity of his personal and private beliefs to say that his re-dedication to Islam was clearly intimately related with his growing political commitments from the date of publication of In The Land Of The Pharaohs onwards.

At exactly what point in time he became an accepted and even influential member of London's Muslim community is not certain, but it was at some point between The New Age article (April 1911) and the summer of 1913, by which time he was already Vice-President for Egypt of a body then called the Islamic Society.⁴ This later split, the faction Duse' belonging to calling itself the Central Islamic Society. It had been founded as far back as 1886, and was perhaps particularly suitable as a medium for his re-introduction to the Islamic community as its main objects were social functions and lectures to remove misconceptions about Islam

3. See Blunt, op.cit., p.759, and The New Age, April 26th 1911, p.606.

4. "Leaves from an Active Life", The Comet, 4th December 1937, p.14.

and Muslims, and it was in no sense exclusive, persons of other religions being allowed to join as associates.⁵ In such a circle his comparative ignorance about Islam could be remedied without undue embarrassment. He was evidently, from the office that he soon attained, regarded as a valuable recruit. It seems probable that he was a particular asset to the Islamic Society as a long-standing resident in Britain, who understood Britain (if not Islam) better than did more transitory overseas members. Perhaps this was why in summer 1913 one of the leading lights of the Islamic Society, the Indian Barrister, Muslim Leaguer who helped to found the London branch of the League in 1911, and adviser in Muslim Law to the India Office, Abdul Majid, brought the recently arrived Ahmadiyya missionary to Britain, Khwaja Kamal ud-Din, to the ATOR office. Duse has left us two accounts written at different times of this encounter, both coloured by resentment against Abdul Majid and Khwaja Kamal ud-Din. The latter was described as "a rather heavy, bearded Indian, oozing perspiration from every pore" - a Punjab civilian could hardly have given a more offensive description - and as "inclined to be somewhat dictatorial in his manner ... an aggressive rather than a persuasive

5. The Near East, 26th May 1911, p.98 reported the society's treasurer, Khaja Ismail, as so defining its membership and objects; they were repeated by M.H. Kidwai, with the date of foundation, in 1916 - see The Near East, 3rd October 1916, p.563. On the earlier occasion, Khaja Ismail denied that the society had any political function; but with its multi-national membership and tail of British Islamophiles and converts, it was clearly a useful meeting ground for all those interested in political causes connected with Islam.

missionary."⁶ As for Abdul Majid, although at that time he was a regular contributor to the ATOR and would hardly have made this introduction if he had not then been friendly with Duse Mohamed Ali, later, as we shall see, he became Duse's enemy.

As an Ahmadi, Khwaja Kamal ud-Din must have posed problems for the existing Muslim community in London, in view of the uneasy relations between Ahmadiyya and traditional Islam. As Duse Mohamed Ali related, when they first met, Khwaja Kamal ud-Din was in difficulties. During his three months in Britain as a missionary, "he had accomplished nothing". Duse's advice was that sectarian methods should be avoided, and instead non-sectarian Friday prayers should be arranged at some such place as Caxton Hall. If this were done, then Duse would persuade his Sunni friends to attend - all of which subsequently, so he says, happened.⁷

6. See Duse Mohamed Ali, "Lord Headley's Conversion", Nigerian Daily Times, 7th April 1933, p.7, and "Leaves from an Active Life", in The Comet, 4th December 1937, p.14.

Abdul Majid was the author, co-author or translator of a number of books, including The Rubaiyat of Hafiz (trans. with introduction by Abdul Majid), London 1910; England and the Moslem World. Articles, addresses and essays on eastern subjects, York, 1912; The Psychology of Leadership, London 1915; Malay Self-Taught, London 1920; and, with Sir R. West and J.G. Buehler, A Digest of Hindu Law ..., London 1919. For his part in the foundation of the London branch of the All-India Muslim League, see The Near East, May 1908, pp.85-6. He took a place on the original committee of the Muslim League's London Branch.

7. "A few days later he called to announce his acquisition of a room at Caxton Hall for Friday prayers and requested me to notify my friends. I did his bidding and on the Friday following, at my request, some twenty or thirty Egyptians and Indians turned out for prayer. These prayers continued at Caxton Hall for period (sic) of six or eight months with considerable success." see "Leaves from an Active Life", in The Comet, 4th December 1937, p.14.

Despite his later ill-feelings towards Khwaja Kamal ud-Din, it is fairly clear that while the two were both living in London they associated together amicably enough; they contributed to each other's papers, and Khwaja Kamal ud-Din became a regular visitor both at Duse's home and office.⁸ Though Duse's tale of dictating terms to the Ahmadiyya missionary need not be taken too literally, yet it is clear that he played some role in the continuance of the Ahmadiyya mission in Britain, and therefore indirectly in its most striking outward manifestation, its establishment at Woking Mosque.

As far as conversions were concerned, the Ahmadis found Britain as difficult a field as Christian missionaries have traditionally found Muslim countries. However, there was one spectacular early conversion - that of an Irish peer, Lord Headley, who though obscure previously, became a minor celebrity. Here too, Duse Mohamed Ali claimed that, not only was he kept informed of Headley's progress towards Islam, but also that he helped to sort out the trouble when Khwaja Kamal ud-Din publicly announced his success, without Headley's permission, at an Islamic Society function. Next morning, finding the press "filled with sensational news", he fled, we are told, first thing, to Duse Mohamed Ali's flat, "in a blue funk because of the wide publicity", and begged for advice. He was duly advised "to see Lord Headley at once and show him the papers and make what apologies he could for his indiscreet use of

8. Nigerian Daily Times, 7th April 1933, p.7.

the letter." The advice was taken, the noble convert was mollified, but any hopes that this newsworthy coup would lead to a large number of conversions were of course disappointed.⁹ Again, we must guard against the possibility that Duse Mohamed Ali exaggerated his own part in the Headley conversion; yet it seems plausible that with his large experience of Britain and the British, Khwaja Kamal ud-Din would have used him as a confidant.

The articles which Duse Mohamed Ali contributed to Khwaja Kamal ud-Din's Islamic Review reinforce the impression of an intimate connection between his Islamic and Pan-African ideas. These articles, which are typical examples of the mixture of eccentricity and insight which characterised much of his journalistic writing, all appeared between January and May 1916. The first, entitled "Is Thought Original",¹⁰ was an attack on the concept of human mental evolution. Though dressed up with a certain amount of theological argument, his conclusion being that "thought was created in the beginning by an All-Wise Creator to be imparted by Him to His chosen instruments and ministers for the reformation and enlightenment of the world and as a lasting memorial to His Greatness",

9. *ibid*, and "Leaves from an Active Life", in The Comet, 4th December 1937, p.14. It may be noted that despite the elation in London Muslim circles at the conversion of Lord Headley, his appears to have been a very non-militant conversion to Islam. His name is notably absent from the roll of British supporters of Islamic political movements in London.
10. Duse Mohamed Ali, "Is Thought Original", in Islamic Review, January 1916, pp.27-31.

'this article is in essence a defence of the mental capacity of the "darker races". Once again, it is necessary to bear in mind the contemporary British background of widespread belief in Social Darwinism. How often must he have heard the assertion that this or that coloured nation was centuries behind the "higher races" (chief among whom were, of course, the Anglo-Saxons). Now he rebuked the condescending worder taken by some members of the "higher races" at evidence of some mental capacity among their racial "inferiors";

It has often been wondered in the breast of the so-called civilized that the reputed uncivilized should be capable of assimilating higher thought; that members of the "backward" races have frequently excelled the "advanced" peoples in matters of culture and erudition.

In this connection the whole question of the evolutionary process of mental development requires revision. It is generally assumed by thinkers that all "backward" races must pass through an evolutionary stage of mental development in order that they may be lifted up to the mental altitude of the "advanced" races. We, however, find such examples as the holy Prophet, Muhammad (on whom be peace), arising from the "backward" races to lead the world to a higher realization of the omnipotence of God; a Booker T. Washington and a Frederick Douglass, among the Negroes of the United States, guiding the political, social and economic destinies of a whilom slave population; a Toussaint L'Ouverture, another pure-blooded Negro, without any educational attainments whatever, organising an army from a slave rabble, leading a successful revolt against a well-trained and equipped Napoleonic army in the island of Haiti, and founding a government which has lasted for over one hundred years; a Sir Samuel Lewis, of Sierra Leone, on the West Coast of Africa, whose parents were rescued from a slaver, becoming leader of the bar in the colony of his birth, eventually receiving the accolade at the hand of Queen Victoria as a reward for his sterling qualities and unquestioned legal erudition.

These are but a few of the cases that may be cited against the mental evolution theory.¹¹

11. *ibid*, pp.28-9.

In this passage we see how the adoption of an uncompromisingly fundamentalist religious position enabled him to contradict the then generally accepted claims of racist pseudo-science. What is even more illuminating is his sequence of examples - Muhammad; Booker T. Washington; Frederick Douglass; Toussaint L'Ouverture; Sir Samuel Lewis - which is not such as one would normally associate with Muslim apologetics, and which must have seemed a little surprising (and indeed enlightening) to Asian Muslim readers. Admittedly, he betrays some ignorance of Toussaint, who was not so destitute of education as he supposed.¹² But more importantly, we see how he related Islam, about which he knew only a little, to the predicament of the Negro in Africa and the Americas, about which he knew a great deal.

However, this article though anti-racist was not egalitarian. It asserted "There will always be a favoured few, whether among the 'advanced' races or within the ranks of the so-called 'backward' races, who will be capable of receiving and assimilating higher thought."¹³ This elitism was further exposed in the succeeding article, "God and Science";¹⁴

12. C.L.R. James, Black Jacobins, 2nd revised ed., New York 1963, pp.19-20, states that Toussaint was the son of an African chief and belonged to the small class of superior slaves with some education.
13. Islamic Review, January 1916, p.29.
14. Duse Mohamed Ali, "God and Science", Islamic Review, February 1916, pp.90-95.

It is also very questionable whether a smattering of education is really beneficial to the mass. The so-called modern diffusion of learning not infrequently tends to unsettle the conditions of life by creating false intellectual values; honest labour is despised and the hereditary scullerymaid or the inestimable milkmaid becomes a bad typist or a shopgirl, and the descendant of a long line of efficient farmers blossoms into a fully fledged 'counter-jumper' or company promoter of doubtful reputation.¹⁵

Here we must balance the apparent snobbery of these views against the figure of T. Swellibus and his ilk. Much of the rest of the article is devoted to the proposition that "Science is a sham and an invention, a delusion and a snare." Writing in a "doomwatch" vein, he asserted that the apparent triumphs of science and technology invariably led to catastrophe, and furthermore that this was a cyclical process which had already occurred in antiquity.¹⁶

One of the two remaining articles deserves some attention - it was on a theme he had already expounded and which was evidently close to his heart - "Islam and the African".¹⁷ As previously, he contrasted the Muslim missionary favourably with the Christian, the former portrayed as perfecting the African social order, the latter as perverting and disrupting it. His picture of Muslim life in Africa was, of course, highly idealised, and when many years later he was to live in an African Muslim community it was to be one notoriously riddled with dissension

15. *ibid*, p.94.

16. *ibid*, pp.91-3.

17. Duse' Mohamed Ali, "Islam and the African", *ibid*, April 1916, pp.180-185.

and ill-will.¹⁸ But the importance of this kind of writing was not descriptive or even analytical but polemic, attacking the white man's claim to moral superiority just as the earlier article "Is Thought Original" had attacked the white man's claim to mental superiority. He even ventured on the dangerous ground of contrasting the African Christian disadvantageously with the African Muslim;

European Christian merchants in Africa will credit a Muslim African with thousands of pounds worth of goods, without security. But the same merchant would not give a Christian 'native' credit, however well known, unless adequate security were furnished ... The word of an African Muslim is always accepted by the European Christian, but the honour of the average Christian African is a byword! This ... proves how little faith the average European appears to have in the ennobling qualities of his religion.¹⁹

But of course it was not possible for one with such close and fruitful relations with a wide range of Christian West Africans, to leave this statement as it stood. The Muslim polemicist gave way to the Pan-Africanist and, it may be said, to his loyalty to his friends, for he added a handsome qualification;

Of course this peculiar attitude of the European does not do justice to the Christian Africans I have met and transacted business with, African Christian ladies and gentlemen from the 'Dark Continent' who were the soul of honour and probity, and I was honoured in numbering them among my friends. On the other hand, I have met Muslims of whom I was ashamed because of their reprehensible conduct. ... The bad African Christian is the undoubted product of contact with the bad European Christian ...²⁰

18. This community was the Muslim community in Lagos, where he lived from 1931 till his death in 1945.

19. Islamic Review, April 1916, p.184.

20. ibid.

Though this article was not written till 1916, there is every reason to suppose that Duse Mohamed Ali and Khwaja Kamal ud-Din were in accord on the question of Islam in Africa well before then. In February 1914 they jointly wrote a letter of protest to The Times over the Kikuyu controversy - the attempt of Protestant missionary bodies in Kikuyuland to paper over their differences and form a common front against the feared advance of Islam. Yet it was not the initial outbreak of this controversy that provoked their response, but a letter to The Times from Bishop J.J. Willis of Uganda in mid-February 1914. Bishop Willis' letter was militant though not abusive in its language; it stated that although Islam had had its day in Buganda, where the Christian position had become secure, in the rest of the country, where the majority of the population dwelt "the struggle between Christianity and Islam is really serious. The future ... still hangs in the balance." However, he did not call for a Kikuyuland style Protestant popular front and indeed carefully explained that his present visit to Britain was in no way occasioned, as many had supposed, by the Kikuyu controversy. He appealed for funds to create a college to train African clergy and to create three normal schools for training Christian African schoolteachers in Uganda.²¹

Although this was hardly open to the charges of expediency or even trickery that could be levelled against the Kikuyuland plan (which involved giving Africans a false impression of Protestant unity and brotherhood) it was pilloried by Duse Mohamed Ali and Khwaja Kamal ud-Din in the course

21. Bishop J.J. Willis, letter in The Times, 14th February 1914, p.7.

of their long and angry letter which was published a week later, and which ran as follows;

On behalf of the members of the Islamic faith residing in England we desire to enter an emphatic protest against the hostility to Islam displayed at a conference of missionaries belonging to a number of Protestant denominations at Kikuyu in East Africa.

We are convinced that the whole of the hundred millions of Moslem inhabitants of the British Empire share our feelings of regret and indignation at the gratuitous attack on our faith; and we feel no doubt that the vast numbers of Christians who believe with us that conscientious opinions are too sacred to be made the subject of attack by the followers of rival creeds will consider our protest fully justified. There can be no doubt that important agencies of Protestant missionary enterprise have adopted against Islam the device of an artificial and pretended unity, for the purpose of increasing the chance of Protestant propaganda against Islam. We are entitled, therefore, to ask, what is the 'menace' of which the Protestants are afraid? The humble missionary of Islam, without the accessories of wealth and power at the back of others, carries his simple faith to peoples immersed in absolute darkness; uplifts them from pure heathenism, teaches them the duties of life, and turns them into beings with a true conception of the relation of God to man; he preaches to them the power, glory, and love of God, the Omnipotent, the All-Seeing, who is not made by hands, who is the Creator Eternal, who alone can give happiness to man; he teaches them the universal brotherhood of mankind in the faith of Islam; making no distinction of colour or race; he tells them that Moslems are brothers, and that there are none higher or lower in the faith of Islam; he endeavours to turn them into orderly members of the society in which their lot is cast; he impresses on them the value of human life and the responsibility of man to God;

The letter of the Bishop of Uganda published in The Times of Saturday the 14th, shows exactly the spirit which animates Christian pastors who seem bent on carrying into 'benighted Africa' the intolerance common in Europe and Asia.²²

22. *ibid*, 20th February 1914, p.10. It is instructive that though the word 'benighted' in the final paragraph of this letter is put in inverted commas, yet the letter itself talks about pagan Africans as "immersed in absolute darkness" and implies that pagan Africans did not know the "duties of life". If it is true that this letter was solely drafted by Duse Mohamed Ali (see n.23 below), it would seem to show that his anger at Christian contempt for pagan African culture was more a stick to beat an opponent than a deeply held conviction.

This was apparently merely part of a longer letter, though all The Times printed. It is notable that Duse' now felt able, in company with Khwaja Kamal ud-Din, to claim to represent the Islamic community in Britain. No-one, Muslim or Christian, stepped forward to contradict this claim. In fact, he was disposed to give Khwaja Kamal ud-Din little of the credit for this letter. Writing a few years later, he said that the idea was F.H. O'Donnell's, the execution solely his own, and that the "letter was afterwards circulated in India as the work of the Muslim gentleman whom I had induced to sign the communication with me, but who never saw the letter till it appeared in print."²³ His pique illustrates and perhaps helps to explain his dislike of Kamal ud-Din.

Indeed, if related to the various organisations with Islamic connotations with which he was by that time connected, it is clear that the claim to speak for the Muslim community was more than mere rhetoric. At this time he was active in both the Islamic Society and the Anglo-Ottoman Society, and was developing close connections with exile Egyptian Nationalist circles; however much a man such as W.S. Blunt may have derided and queried his religious beliefs, he was accepted by his fellow Muslims as not only a brother Muslim but what is more as a leader of their community in Britain. In this community, small, and therefore, we may suppose, intimate, his religious position was both acceptable and even respected. This idyllic situation was not, however, to last; as we

23. See Duse' Mohamed Ali, "Frank Hugh O'Donnell, of O'Donnell", in Africa and Orient Review, p.6.

shall see, within a few years the Islamic Society was to split bitterly, though over Duse Mohamed Ali's actions, and perhaps personality, rather than his religious orthodoxy.

The activities discussed so far, though having political implications, were primarily religious. But in the years leading up to the Great War he was also increasingly concerned by the declining political fortunes of the Ottoman Empire; and here his activities were primarily political, though not without religious implications. The first such involvement was the Albanian Committee, announced in the December 1912 - January 1913 issue of the ATOR.²⁴ Here, the connecting thread was Islam, for of the areas severed from Turkey by the Balkan Wars, only Albania had a Muslim majority, and it was in danger of partition by its Christian neighbours. The Committee's programme was to demand Albanian independence (that is, from Greece, Serbia and Montenegro), and more especially the safeguarding of the rights of Muslims and Jews there from the threats of aggressive Balkan Christians. Of the twenty names announced in the review as members of the Albanian Committee, no less than six had or were to have other connections with him. Charles Rosher was his colleague in the ATOR; Dr. MacGregor Reid, T.D. Pillans and the Hon. Amir Ali (head of the All-India Muslim League in London) were all contributors

24. ATOR, December 1912 - January 1913, p.185. Duse complained "up to the time of writing a conspiracy of (press) silence obtains which is extremely mystifying." - see ibid, p.186. This is, however, contradicted in Aubrey Herbert, Ben Kardin. A Record of Eastern Travel, 2nd ed., Hutchinson & Co., London, n.d., p.214.

to the review. The Hon. Aubrey Herbert, M.P. (who had personal and sentimental connections with Albania)²⁵ was subsequently to share Turcophil platforms and committees with Duse' Mohamed Ali; while C.F. Ryder was to join with him in the League of Justice of the Afro-Asian Nations. The Albanian Committee was of little importance in itself. It advocated the candidacy of Prince Ahmad Fuad of Egypt for the Albanian throne,²⁶ and received various delegates of the three main Albanian

25. Ben Kendim, Part IV, passim, tells of the author's travels in and political struggles on behalf of Albania; pp.207-15 discusses the work and difficulties of the Albanian Committee.

Aubrey Herbert (1880-1923) was the second son of that Earl of Carnarvon who was Colonial Secretary under the Derby-Disraeli Ministries. He travelled widely not only in Albania but also in Anatolia, the Yemen, the Persian Gulf, 'Iraq and Syria during the late Ottoman era; indeed, much of his time in the vital years 1912-1913 was spent in and around Albania; he was a good linguist, speaking, among other languages, Turkish. Originally a Turcophobe, he became a Turcophile after a youthful visit to Turkey (see op.cit., pp.24-48).

In 1911 he became Conservative Member of Parliament for Yeovil, and, in the words of his posthumous editor; "Though his political career was interrupted for four years' fighting, he held almost from the time he was elected until his death a unique position with regard to Near Eastern questions. He understood the intricacies of Balkan politics, and the rulers of both Turkey and Albania trusted him as an unprejudiced friend. He had, therefore, the experience of frequently being treated both as advocate and adviser by Turkey and Albania, and he was listened to as an expert on Eastern affairs in Parliament." - see op.cit., editorial note, pp.v-vi., for this and other biographical details. Despite his anonymous editor's judgement on his political sagacity, Herbert gives much more the impression of being a man of action, capable of warm friendship and loyalty to his acquaintances and friends, but not at home in political intrigue. For example, he accepted the popular belief that the C.U.P. revolution in Turkey was a Masonic-Jewish conspiracy (see op.cit., pp.15-16) and found the Albanian Committee almost too much to handle (see op.cit., p.213).

26. ATOR, February-March 1913, p.235.

communities, Muslim, Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox, in London, where Herbert introduced them to Lloyd George.²⁷ But the Committee, quite unexpectedly, acted as a magnet for all sorts of Asians and even Africans living in London, to the bemusement and even distress of its chairman, who later wrote;

The Albanian Committee passed through difficult times. It was a light canoe negotiating fierce rapids. Because some Albanians were Mahomedans, political Mahomedans from the Gold Coast and many parts of the world came to the meetings of the unfortunate Committee, and taxed to the utmost the intelligence of the Chairman.²⁸

If this was a trial to Aubrey Herbert, it must have been an eye opener to Duse Mohamed Ali. It was his first experience of a political pressure group, and the flocking of Africans and Asians, the so-called "political Mahomedans" of which he himself was a prime example, to its banners, can surely be regarded as the detonator of his subsequent political activities. Further, the advocacy of Ahmad Fuad (who as a descendant of Muhammad Ali was of Albanian descent) for the Albanian throne must have appealed to his sense of Egyptian patriotism. Thus the Albanian Committee played its part in creating his political circle in London. Further, Herbert, with his social and political connections and ardent enthusiasm for Albania and Turkey, was a most valuable acquaintance to have made. Duse's attachment to the Committee shows that colour was

27. Herbert, op.cit., pp.208-11.

28. *ibid*, p.213. Ultimately, to protect himself against the throng of, to him, unwanted supporters, he decided to have meetings only in private, to exclude "that public which came only to express its irrelevant grievances" - *ibid*, p.214.

not the sole touchstone of his sympathies, as the Albanians could hardly, by any yardstick, be regarded as other than white.

It is clear that the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 aroused strong feelings among the small Muslim community in Britain, as among the world's great Muslim communities. By 9th January 1913, the committee of the London branch of the All-India Muslim League was resolving;

1. That the Committee ... desire to express their amazement at the report that the great Powers, instead of urging the Balkan Allies to abandon their uncompromising attitude, propose to place pressure on Turkey to submit to the extreme demands of her adversaries.
2. That the Committee further desire to express their emphatic opinion that the proposed procedure for bringing to a conclusion the Balkan War would be tantamount to a violation of the neutrality proclaimed by the Powers, and they earnestly trust that England, whose Empire includes a hundred millions of Mussulmans, will withhold her consent from a course of action which, whatever purpose it may serve for the present, will leave behind a legacy of lasting bitterness.
3. That the Committee, although fully conscious of the fact that no word or warning from them will alter the feelings of European peoples or the policy of their Governments, consider it their duty to place on record their sorrow at the sentiments of Christian Europe towards Islam and the East, evinced by its present attitude towards Turkey; an attitude amounting to co-operation in the spoliation of a Mussulman State with which it has no quarrel.
4. Resolved that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and to the public press.²⁹

This resolution reflected, of course, the reaction of the Muslim League's

29. The Near East, 17th January 1913, p.302.

parent body in India.³⁰ Its realistic tone, recognising the likely limits on the effectiveness of such resolutions, was not to deter the growth of Turcophil organisations among Muslims in Britain and their sympathisers.

It would be worthwhile to pause and briefly consider the impact of Turkish events on India from the Committee of Union and Progress (Young Turk) revolution of 1908 onwards; though it should also be borne in mind that Sultan Abdul Hamid had earlier launched the Pan-Islamic movement to fasten international Muslim sentiment to the cause of his shaky throne via his office as Khalifa.³¹ The Italian invasion of Libya in 1911, followed by the disastrous Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, agitated India's Muslims at a time when their feelings were already aroused against the British by the annulment of the Partition of Bengal.³² Now, they not only mourned for Turkey's sorrows, but also began to suspect Christendom in general and Britain in particular of wishing to destroy all that was left of Islam as an independent force in the world - that is, to destroy the Ottoman Empire, the world's sole remaining major independent Muslim

30. The growth of Turcophil feeling in India prior to and during the Great War is well summarised in Ram Gopal, Indian Muslims. A Political History (1858-1947), London 1959, pp.121-135. Also see Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Modern Islam in India, pp.195-207; Aziz Ahmad, Islamic Modernism in Pakistan and India, London 1967, pp. 131-149; Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, The Struggle for Pakistan, 2nd ed., Karachi 1969, pp.36-51; and for an unashamedly partisan Muslim account, Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, Early Phase of Muslim Political Movement, Lahore, n.d., pp.78-86. There is, unfortunately, no monograph study in English on the effect of Turkish misfortunes on India's Muslims from 1911 to the Khilafat movement after the Great War, despite its crucial importance to Indian political history in that period.

31. Cantwell Smith, op.cit., p.195; Nikki R. Keddi, "The Pan Islamic Appeal: Afghani and Abdülhamid II", Middle Eastern Studies, Vol.3, no.1, October 1966, pp.46-67, passim.

32. Ram Gopal, op.cit., p.122.

power.³³ The violently pro-Christian polemics of pressure groups such as the Balkan Committee and of sections of the British Press, including The Times,³⁴ gave colour to these fears, as did Britain's apparent diplomatic compliance with the Italian, Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian and Montenegrin attacks on Turkey, and the continuing British occupation of Egypt, still nominally under the Sultan's suzerainty.³⁵

In particular, the Middle Class Muslims were goaded into political consciousness and activity, as the Hindus had been forty years earlier. A highly political and pro-Turkish Indian Muslim press rapidly developed;³⁶ Muslims boycotted Italian goods, and collected money for the Turks during the Balkan Wars;³⁷ these funds were personally delivered in Constantinople by Indian Muslim leaders, and links were forged with such eminent Turkish figures as Enver Pasha,³⁸ later to be a famous Turkish war hero during

33. *ibid*, pp.122-3, Qureshi, *op.cit.*, p.36.

34. For an example of partisan British Turcophobe attitudes to the Balkan Wars, see Lt.-Colonel Sir Reginald Rankin (war correspondent for The Times), The Inner History of the Balkan War, 2 vols., London 1914. The hero of this work is The Times special correspondent in the Balkans, J.D. Bourchier, who Rankin represents as the real architect of the 1912 Balkan Alliance and the downfall of Turkey in Macedonia and Albania.

35. Ram Gopal, *op.cit.*, pp.122-3.

36. Cantwell Smith, *op.cit.*, pp.196-7.

37. Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p.79.

38. *ibid*, pp.79-80; Aziz Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p.131.

the Great War. In London, the London branch of the All-India Muslim League took an historic step by urging Indian Muslims to form a united front with the largely Hindu Indian National Congress, till this time the main expression of nationalism in India. This was not accepted by the parent body in India at that time,³⁹ but is historically important as it anticipated the Lucknow Pact between the Congress and the League in 1916,⁴⁰ and the subsequent Hindu Muslim unity over the Khilafat movement after the Great War.⁴¹ The Turks were naturally delighted at this source of support for their régime. In May 1914, a periodical called Jahan-i-Islam (Muslim World) was started in Constantinople for the express purpose of stirring up the Indians against the British. Copies found their way to India in considerable numbers and were freely obtainable in Lahore and Calcutta.⁴²

With this background in mind, it is easy to see that the Turcophil movements in London were linked to events of great significance for the British Empire. Though a tiny minority in an alien land, the Turcophiles in London could feel themselves to be part of a vast movement, and as they came not only from India but from many other Muslim countries, their sense of international Islamic solidarity was heightened. Thus, through

39. Ram Gopal, op.cit., p.123.

40. ibid, pp.129-131; Cantwell Smith, op.cit., p.198.

41. Ram Gopal, op.cit., pp.136-51, passim; Cantwell Smith, pp.198-206 passim.

42. Ram Gopal, op.cit., p.125.

these movements, a man like Duse Mohamed Ali could come into contact with such figures as the militantly anti-British Indian Muslim Leaguers, the brothers Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali.⁴³

Amir Ali,⁴⁴ the Muslim League leader in London was by late 1912

43. See Herbert, op.cit., p.213 for the role of the Ali brothers in the Albanian Committee; very likely these were the "Indian seditionists" that he found Duse Mohamed Ali helpful in keeping under control - see Herbert to Sir William Bull, 16th May 1918, C.O. 554/40/21897; and Herbert's conversation with W. Stewart of the Foreign Office, 27th September 1919, F.O. 372/1274/135061.
44. Amir Ali, born into a respected Muslim family of Persian descent in Bengal, educated at the Inner Temple and called to the Bar in 1873, was one of the most important Indian Muslim leaders of the later C.19. He formed the Central National Mohammedan Association in 1877, and became India's second Muslim High Court Judge in 1900. He retired to England with his English wife in 1904, and in 1909 was made a member of the Privy Council, the first Indian to be so honoured. In many ways he was a conservative figure; his National Mohammedan Association was strictly constitutional and "loyal"; but on the other hand, by encouraging Muslims to embrace western type education, he was one of those who made the emergence of a more radical Muslim middle class possible, see Ram Gopal, op.cit., pp.49-51.
- But his most important work was as a modern style Islamic propagandist; his Spirit of Islam, first published in 1891 and subsequently re-published in many editions, not only claimed the compatibility of Islam with modern western liberal ideas, but went further and claimed that it embodied them and was their highest possible expression - thus Islam raised women to a lofty pinnacle, was totally antipathetic to slavery, was fundamentally republican and democratic. See Cantwell Smith, op.cit., pp.47-55 passim. It is obvious that similar ideas are also to be found in Duse Mohamed Ali's writings, and the question is whether Duse had read The Spirit of Islam (and perhaps other of Amir Ali's voluminous writings) directly, or whether these ideas had come to him by some intermediary. It is obvious that here, rather than in the Arabic writings of Muhammad 'Abduh and Jamal ud-Din al-Afghani, we should look for the source of 'modern' Islamic ideas in Duse's outlook.

already in touch with other Islamophiles and Turcophiles (including Dusé), through the Albanian Committee. This still somewhat amorphous group had by July 1913 begun to feel its way towards a pro-Turkish organisation in England - mindful, no doubt, of the violently pro-Christian and anti-Turk Balkan Committee, which till then had pursued its propaganda virtually unopposed. On the 4th July 1913, the authoritative journal The Near East noted that moves were afoot to create a "Turkish Committee", though its correspondent was not clear whether a permanent or merely ad hoc body was intended. Its first move was to be an address by Charles Rosher - of the ATOR - on the Turkish exiles from Macedonia. The meeting, held at Journalists Hall, London, on 4th July, also put the following resolution which was seconded by Ellis Schaap, an ATOR contributor;

That this meeting calls upon Her Majesty's Government to suggest to other Powers the formation of an International Commission, to inquire and report upon the offences committed, without military necessity, against the persons, property, and religion of Moslem and other non-combatant inhabitants of Macedonia. (b) That this meeting is of opinion that the Moslem and other non-combatants who have suffered loss and injury should be indemnified. (c) That (following the precedent of the Treaty of Berlin) the Moslems and others, who for various reasons must remain in Macedonia, should be officially guaranteed their full rights by the Balkan States, whose subjects they have become as a result of the war.⁴⁵

Though Dusé Mohamed Ali's name does not appear in The Near East's report of these moves, it is inconceivable that he was not a party to them. As we have seen, at the same time he was campaigning in his review,

45. The Near East, 4th July 1913, p.246.

with which Schaap and Rosher were both connected, on exactly these issues. In fact, he was much more than an inside observer. He was taking the lead, behind the scenes, in putting the pro-Turk protest movement on a much firmer footing. His own account of his activities towards the organisation of an effective pro-Turkish movement in London is as follows;

I visited the Turkish Embassy where Raif Bey, the then Chancellor of the Embassy, fell upon my neck crying; 'Please Mohamed Bey, do what you can for us.' He immediately ushered me into the presence of Tewfik Pasha, the Ambassador, to whom I outlined my plan for the public meeting. We at once got in touch with the Hon. Aubrey Herbert who promised his active assistance and, on returning to my office, I found Marmaduke Pickthall awaiting me with an enquiry from Aubrey Herbert about the proposed meeting.

We called up Caxton Hall, fixed the date of the meeting, and in addition to Lords Newton, Lamington, and the other prominent persons ... communicated with a host of others soliciting their support.⁴⁶

It may be wondered, after this, how much he should be regarded as an agent of the Ottoman Embassy. This was a charge which he was later very sensitive to; in his autobiography he carefully stated;

As I have never been any man's hireling in matters of public interest, the entire cost of that meeting was borne by myself.⁴⁷

The meeting planned in Caxton Hall duly took place on 6th August 1913;⁴⁸ but before discussing the meeting itself, a little more needs saying about Duse' Mohamed Ali's role in organising it. According to Arthur Field, who was prominent in both the Ottoman Committee and its descendant the Anglo-Ottoman Society, a Mrs. Margaret Robinson, who had seen his letter to the

46. "Leaves from an Active Life", in The Comet, 4th December 1937, p.7. The use of the title "Bey" in addressing Duse' Mohamed Ali, if reported correctly, would indicate respect. Bey was, of course, a Turkish title, but also was used more loosely as a respect term.

47. The Comet, *ibid.*

48. See The Near East, 8th August 1913, p.388.

press attacking Christian atrocities in the Balkan war, urged him to communicate with the editor of the ATOR who was organising a meeting to support Turkey's retention of Adrianople;

Gladly I proffered my assistance to the able and single-minded Egyptian, who by thirty years of residence in England has made his English friends respect his opinions and ideals and identify themselves with his hopes and enthusiasms.

Mr. Mohamed got together a fine body of supporters, including Lord Newton, Lord Mowbray, Lord Lamington, the Hon. Aubrey Herbert, M.P., Captain Dixon-Johnson (of the Tripoli Red Crescent Hospitals) Mr. Hugh O'Donnell, Dr. Pillans, Mr. C.F. Ryder, and several of the contributors to this journal including Messrs. Ellis Schaap and Rosher.⁴⁹

49. Arthur Field, "The Ottoman Committee", in ATOR, November-December 1913, p.185. Of the persons mentioned by Field as members of the Ottoman Committee, it is noticeable that at least two of the more prominent, Lords Newton and Lamington, were friends of Aubrey Herbert's - see Herbert, op.cit., p.77; and 213-4, in which he observes of Albanian Committee meetings "These meetings had their brighter side, especially when Lord Newton attended them. Once, when he was criticising the Liberal Government that he disliked, he made a characteristic epigram. 'Sir Edward Grey,' said he, 'is a phenomenon in our national life. He is above criticism. He is something between the laws of first-class cricket and the Ten Commandments.'"

Up to 1914, Lord Newton's public career was confined to a spell in the diplomatic service from 1880-86, and as a Conservative M.P. from 1886 to 1899. His autobiography, Retrospection (London 1941), based on his diaries, indicates the low place Turkey held in his priorities; it makes no mention of the Ottoman Committee, Ottoman Association, or Anglo-Ottoman Society, but includes such details as his presence with Aubrey Herbert at the epic Carpentier-Gunboat Smith fight in London on July 16th 1914; also see DNB 1941-1950, London 1959.

Lord Lamington was a more weighty figure than this witty epigramatist. He was a friend of Lord Curzon, with whom he had been at Oxford, and was Governor of Bombay from 1903-1907. Subsequently, he often spoke in the Lords on the claims of minorities and small nations, and "... the main interest of his life was the welfare of the British Empire, and the advocacy of a good understanding between the British government and eastern peoples." - see D.N.B. 1931-40, pp.30-33; D. Dilks, Curzon in India, vol.2, London 1970, pp.148 & 171-2.

Though such figures no doubt helped the Turcophil movement by making it respectable, and difficult for either the British or Indian governments to be overtly hostile to it, yet they were essentially establishment figures. To Herbert, the cause of Turkey was a romance - he, as an aristocrat and landowner, admired the courage and loyalty of the Turkish soldier, but could contemplate the British acquisition of Ottoman territory in the Persian Gulf and Iraq as an unmitigated blessing for all concerned - see Herbert, op.cit., pp.83-4. As for Lamington, Wilfred Scawen Blunt, one of the few English Islamophiles who was an authentic anti-imperialist rather than a mere sentimentalist, regarded him as useless. He wrote, of a meeting on the Italo-Turkish war; "Lamington, in the Chair, made an unmeaning speech, excusing the Italians and excusing Grey, and exhorting all men to moderation, till the meeting rose against him. ... I was called for, and rose, Lamington trying to stop me, but I persisted, and pointed out the uselessness of relying upon mediation and the German Empire, and that if the war was to be stopped it must be by England alone. ... Meetings of this sort, unless they are indignation meetings, do less than no good. It was absurd to hold this one under a man like Lamington, a mere wet blanket." - Blunt, My Diaries, entry for 4th October 1911, p.778.

Thus, Field's account corroborates Duse' Mohamed Ali's; it also implicitly confirms Duse' Mohamed Ali's contact with the Turkish Embassy, since it states that after the meeting he gave "help in getting in touch with official opinion in Turkey."⁵⁰ There would hardly have been any reason for using his good offices in that respect, if he had not already made some official Turkish contacts. Nevertheless, it is still necessary to exercise some caution, as he and Field were partisans on the same side when the Ottoman Committee split, and the rival factions were sniping at each other in the columns of The Near East.⁵¹

On 6th August 1913, however, these difficulties were still far off, and it is clear that, as meetings go, the Adrianople meeting was a success. Aubrey Herbert - a tory M.P. - took the chair, as recounted above, and the meeting was graced with a sufficient number of members of the British establishment to give an air of solidity, together with a sufficient number of men who knew something about the Ottoman Empire to give an air of expertise. The rank and file attenders were described as "Moslems and sympathisers". The major resolution that emerged from it, proposed by C.F. Ryder and seconded by Marmaduke Pickthall, was;

That this meeting expresses its deep sympathy with the undeserved calamities that have befallen the Ottoman Empire, and protests against the massacre of Moslems by the Bulgarian troops, and therefore appeals to Sir Edward Grey to use his great influence to see

50. ATOR, November-December 1915, p.185.

51. See letters from Arthur Field in The Near East, 22nd May 1914, p.75, and 5th June 1914, pp.144-5, and from William H. Seed in ibid, 29th May 1914, p.108.

that the same principle is applied to the Turkish occupation of Thrace as that which is applied to the Balkan occupation of Macedonia, so that those territories at present occupied by Turkey, and whose inhabitants are predominantly Moslem, shall remain under Turkish rule.⁵²

Had this been the only outcome of the meeting, it would have hardly been worth more than a footnote, even in a study of Duse' Mohamed Ali. Protest meetings of this sort often have no more effect on events than to excite in their participators a false sense of achievement and self-consequence. As W.S. Blunt unkindly observed in his diary of a meeting addressed by Muhammad Farid at Caxton Hall a few years earlier; "These meetings are entirely useless, the audience made up mostly of young Indians and enthusiastic middle-aged ladies."⁵³

So it must be asked, was this meeting "entirely useless"? The chief participants not only did not think so, but even made the widest claims as to its consequences. According to Arthur Field;

The meeting was a great success, and contributed not only to a change of public opinion in England towards a view more friendly to the Turk, but a stiffening of official sentiment in Constantinople. Many small coteries claim that they saved Adrianople for the Turk. If any such claim could be made by any one person, no one would be better justified in making it than Duse' Mohamed, the organiser of the meeting of August 6th at Caxton Hall.⁵⁴

52. *ibid*, 8th August 1913, p.388. Abdul Majid proposed and Duse' Mohamed Ali seconded that this resolution should be forwarded to Sir E. Grey, Asquith, the European Foreign Ministries and the Turkish Government.

53. Blunt, *op.cit.*, entry for 28th June 1910, p.727.

54. Arthur Field, "The Ottoman Committee", *ATOR*, November-December 1913, p.185.

Not surprisingly, Duse Mohamed Ali quoted Arthur Field's flattering remark in his autobiography.⁵⁵ Obviously, as it stands it cannot be taken seriously. It ignores the major factors in the Turkish retention of Adrianople and Thrace - the quarrel between the Bulgarians and their erstwhile allies, and the resilience, under disaster, of the Turkish people themselves, which was later to be demonstrated on a far grander scale under Ataturk's leadership. Yet there remains a possibility that the Adrianople meeting was a factor in influencing the Turkish Foreign Ministry towards supposing that sentiment in Britain was swinging back to Turkey. Herbert was a well-connected M.P., and this together with the presence of several peers may have given Constantinople the impression of more political weight than the meeting really possessed. This would depend on the accuracy of Turkish knowledge of the realities of British political life, in which, ever since the days of the Anti-Slave Trade Society, the pressure group and public meeting had been a part. Caxton Hall clearly counted for less than Exeter Hall, but it is conceivable that to the Ottoman Foreign Ministry it counted for something. But clearly, a definitive decision on this problem would require a search of Ottoman Foreign Office documents - a task beyond the present resources or abilities of the writer of this thesis.⁵⁶

55. "Leaves from an Active Life", in The Comet, 4th December 1937, p.7.

56. The difficulty of using Ottoman official documents is formidable, since the Ottomans used a special administrative language, written in Arabic script, but consisting of a compound of Ottoman Turkish, Persian and Arabic; thus, use of these documents requires mastery of all three of the Middle East's main languages.

Fortunately, there is less speculative evidence of other effects of this meeting. To begin with, it was the cause of the subsequent friendship and close political co-operation between Duse' Mohamed Ali and Frank Hugh O'Donnell, who after the request for sympathisers to contact Duse', "was one of the first to send in his name accompanied by a most sympathetic letter."⁵⁷ Without doubt, it led to the formation of the Ottoman Committee, the parent of the later (and rival) Anglo-Ottoman Society and Ottoman Association. Here, the only argument is over who played what role in the Committee's creation. One thing was admitted by both sides and is beyond question; that is, that the headquarters of the Ottoman Committee throughout its brief existence was 158 Fleet Street, which in itself argues that no inconsiderable role was played by Duse' Mohamed Ali. This much can be derived even from the polemics of the Ottoman Association faction.⁵⁸ From the same pen, that of the Association's Secretary, William H. Seed, came the sneering remark that;

I note with interest Mr. Field's claim that he founded the Ottoman Committee. I am far from wishing to dispute his claim, but I understood Mr. Duse' Mohamed also considered himself its founder, and the same claim is made by a lady, who is a member of the Ottoman Association. Perhaps the honours are equally divided, as they generally are in such cases.⁵⁹

57. Duse' Mohamed Ali, "Frank Hugh O'Donnell, of O'Donnell", in AOR, March 1920, p.6.
58. Letter from William H. Seed, Secretary, the Ottoman Association, in The Near East, 29th May 1914, makes it clear that even the fatal meeting which led to the rupture in the Ottoman Committee, and from which Field and Duse' withdrew in disgust, leaving Seed and E.N. Bennett to take over control as joint secretaries, was held at 158 Fleet Street.
59. *ibid.*

This, at least by implication, concedes Duse' Mohamed Ali a leading role, though clearly in terms designed to ridicule him and Field and sow dissension between them. The manoeuvre failed. Field replied, "I would be unwilling to spend time on distinguishing the claims of myself and Mr. Duse' Mohamed to be the founder of the Ottoman Committee. I was the first to propose it; Mr. Mohamed the first to organise the proposal." This was written in June 1914, but accords with what he had written in the ATOR at the end of 1913, the time of the split.⁶⁰ It is clear, then, that Duse' Mohamed Ali played a major role in organising the Ottoman Committee; he provided premises for committee and secretarial work, and contact with Turkish officials.

The Ottoman Committee was formally announced as in existence in The Near East of 12th September 1913, under the presidency of Lord Mowbray, Segrave and Stourton, who with his multiplicity of ancient titles was a respectable figure-head.⁶¹ Its raison d'être was stated as "Following the successful exertions of the Balkan Committee, it was logical that an Ottoman Committee should be formed in England."⁶² Duse' Mohamed Ali was not only elected to an advisory committee of representative foreigners

60. cf. Field's article in ATOR, November-December 1913, p.185, with his letter in The Near East, 5th June 1914, p.144.

61. Two of Lord Mowbray's three titles dated from the thirteenth century, the third from the fifteenth century, and he was the Premier Baron of England: see Who Was Who, Vol.III, 2nd ed., 1967, p.978 and Debrett, 1970 ed., p.799.

62. The Near East, 12th September 1913, p.537.

in England, but also made one of three members of the finance committee.⁶³ Here we may speculate that, despite his later disclaimer in his autobiography, his role was to dispense funds provided by the Ottoman Embassy or other Turkish sources. Considering his own parlous financial position at that time, it is hard to see in what other way he was qualified for such a post. But this would necessarily have been clandestine; openly proclaimed, any such distribution of Turkish funds would have compromised him and the Committee and embarrassed the Ottoman Government.⁶⁴

In its brief existence, which terminated in December 1913, the Ottoman Committee seems to have done little but provide grounds for rancorous quarrels among its members. Perhaps its only solid act was the translation and publication of the work "Turquie Agonisante"⁶⁵ by

63. Field, "The Ottoman Committee", ATOR, November-December 1913, p.185.
64. Accusations of Turkish financial support were made from time to time even against the Ottoman Association, which was the more respectable, 'moderate', even establishment of the two fragments into which the Ottoman Committee split. At its first A.G.M., Ellis Schaap called attention to an article in the muck-raking magazine Truth, suggesting that the Ottoman Government had provided the Association with £300; this was denied by E.N. Bennett. see The Near East, 31st July 1914, p.453.
65. Pierre Loti, Turkey in Agony, trans. Bedwin Sands (George Raffalovich), pub. for the Ottoman Committee, London, by the African Times and Orient Review Ltd., London 1913. The translator's preface, ignoring the auspices under which the book was published, fired a shot in the battle for control of the Committee, saying; "It has been considered advantageous that only Englishmen and British subjects residing in the United Kingdom should serve on the Committee, since the main purpose of the founders was that of the education of the British public in Ottoman matters." - see op.cit., p.8; this was written in September 1913, that is when the formal organisation of the Committee was in its infancy, and shows that division was present from the very beginning.

the eminent French author and Turcophil, Pierre Loti. The translator was George Raffalovich, a member of the Ottoman Committee and later of the Ottoman Association, and the book was published for the Committee by the ATOR. Loti and Raffalovich gave their services free, and the proceeds of sales went to the Committee's funds. The cost of publication was said by William H. Seed to have been met by one of his faction, Captain Dixon-Johnson, but Arthur Field credited Duse' Mohamed Ali with this benefaction. The truth is impossible, on the evidence available, to tell.⁶⁶ The profits on sales went to the Committee.

As to the effects of the publication of Turkey in Agony, these were considerable. Copies circulated as far away as India, where they attracted the attention of its security conscious government, which informed, and requested further information from, the India Office;

The Bombay Government has recently brought to notice the importation of a book entitled 'Turkey in Agony' being a translation of a work by Pierre Loti (Turquie Agonisante) and published for the Ottoman Committee by the African Times and Orient Review Ltd., 158 Fleet St., London. The local Government desired action to be taken under the Sea Customs Act against the work, but the Government of India have decided to refrain from doing so, looking to the eminence of the author, the auspices under which the translation was produced, and the fact that it seems inexpedient to revive the bitter memories of the Balkan War, which have to some extent subsided, by bringing into prominence stories of atrocities and the like.

66. For the various conflicting claims on the publication of Turkey in Agony, see "Leaves from an Active Life", in The Comet, 4th December 1914, p.14; Wm. H. Seed, letter to The Near East, 29th May 1914, p.108; Arthur Field, letter to ibid, 22nd May 1914, p.75.

2. At the same time the circulation of the book in India will probably do a certain amount of harm and it is likely that it will be quoted from in the Muhammedan Press. This result is to be regretted, and I am to suggest that if the activities of the Committee in this direction could be checked it might be advantageous. ... The book contains various attacks on Her Majesty's Government (e.g. at pages 175 and 179) and the whole trend of its criticism is against Europe and Christianity.⁶⁷

This document also made a puzzled request for information on the relations between the Ottoman Committee, on whose behalf it was published, and the Ottoman Association, who apparently were responsible for the distribution of these particular copies. This request was passed on by the India Office to the Foreign Office, which however, refused to make direct enquiries or requests to the London Turcophiles, on the grounds that;

we have no means of checking the 'Committee's' activities, nor is it advisable ... to ask these bodies anything as a favour, as we can incur a certain obligation to them thereby, for which they can be trusted to exact payment.⁶⁸

Apart from publishing Turkey in Agony, direct contact was established by the Committee with Turkish bodies and individuals. In the November-December issue of the ATOR Field said;

The Committee is in direct communication with the Committee of National Defence in Constantinople, and the heir-apparent to the Ottoman throne has expressed his approbation of our efforts. The Press of Turkey ... has repeatedly referred to the Ottoman Committee and its work.⁶⁹

67. Govt. of India, Home Dept. Simla, 28th May 1914, to India Office, enclosed in A. Hirtzel, India Office, to G.R. Clerk, Foreign Office, confidential, 17th June 1914, F.O. 371/2135/27468.
68. Minute by G.R. Clerk, F.O., 23rd June 1914, approved by Sir E. Grey - see F.O. 371/2135/27468.
69. Arthur Field, "The Ottoman Committee", ATOR, November-December 1913, p.185.

The quarrel within the Ottoman Committee would be merely a tedious matter, hardly worth re-telling, were it not that, firstly, there was from Duse Mohamed Ali's point of view an important principle at stake; and secondly, the faction he belonged to became a cohesive, well-conducted pressure group, which was kept in being throughout the Great War, and re-emerged as a defender of the Ottoman cause in the era of the Peace Treaties. As early as October 1913 there were moves for changes in the structure of the Committee by future leaders of the Ottoman Association. These moves came to a head in December 1913. This group, according to Arthur Field, was headed by E.N. Bennett, and held a scratch Executive Committee meeting on 11th December; they called a General Meeting for 15th December at which, by the narrow majority of the Chairman's casting vote, sweeping changes were made.⁷⁰ Naturally, this led to charges and counter charges as to whether this General Meeting was properly conducted and constituted. What is important is to note the nature of the changes proposed, as explained by the Association's own spokesman;

A resolution was passed reconstituting the organisation and appointing a new executive, and a further resolution was also carried changing the name to the 'Ottoman Association'. "... we aim at forming an organisation of people who have special knowledge of Turkey, and who are connected by trade, or in other ways, with matters Turkish. The Anglo-Ottoman Society endeavours to create a popular movement and welcomes anybody as members. The Ottoman Association is restricted to British subjects of European descent, as we believe that we can, by forming a more select and influential body, command more respect in quarters where British policy regarding Turkey is largely decided. For good or ill, we fear that the man-in-the-street does not decide these matters at the present day.⁷¹

70. See note 51 above.

71. See note 51 above.

This coup (for such it clearly was), effected in Duse' Mohamed Ali's own office, must have been gall and brimstone to him in more than one way. To begin with, the decision on racial exclusiveness was surely aimed in particular against himself, as he was the only active non-European member of the original Ottoman Committee.⁷² Secondly, the principle introduced of racial exclusiveness must have been not only obnoxious but also disillusioning - he must have felt that with such friends the Ottoman Empire hardly needed enemies. This was the authentic voice of Exeter Hall type humanitarianism, knowing what was best for lesser breeds, and "do-gooding" thereto with infuriating paternalistic condescension. Next, the social exclusiveness of the Ottoman Association would have been all the more galling, as Duse' had no objection to this in principle, believing in the talented minority,⁷³ but like all such stratifiers, no doubt assuming himself to be in the upper bracket. To be ranked with the man in the street would have been gravely offensive to him. Finally, it is possible that, with its emphasis on those with business interests in Turkey, the Ottoman Association might well have seemed to him as an embryo organisation of British Capitalists, bent on exploiting a non-European country.

The day was saved, from his point of view, by Arthur Field, the acting Secretary of the Ottoman Committee, together with himself and one other Executive member of the defunct Ottoman Committee, George Palmer. Through

72. No other Africans or Asians are mentioned in any of the cited accounts of the Ottoman Committee's brief life.

73. See note 15 above.

the columns of the ATOR they proclaimed;

They place before the friends of Turkey an organisation to carry on the old work with the old methods. It is entitled the Anglo-Ottoman Society. ... The Anglo-Ottoman Society is an international organisation defending the interests of the Ottoman Empire and the Caliphate. It is open to all men and women without distinction of politics, creed and race.⁷⁴

Bearing in mind the constitution of the Ottoman Association, the last sentence was an explicit invitation, not an empty pious formula. In the new Society Field took the post of Secretary, Duse' Mohamed Ali the post of Treasurer, and George Palmer that of organiser.⁷⁵ But, despite the accusations of the Association, this was no mere rump. Though they lost Lord Lamington, they retained the prestigious if probably nominal services of Lord Mowbray, who indeed held that the Society was the original Ottoman Committee, and ought to have retained the original name.⁷⁶ No doubt it was for the best that neither faction tried to do this - such an action would no doubt have led to yet more bitter recriminations and perhaps even court action, which would have ruined the pro-Turkish cause in Britain.

74. See article by Duse' Mohamed Ali and Arthur Field, in ATOR, November-December 1913, p.184; this also contains an angry and confused account of the recent meeting of the Ottoman Committee which they had walked out of.

75. *ibid.*

76. "Lord Mowbray and Stourton, the original President, remained President of the Anglo-Ottoman Society," and "was always of opinion that the Resolution of December, 1913, should have been ignored and our work continued as the Ottoman Committee." - see letter from Arthur Field in The Near East, 5th June 1914, p.144.

The next great hurdle for the Anglo-Ottoman Society was the entry of Turkey into the Great War as one of the Central Powers - an event foreseen by most even before it happened. Yet, remarkably, in the few months between the Society's foundation and the entry of Turkey into the war, it managed to establish itself on a firm basis. In Britain, it secured sufficient supporters of the right calibre. Thus its executive in June 1914 included, additionally to Duse' Mohamed Ali and Arthur Field; Marmaduke Pickthall; Douglas Fox Pitt; Adolphe Smith; Henri Leon, an Ahmadi convert and the leading light of a London organisation called the Societé Internationale de Philologie, Sciences et Beaux-Arts; J. Prelooker, editor of the journal The Anglo-Russian; Miss Grace Ellison; R. Ahmad Quilliam Bey, Liverpool Merchant, convert to Islam, voluminous writer on his religion, and President of Leon's Societé Internationale de Philologie; C.F. Ryder, already mentioned as a member of the Albanian Committee, and associate of Duse' Mohamed Ali's in the League of Justice; and Louis Wills.⁷⁷ Among prominent and active members was Frank Hugh

77. ATOR, 15th June 1914, p.309. Some of this very mixed bag of Anglo-Ottoman Society Officers were men of real interest. Thus, Quilliam Bey had been awarded his Turkish title by Abdul Hamid II during the latter's Pan-Islamic phase, and was the author of many books in English on Islam. Prelooker was the son of a pious rabbinical family in Pinsk. From childhood he had, to the horror of his family, taken an interest in "Christian" - i.e. Russian - leaning. Educated in Government schools, he had been appointed by the Czarist authorities as a young man to a post at a Jewish school in Odessa. There he outraged the Jewish community by preaching heretical doctrines aimed at the reconciliation of Judaism and Christianity. At first encouraged by the authorities, they later decided that he was a dangerous figure. A sectarian himself, he became interested in and sympathetic to such Russian sects as the Doukhobors, which were (among other things) social protest movements of the peasants. He also became a fighter for women's rights, and sympathetic to the oppressed Turkish population of Russia's Caucasian provinces. Not surprisingly, he soon found himself in grave trouble with the authorities, and in 1892 emigrated to Britain, where he founded and ran The Anglo-Russian, toured the country on lecture tours, supported the English suffragette movement, and supported the Turcophil movements. See his autobiography, Under the Czar and Queen Victoria, London 1896, passim, and his Russian Flashlights ... with a biographical sketch of the author translated from the Italian by Helen Frank, London 1911.

O'Donnell,⁷⁸ usually referred to in Dusan circles by the more imposing appellation of The O'Donnell, or even The O'Donnell of O'Donnell. Though now old and perhaps a little unbalanced, he still commanded an able and vitriolic pen and platform manner. Another was the Indian editor of the Lahore newspaper The Zamindar, Zafar Ali Khan.⁷⁹ A third was Khwaja Kamal ud-Din. On at least one occasion we find one of the Society's meetings being chaired by Dr. T. Miller Maguire,⁸⁰ author of many books on war and strategy. Nor did the movement fail to attract more bizarre supporters (a common fate of all protest movements), among whom it would not be too unfair to class Rev. Fleming Williams of the Free Church League for Women Suffrage, who was perhaps one of those men who will join any

78. ATOR, 15th June 1914, p.309.

79. See Cantwell Smith, op.cit., p.196, which refers to The Zamindar as one of "four periodicals which appeared at this time and to which Muslims subscribed in great numbers." He continues; "... the Zamindar of Lahore, (was) edited by a born rebel, Zafar Ali Khan. He was profoundly anti-British, and his vigorous agitations had large influence. He was issuing 20,000 copies of his paper twice a day - an unheard of circulation for the vernacular press; for the first time the Muslims of North India were awakening to a news-consciousness, and awakening mightily. They eagerly drank in the seditious propaganda that the Zamindar offered them."

80. ATOR, 28th April 1914, p.122. Among those present at this meeting was Miss Edith Durham, one of those single English ladies of the period who "adopted" faraway peoples and made themselves formidable propagandists in their cause. 'Her' people were the Albanians, on whom she wrote several books:- see M.E. Durham, The Struggle for Scutari, London 1914; The Burden of the Balkans, London 1905; High Albania, London 1909; Twenty Years of Balkan Tangle, London 1920.

protest movement to hand.⁸¹ What is clear is that the executive, and active membership, were a closely interlocking group, and in relation to Duse' Mohamed Ali nearly all had other connections with him too, either as contributors to his review (even if only as an advertiser, as in the case of Quilliam Bey) or in other organisations. Some, such as Marmaduke Pickthall, had been acquainted with him for some years.

By comparison, the Ottoman Association was far stronger in respectable establishment names.⁸² It could boast two peers; the eminent orientalist Professor E.G. Browne (clearly a better catch than the rather dubious 'Professor' Leon); a Lt.-General; two Members of Parliament, both Hons. (Herbert and Walter Guinness); and the Sephardic Chief Rabbi, Rev. Moses Gaster. Marmaduke Pickthall and Louis Wills took at face value protestations of mutual friendship that usually preceded recriminations between the rival Turcophil organisations, and were on the executives of both.⁸³

81. To be fair to the Rev. Williams, he may well have been attracted to the Society by the support of his fellow male fighter for women's rights, J. Prelocker. But it is still hard to imagine that he can have had any vital concern for the fate of the Ottoman Empire and the Caliphate!

82. See letter from P.H. O'Donnell, ATOR, 9th June 1914, pp.285-6, which gives a full list of the members of the Ottoman Association executive committee (19 names in all) as a stick to beat the Association's alleged feebleness; of the Association's recent activities, O'Donnell remarked; "... a very weak way to express the indignation of so strong a committee upon a scandal so weak and so abominable." Here O'Donnell was taking on his preferred role of abusive controversialist.

83. cf. *ibid* with the list of members of the Anglo-Ottoman Society's executive in *ibid*, 15th June 1914, p.309.

Despite the greater social weight of the Ottoman Association, it should be noted that the Anglo-Ottoman Society had a substantial Fualim element, British and non-British, and could for that reason be regarded as more highly motivated and activist. The very fact that it continued through and after the war, unlike the Association, demonstrates the greater strength of its members' convictions.

The Anglo-Ottoman Society forged close links with Turkey, and here it should be remembered that there is good reason to suppose that Duse' Mohamed Ali was the Turcophil movement's original channel of communication in this direction and to remember that all correspondence and administration of the Society was conducted through the 158 Fleet Street Office. His services to the Ottoman cause were rewarded, he claimed, by decoration, the Order of Mejidieh, though the evidence is not conclusive on this point.⁸⁴

84. In Lagos between 1931 and 1945 he was often referred to as Duse' Mohamed Ali, Bey. This alone would prove little, as few peoples can be more fond of honorifics than the Yorubas, and as an old man he would have been automatically granted respect. His obituary in The Daily Comet, 27th June 1945, p.4, says; "In 1892, for services rendered to Islam, he was decorated by the late Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey, with the order of the Imperial Ottoman Majidie, thus earning the civil title of 'Bey'." This is puzzling; there is no evidence in his autobiography or elsewhere of any activity at that time that could have earned him this reward. Indeed, it reads like a garbled mixture of his own case with that of the Lagos Muslim leader, Shitta Bey, who was so rewarded by Abdul Hamid. If Duse' Mohamed Ali did receive a Turkish decoration, it must have been at some time between 1913 and 1921, for his services during those years. The only reference to this decoration in his own writings comes in his article "The Editor Abroad", AOR, September 1920, p.14. In this he says; "The Colonel spoke again this morning. ... He inquired whether my button was the Legion of Honour. I informed him that it was the Mejidiah. We were silent, and he continued his promenade." Presumably the good Colonel had either never heard of this decoration or disapproved of it as coming from one of Britain's late enemies. It could be that Duse's failure to mention his decoration in his autobiography could have stemmed from a reluctance to identify himself as a former Pan-Islamist.

However, his services to the Ottoman cause were certainly faithful and persistent enough to merit a reward, and the bestowal of a decoration would have the great virtue, from the Turkish point of view, of costing nothing. There is a fair body of firm evidence of the Society's Turkish connections and at least semi-official approval. The Ottoman Grand Vizier at the time was an Anglophile in favour of a rapprochement with Britain, which made open official approval impossible.⁸⁵ But we find the presence of the Chaplain to the Ottoman Embassy, Imam Ghazi Khair ud-Din, at a Caxton Hall meeting addressed by O'Donnell on 2nd April 1914 on "The Abuses of European Civilization in Islamic Countries".⁸⁶ (The speech was a violent attack on Europeans spreading alcohol and sexual vice in the East.) In March 1914 a Turkish Patriotic organisation, the National Defence League, sent the Society the following acknowledgement;

The National Defence League Sincerely Appreciate the disinterested work which is being done by your Society and other well-wishers in England, and trusts that it will have the desired effect of throwing the weight of British influence on the side of justice for Turkey.⁸⁷

85. See Feroz Ahmad, "Great Britain's Relations with the Young Turks 1904-1914", Middle Eastern Studies, Vol.2, no.4, July 1966, pp.323-5, on the abortive pro-British and pro-Entente policy of Turkey on the eve of the Great War.

86. ATOR, 14th April 1914, pp.92-4.

87. ibid, 21st April 1914, p.100.

A sister body was formed in Constantinople - the British Ottoman Association of Constantinople. At the first meeting of its executive committee this body passed, in the name of the Ottoman people, a resolution thanking the Society for its "disinterested efforts in defence of Ottoman interests" and "in the cause of Justice for Turkey". It requested to be kept "au courant" with the Society's work. Since the President of this body was His Highness Marshal Ghazi Ahmad Kukhtar Pasha, ex Grand Vizier, and its Secretary-General His Excellency Jalal ud-Din Ari Bey, President of the Law Society of Constantinople, Professor at the Faculty of Law, and private legal adviser to the then Grand Vizier,⁸⁸ it will be seen that this sister body in Constantinople had the social tone and important connections that the Anglo-Ottoman Society rather lacked in London. The Anglo-Ottoman Society was not slow to boast of these impressive supporters in its arguments with the Ottoman Association.⁸⁹ In addition to this overt support from Turkey, the Anglo-Ottoman Society forged a link with Turcophiles in France. Its committee member J. Prelooker went to Paris in January 1914 and there helped found a Franco-Ottoman League, which was to co-operate with the English Society.⁹⁰ How far this ever developed in practical terms is not clear.

Yet despite these successes, the Society had some checks in its policy of expanding contacts outside England. Early in 1914, it attempted

88. *ibid.*

89. Arthur Field, letter to The Near East, 5th June 1914, pp.144-5.

90. ATOR, 28th April 1914, pp.125-6.

to persuade the Grand Vizier himself to become a Vice-President of the Society. This was a forlorn hope from a statesman who was committed to an Anglophile policy, and in the event the British Ambassador in Constantinople, Sir Louis Mallet, was able to report to Sir Edward Grey;

The Grand Vizier told me to-day that he had declined to become a member of the Anglo-Ottoman Association (sic) because he did not wish to identify himself with any particular group or Party in Great Britain, especially as in this case, however well-intentioned towards the Ottoman Empire, the Association (sic) seemed to be hostile to Her Majesty's Government.

In spite of all that had recently happened he felt confident that you, Sir, were not inspired by hostile sentiments towards the Ottoman Empire and he relied upon the goodwill and friendship of Her Majesty's Government. I replied that His Highness had, in my opinion, come to a most wise decision and that he was right in his estimate of your sentiments and intentions.⁹¹

This decision by the Grand Vizier confirmed the Foreign Office in its decision to step in and prevent another Turkish official, who had been approached by the Anglo-Ottoman Society, from accepting a Vice-Presidency. This was Lt.Col. Claude J. Hawker of the Coldstream Guards, then serving as Major-General in the Turkish Gendarmerie at Trebizonde in Eastern Turkey. When first approached by the Society Hawker, who had been lent to the Turkish Government to reorganise the Gendarmerie in Eastern Turkey and represented one of the few meagre fruits of Anglo-Turkish détente after the Balkan Wars,⁹² was naively eager to accept the proffered honour.

91. Sir L. Mallet, British Embassy, Pera, to Sir Edward Grey, F.O., 3rd March 1914, F.O. 371/2127/10316. It will be noted that Mallet confused the titles of the two British Turcophil organisations.

92. For a discussion of British influence in Turkey immediately prior to the Great War, see Feroz Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p.324.

He wrote to the Foreign Office;

Being employed by the Turkish Government I felt that it would not be advisable to refuse to belong to any society that is anxious to promote good relations between England and Turkey and personally I should be rather pleased to belong to the Anglo-Ottoman Society.⁹³

He had already written in the same vein to Arthur Field, adding that the Turkish authorities were glad to hear of the invitation "and would be very pleased if it could be arranged as a mark of British public interest in the work of the Gendarmerie."⁹⁴ But Sir Louis Mallet advised the Foreign Office against countenancing his application on the grounds that "it would prejudice any chance he may have of getting the Russians to agree to his employment permanently in the frontier provinces."⁹⁵ Mallet also drew the Foreign Office's attention to the sort of publicity the Society was engendering in the local Turkish Press, and commented "I think that this is sufficient to show the undesirability of Colonel Hawker associating himself in any way with the society."⁹⁶

93. Major-General Claude J. Hawker, Trebizonde, to S. of S., F.O., 18th February 1914, F.O. 371/2127/8751.

94. Hawker to Field, (n.d.) quoted in Anglo-Ottoman Society to S. of S., F.O., 24th January 1914, F.O. 371/2127/3721. The dating of this letter shows that the Anglo-Ottoman Society lost little time in extending its connections in Turkey.

95. Mallet to Sir A. Nicolson, F.O., 23rd February 1914, F.O. 371/2127/6859.

96. Mallet to Sir E. Grey, F.O., 10th February 1914, F.O. 371/2127/6859.

On the surface, the Society's activities between its formation and the outbreak of war followed a conventional enough pattern. Public meetings were held at Caxton Hall,⁹⁷ Resolutions passed at these meetings were normally forwarded to the Foreign Secretary. An example would be a letter received by the Foreign Office in February 1914 urging the British Government to have no part in any moves to force the Turks out of the islands of Chios, Mytilene, Lemnos and Samothrace, on grounds of both Turkish and British interests. This letter was signed by O'Donnell, Dusé Mohamed Ali and Arthur Field,⁹⁸ and can perhaps be taken as evidence that they formed an inner leadership.

But behind this open activity, other and clandestine moves were afoot, in which Dusé Mohamed Ali was the prime mover. Firstly, in 1913-1914 he was engaged in efforts to aid the Sanussi and the Turkish officers with them, in their struggle against the Italians - a struggle that was to continue, in its first phase, till 1916, and conclude with a compromise peace between the Sanussi and Italians. Here we have a striking connection between the worlds of Pan-Islamism and Turcophilia on the one hand and a Pan-Africanist's commitment to African independence on the other.

97. There are records of meetings of the Society at Caxton Hall on 2nd April 1914 - see ATOR, 14th April 1914, p.92; and on 22nd April 1914 - see ATOR, 28th April 1914, p.122. This is probably not a complete list of the Society's meetings.

98. Anglo-Ottoman Society to Sir E. Grey, 20th February 1914, F.O. 371/2128/8171.

Obviously, with such commitments, the Sanussi cause was one which he was bound to feel strongly about. It must have given him deep satisfaction to aid a cause which, unlike so many African "primary resistance movements" of that era, achieved a high degree of primary success. According to M.I.5.;

Duse Mohamed assisted the Turkish officers with the Senussi Arabs against the Italians, probably through a Prince Omar Tousson who, it is said, has been detained in France. He is believed to have collected money in England, which was sent via Egypt to Tripoli, and to have been active in 1913 in providing Arabs in Tripoli with arms. It is further alleged that in September 1914 he was in communication with young Turks and Nationalist Societies in Egypt. A friend of an Italian official residing in London, at the latter's request, sent money to Duse Mohamed for the Senussi cause, and asked how she could help them and especially what persons in England and Turkey were prepared to receive contributions. Replying on 9th September Duse Mohamed refused to give any names and said that his correspondents from Egypt were compelled to be very cautious 'in as much as it is fully believed that Turkey intends making war against the Triple Entente. Hence any pro-Turk - and the persons identified with the movement are decidedly pro-Turkish - is, regarded with suspicion and communications coming from that quarter being subject to censorship great care has to be exercised and delays are bound to result.'⁹⁹

This episode, which not surprisingly was not included in his autobiography, shows him in a different light from the serio-comic figure of some other episodes in his life. In view of the success of the Sanussi in their struggle against the Italians, we should not wonder that Italian as well as British intelligence thought his activities worthy of investigation.

99. M.I.5 (g) report on Duse Mohamed, enclosed in P. Nathan, M.I.5 (g), War Office, to G. Clarke, Foreign Office, 7th February 1915, F.O. 371/2355/15047.

As E.L. Evans-Pritchard has remarked;

The small Turkish garrisons ... had behind them all the Bedouin of the country ... and behind the Bedouin the Sanusiya Order. They were fortified also by the knowledge that behind the Sanusiya was the moral backing of the whole Arab and Muslim world, and even of peoples who were neither Arab nor Muslim. Throughout the Near East in particular, but also everywhere in the world where coloured peoples were articulate, the struggle was seen to have a deeper significance than the mere transfer of territories from Turkey to Italy, or the mere acquisition of another bit, one of the few remaining bits, of Africa by a European Power. Like a great octopus, Europe had stretched out its tentacles to seize and exploit the whole of Africa and Asia. The tentacle which now held Tripolitania and Cyrenaica in its grip belonged to the same beast which held half the world in its clutches. It was not the future of a handful of Bedouin which was being decided, but the future of Europe.¹⁰⁰

It is clear that Dusé was a skillful agent of this anti-imperialist struggle, from the cautious way he answered the enquiries of the unnamed woman acting for the Italian Official. Though his own activities were at least partly revealed (it would be unwise to assume that M.I.5 necessarily uncovered the whole story) he had not revealed his contacts, who, given the state of civil liberties in Egypt and the threatening crisis in Anglo-Turkish relations, would no doubt have been unceremoniously arrested. The episode also reveals the degree of trust reposed in him by the Turks and by Nationalist and pro-Turkish Egyptians. The Prince Omar Tousson mentioned as his principal contact and as having been arrested in France by the time of the report (February 1915) was the President of a body

100. See E.L. Evans-Pritchard, The Sanussi of Cyrenaica, Oxford 1949, p.116; and pp.104-133 passim for a wider discussion of the first Italo-Sanussi War. In this he points out that the future Turkish national heroes Enver Bey, War Minister during the Great War, and Mustafa Kamal (Ataturk), saviour of Turkey and founder of the republic, played a part in organising Sanussi resistance to the Italian conquest; see op.cit., pp.110 & 115-6.

called the Egyptian Society,¹⁰¹ one of a number of Egyptian Nationalist émigré organisations. In the light of these connections we may wonder at the sincerity of the strictures he made at a later date¹⁰² against 'Abd ul-'Aziz Shawish one of the most violently pro-Turk and anti-British leaders of the Egyptian National Party, who spent the Great War actively supporting the Central Powers.¹⁰³

Dusé's autobiography does admit that there was connection between 'Abd ul-'Aziz Shawish, the Young Turks and himself, on the eve of the Great war;

Shaykh Shaweesh was an ardent Nationalist and quite fanatic as regards his religious views. When he escaped to Turkey he became a persona grata with the Young Turk Party who were then in power. He had successfully impressed the Young Turks with the idea of establishing a Muslim University at Medina, its execution being temporarily held up owing to lack of funds. In this connection negotiations were pending with me to visit the United States of America on behalf of the Turkish Government to negotiate a loan of £12,000,000 on the mineral resources of Anatolia which fell thorough (sic) owing to the outbreak of hostilities.

101. Report on Duse Mohamed, Supt. P. Quinn, Special Branch, New Scotland Yard, 27th March 1916, pp.2-3, enclosed in J. Carter, Director of Intelligence's Office to G. Loder, Foreign Office, 15th August 1919, F.O. 371/3728/114805.
102. cf. ATOR, February 1914, pp.6-7, which includes, as well as information about Shawish a photograph of him dated 30th September 1913 and signed "Yours very sincerely Abdul Aziz Shaweesh" a token of friendly relations between the two men, with "Leaves", in The Comet, 11th December 1937, pp.7 & 11, and AOR, February 1920, pp.6-7.
103. See Arthur Goldschmidt Jr., "The Egyptian National Party, 1892-1919" in P.M. Holt (ed.) Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt, London 1968, pp.323-330 for Shawish as Egyptian Nationalist and Pan-Islamist.

Up to that period I had already known Shaveesh by correspondence. When he arrived in London however, he immediately sought me out. I dined with him at the Westminster Hotel on the night of his arrival and the following evening found him and his Indian friend dining at my flat. This occurred on the Saturday night prior to the declaration of war. On the following day the police visited his hotel during his absence to make enquiries. He somehow obtained news of the visit and immediately boarded a train for Paris leaving his luggage behind which his Indian friend secured in a manner quite unknown to me, as I had very few conversations with this man.

As the war was on and his guide Shaveesh, who knew England well - and taught Arabic at Oxford some years earlier - had disappeared, the Indian also vanished.

I never heard from Shaveesh again but I subsequently learned (sic) of his death in Constantinople.¹⁰⁴

Despite its tone of apparent hostility to Shawish, this, in the light of Duse Mohamed Ali's political activities, is one of the most revealing passages in his autobiography. Shawish "had come to England from Constantinople accompanied by an East Indian merchant who wanted to purchase a few cargo steamers to ply between Indian (sic) and Turkey."¹⁰⁵ At that date any scheme to link Turkey with India inevitably had profound political significance, in view of the rise of the interlocked forces of nationalism and pro-Turkish feeling among India's Muslims, and the deliberate fostering of anti-British feelings in India by the Turkish Government. There would seem to be a psychological similarity between the plan for steamers between India and Turkey, and Garvey's Black Star Line.

104. ATOR, 11th December 1937, pp.7 & 11. Note 102 above suggests the correspondence between the two men was cordial and dated back into 1913.

105. *ibid.*

In the Turkish capital Shawish was, by August 1914, established as a refugee, and inveterate enemy of the régime in Egypt. Was he perhaps engaged in the efforts to raise guns and money for the Turks and Sanussi in Libya? This was perhaps one of the topics of the previous correspondence between Duse and Shawish. Any connection with 'Abd ul-'Aziz Shawish, however, would have been considered highly incriminating by the British authorities. Here is an object lesson that intelligence services are not omniscient. Neither Scotland Yard nor M.I.5. seem to have known of his dealings with Shawish: this suggests care and skill in these matters, though dinner at the Westminster Hotel can hardly be regarded as a secret rendezvous!

As for the £12,000,000 loan, dubious though this may sound, it is possible that some such scheme was considered. From 1912 onwards, as well as being a journalist and a political organiser and intriguer, Duse Mohamed Ali was increasingly involved in financial and commercial business of considerable size and complexity. A characteristic of many of these plans was the attempted raising of money from American sources - usually black American sources - for developments in West Africa. He was a Muslim, a Turkish subject, a proven friend of Turkey, a man who had travelled and lived in the United States and who had made new and significant friends and admirers there by In The Land Of The Pharaohs and the ATOR, who spoke perfect English even if no Arabic or Turkish, who had shown skill in his covert Turcophil activities - his list of qualifications for some part in such a plan were impressive. Though he rather implies it, he nowhere says that he was to be the loan's sole or even chief

negotiator. As for the loan's purpose, with a major war looming and Turkish resources so much weaker than those of her enemies, we may surmise that if the loan scheme did exist, it would have been intended to contribute to more immediate needs than a new Muslim University.

It is hardly surprising with these things occurring behind the scenes, that on the eve of the Great War, the Anglo-Ottoman Society (many of whose members must have been innocent of the full scope of their treasurer's activities in the cause), seemed to take an ambiguous position. Immediately after the outbreak of war the Society appealed to all Ottoman subjects to donate to the London Branch of the Red Crescent Society. Money so given was to be forwarded to British War Relief, as a mark of gratitude for British relief for Turks in the Balkan Wars.¹⁰⁶ Yet in other ways the Society was almost tactlessly pro-Turk in the brief interval between the outbreak of the Great War and the entry of Turkey. C.F. Ryder, writing as an officer of the Society in the African Times and Orient Review of 11th August 1914, foretold the entry of Turkey into the war, said that it would set India alight, permit Japan and China to pay off old scores, and that thus the war would develop into "... a war of extermination between the White and the Coloured Races of mankind."¹⁰⁷ This reads remarkably like the prophecy at the close of In The Land Of The Pharaohs, and was at one with Duse' Mohamed Ali's own thinking, suggesting his influence as

106. ATOR, 11th August 1914, p.474.

107. ibid, pp.469-70.

a disseminator of ideas in his circle. Even more recklessly tactless was a pamphlet issued for the Society as late as 10th November 1914 by Duse and Arthur Field. This particularly disturbed the Government of India, especially in view of the fact that it had earlier been informed by the Foreign Office that nothing could be done to check the Anglo-Ottoman Society's activities;

It is recognised that the Government of India are not in a position to judge of the circumstances in England, but as another instance of the kind of publication, of which the circulation in India is at present objectionable, I am to invite attention to a pamphlet issued by the Anglo-Ottoman Society on the 10th of November 1914 in which they criticise the attitude of England towards Turkey; give it as their opinion that the crisis which led to war was created not by Turkey but by Russia; refer to the absurdity of a rumoured descent upon Egypt by Turkey; state that if Russia is to be permitted to utilise the present difference with the object of seizing Constantinople and dismembering the Empire, the Turks will enter the struggle with the same feeling and the same justification that Belgium had in entering on hers; and refer to the chagrin and humiliation caused by recent unsympathetic acts by Britain. They conclude with an appeal to influence others against the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire and for the restoration of peace with Turkey.

It is precisely this kind of writing which endeavours are being made to check in the extreme section of the Pan-Islamic press, and difficulties are obviously created when it is indulged in by a body ostensibly of some repute at home.¹⁰⁸

It may indeed be wondered at, that at a time generally thought to have been one of super patriotism and war hysteria in Britain, the Anglo-Ottoman Society in general and Duse Mohamed Ali in particular should have been

108. S. Wheeler, Home Dept., Govt. of India, to Secretary, Judicial and Public Dept., India Office, 12th March 1915, enclosed in S. of S. for India to Under S. of S., Foreign Office, 27th April 1915, F.O. 371/2488/50954. For the F.O.'s decision not to check on the Anglo-Ottoman Society's activities, see note 68 above. Unfortunately, no copy of the pamphlet itself has been traced.

able to advocate the cause of an enemy country so openly. It may be that this was possible because the main target for popular anger was Germany, while Turkey was perhaps for many British people a mere auxiliary enemy.

It is even more amazing that the Anglo-Ottoman Society was able to survive not only the onset but also the entire period of the war, despite the fact that Duse' Mohamed Ali, recognised by the authorities as, with Arthur Field, its key man, was under a cloud of intense suspicion as an agent of Turkey, Pan-Islamism, and Ethiopianism.¹⁰⁹ Official investigations of his activities during the war will be discussed presently. Some of the Society's members - for example Henri Leon¹¹⁰ - resigned at the outbreak of hostilities with Turkey, but Duse' Mohamed Ali and Arthur Field set about allaying fears among members and sympathisers that the organisation was in any way anti-British. To this end they issued a circular in January 1915, which while it crowed that its old rival, the Ottoman Association, had been reduced to silence, also stated that the Society would reorganise on a non-political footing during the war in

109. For suspicions of Duse' Mohamed Ali as an "Ethiopianist", see C.O. 554/23/36403, minute 1.

110. Henri M. Leon to Sir E. Grey, F.O., 23rd January 1915, F.O. 371/2482/9577; but the burden of this letter was to inform the S. of S. that "if the Society is reorganized on such a basis, as is not opposed to British interests, then (I propose) to co-operate with them in efforts to restore peace between the two countries, and also, so far as I can, to restrain any political firebrands from ... at all hampering the British Government in bringing hostilities to a safe, speedy and satisfactory conclusion."

order to unite the membership. Political functions could be resumed during the discussion of the terms of peace. Meanwhile, the motto "For Peace and a Better Understanding" was proposed for 1915, The objects of the Society were now to be;

(1) To advocate a speedy restoration of peace with Turkey on terms which shall assure the independence and development of the Ottoman nation.

(2) To promote the establishment of a more sympathetic understanding between the two nations.

Or, for brevity, the establishment of pacific relations and a sympathetic understanding between Turkey and Great Britain.¹¹¹

A cultural sister society, the Orient Literary Circle, was also announced in the circular. It planned to give a series of lectures on the literature, history, geography and other cultural aspects of the Turkish Empire, the first such meeting being on the safe topic of "New Turkish Orthography". It would seem that Duse' Mohamed Ali took the lead in this venture, assisted by Arthur Field.¹¹² Later in the war, in 1917, we find him Vice-President of a similar sounding organisation, the Cercle d'Etude Ethnographiques, described as a society for the study of languages, religions, and manners, ancient and modern, especially of Islamic lands. As the President was Marmaduke Pickthall, and other Vice-Presidents included M.H. Kidwai and H.M. Leon, it is clear that in many ways this was the old Turcophil group under another name.¹¹³ Whether this body had the same acknowledged

111. Anglo-Ottoman Society Circular, 158 Fleet Street, January 1915 - see F.O. 371/2482/9577.

112. *ibid.*

113. ATOR, March 1917, p.49.

connection with the Anglo-Ottoman Society as had the Orient Literary Circle is not clear.

Despite the disavowing of political ends for the duration of the war, on at least one occasion the Anglo-Ottoman Society did not keep strictly to that declaration. In July 1917 the Society wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Government, expressing deep gratitude at Russia's rejection of territorial expansion as a war aim, rather condescendingly stating;

We dare to hope in this connection that the humane intentions of the new Russia include the recognition of progressive Turkey, which, in 1908, exchanged a military autocracy for free institutions just as Russia herself has now done.¹¹⁴

In addition to Arthur Field, this was signed by Lord Mowbray and Stourton, Marmaduke Pickthall, C.F. Ryder, Douglas Fox Pitt, Prelocker and the ex-M.P. Arnold Lupton, but not by Duse Mohamed Ali; but his name appeared on the letter heading as Vice-President and Treasurer.

Thus the Anglo-Ottoman Society succeeded in keeping itself in being, if at a fairly low ebb, during the Great War. Immediately after the war it sprang to life again, and by public meetings and resolutions and memorials to the Foreign Office agitated for favourable peace terms for Turkey, and in particular for the retention of the Caliphate. Once again, its activities began to attract the unfavourable attention of the India

114. Anglo-Ottoman Society to Minister of Foreign Affairs, Provisional Russian Government, Petrograd, 5th July 1917, enclosed in Anglo-Ottoman Society to S. of S., F.O., 24th July 1917, F.O. 371/2127/147160.

Office, which had its meetings reported on by an agent.¹¹⁵ This might be expected, in view of the rising Khilafat movement, the great Muslim All-India campaign to save the Caliphate and prevent the total dismemberment of Turkey. As the Indian National Congress, under Ghandi's guidance, chose to support their Muslim brethren in this matter, the Khilafat Movement was an important component in the vastly increased national feeling and nationalist political activity in post 1918 India.¹¹⁶ But despite these developments, the Anglo-Ottoman Society was soon to be overtaken by history; by so firmly identifying itself with the old Imperial Turkey and the Caliphate, it committed itself to a dying cause, which was to receive its death blow not from the British, nor from the Greeks but from Ataturk.

In the post war years, Duse Mohamed Ali seems to have played a declining part in the Anglo-Ottoman Society. In July 1919 he was still a Vice-President, presumably an honorary position, but had ceased, apparently, to hold the executive post of treasurer.¹¹⁷ One reason was perhaps that,

115. See Confidential Report, Muslims in England; 25th November 1918, in M.C. Seton, Judicial & Public Dept., I.O., to Under S. of S., F.O., F.O. 371/3419/199619.

116. For a selection of works dealing with the Khilafat movement, see note 30 above, and K.K. Aziz, Britain and Muslim India. A Study of British Public Opinion vis-a-vis the Development of Muslim Nationalism in India, 1857-1947, London 1963, pp.94-113, passim.

117. The letter heading of Anglo-Ottoman Society to S. of S., F.O., 21st July 1919, F.O. 371/4219/105630 makes this clear.

as the sole surviving Turcophil organisation in Britain, some of the old Ottoman Association people, including Lord Lamington, Professor E.G. Browne and even E.H. Bennett now joined the Anglo-Ottoman Society.¹¹⁸ 158 Fleet Street remained the Society's headquarters and corresponding address, but the old exclusive spirit of the Ottoman Association seems to have made some ground. Thus, there were only native British signatories to a protest sent to the Foreign Office in February 1920 on the Greek invasion of Asia Minor.¹¹⁹ As Arthur Field still remained Secretary, this process was probably not too explicit, but may well have offended Duse' Mohamed Ali and caused him to increasingly hold aloof from the Society's activities. Other changes of an unhelpful nature had occurred. Thus The Near East, which before the war had been sympathetic to the Turkish cause, now gave its support to schemes for imposing foreign

118. Anglo-Ottoman Society to S. of S., F.O., 13th February 1920, F.O. 371/5140/E 139 denouncing the Greek occupation of western Asia Minor, expressing alarm at the growth of anti-British feeling throughout Egypt and Asia, and requesting the British Government to make good Lloyd George's declaration of 5th January 1919 on the preservation of the integrity of the Turkish heartlands, contains these, and many other, "establishment" signatures.

119. *ibid.*

rule on Anatolia in the name of tutelage.¹²⁰ Additionally, as will be shown, by the post war era, Duse Mohamed Ali was increasingly pre-occupied with Pan-African organisations, with West Africa and with the United States. By 1921, when he left for the United States, his career as a Turcophil, except in purely sentimental terms, was over.

120. The Near East, 15th November 1918, p.932, contains a letter from Arthur Field on behalf of the Anglo-Ottoman Society which complains; "You will, we hope, permit us to protest against the spirit of your leading article in the issue of the 8th inst. entitled 'Great Britain and Turkey.' 'For some time to come,' you say, 'When the strong hand of the Committee of Union and Progress has been removed, the Turks may be unequal to governing themselves without foreign help.' ... The world has decided, you say, that no nationality shall be left against its will under foreign domination; yet you calmly contemplate our domination of Turkey, and our dictation to the Turks of the form of her government and of the personnel of her governors. The only application you make of the principle of nationality is to cut off the territorial possessions of Turkey as imperial rulers. ... How can you square 'Self'-determination with a blank refusal to allow Turkish subject nations to decide for themselves whether Turks, Frenchmen, Greeks or Jews shall rule them."

Such protests were little regarded. We find The Near East editorialising in a similar vein on 7th March 1919, p.208, when, of demands for Egyptian representation at Paris and Egyptian independence, it said "Between the subject races of Austria-Hungary and Turkey on the one hand, and India and Egypt, on the other, there is no analogy. The two latter countries are as much part and parcel of the British Empire as the Italian community of New York or the negroes of Virginia are of the United States. It is conceivable that, if the American Government were lax enough, a certain number of Italians, or Red Indians, or negroes might be found ready to claim the privileges of a separate independent State; but it is certain that no appeal to this effect would ever reach officially the Paris Conference. ... it would be as intolerable for the British to have Egypt cut herself adrift in the manner proposed by the Nationalists as it would be for the Americans to have the negroes set up an independent kingdom in the United States." The 'reductio ad absurdum' argument here about American Negro political aspirations shows how offensive British public opinion at this time could be to a man like Duse Mohamed Ali.

Side by side with Duse' Mohamed Ali's interest in and activities on behalf of Turkey in the years 1912-1921 went activities on behalf of Egypt. Indeed, as we have seen, to some extent the two overlapped, because of the interconnections of Egyptian Nationalist and Turkish politics. Duse's Egyptian links were mostly, though not entirely, with exiled members of the old Egyptian National Party, founded by Mustapha Kamil. It has been shown in the previous chapter how he welcomed contributions to his review from such eminent National Party figures as Muhammad Farid. In fact, he met Muhammad Farid during the latter's visit to London in February 1914.¹²¹ At that time, Muhammad Farid was leading the peripatetic life of a political exile. As such, his possible activities were severely limited, cut off as he was from the sources of real political power and influence in Egypt,¹²² and reduced to speeches, newspaper articles, and contacting sympathisers up and down Europe. We need not be surprised, therefore, either at his presence in London or that he found it worth his while to contact Duse' Mohamed Ali while there. As an Egyptian (though an Anglicised one), an editor and a political activist, Duse was the type of man who could be useful to Farid, always bearing in mind the narrow confines of exile politics.

121. Duse' Mohamed Ali, "Mohamed Farid Bey", AOR, February 1920, pp.5-8, and "Leaves from an Active Life", in The Comet, 13th November 1937, pp.7 & 14.

122. Goldschmidt, "The Egyptian National Party 1892-1919", in P.M. Holt (ed.), Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt, pp.323-30, gives details of Muhammad Farid's vacillating career from his assumption of the National Party leadership in 1908 to his final years as an exile in Germany and Turkey during the Great War.

Dusé felt extremely flattered by his acquaintance with the political heir of Mustapha Kamil. Though in fact well aware of Muhammad Farid's real failings as a leader, his "lack of magnetism" and his inability to restrain factions in his party, yet he remembered him with the greatest warmth;

My friend Mohamed Farid Bey ... has passed to the beyond and I am poorer by the loss of one of my few sincere friends. One whom I held in the highest possible esteem and for whom I had the greatest possible admiration, not only as a leader, but as a man; for if ever man deserved a better end at the hands of fate that man was Mohamed Farid.¹²³

He regarded Muhammad Farid as, if not a great leader, a man who "made the final sacrifice which every true patriot may be proud to make:- that of the martyr."¹²⁴

He probably first met Muhammad Farid at a reception and dinner given in Farid's honour, at the Savoy Hotel, on February 14th 1914, by the Sphinx Society,¹²⁵ an exile organisation of the National Party, with branches in several major European cities.¹²⁶ At the reception, Dusé introduced Muhammad Farid to his friend and ally Frank Hugh O'Donnell, and a few days later the three men met again at O'Donnell's house.¹²⁷

123. AOR, February 1920, p.5.

124. "Leaves from an Active Life", in The Comet, 13th November 1937, p.14.

125. *ibid*, p.7.

126. For information on the Sphinx Society, see A. Goldschmidt Jr. *op.cit.*, p.328.

127. AOR, March 1920, p.7.

It may be said here that O'Donnell and Duse were on good personal terms, O'Donnell being a regular visitor at Duse's house.¹²⁸ Muhammad Farid also dined at his house on one occasion, together with a number of Egyptian students living in London.¹²⁹

It seems unlikely that Duse Mohamed Ali was ever more to Muhammad Farid than a kindly host in a strange country. Farid spoke poor English - "what he did speak was Anglicised French"¹³⁰ - and since Duse spoke both languages, he was useful not only as a host but also as an interpreter. He acted in that role during the call on O'Donnell.¹³¹ When he writes of Muhammad Farid as one of his "few sincere friends", this cannot mean that there was any close relationship between them, either personally or politically. His close Egyptian friends were not from the great stars of the Egyptian political firmament, but were more obscure figures studying and working in London at that time. It is clear from his own writings and from intelligence and police reports that such men were regular visitors at both his office and his home;

128. *ibid*, p.6.

129. *ibid*, February 1920, pp.6-7.

130. *ibid*, p.6.

131. See note 127 above.

An ex-employee of Duse Mohamed says that 158 Fleet Street was visited by Turks and Egyptians of all characters, some of whom were undesirable. He instanced one Abushady, an Egyptian, Ali Farmi, a Sudanese, and El Bakray, an Egyptian.¹³²

Ahmad Zaki Abushady, to give him his full name, was certainly one of Duse Mohamed Ali's closer Egyptian friends. A medical student at St. George's hospital, he remained in correspondence with Duse Mohamed Ali even after his return to Egypt. Early in 1915 he sent Duse Mohamed Ali's wife an English translation of some patriotic Arabic verses, composed by school students and urging the young generation of Egyptians to cease to be slaves and, by sacrificing themselves for the Motherland, to restore the ancient glories of Egypt.¹³³ Before leaving Britain, Abushady had written "a letter to his father in Cairo which was violently anti-English and in which he stated that although it was risky yet Turkey's war with England was undoubtedly a source of hope for the Egyptians."¹³⁴ It was through the good offices of Abushady that Duse Mohamed Ali obtained a photocopy of his birth certificate (or purported birth certificate)

132. M.I.5. report on Duse Mohamed, February 1915 - see F.O. 371/2355/15047. Chief T.A. Doherty, in a discussion with the writer in his home in Lagos on 2nd April 1967, recalled Farmi as being the office boy at 158 Fleet Street. Since Chief Doherty did not come to London till 1916, it would seem that Farmi continued in attendance at no.158 despite the unfavourable reports collected by Military intelligence on his character. As office boy, he can hardly have been pursuing any very sinister aim. This is merely one of a number of details which serve as a caution against literal acceptance of intelligence and police reports about Duse and his circle.

133. *ibid.*

134. *ibid.*

from Alexandria.¹³⁵ Whatever the truth about the authenticity of this document, it was received at an opportune moment - five days before a visit from a Scotland Yard man.¹³⁶

Dusé Mohamed Ali was a regular attender of meetings of Egyptian organisations in London, in the months leading up to the Great War. Additionally, he was circularised with information from the Central Office of the Sphinx Society at Geneva,¹³⁷ though this is, of course, not to say that he was a member of the Society. His autobiography and other later reminiscences make no mention of the Sphinx Society, but prudence could have dictated this silence. Certainly Dusé was conversant enough with the Egyptian organisations in Britain to be able in June 1914

135. If this photocopy survives, it will be in closed Home Office files; but it was referred to by Dusé Mohamed Ali in his struggle to obtain Foreign Office recognition of his Egyptian nationality in 1919; he wrote; "I must draw your attention to the fact that a photographic copy of my birth certificate was in the possession of the New Scotland Yard authorities. This ... was obtained for me from Alexandria, my birthplace, by Abushady Bey, Advocate of Cairo, on information supplied by me. It should be known to you that to procure an Egyptian birth certificate one must not only know the full name of one's father, but one must also know the name of the midwife by whom one was delivered, and who is responsible for the registration of all births with which one is directly concerned (sic)." see Dusé Mohamed Ali to Rt.Hon. A.J. Balfour, Foreign Office, 9th August 1919, F.O. 371/3728/114805. The Advocate Abushady Bey was presumably the father, who lived in Cairo, of Ahmad Zaki Abushady, - see M.I.5. report on Dusé Mohamed, F.O. 371/2355/15047.

136. "Leaves", in The Comet, 1st January 1938, p.11.

137. See ATOR, 23rd June 1914, p.316.

to write an article on them. He listed the Sphinx Society, under the Presidency of 'Abd ul-Halim Hilmi; the Egyptian Debating Society; "an important debating Society for uplifting the status of Egyptian women"; and the Egyptian Club, whose President also was 'Abd ul-Halim Hilmi.¹³⁸ But in these circles the great limitation to his full participation was that, unlike in the Anglo-Ottoman Society, or the Islamic Society, which were multi-national and conducted their proceedings in English, the Egyptian Societies were normally conducted in Arabic. Thus, when in June 1914 he attended an Egyptian Club function in honour of a member who had taken his F.R.C.S., it is clear that the bulk of the speeches were in Arabic, since the ATOR reported;

Dusé Mohamed ... speaking in English, congratulated the students on their high national spirit and unity, which he thought to be the strongest moral weapon, and if applied sincerely and patiently, will help their national cause immensely. He pointed out that the brilliant success of Dr. Shafeek in so short a time, and at such an early age, is more than sufficient to refute the ridiculous hypothesis which has often appeared in the English press, that Egyptians are incapable of reaching a high standard in education.¹³⁹

Significantly, the review did not give details of the other speeches, and would hardly have bothered to mention that its editor spoke in English if this had not been an exception to the rule. The same circumstances arose a month later, when Ibrahim al-Hilbawi addressed the club in Arabic on the topic "A Greeting to the Egyptian Club and the Hope of Egypt in

138. "Yesterday, To-day and Tomorrow", ATOR, 23rd June 1914, p.315.

139. ATOR, 23rd June 1914, p. 315.

Her Young Generations". Duse', who had been invited to the meeting, again spoke a few words in English.¹⁴⁰

Though having a marginal role in Egyptian organisations, at least in the period before the Great War, that is not to say that Duse' Mohamed Ali did not play the role of informal advisor to the young Egyptians who frequented his home and office, especially perhaps on how to behave and act in Britain. There is a well documented example of his doing this at the outbreak of the Great War when, together with Ibrahim al-Hilbawi, he attempted to guide London's young Egyptians into a position of at least public "loyalty" to Great Britain. It is interesting that his colleague in this should have been al-Hilbawi, who was an important and in many ways rather ambiguous figure in Egyptian politics at that time. He had earned the violent enmity of almost all Egyptians by being the prosecutor in the notorious Dinshwai trial, but had later performed a remarkable about face in passionately defending Ibrahim Wirdani, the assassin of Butrus Pasha Ghali, and making a public avowal of support for the Nationalist cause.¹⁴¹ Both these facts were well known to Duse' Mohamed Ali, who had

140. *ibid*, 14th July 1914, pp.401-03.

141. See Ferhat J. Ziadeh, Lawyers, the Rule of Law and Liberalism in Modern Egypt, Stanford, 1968, p.39, and Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid, Egypt and Cromer. A Study in Anglo-Egyptian Relations, London 1968, p.173, which relates; "The three Egyptians involved in the trial - Butros Ghali, Fathi Zaghlul, and Ibrahim al-Hilbawi, the Public Prosecutor - were despised, and the public never forgave them their share in the trial." It is ironic that al-Hilbawi partly redeemed his reputation by defending the assassin of Butros Ghali a few years later!

recorded them in In The Land Of The Pharaohs.¹⁴² But Hilbawi was more than a political weathercock. In a recent study, Farhat J. Ziadeh has pointed out that he had been a student of Jamal ud-Din al-Afghani, and indeed brackets him with those less equivocal students of al-Afghani's, Muhammad 'Abduh and Sa'd Zaghlul, as one of those of whom it could be said "It was fortunate for the legal profession that the careers of some men who were to become among the most famous in Egypt started with the law." Like Zaghlul, in his youth al-Hilbawi had supported Ahmad Arabi, and in 1880, together with Zaghlul, had assisted the great moderniser and intellectual Muhammad 'Abduh in editing the official gazette, al-Waqa'i' al-Misriyyah. Later, following his defence of Wirdani, he was in 1912 elected president of the Egyptian National Bar Association.¹⁴³ Thus, he was a man who had for decades witnessed and participated in the most progressive elements in Egypt.

Dusé Mohamed Ali's action with Ibrahim al-Hilbawi was to send the following letter to the Pall Mall Gazette;

On behalf of the Egyptians resident in England we bewail the present warlike preparations on the Continent of Europe. Whilst we must ever hold the independence of Egypt to be of paramount importance, we also recognise the present critical position of Great Britain.

142. In The Land Of The Pharaohs, pp.339-40. Indeed, as late as July 1914, in reporting self-justifying remarks in relation to his prosecution of the Denshawai villagers, the ATOR remarked; "His defence of himself did not convince most of the audience more than to believe that his mistake at Denshawai was not intended." - ATOR, 14th July 1914, p.402.

143. Ziadeh, op.cit., pp.38, 40, 46 & 68-9.

As we have always believed in, and relied upon, the justice of the English people, we heartily sympathise with them in their struggle which seems both imminent and unavoidable.

We would also state that the British nation need entertain no fear that its interests in Egypt will be imperilled should it be found necessary to withdraw the Army of occupation. The withdrawal of the Army of occupation at this juncture would, in our opinion, be a sure means of winning the hearts of the Egyptian nation; and the Egyptians would, in such an event, voluntarily assist Great Britain in the final struggle to the utmost limit of their resources, whether in money or in the dearly prized blood of the nation.¹⁴⁴

The motivation behind this letter, according to Duse' Mohamed Ali, was that;

On the afternoon of the declaration of war Helbawi Bey came to my office full of John Redmond's declaration in the House of Commons in which he signified his determination to support Great Britain in the war by every means in his power, as leader of the Irish Home Rule Party. Helbawi Bey was in the House at the time of the Declaration and upon arriving at my office, overflowing with enthusiasm, he asked what we could do to prove to England that we were with her in her hour of trial. I told him that we could write a letter on behalf of our compatriots in London which owing to our age and experience should be acceptable to them. The Bey agreed and I sat at my desk and drafted the letter which he fully approved and signed with me.¹⁴⁵

It was a clever letter, well designed to depict "loyalty" to Britain yet appeal to Nationalist sentiment. Obviously, a withdrawal of British occupation forces would have been tantamount to a grant of independence to Egypt, so the tenderness expressed for British interests there cannot be taken too seriously. Furthermore, it is possible that Duse' Mohamed Ali was already in fact anticipating a war between Britain and Turkey, or

144. Pall Mall Gazette, 4th August 1914, p.7.

145. "Leaves", in The Comet, 11th December 1937, p.11.

at least knew that Turcophil Egyptians were hoping for one. It cannot be proved that this knowledge, which he certainly possessed by September 1914,¹⁴⁶ was already in his possession in August, but it is a possibility. If that were the case, then his true purpose in writing the letter would have been to help to lull the British people and government into a false sense of security. Certainly he was capable of duplicity, for despite his foreknowledge of Turkey's entry into the war, the pro-Turkish pamphlet which he and Arthur Field issued for the Anglo-Ottoman Society in November 1914, specifically and vigorously denied that the Turks were planning to attack Egypt.¹⁴⁷ The Pall Mall Gazette letter was followed up by a letter from Duse to Lord Kitchener, offering the services of a number of Egyptians who had arrived in the country from Germany and France and were anxious to serve the British Government. This offer was, however, rejected, on the grounds that "only naturalised British subjects can be accepted for service with the British Army", though this rebuff was softened by the statement "their patriotic offer of their services is fully appreciated."¹⁴⁸ But it should be borne in mind that whatever he may have intended, in fact his letters were powerless to alter the great sweep of events then under way, which were far beyond the power of any one individual to control.

146. See note 99 above.

147. See note 108 above.

148. ATOR, December 1917, pp.106-7.

On a local scale, among the Egyptian community in Britain, the Fall Mall Gazette letter was, however, not without effects. Some young Egyptians took the apparent advice of the letter - M.I.5. believed "He ... was instrumental in inducing several of the Egyptian students in London to offer their services to the British Government".¹⁴⁹ But other students took objection. A group of them led by a Copt, who had hitherto professed to be pro-British, descended on 158 Fleet Street. Duse' Mohamed Ali was "violently abused for signing that letter with Helbawi Bey, which they claimed did not express their sentiments."¹⁵⁰

During the course of the Great War his main formal contact with Egyptians seems to have been through the Islamic Society and its offshoot the Central Islamic Society. As he knew himself to be under surveillance, no doubt discretion was the better part of valour. Explicitly Egyptian Nationalist organisations would hardly have been tolerated, whilst the Islamic and Central Islamic Societies, as, at least overtly, religious bodies, had to be tolerated, even if disliked by the India Office. But after the war, wartime inhibitions soon fell away, and Duse' Mohamed Ali busied himself with advising young Egyptian students in the formation of a new and Nationalist inclined body, the Egyptian Association of Great Britain, and thereby once again earned the unfavourable attention of the authorities. The Egyptian Association of Great Britain

149. M.I.5. report on Duse' Mohamed, in F.O. 371/2355/15047.

150. "Leaves", in The Comet, 11th December 1937, p.11.

was investigated by the C.I.D., and Scotland Yard's findings were forwarded via the Director of Intelligence to the Foreign Office. The E.A.G.B. not only had a London branch, consisting mainly of students, but also extended to other large towns, notably Liverpool, and hoped to extend to all large centres in England and Scotland, intending to enrol all Egyptians in Britain in the service of the national movement of the day. In its turn, this British body was linked to a headquarters in Paris. Activities included circularising British M.P.s, protesting to President Wilson about the United States recognition of the British Protectorate in Egypt, and attempting to win the sympathy of Latin American governments for the Egyptian struggle against the British. The leaders of the E.A.G.B. were Dr. Mustafa Ahmad Omar (President), H.Y. Awad (Secretary), and Ihsan el Bakri, an old friend of Duse's, (Organiser). The latter was evidently the main link between the E.A.G.B. and various useful contacts, for he was described as "on intimate terms with numerous Labour leaders, such as George Lansbury, Arthur Field, and John Arnall, and Agitators like Sylvia Pankhurst, Arnold Lupton, and Duse Mohamed Vice-President of the Central Islamic Society." Indeed, to the worthy policeman who compiled the report, the E.A.G.B. looked rather like an Egyptian cum Indian cum Socialist cum Russian Jewish plot! More seriously, it will be noted that the E.A.G.B. sympathisers included four members of the Anglo-Ottoman Society - Arnall and Lupton as well as Field and Duse; indeed, it was noted that Egyptians and Indians attended several "semi-religious" societies in London at which political questions were discussed. It is evident that the E.A.G.B. found its place in the

complex of Islamic and Turcophil societies in London of which Duse' Mohamed Ali was so prominent a member.¹⁵¹

But, as in the case of his Turcophil activities, we may perhaps conclude that his Egyptian Nationalist day was really over, even before he left for the United States in 1921. The basic reason for this was that by the end of 1918, the initiative in Egyptian politics was totally in the hands of the Wafd, which, unlike the National Party of 1914, was no party of exiles but firmly rooted in Egypt. It follows that if Duse' Mohamed Ali was marginal even to the exile politics of the National Party, he was nothing to the Wafd, which derived its power from mass support within Egypt. As has already been noted in the previous chapter, when Zaghlul visited Britain in 1920, Duse' Mohamed Ali was permitted no pretensions to any special or close relationship with Zaghlul's delegation.

It is clearly necessary to discount any extravagant claims about Duse' Mohamed Ali's role in Egyptian Nationalist movements. He was not a Wafdist and had, probably because of being neglected by the 1920 delegation to London, a prejudice against Zaghlul. He did have some contact with major

151. F.O. 371/3717/78495, report "With reference to the activities of Egyptian Nationalists in the United Kingdom", Sergeant J. O'Sullivan, New Scotland Yard, 17th May 1919, forwarded to F.O. by Director of Intelligence, 21st May 1919. There can be no doubt that Ihsan el Bakri was the "El Bakray" who was said to have been one of the undesirable extremists frequenting the ATOR office at the beginning of the war - see M.I.5. report on Duse' Mohamed, F.O. 371/2355/15047 - and was the same man as Ehsan El Bakry, a fellow member with Duse' Mohamed Ali in 1917 of a body called the International College of Chromatics - see ATOR, November 1917, p.93 - and who in 1918 was Assistant Secretary of the Central Islamic Society - see *ibid*, February 1918, p.11, advertisement for Central Islamic Society.

Egyptian figures; Muhammad Farid, 'Abd ul-'Aziz Shawish and Ibrahim al-Hilbawi being the prime examples. In the case of Shawish the connection may have been of critical importance, but here, unfortunately, we are partly dependent on inference and speculation. In a more general sense, Duse' Mohamed Ali played a fatherly role in relation to a generation of young Egyptian students in London, and it should be recalled that in his company these young men would have also had the opportunity of meeting black Americans, West Indians, Indians and West African Christians. To meet such men would have surely been a widening and enlightening experience, as the like of most of them could scarcely have been encountered then in Egypt.

It is strange that with his record of agitation on behalf of Turkey that Duse' Mohamed Ali escaped internment during the Great War. Indeed, the whole matter of his relations with authority reveal a curious mixture of liberalism and harassment. In general, Ottoman subjects living in Britain were an anomalous group compared with the more straightforward case of German or Austrian enemy aliens. Many were Greek or Armenian Christians, who were probably far more anti-Turk than the average Englishman. But even the Muslims could not simply all be regarded as hostile; many of them were only nominally Ottoman subjects, this being the case with Egyptians. So the Home Office sensibly decided that "persons born in Egypt are Turkish subjects, and must be required to register, but special consideration is to be shown to them as regards enforcing the restrictions of the (Aliens Registration) Order, and all reasonable facilities in the matter of travelling permits should be given them." Unless "suspect or of bad character" or persons who would "in existing circumstances become destitute if left at

liberty", Ottoman subjects were not to be interned, and by October 1916 only 138 of them had been interned compared with 1,582 who were left in freedom.¹⁵²

Despite the various activities he was involved in that could be fairly described as anti-British, nevertheless it would be an over-simplification of Duse Mohamed Ali's complex personality to regard him as unequivocally so. As has already been shown, certain aspects of Britain - the throne, the monarch, "British justice and fair play" - touched a deep chord in his heart. Thus, it would be unwise to regard the measures he took to give the appearance of loyalty to Britain as mere expediency. To begin with, he offered himself for military service;

... immediately after the outbreak of hostilities, I received an invitation to a mass meeting at His Majesty's Theatre, London, where a call was being made to all able-bodied men engaged in the arts to join an Artists corps for Home defense. In view of my long residence in England I considered it my duty to be present at this meeting where I enrolled my name as a volunteer.¹⁵³

It would be ludicrous to suppose that he intended to act in this unit, which was hardly one of the key combat units of the British Army, as a fifth columnist! At a time when he was bound to be under some suspicion, it was a declaration of loyalty: but not one which, as it transpired, carried

152. See draft of circular to the Police on application of the Aliens Registration Order to Turkish subjects, as amended by F.O., 5th November 1914, H.O. 45/270431/1a; and "Treatment of Ottoman Subjects in U.K.", H.O. 45/270431/128.

153. "Leaves", in The Comet, 1st January 1938, p.7.

much weight when his case began to be examined. As he put it;

When ... England was at war with Turkey and an enemy to Great Britain was being discovered in every bush, I quietly withdrew because I felt convinced that my loyal and honourable intentions would be misunderstood.¹⁵⁴

In fact, he could not but be aware of the interest the authorities were beginning to take in him;

I had detectives visiting my office at all hours of the day upon some flimsy excuse until I requested Scotland Yard to leave a plain clothes officer permanently stationed at my office to closely scrutinise all visitors.¹⁵⁵

This, following on the banning of the ATOR in India and Africa at the outbreak of the war,¹⁵⁶ showed how precarious was his position. His interviews with the police were not at all pleasant. He related how, having received an effusive letter from a Muslim in Batavia (in itself an interesting example of how widely spread were his contacts), he was called to Scotland Yard;

I was questioned by a rather pompous person about the 'suspicious' letter and asked whether I knew that my correspondent was in the pay of Turkey. I replied that I did not know that Turkey possessed any money to pay anyone, whereupon my questioner asked: 'Aren't you in the pay of Turkey?' I answered in the negative. Whereupon he asked: 'Is your price too high?'

I responded with some heat I fear: 'Do you mean to insult me? I am not in the pay of Turkey nor Great Britain, nor am I for sale.'¹⁵⁷

154. *ibid.*

155. *ibid.*, pp.7 & 11.

156. Supt. P. Quinn, Special Branch, New Scotland Yard, report on Duse Mohamed, 27th March 1916, p.2 - see F.O. 371/3728/114805.

157. "Leaves", in The Comet, 4th December 1937, p.7.

It is difficult to blame the interrogating police officer too harshly in the circumstances. But equally, it is necessary to appreciate Duse's feelings here, which are probably honestly enough summed up in his comment on this episode;

The average British Official mind could not be brought to understand that I could be pro-Turk, pro-Egyptian or pro-anything, without being anti-British.¹⁵⁸

The climax of official investigations into Duse Mohamed Ali's activities was a police raid on the ATOR on 22nd December 1914, as a result of information received from M.I.5. But nothing at all incriminating was found.

The M.I.5. confidential report on him noted;

It is said that inflammatory material and some incriminating papers were removed secretly to Liverpool by an Egyptian named Degouski Effendi and an Indian named Zaffer Ali Kahn (sic), the Editor of the Lahore paper 'Zemindar'. This statement does not appear to have been confirmed.¹⁵⁹

Despite having failed to detect him in anything criminal or treasonable, M.I.5. and Scotland Yard were far from satisfied. Though noting a pro-British and anti-Central Powers article that he had written in December 1914, his enrollment in the "United Artists Force", and his persuasion of Egyptian students to offer their services to Britain, the conclusion of the M.I.5. file was "Having regard to the whole of his previous conduct

158. *ibid*, pp.7 & 14.

159. M.I.5. *op.cit*. It is remarkable that M.I.5. were, seemingly, unaware that Zafar Ali Khan was notoriously anti-British and the Zamindar, one of the then largest circulation vernacular papers in India, a dedicated supporter of Turkey and the Caliphate; see Cantwell Smith, *op.cit*. p.196.

it is difficult to place much reliance on his protestations."¹⁶⁰ Scotland Yard likewise concluded in their summary of information on him of 27th March 1916, "It is not definitely known how he is at present obtaining means of support, but he is regarded by those who have come in contact with him as not straight."¹⁶¹

In the circumstances he was lucky not to be interned as an enemy alien, which was actually considered. He was, however, required to register as an enemy alien of Turkish nationality, registering at Brixton police station on 9th November 1914.¹⁶² He did, however, benefit from the relaxation, granted to Egyptians, of the usual restrictions that this would have implied, and despite police surveillance, in general escaped far more lightly than he might have done. But his registration as an Ottoman subject was to cause him real difficulties over the next few years, since in 1914, 1917, 1918 and 1919 he applied for permission to visit British West Africa on business whilst in 1921 he wished to visit the United States for similar reasons. On each of these occasions (which, as they formed part of his business activities will be more fully discussed in the next chapter) he came up against the problem of his nationality. He chose to have regard the registration of 9th November as establishing his Egyptian status. In a long letter to the Foreign Office dated 9th

160. *ibid.*

161. Supt. Quinn, 'Special Branch, New Scotland Yard, *op.cit.*

162. See J. Carter, 'Director of Intelligence' Office, to G. Loder, Foreign Office, 15th August 1919, F.O. 371/3728/114805.

August 1919, he stated;

Like all other Egyptians resident in England, I registered as an Egyptian subject when the order for such registration was ordered by the Government. Although I received visits from the police for one reason or other of a political nature the matter of my nationality was not questioned until I applied for a Passport for the purpose of visiting Africa in 1917.¹⁶³

The upshot was that after a verbal assurance from the Passport Office, three months elapsed. After a further enquiry he was sent for by the Brixton Police; they told him, he said, that the Home Office had instructed them to re-register (sic) him as a Turkish subject, as the Egyptian Government knew nothing about him.¹⁶⁴ Of course, his letter recording these events was written two years later; and after several years of interviews with the Police and other officials, no doubt all of a wearisome nature, he may well have forgotten exactly what was said on what occasion. Even the Police and M.I.5. authorities, who had the benefit of records and files, made clear errors in the information they recorded about him.¹⁶⁵ Yet it is also possible that his letter was deliberately disingenuous; if so, quite unsuccessfully. The Foreign Office asked for further information from the Director of Intelligence, and were sent the 1916 Police

163. Duse Mohamed Ali to S. of S. Balfour, F.O., 9th August 1919, p.2, F.O. 371/3728/114805.

164. *ibid.*

165. For example, M.I.5., *op.cit.*, refers to a pro-British article written by Duse in the Christmas 1914 number of the ATOR, despite its last issue being in August 1914 - presumably a confusion with an article in some other magazine.

report and information about his effort to obtain a passport in March 1918. In 1918, the War Office and Colonial Office had been prepared to allow his journey "although his bona-fides and loyalty were under suspicion", but the Egyptian Government in Cairo refused to recognise him as an Egyptian.¹⁶⁶

Nevertheless, this 1918 decision did not deter him from an even more determined effort to obtain recognition of his Egyptian Nationality from the Foreign Office in 1919. The Foreign Office lost or mislaid his first application, and on his further enquiry had to ask for a duplicate; having received that officialdom was tardy in making a final decision. Part of the confusion seems to have been caused by the fact that the first application was processed by the Turkey section of the Foreign Office and the second by the Egypt section, and neither seems to have liaised with the other, though both separately came to a negative decision on the basis of Cairo's refusal to recognise him of the previous year.¹⁶⁷ It hardly needs saying that the Cairo Government at that time simply meant the

166. See note 162 above, and M. Cheetham, British Residency, Hamleh to Lord Curzon, F.O., 9th October 1919; "I ... refer ... to Sir R. Wingate's Telegram No.197 of the 28th January, 1918, stating that DUSE MOHAMED was only known to the Anglo-Egyptian Authorities through articles formerly published by him in the British Press - see Viscount Grey's despatch No.43 Secret of the 10th of February 1915. In view of his long absence from Egypt, he cannot be regarded as an Egyptian entitled to British protection abroad." - F.O. 371/3728/143799.

167. of. F.O. 372/1274/126806 with F.O. 371/3728/114805 and F.O. 371/3728/143799.

British wearing different hats; indeed, Sir Reginald Wingate's staff at the Hamleh Residency were even less likely to be helpful to such a man than the authorities in Britain, in that year of crisis in Egypt.¹⁶⁸

But this time Dussé Mohamed Ali, whose business plans had been seriously held up by the long battle over his nationality, was inclined to fight. He instructed his solicitor to write to the Foreign Office. The letter was duly sent and asked some pertinent questions;

- (1) A person having a nationality, is it possible for him by residence in another Country solely to change that nationality?
- (2) In the absence of express power to change a person's nationality without his consent, is it possible to do so? Can the British Government deprive me of my British nationality unless I ask them or some other country to do so?
- (3) Is there any express power in this behalf vested in the Egyptian Government?
- (4) Is there any power in the British Government to make a person the subject of another Country when as a fact he has never hitherto been so?¹⁶⁹

But the Foreign Office was too experienced to be drawn into general discussions on the law of nationality, and blandly informed Lawyer Mossop that "Lord Curzon regrets that he is unable to furnish you with advice on the question raised in your letter, and directs me to suggest that you should obtain a competent legal opinion upon them."¹⁷⁰ This would have

168. In 1919, the whole country was immobilised by the successful operations of Zaghlul Pasha and the Wafd. See P.J. Vatikiotis, The Modern History of Egypt, London, 1969, pp.257-61.

169. H.C. Mossop to Under S. of S., F.O., 22nd September 1919, F.O. 372/1274/132591.

170. F.O. to H.C. Mossop, 27th September 1919, *ibid.*

been impractically expensive and uncertain.

But at the same time that this fruitless correspondence was going on Duse Mohamed Ali was also, and most wisely, making use of his very limited connections in the "old boy" network of the British ruling class. He persuaded his old associate Aubrey Herbert to call on the Foreign Office on his behalf. Herbert argued tenaciously for Duse, although he had been a member of the Ottoman Association, rather than the Anglo-Ottoman Society. In conversation with W. Stewart of the Foreign Office, he showed that obtuse refusal to understand an opposite point of view that was the prerogative of one who combined social and military rank and political connections. Although the Foreign Office and Ramleh Residency view was carefully explained to him, "Herbert seemed puzzled to know why Ottoman any more than some more agreeable nationality had been selected for the man if he could not be recognised as an Egyptian." He brought up his intriguing notion that Duse Mohamed Ali was of American Negro descent; this may have been a broad hint to the Foreign Office to recognise him as a United States citizen, but if so was ignored. He said that in the context of the Albanian Committee "he had had certain dealings with Duse Mohamed Ali, & he had found him useful for speaking with Indian seditionists who were frequent callers upon him." Herbert insisted that what little he knew of Duse was in his favour and suggested that "if the man had important reasons for travelling we might issue him with an emergency certificate to enable him to do so."¹⁷¹ The Foreign Office conceded

171. Conversation between Lt.Col. the Hon. Aubrey Herbert, M.P., and W. Stewart of the F.O., 27th September 1919, F.O. 372/1274/135061.

to Herbert that they would do this,¹⁷² and it was doubtless under such an arrangement that Duse was allowed, belatedly, to travel to West Africa in summer 1920. But the coveted Egyptian nationality was never conceded by Britain or the Egyptian Protectorate Government. In 1921, he travelled to the United States on papers provided by the Swedish Mission in Britain, at the behest of the Turkish Ambassador,¹⁷³ on behalf of the Turkish Government, Turkey still being nominally at war with the Western Powers. Apparently Egyptian nationality was at last granted to him by the post-Protectorate Egyptian Government, which would have had no reason for refusing him. This would have transpired while he was living in America between 1921 and 1931.

So far we have seen Duse Mohamed Ali's connections with Islam and Islamic nations in contexts which if not exactly, from his point of view, anti-British, were certainly at cross-purposes with any normal official British conception of British interests. It is therefore of importance if a balanced understanding of his "Islamic" activities is to be understood to take account of his efforts in 1915-1916 to promote the Indian Muslim Soldiers Widows and Orphans War Fund - hence referred to as I.M.S.W.O.W.F.

In this body, he dexterously combined a charitable and pious impulse, as a Muslim, towards widows and orphans, with Pan-Islamic sentiment, and support for the Imperial War Effort! It is perhaps impossible to untangle

172. Stewart to Herbert, 29th September 1919, *ibid.*

173. "Leaves", in The Comet, 29th January 1938, p.16.

the elements of principle and opportunism here, though both were no doubt present. I.M.S.W.O.W.F. could be said to anticipate the attitude to the war developed in his editorials in 1917 and 1918, namely that coloured peoples should support the British War Effort in every way possible, not as a sign of subservience, but as a gesture of their full participation as equals, whose interests would have to be taken into account after the war.

According to his own account, the idea of an I.M.S.W.O.W.F. was his. There is no evidence to contradict this, and it is supported by implication in the 1916 Scotland Yard Report on his activities.¹⁷⁴ The idea came to him during the 1915 Ramadan Festival at Woking Mosque;

I met and conversed with several of the wounded Indian Muslim soldiers who had been sent to England for treatment. In my conversations with them I discovered that they were greatly perturbed regarding the well-being of their women who, for the most, being secluded, would be unable to approach officialdom for any financial assistance they might require. These facts suggested 'The Indian Muslim Widows and Orphans War Fund'.¹⁷⁵

The vehicle through which he launched I.M.S.W.O.W.F. was the Islamic Society, in which he still held his old post of Vice-President for Egypt,¹⁷⁶ though, as we shall see, the project turned out to be deeply divisive and led to him and his supporters splitting off to found the Central Islamic

174. Supt. P. Quinn, Special Branch, New Scotland Yard, op.cit.

175. "Leaves", in The Comet, 1st January 1938, p.11.

176. *ibid*, 8th January 1938, p.7.

Society. The target of the Fund was £10,000¹⁷⁷ - a modest sum in relation to the need, but huge in relation to the funds of the Islamic Society, which amounted to less than £10 at the time of I.M.S.W.O.W.F.'s inception,¹⁷⁸ and far more money than he can ever before in his life have had at his disposal.

Before considering the details of the Fund's administration, let us examine its ideology, which is what raises it from being merely one of a host of minor war charities. This is expounded in an article which Duse Mohamed Ali contributed to the magazine World's Work in September 1916.¹⁷⁹ Though written towards the end of the Fund's existence, there is no reason to believe that the justification of the Fund given here was at any earlier point any different. To begin with, his World's Work article made the unexceptionable comment, from the British Imperial point of view, that;

I take it that there can be no higher political ideal than that of cementing friendly relations between the governors and the governed.¹⁸⁰

But this was merely a launching pad for attacking Britain's policy towards the Ottoman Empire, both before and during the war, as dangerous to true Imperial interests, especially as it could be misrepresented by the Germans;

177. Duse Mohamed, "The Indian Muslim War Fund", in World's Work, Vol. XXVIII, no.166, September 1916, p.350.

178. "Leaves", in The Comet, 8th January 1938, p.7.

179. Duse Mohamed, "The Indian Muslim War Fund", in World's Work, Vol. XXVIII, no.166, September 1916, pp.349-50.

180. *ibid*, p.349.

Every indiscretion of the British statesmen in regard to ... the Ottoman Empire was made to masquerade as a new form of aggression leading up to the humiliation and suppression of Turkey and to the ultimate extinction of Islam. Now, it must be distinctly understood that the entire Muslim world, and Muslim India in particular, regards Turkey as being the sole remnant of Muslim political advancement. Moreover, whatever view may be taken of the Young Turk's irreligion by the Indian Muslims, to them Turkey represents the Khalifate, and the Khalifate is Turkey; and unfortunately British statesmen have been wont to be rather flippant in their remarks about Turkey, without any regard to the impression which their remarks might create in the breasts of the 100,000,000 Muslims within the British Empire.¹⁸¹

Representing himself as one of a "large and influential section of Muslims", educated in England, who "appreciated the sterling qualities of the British people", he accepted that "the British people - being freedom loving both in religion and politics, could entertain no sinister intentions regarding our faith." His language and sentiments here are strikingly reminiscent of In The Land Of The Pharaohs and his early editorials in the ATOR. But there was, he wrote, a danger, for "a number of our co-religionists who possessed neither our knowledge nor our understanding." His answer was to provide a sympathetic link between the British and their Muslim Imperial subjects;

I, although an avowed Egyptian Nationalist, determined to do 'my bit' in the highest interests of those amongst whom I had lived for forty years ... Hence I determined to aid my co-religionists, through the Indian Muslim Soldiers' Widows and Orphans War Fund and the potential munificence of the British people.¹⁸²

Stressing the inadequacy of pensions available to Indian war widows, and the difficulties in obtaining even these owing to "illiteracy and the

181. *ibid.*

182. *ibid.*

natural diffidence of Muslim women to approach the British official", he unrolled his plan to remedy this situation and reconcile thereby the governors and the Muslim governed;

We ask for the modest sum of £10,000. This is a very small sum for such a momentous undertaking and for so great and rich an Empire, but it will be sufficient, not only to alleviate the sufferings of the most destitute widows and orphans of Indian Muslim soldiers, rescuing them from starvation, but will also do service as a tribute to the valour of those who set duty to the Empire above religion, and who declined to lend either voice or ear to the seductive blandishments of the German seducer.

The support of this fund will prove to the Muslims of India that it is enough that the blood of their husbands, sons, and brothers have (sic) been mingled with the blood of the sons of Britain in their joint effort to restore liberty to smaller nationalities; to preserve the integrity of the British Empire from the ruthless hand of the spoiler; to prove that the solidarity of the Empire is no chimera, but a real, tangible thing, and that the Indian Muslim is an enduring link in the indestructible chain of the British Empire whose proud boast is one King-Emperor, one People, and one Flag.¹⁸³

This masterly mixture of emotions and causes, ending up with most emotional of his old loyalist slogans, but avoiding any repudiation of the causes he had embraced since 1912, leaves his own position in enigmatic ambiguity; but it should again be considered that what to us may seem discordant elements were not necessarily so to him. He was a publicist and polemicist, not a systematic thinker. Yet, it must be said, he had a genius for statements that might be all things to all men. Thus, there can be no doubt that to his British readers, his words about the joint effort of British and Indian Muslims "to restore liberty to smaller nationalities" would have meant the struggle to liberate 'gallant little Belgium' or perhaps Serbia, but certainly not to liberate coloured people in the

183. *ibid*, p.350.

colonies of the Western Powers. Yet it should be recalled that to Duse Mohamed Ali all coloured peoples were small nationalities. Had he been a mere visitor with little knowledge of the British there might have been room here for a genuine misunderstanding, but as one who had lived among the British for forty years, he understood only too well that the concept of independence and freedom for blacks was by and large utterly foreign to them.

The techniques he used to raise money for I.M.S.W.O.W.F. were the standard ones of charitable fund raisers - organising a charity concert; approaching persons of eminence for their patronage; advertising; writing letters to and articles for the press. Of these, advertising was found to be by far the least satisfactory, nor was the distribution of 10,000 circulars to private individuals much better.¹⁸⁴ Of the eminent people approached, at least some responded. Among these was the Earl of Cromer, who apparently bore no grudge for the many hard things Duse had written of him over the previous few years. Through Cromer's good offices, the editor of The Spectator agreed to publish a letter from Duse.¹⁸⁵ In this letter he summarised the political objects of the Fund (i.e. to prove to the Muslim world that the people of Britain were neither hostile to Islam nor unmindful of Indian Muslim war sacrifices), as well as setting out its charitable purpose.¹⁸⁶ Editor Strachey of The Spectator accepted

184. *ibid*, p.349.

185. "Leaves", in The Comet, 8th January 1938, p.7.

186. The Spectator, 16th October 1915, p.507.

the political point, admitting "We owe much to our gallant Muslim soldiers, and it would be a source of deep regret to all who know and understand our Indian Army if the public here failed to show its appreciation by helping the families of the fallen."¹⁸⁷

I.M.S.W.O.W.F. patrons included the great opera singer, Adelina Patti; the Duchess of Marlborough (who was Patroness in Chief); and the entire Cabinet, apart from Asquith. Mrs. Asquith, however, responded favourably. Others were found among the ranks of the British Turcophiles, including Lord Lamington and Aubrey Herbert.¹⁸⁸ But notwithstanding this fairly impressive list, many others refused their patronage, at least one through the hostile advice of the Foreign Office. In May 1915, the French Ambassador, Paul Cambon, wrote to Sir Edward Grey;

L'Amassadeur de France serait reconnaissant à Son Excellence le Secrétaire d'Etat des Affaires Etrangères de lui fournir quelques renseignements sur L'Islamic Society, qui a son siège a Londres 158 Fleet Street, et qui lui a demandé son patronage pour une représentation qui doit avoir lieu a la fin de Juin au profit des familles des soldats Musulmans victimes de la présente guerre. Les efforts qui poursuit l'organisation de cette séance, Dute Mohammed (sic), aurient d'après ce dernier, déjà reçu l'approbation de Sa Majesté le Roi et de Sa Majesté la Reine Alexandre.¹⁸⁹

187. *ibid.*

188. For eminent I.M.S.W.O.W.F.'s patrons, see "Leaves", in The Comet, 1st January 1938, p.11.

189. M. Paul Cambon to Sir Edward Grey, 5th May 1915, F.O. 371/2489/5541.

In fact, the claim that the Fund had received Royal patronage was untrue, but it seems possible that Duse Mohamed Ali was unduly optimistic rather than downright dishonest in this claim, as he might not have received a final refusal from Buckingham Palace at the time of writing to the French Ambassador.

It should be remembered that with his intense belief in the sympathy of the British monarchy for its coloured subjects, he probably found it hard to accept that the King and Queen Mother would refuse to help. This appears to be borne out by a letter from the Privy Purse Office to the Foreign Office;

Duse Mohammed (sic) wrote on April 19th, asking for their Majesty's Patronage for an entertainment under the auspices of the Islamic Society in aid of the widows and orphans of Indian Muslims. I told him on 21st April that the King could not grant his patronage to this entertainment, although His Majesty sincerely sympathised with the excellent object he had in view. On the 28th April he wrote and asked the King to subscribe towards the expenses of the entertainment, and I told him he must apply through the India Office.¹⁹⁰

But if this letter could be used to argue his naivety rather than dishonesty in this case, it also worsened his already bad name at the Foreign Office. The Foreign Office had already described him in letters to Cambon, and Lord Stamfordham at the Privy Purse Office, as "a Pan-Islamist of shady antecedents".¹⁹¹ Now the Privy Purse Office informed the Foreign Office

190. F. Ponsonby, Privy Purse Office, to Sir A. Nicolson, F.O., 17th May 1915, F.O. 371/2489/62276.

191. See Sir E. Grey to M. Paul Cambon, 14th May 1915 & Sir A. Nicolson to Lord Stamfordham, 14th May 1915, F.O. 371/2489/5541.

"There is ... no truth in his statement that His Majesty has given his approval ... I learn that Queen Alexandria refused her patronage and also declined to subscribe."¹⁹²

Financially, I.M.S.W.O.W.F. was a failure, despite its modest target. The only figures available are those released by the Fund or its officers, but since these fell so short of the target, there is no reason to doubt them, at least in respect of money forwarded for distribution to the Fund's India agent, Rajah Muhammad Ali Muhammad, of Mahmudabad, Oudh. A first instalment of £100 was said to have been sent on 22nd October 1915. This was a meagre harvest indeed for six months endeavour. Further sums of £75, £200, £125 and £150 were sent on 29th January, 7th April, 14th April and 9th June 1916 respectively.¹⁹³ This was so little that, as the Rajah of Mahmudabad said;

... if all the sufferers were relieved the money which each would receive would be an unpleasant reflection upon the generosity of the British people, and would impress Indians with the fact that their sacrifices for the cause of Great Britain have been very poorly appreciated by the British public.¹⁹⁴

These remarks have considerable political significance in view of the Rajah's prominent role in Indian political life at that time. A leading member of the Muslim League, of which he was to be President the following

192. Ponsonby to Nicolson, 17th May 1915 - see note 190 above.

193. Details of these remittances are given in World's Work, September 1916, pp.349-350.

194. See Supplement to The Gentlewoman, 15th July 1916, n.p.

year, he was fully in support of the Lucknow Pact, the Hindu-Muslim rapprochement of 1916, arguing in the League's 1916 session;

The interests of the country are paramount. We need not tarry to argue whether we are Muslims first or Indians first. The fact is we are both, and to us the question of precedence has no meaning. The League has inculcated in the Muslims a spirit of sacrifice for their country as much as for their religion.¹⁹⁵

The Rajah was clearly no accidental choice for distributor of I.M.S.W.O.W.F.'s funds. If the fund had succeeded, it could, in view of the way it had been presented to the British public by Duse, have been thought to show a British change of heart on the Turkish question; and since it failed financially, it could be used to stir up Muslim discontent in India. Politically, if not charitably, it was bound to be fruitful. What the final total sum disbursed amounted to can only be guessed at, but it must surely have been little over £2,000. There were some windfalls in the summer of 1916, as a consequence of Duse soliciting British Diplomatic and Consular officials and private individuals in the New World - £96.2.2. came from Sao Paulo, Brazil, and £306.5.6. from the British community in Rio de Janeiro.¹⁹⁶ By 18th September, a total of £1,879.4.1. had been received, according to a list of subscribers and subscriptions published in the Islamic Review.¹⁹⁷ The Fund was about to close down in April 1917, when £210 was received from the proceeds of an Allied Bazaar in Chicago and a final cheque for £420 was sent to the Rajah of Mahmudabad.¹⁹⁸

195. Ram Gopal, op.cit., p.131.

196. World's Work, September 1916, p.350.

197. Islamic Review, October 1916, pp.475-80, gives full details of I.M.S.W.O.W.F. receipts up to the 18th September 1916, including all individual donors.

198. ATOR, July 1917, p.35.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to assume that the Fund was honestly administered. The contention here was over the theatrical entertainment which, from at least as early as April 1915, Duse Mohamed Ali was planning on behalf of the Fund. Of this plan, Scotland Yard reported:

he announced a matinee at the New Theatre on the 8th July 1915, but it was announced a few days before this date that the performance was postponed.

Through the sale of Tickets, Duse Mohamed is stated to have collected the sum of £500, but as he could give no proof that any part of this money was ever sent for distribution to the Indian Soldiers Widows and Orphans, the Islamic Society, of which Dr. Majid is President, refused to have anything further to do with him, and in fact his appeal for the funds were entirely unauthorised by the Society. In consequence Duse Mohamed and one Mushir H. Kidwai, an Indian Barrister, seceded from the original society and, in a pamphlet dated June 1915 issued from their office at 158 Fleet Street, E.C. it set forth objects of the Society and purported to represent the real Islamic Society. The new organisation is stated to have virtual possession of the Woking Mosque and Mr. Kidwai is actually residing at Woking.¹⁹⁹

This account, less than fair to Duse Mohamed Ali as we shall see, was in fact a consequence of disputes that had been raging within the Islamic Society from the start of the I.M.S.W.O.W.F. project.

If we may believe Duse Mohamed Ali, the dispute began as a split between Indians and Egyptians, the Egyptians "wholeheartedly supporting the idea", whilst "the majority of the Indians were in opposition because they possessed neither the necessary imagination nor the executive ability to originate the scheme."²⁰⁰ In other words, it seems the Egyptians

199. Supt. P. Quinn, Special Branch, New Scotland Yard, op.cit.

200. "Leaves", in The Comet, 8th January 1938, p.7.

supported the scheme because it had been thought up by an Egyptian, and most of the Indians opposed it for the same reason. But, he says, a minority of the Indians, including the President of the Society, Prince Abdul Karim of Sachchin,²⁰¹ and its Secretary, Kidwai, supported him. The opposition was led by Abdul Majid, but for the time being was in a minority. Abdul Majid initially concentrated his fire on the waste of money entailed by expensive advertisements, especially in view of the Islamic Society's slender funds. But having failed to convince the Society on this point, we are told by Duse that Abdul Majid approached the India Office and asked that the Fund be officially investigated. The outcome was, Duse says;

... one morning, a few weeks later, a detective Inspector arrived and brusquely demanded to examine the books of the Fund. I accorded him every facility and having requested me to supply him with an order to the Bank for checking purposes, he departed. The following morning he returned and secured names of donators from the counter-foils in my receipt books which I also supplied. Some three weeks elapsed and one Saturday morning the Inspector arrived to congratulate me on my careful conduct of the Fund and my courtesy to him personally. I told him I had nothing to hide and was only too delighted that an official investigation had been made. He said: 'Well, I don't think you will be troubled with my presence again.'²⁰²

201. Prince Abdul Karim of Sachchin was brother of the then reigning Prince of Sachchin Nawab, ed. at Oxford and the Inner Temple and also in France. Still at this time a young man, he had lived in the West since his childhood, but "did not allow the good qualities of ... (his) own race and religion to be effaced by the influence of Western culture." see ATOR, July 1917, p.15.

202. "Leaves", in The Comet, 8th January, 1938, pp.7 & 19.

Abdul Majid was still actively hostile. He sent a letter to the Editor of Truth complaining about Duse's conduct of the Fund;

The Editor wrote asking me to call to discuss urgent business. On my arrival he told me of the letter and he in turn informed me of that he had called up Scotland Yard to enquire whether they had received any complaints about me. They assured him that their investigation had been quite satisfactory; but he wanted to inform me personally of the letter and warn me against 'a certain Indian Barrister'.²⁰³

By itself, Duse Mohamed Ali's defense of his record in the administration of I.M.S.W.O.W.F. would be interesting but merely partisan. There is certainly no smoke without fire, and what is clear is that the charity show at the New Theatre was sadly mismanaged. Duse Mohamed Ali's autobiography, typically confused over chronology, states that it was planned in 1916,²⁰⁴ but in fact it must have been planned as early as April 1915, when the requests were made for Royal patronage, and was originally intended to take place at the end of June 1915.²⁰⁵ The Police report gives a later date for the intended show, 7th July 1915, and as late as October 1915 Duse's letter in the Spectator said "A matinee in aid of the Fund is being arranged to take place at the end of next month."²⁰⁶ In his autobiography, he alleges that he had gathered an all star cast, but that the show was cancelled at the last minute (which of the several actual last minutes he does not say) owing to very poor bookings. He divided the blame between

203. ibid, p.19.

204. ibid, 15th January 1938, p.7.

205. See notes 189 and 190 above.

206. The Spectator, 16th October 1915, p.507.

the British public, "which, having been treated to a surfeit of charity matinees, was neither generous nor willing to do good", and the management of the New Theatre, who insisted on cancellation because "the reputation of the house must be maintained, and we could not well expect the prominent artists, who were giving their support, to play to empty stalls."²⁰⁷ Their attitude seems not unreasonable.

But little more than misjudgement of the public mood seems to really stand against Duse Mohamed Ali, if we except his misuse of the King's and Queen Alexandria's names to the French Ambassador. To begin with, no criminal charge was ever brought against him. Hostile members within the Islamic Society, and police investigation, would surely have unearthed any real evidence of financial dishonesty. Next, there is the matter of the involvement of the editor of Truth. Truth made a speciality of exposing fraud, and in particular was active in 1915-1916 in exposing fraudulent war charities.²⁰⁸ Nothing would be more likely than that

207. "Leaves", in The Comet, 15th January 1938, p.7., and AOR, July 1920, pp.6-7, according to which the stars engaged for the show were "Mr. Martin Harvey, Miss de Silva, Lewis Waller, Phyllis Dare, Violet Vanbrugh, and Elsie Janis". Sir Charles Wyndham, then elderly and infirm, declined to "assume any strenuous work" but agreed to "announce the financial result of the matinee and thank the patrons and artists for their help on behalf of the fund."

208. See, for e.g., "War Charity Scandals", in Truth, 12th July 1916, p.60; "Wanted, Charity Control", ibid, 1st March 1916, pp.351-2; ibid, 5th April 1916, p.356.

Abdul Majid would have taken his complaints there - indeed, Truth's exposures of war charity frauds were more or less officially recognised by its assistant editor, G.S. Paternoster, being called as a witness to a 1916 Government Committee of Enquiry on War Charities.²⁰⁹ Had Truth, as was likely, been approached, it would most certainly have followed the matter up and published any resulting scandal. But no exposure of Duse' Mohamed Ali for fraud in the management of I.M.S.W.O.W.F. ever appeared in Truth. Neither was I.M.S.W.O.W.F. listed in the report of the 1916 Committee on War Charities as an example of an ill-managed or fraudulent war charity.²¹⁰

Thus, it would seem that the smear in the 1916 Scotland Yard report amounted to 'give a dog a bad name and hang him'. Although not mentioning Abdul Majid as its informant, the Yard did accept his claim to be the principal figure of the Islamic Society, and implied that the Duse' supporters were rogues.²¹¹ This was grossly unfair. It is not entirely certain who the principal officers of the Islamic Society were at the beginning of the Fund; Duse' Mohamed Ali gives Prince Abdul Karim as President and M.H. Kidwai as Secretary, but this was written over twenty years later and we must remember his notorious tendency then to confuse dates and events of his earlier life. Even so, it is hard to imagine who among the

209. P.P. 1916 vi 425, Cmd.8287, p.3.

210. *ibid*, *passim*.

211. See note 199 above.

Muslim community would have followed Duse Mohamed Ali had he been dishonest in his administration. Yet in fact he was well supported. In March 1916, after the split with Abdul Majid, the managing committee of the Fund were stated in a press advertisement as: Prince Abdul Karim Khan, President of the Islamic Society; Rev. Maulvi Sadr-ud-Din, The Mosque, Woking; Shaikh M.H. Kidwai, barrister and Secretary of the Islamic Society; Dr. Ismail Murtado; Dr. A.Z. Abushady (Duse Mohamed Ali's Egyptian friend of some years standing); M.T. Kaderbhoy, barrister and President of a Bombay Society called Anjumane-zai-ul-Islam; and Duse Mohamed, hon. sec. of the Fund.²¹² Nor was this group anti-Indian. At least four were evidently Indians, only two (including Duse) certainly Egyptians, and Dr. Murtado uncertain in origin. Kaderbhoy, a former Secretary of the London branch of the All-India Muslim League, would hardly have supported a body devoted to the swindling of Indian Muslim widows and orphans. Also one must recall the support in India of the Rajah of Mahmudabad, which continued after the internal crisis the Fund underwent in 1915. Instead of being an outcast, for the rest of his time in Britain, Duse Mohamed Ali remained a respected and influential member of Muslim circles in London.

212. The Gentlewoman, 4th March 1916, p.viii. The Gentlewoman gave considerable support to the Fund; for example, on 11th March 1916, p.257, it published photographs of Duse Mohamed Ali and the Duchess of Marlborough, (the Fund's patroness) and described Duse as "Mr. Duse Mohamed, the Hon. Secretary of the Fund, who is supported by a very energetic committee, ... a man of very great accomplishments, eager to do all that is in his power to help his co-religionists."

Exactly at what time the Duse supporters began to call themselves the Central Islamic Society is not certain. It would seem that in 1916 there were two societies using the name Islamic Society, Abdul Majid's and Prince Abdul Karim Khan's. There is no evidence of any reconciliation. Perhaps the whole conflict is best understood as a personal clash, one of those quarrels that will occur within pressure groups. The group which became known by 1917 as the Central Islamic Society attracted many of the old names associated with the Islamic religious, social and political organisations that Duse had been active in since 1912. Thus, at a conversazione held at the Hotel Cecil on 20th January 1916, Frank Hugh O'Donnell, Arthur Field (described as a representative of materialism) and the Japanese poet, and contributor to the ATOR, G. Komai, were present.²¹³ In January 1917 we find Marmaduke Pickthall addressing the Society.²¹⁴ This meeting, at which Duse Mohamed Ali was Master of Ceremonies, was held at the Hotel Cecil on 6th January 1917, and was in honour of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday. An appeal was made for more members and for subscriptions, which were to be sent to the Hon.Sec., Shaikh M.H. Kidwai, at 158 Fleet Street. Thus, the Central Islamic Society can be added to the long list of organisations that functioned administratively through Duse Mohamed Ali's office.

213. Islamic Review, February 1916, pp.77-9. The report was from the pen of "Al-Qidwai", i.e., M.H. Kidwai.

214. ATOR, January 1917, p.19.

By 1917 the Central Islamic Society seems to have attracted a wide spread of Muslims of all nations. Its Presidency passed to M.H. Ispahani, an Indian Muslim of Persian descent, after Prince Abdul Karim Khan left Britain on 3rd February 1917.²¹⁵ This was important to Duse' Mohamed Ali, as Ispahani was, as will be shown in the following chapter, an important figure in his growing business interests. It is a good enough measure of Duse' Mohamed Ali's credit in Central Islamic Society circles that Ispahani was prepared to entrust him with the execution of important business plans. Ispahani's family were wealthy merchants with business interests not only in India and London but also in many other parts of the world. He had, it seems, been in Alexandria in 1882 and witnessed Arabi Pasha's rebellion, which no doubt gave him particular sympathy with Duse'. The Madras Government had awarded him a certificate of honour for services to Muslim education, he was a former Vice-President of the important Bengal branch of the All-India Muslim League, and became Hon. Secretary of the London branch of the League.²¹⁶ With his political connections and commercial success, he was a useful friend for Duse' Mohamed Ali to have made. In February 1918, in addition to Ispahani, the Central Islamic Society's offers were:- Vice-Presidents, Professor Abdul Majid Belsha, for Arabia; Duse' Mohamed Ali, for Egypt; Yahya John Parkinson, for Scotland; and the Viscount de Potier for France and Belgium; Hon. Secretary, Kidwai; Assistant Secretary, Syed Ehsan el Bakry Bey (the-"al-Bakray" said

215. *ibid.*, February 1917, p.40.

216. *ibid.*, February 1917, p.38.

to have been among the "undesirable" Egyptian visitors at 158 Fleet Street in 1914); treasurer, M. Ishaq; auditor, Habibullah Lovegrove of London; members of the managing committee, Mme. Duse Mohamed Ali (that is, Duse's wife Beatrice); Mlle. Hadija Hanim; M. Bannumah of Tunis; M.D. Suleiman of Sudan; Khwaja Kamal ud-Din; Zaharuddin; Sahebzada Wajid Ali Khan of Rampur; Abdul Qayum Malik.²¹⁷ The impression is that, with its widely based support and its solid connection with Woking Mosque, the Central Islamic Society became the leading Muslim religious and social society in London; which is not to say that it was not also, in an informal way, of political use to its members. In fact it is only too clear that it interlocked and overlapped with the other Islamic societies and causes with which Duse was involved, and must be considered as a major part of the context of his political life.²¹⁸

217. *ibid*, February 1918, p.11.

218. Among the signposts that the Central Islamic Society was in practice not so non-political as its constitution indicated was the presence of Hindus at its meetings in 1920, perhaps the year of maximum Hindu-Muslim political accord in 20th century Indian history, with the entire nation aroused by the Amritsar massacre of 1919, and Gandhi putting his entire weight behind the Khilafat movement. Thus at the 1920 C.I.S. meeting in honour of the Prophet's birthday, there were a number of Hindus present, of whom the most eminent was Sir S.P. Sinha (later Lord Sinha), Indian delegate to the Peace Conference; see The Near East, 3rd January 1920, p.5. In fact, when Britain was in conflict with the Caliph, no Sunni Muslim organisation in the British Empire could be non-political. Thus, even during the Great War, the Central Islamic Society could not avoid a political posture; for example, Prince Abdul Karim, in his farewell speech as retiring President of the C.I.S. said; "Among problems raised by the war were those affecting the Khalifate, and he trusted these would be dealt with in a way that would not only have regard to Moslem feeling, but would also enable Islam to be again a power of light and leading in the world." See The Near East, 9th January 1917, p.342.

This chapter may at times have seemed far removed from Pan-Africanism, but it should be remembered that Duse' Mohamed Ali's politics and world view embraced the whole of what in the mid-twentieth century was to become known as the third world, an area which he saw as having fundamentally the same problems and oppressors. To him, there was no division between his efforts for Islam, Turkey, Egypt or Muslim India, and his efforts for Africans and people of African descent. And in fact, at the same time as he was pursuing those causes, he was also working to create formal Pan-Afro-Asian organisations in London. Although few of these seem to have developed far beyond the most elementary stage of electing a committee and issuing a statement of aims, yet they have significance as an expression of the aspirations of coloured people, living in Britain, but hailing from all parts of the world. They precede the better known post-Great War Pan-African movements in Britain, such as the African Progress Union,²¹⁹ by six years, and can surely be regarded in a general sense as precursors of those movements. However, it is also necessary to say that the connection between the pre-1914 movements, organised by Duse' Mohamed Ali and others, and the post 1918 movements, was of the loosest kind. Their leadership scarcely overlapped, and the later movements, unlike the earlier ones, were purely Pan-African.

219. For the origins of the A.P.U., see J.A. Langley, West African Aspects of the Pan-African Movements, 1900-45, unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1968, p.353, n.6; and P.O. Esedebe, Pan-African Movements in Britain, 1900-1948, unpub. Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1968, pp.62-4.

The first of the Pan-Afro-Asian movements was a projection of the African Times and Orient Review, called the Oriental, Occidental and African Society (O.O.A.S.). Its inauguration was announced in the November 1912 issue of the review. Its ten aims and objects made up in elaborate detail what the society lacked in substance, since there appears to be no record of the O.O.A.S. ever transacting any other business. These aims and objects were;

- i. To establish and maintain friendly relations between all Oriental and Occidental people.
- ii. To encourage educationalism (sic) and to afford facilities for the same to all backward peoples.
- iii. To popularise ideas and principles of modern hygiene and sanitation, necessitated by the conditions of progressive life; to improve conditions of life among those who are at present removed from the influences of modern sanitation and ideals of healthy life.
- iv. To encourage the study, and to extend the knowledge of Oriental literature, philosophy, religion, and social science, both in the Orient and Occident.
- v. To foster Oriental Arts and crafts, and to encourage Oriental industries; to safeguard the commercial interests of Oriental Communities and subject races: to revive and encourage lost and neglected arts and crafts of the East by -
 - (a) Organising systems of publicity regarding the products of the East, including the holding of exhibitions for commercial and educational purposes, and establishing bureaus of information for advising artisans, artists, merchants, travellers and students.
 - (b) Establishing advisors in the various states and districts for improving friendly and business intercourse between the peoples, and by generally promoting principles of fair trade between the commerce of the East and the West.
 - (c) Arranging business and trade introductions between the manufacturers, merchants and artisans of the East and West, and acting as agents for the same wherever necessary.
- vi. To organise holiday and educational tours, and to exchange visits between the students of the East and West. To attend to the welfare of students and travellers under the care of the society, and to look after the interests of students coming to Europe.

vii. To arrange lectures and to publish books, pamphlets and leaflets dealing with the social, industrial, and humanitarian aspects of life, in order to realise the ideals of peace, large mindedness, and highest friendship; overcoming thereby all needless contentions, and inculcating the spirit of tolerance by which the differences of the narrow-minded are removed, and power obtained for the improvement of the conditions of the depressed classes, and for the general encouragement of kindness to animals and human beings.

viii. To give earnest attention to the political needs of the Orient, and to place with care and consideration before the peoples of the West, the requirements and demands that are consistently raised from time to time, thereby aiding the progress of the Orient both politically, economically, and socially.

ix. To safeguard the interests of Oriental and subject races, against the aggression of militant peoples, and to abolish all caste, class, colour, and other prejudices among the various communities.

x. To inspire the peoples of the Orient and of Europe with principles of right-appreciation, and of humanitarian idealism, so that progress towards ONENESS in all that is peace and intelligence producing, may take place.²²⁰

Despite its tedious wordiness, which in its omnium gatherum tone anticipates the fabulous verbiage of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association, this document (like Garvey's pronouncements) is more than hot air. To begin with, large sections of it - particularly clauses i., vii., and x. - clearly hark back in tone to the Universal Races Congress, then a recent and exciting event, seeming to hold forth hopes of the most sanguine kind of international and inter-racial understanding. To work along U.R.C. lines would then have seemed to be working within a gathering world-wide force.

220. ATOR, November 1912, p.182.

Dusé Mohamed Ali was later to attempt to realise some of the aims of the O.O.A.S. under different auspices. Thus, the apparently far fetched clause v., with its three sub clauses, is a blueprint in many ways for his later business activities. In point of fact, he did in the next few years open up a bureau of information, arrange business and trade introductions and act as a business agent - not, however, quite as envisaged by O.O.A.S., but in an attempt to link the merchants and farmers of West Africa with black Americans.²²¹ Through the ATOR, he did, in 1913, arrange lectures on "countries and peoples associated with the aims of our paper".²²² In connection with the Ottoman Committee and the Anglo-Ottoman Society, he was associated with the publication of pamphlets. He did concern himself with the welfare of Oriental and African, especially African, students in London, providing lodgings for several.²²³

Indeed, the closer the examination, the less crackpot the O.O.A.S. aims and objects appear. Its concern for Oriental crafts looks less odd,

221. See Chapter VI.

222. ATOR, March 1913, p.iv, carries the notice "Our Lecture Department. We are making arrangements to supply Lectures on Egypt, India, Morocco, Turkey, Tripoli, Persia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Nigeria, and upon countries and peoples associated with the aims of our paper."

223. e.g. Claud Annim, brother-in-law of the Omanhene of Ananabu, studying commerce in 1916-17 - see ATOR, July 1917, p.12; Other lodgers were L.B. Augusto, the first Muslim barrister in Lagos - personal information from Alhajji L.B. Augusto, Lagos, 28th March 1967; T.A. Doherty of Lagos - personal information from Chief T.A. Doherty, Lagos, 2nd April 1967.

when one considers the enormous importance of the Swadeshi movement in Indian Nationalism in the inter-war era, and of many subsequent efforts by emergent nations towards economic autarchy. Its interest in the welfare of Indian and African students in London looks back to the creation of an Indian run students hostel in London,²²⁴ and forward to the West African Students Union of the post-Great War period - both being of considerable political significance.²²⁵ Indeed, in 1913 Duse Mohamed Ali attended a conference organised by the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society in London to consider the question of creating an African students hostel in London, to "shelter" them from "harmful" influences.²²⁶

Finally, the O.O.A.S. had interesting officers, though whether it ever had rank and file members seems dubious. It will have been noticed that Africa was not even mentioned in its aims and objects, all its talk being of East and West, Orient and Occident. But of its nine officers, four were Africans - Duse Mohamed (Vice-President), Dr. Sapara, W.F. Hutchison and Rotimi Alade - and another, James C. Smith, a West Indian. The other

224. Arun Coomer Bhowe, "Indian Nationalist Agitation in the United States of America and Canada till the Arrival of Har Dayal in 1911", Journal of Indian History, vol.43, part 1, no.127, 1965, pp.236-7, contains information on the independent and Nationalist controlled Indian students' hostel in London, India House, and its part in inspiring the creation of a United India House among the Indian students and immigrants in Vancouver, B.C., in 1910. The Indian student movement in Britain in the early 20th century does not seem yet to have received the scholarly attention that it surely deserves.

225. See James S. Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism, London 1958, pp.204-7.

226. See Journal of the Royal African Society, Vol.XIII, no.XLVIII, pp.425-431.

officers were, Dr. W. Macregor Reid, Duse Mohamed Ali's future enemy, Syed Abdul Majid, Charles Rosher, who was the Society's organising secretary, and G.W. Catchlove, who was treasurer.²²⁷ Thus, for all its apparent obsession with the Orient to the exclusion of Africa, the O.A.A.S. had only one Oriental officer and was dominated by its African and West Indian officers.

The O.O.A.S., had no real successor till 1914, when the League of Justice of the Afro-Asian Nations was created. But in the interval there were two small and abortive organisations which ought to be mentioned, as they show the growing desire for an Afro-Asian organisation in London. One was a scheme, of which little is known save its name, for a Society for Spreading Knowledge of the Capabilities of Civilization of Coloured People. This was proposed by Dr. J. Kunst, a German, who envisaged an international society with headquarters in London. Duse Mohamed Ali thought well enough of this idea to publicise it in his review and ask those interested to write to him with any suggestions.²²⁸ The other scheme, also announced in and supported by the ATOR, was for a racially non-exclusive Five Continents Club. This obviously related to the difficulties coloured people in London found in getting access to facilities such as restaurants, hotels and clubs, and is reminiscent of the scheme proposed at the Universal

227. ATOR, November 1912, p.182.

228. *ibid*, May 1913, p.330.

Races Congress dinner in 1911.²²⁹

As for the League of Justice, the inspiration for that group came from F.H. O'Donnell;

The O'Donnell was most anxious to establish a London clearing house for African and Oriental affairs. He held with me that much of the injustice done to coloured peoples by English officials was the result of ignorance rather than viciousness. Consequently

229. The germ of the idea for this club was in William H. Seed's "The Need for Inter-Racial Unity", ATOR, November 1912, pp.154-6. In this, Seed (a white man) wrote; "In London, I believe a great opportunity is being lost. Here are some thousands of students belonging to the 'coloured' or non-European races. From personal knowledge I can say that many of them come but rarely in contact with the better side of life in a great European city. Naturally the average London landlady, worthy creature though she be, does not impress them as markedly 'superior', and in the Inns of Court and other educational institutions they form communities unto themselves. In the case of East Indian students political reasons induce retired officials to make some attempt at sociability, but that is all, and it certainly is not enough. What is wanted is a Universal Races Club, free from domination by any kind of clique, official or otherwise, where students of all races may meet for social intercourse and for free discussion, and where Europeans who are willing to associate on equal terms may freely do so. Such a club should have ... all important literature on racial and general subjects ... There should be a weekly 'parliament', and perhaps a periodical dinner at which distinguished non-European visitors ... and also public men who have performed some signal service to 'coloured' or subject races, might be invited." A subscription of 2 guineas was envisaged and the initial foundation should be undertaken not by the students themselves but by unspecified philanthropists. See *ibid*, pp.155-6. It is easy to see how with these rather ambiguous views, Seed could later be a proponent of a whites only Turcophil society. His motives were as much to provide a carefully edited contact with British life as any Colonial or Indian official could have wished. But Duse Mohamed Ali and his readers reacted enthusiastically at first - see ATOR, December-January 1913, p.196. A public meeting was hoped for, in conjunction with the O.O.A.S., at which a definite statement about the Club was to be made, but this never took place. For details of the 1911 Universal Races Congress proposals for an inter-racial club, see "Leaves", in The Comet, 2nd October 1937, pp.19-20.

a central bureau at the seat of the British Empire from whence reports of bureaucratic misrule could be disseminated, and which would serve the useful purpose of enlightenment, would bring political relief. To this end he aided me considerably with the League of Justice, which was formed by C.F. Ryder of Leeds, and myself. The O'Donnell delivered the inaugural address and wrote several articles on the League's vital necessity in the weekly edition of the African Times and Orient Review.²³⁰

This gives a new dimension to the end of F.H. O'Donnell's long political career. Long before, when he was a leading Irish Nationalist M.P. in the brilliant era of Parnell, he had been an adviser to the first generation of Indian Nationalists.²³¹ Now, at the end of his life, he connected himself with organised Pan-Afro-Asianism. He deserves a mention for this in the annals of Pan-Africanism. One wonders what his attitude, if any, had been to Sylvester William's London Pan-African Conference in 1900. Surely, had he lived a few years longer, he would have welcomed the post 1918 Pan-African organisations in London and Pan-African Congresses in Paris, London and Brussels. As for C.F. Ryder, he remains a largely unknown figure; he was a merchant from Leeds, and associated with the Turcophil movements.

The League of Justice was first announced in the ATOR on 24th March

230. Duse Mohamed Ali, "Frank Hugh O'Donnell, of O'Donnell", AOR, March 1920, p.6.

231. ibid., and Anil Seal, The Emergence of Indian Nationalism, Cambridge 1968, p.258; F.H. O'Donnell, A History of the Irish Parliamentary Party, Vol.II, London 1910, pp.428-31; C.C. O'Brien, Parnell and his Party, Oxford 1957, pp.22-3.

1914, and gave its objects as;

(1) To secure for the coloured races throughout the world justice at the hands of the democracies of Europe, Asia, America, Australasia and South Africa.

(2) To limit the growing bureaucracy so as to ensure due consideration for native laws, customs and methods of administration.

(3) While recognising that racial distinctions are not necessarily in themselves an evil, and that equality between races, like equality between individuals, will probably be reserved for the millenium, to Preach always and everywhere the doctrine of Freedom, Fair Play and Good Fellowship.²³²

These objects show a notable decline of rhetoric since the early days of 1912, and were essentially moderate. Perhaps the use of the phrase "Fair Play" is even more revealing here than the cap-in-hand tone of the first clause. A large membership was evidently hoped for, since the subscription was fixed at a minimum of sixpence and was, needless to say, open to all races.²³³

The League's inaugural meeting, held at Caxton Hall on 26th March 1914 jointly with the Sphinx Society, seems to have been a success. The audience was large, and included people from Britain, Japan, China, India, Egypt, the United States and Africa. In the course of his address, O'Donnell "called upon all Britons who had the Empire at heart to unite for the purpose of obtaining equitable treatment for all subjects and protected races within the pale of the British Empire" - an impeccably conservative

232. ATOR, 24th March 1914, p.2.

233. ibid.

formulation of the League's objects, but a mood that Duse Mohamed Ali, as we have seen, could himself accept. The meeting was a re-assembly of existing friends and allies under a slightly different banner, for a motion was proposed by Professor H. Leon and Arthur Field. This resolved;

That having regard to the constantly increasing aggression of the lighter races of mankind on those of darker hue, and taking into consideration the fact that increased educational facilities have altered the mental attitude and economic aspirations of Asia, Australia, America and Africa, it is hereby resolved that a League of Justice be forthwith formed to defend the rights and liberties of Native peoples, and that its scope and objects as set out by a provisional committee be formally adopted.²³⁴

This was language to appeal to Duse Mohamed Ali's other, more militant, persona; he spoke briefly, on the merits of and necessity for the League, and on his own peculiar advantages for knowing the desires of millions of Africans and Asians who the League was designed to help. Presumably he was determined that his claim to leadership should be well understood by all from the beginning and that there should be no coup aimed against him, as in the Ottoman Committee. To complete the occasion, it was blessed with telegrams and letters of sympathy from Aubrey Herbert, Wilfred Scawen Blunt (who could be justly regarded as the doyen of anti-Imperialist Englishmen) and the Sphinx Societies of Paris and Geneva.²³⁵

The League of Justice, despite its promising start, seems to have lived for only a few months, to be nipped in the bud by the war. As

234. *ibid.*, pp.26-7.

235. *ibid.*

the ATOR was in effect its official organ, on which it relied to contact potential supporters at home and abroad, the review's cessation on the outbreak of war probably entailed the League's collapse too. Even if this was not the case, it would have been under a grave disadvantage because of the deepening cloud of official suspicion hanging over Duse Mohamed Ali and his friends. It was a premature growth, blighted by a worsening climate. But it is nevertheless interesting to note the direction in which it briefly tended. Insight is given into this by an ATOR article in April 1914, by O'Donnell, entitled "The League of Justice of the Afro Asian Nations."²³⁶ In this he explained that the League was particularly concerned with those African and Asian nations that had recently lost or still retained their freedom. He noted that intrusions on this freedom were even worse in Africa than in Asia and had in the most recent years extended right across North Africa. (It is worth speculating, in the light of this North African pre-occupation and his Turcophil activities, if O'Donnell too was implicated in collecting funds for the Sanussi.) Egypt and Turkey were seen as "... the centre of that great line of ancient nations, (and) ought also to be their connecting link"; they were "... accustomed to study at close quarters the insidious perfidy of European covetousness and greed." He called on India in particular and the Eastern nations in general to use London as a natural focal point, not only to sway British opinion, but to observe dangerous enemies. Additionally to

236. *ibid*, 7th April 1914, pp.53-4.

feeling that Egypt and Turkey were at the heart of things, he too, like Duse (and one wonders which influenced the other here) related defence of Egyptian and Turkish freedom to a world wide struggle against racist Imperialism;

All who desire to restore the liberty of oppressed races, to combine the forces which are now lost through divided counsels, and to reject the insolent pretence and mendacity of 'the Colour Line' will find welcome and support in the League of Justice.²³⁷

This article was later specifically endorsed by E.S. Disouky, the secretary of the London Sphinx Society, who added "we all desire to show this sympathy in a practical way by joining the League, which we hope will obtain a long and successful career, as well as strong co-operative union with all other political bodies aimed at promoting justice for certain or for all subjected people."²³⁸

On 19th May 1914 the ATOR begged its readers for further support for the League, though also claiming that its initial reception "far exceeded our most sanguine expectations." Every subscriber to the review was told to join the League as a duty, and furthermore to persuade at least twelve friends to do the same. Though still insisting on the good heartedness of the British public, which was still apparently only awaiting enlightenment on Imperial evils, militant language was also used - "The war against oppression must be waged at the seat of the British Empire and the war must be waged NOW. A year hence may be too late."²³⁹

237. *ibid*, p.54.

238. *ibid*, 12th May 1914, p.188.

239. *ibid*, 19th May 1914, p.202.

Whether readers heeded this call or not, this was the last mention of the League of Justice in the ATOR. However, the League of Justice survived, at least in aspiration, till 1919, when the C.I.D. noted;

A new (sic) league has for some time been in contemplation by Duse Mohamed of the Central Islamic Society, to be called 'The League of Justice for Africa and Asia'. Arthur Field has taken up the idea now, and they intend to start a Committee to run it. It will be composed of the same elements as the Anglo-Ottoman Society.²⁴⁰

This further illustrates the continuity of interest and personnel between Turcophil and Pan-Afro-Asian circles in London.

There is precious little evidence of Duse Mohamed Ali being involved in formal Pan-African organisations during the Great War. His support for the National Association of Loyal Negroes, noted in the previous chapter, would be an exception here. According to Khalil Mahmud, in 1917 he was associated with the Union of Students of African Descent, an association of West Indian and West African students which, Mahmud says, was the first of its kind in London and as such a precursor of W.A.S.U.²⁴¹ Such an association with the U.S.A.D. was as natural as his relationship with Egyptian students. With African students living in his house, it is not surprising that the West African students looked to him for advice and help. The ATOR of February 1917 gives notice of the formation of a Union of

240. C.I.D. report - With reference to the activities of Egyptian Nationalists in the United Kingdom - 17th May 1919, F.O. 371/3717/78495.

241. Khalil Mahmud, introduction to 2nd ed. of In The Land Of The Pharaohs, London 1968, p.xvii.

African Students in England. Its officers, elected on 23rd December 1916, were:- President, E.S. Beoku-Betts of Sierra Leone, son of C.W. Betts; Secretary, K.A. Keisah of Winnebah, Gold Coast; Assistant-Secretary, T. Mensah-Annau of Accra; Financial Secretary, C. Awoonor Renner of Sierra Lone and Cape Coast Castle; Treasurer, S. Edduh Attakora of Aquapine (Akwapim?), Gold Coast.²⁴² One is bound to wonder what the relationship between this body and the Union of Students of African Descent was, since at that time, there can hardly have been room for two such bodies. It will be noticed that despite its title, the Union of African Students in England seems to have been a Freetown Creole and Gold Coast body, at least as far as its organisers were concerned. Perhaps it later merged with the Union of Students of African Descent, which it probably pre-dated, since its origins were back in 1916. If this is so, Khalil Mahmud would be wrong in only the most technical sense in regarding the more broadly based Union of Students of African Descent as the first of its kind in Britain. Duse Mohamed Ali helped the Union of African Students in England by permitting it to conduct its correspondence via 158 Fleet Street, and compared it favourably with the 1913 efforts of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society to create an African Students hostel and welfare organisation in London;

We are pleased to note that the African students in London have formed a union for social intercourse. Some years ago a well known London society attempted a similar enterprise. There was a public meeting

242. ATOR, February 1917, p.36.

heralded by a flourish of trumpets. A tea was subsequently given to a number of West Africans on the terrace of the House of Commons and there was much speech-making, but beyond this nothing happened. The students have now taken up the matter themselves, which is as it should be. We not only wish them well in this enterprise but also hope that the resultant intercourse between the darker sons of the Empire may be productive of brotherly unity fraught with the greatest good to themselves and to the various countries that gave them birth.²⁴³

The implicit Pan-African message here is clear enough - if Africans were to achieve anything they must do it for themselves, acting together.

Turning for the moment away from London, Duse' Mohamed Ali also played a part in the early stages of the Garvey movement in Harlem. In 1917, Garvey was running into opposition in his attempt to organise in Harlem a black body called the New York Association. His opponents triumphed, largely through a letter they received from Duse', "in which serious charges were raised against Garvey's character and his leadership was discredited." The letter was used at a meeting of the Association, and led to the break up of the movement.²⁴⁴ Later, in 1919, Duse' Mohamed Ali ignored a request from Garvey to help him organise a forthcoming visit to Britain by booking the Albert Hall for mass meetings on 13th or 14th November, and Caxton Hall for a meeting on 18th.²⁴⁵ It is clear, therefore, that just as his

243. *ibid*, March 1917, p.36.

244. E.D. Cronon. Black Moses. The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association, Madison 1955, pp.42-3.

245. See postscript to Duse' Mohamed Ali to J.E. Bruce, 12th September 1919 and Garvey to Duse' Mohamed Ali, 18th July 1919, mss.268, Bruce Papers, Schomburg Collection, New York City Public Library.

engagement in the Turcophil and Islamophil worlds had been followed by quarrels and splits, the same was the case with some of his Pan-African activities. Whether he was jealous of Garvey's rise to fame, as E.D. Cronon suggests,²⁴⁶ or whether he truly had good cause to complain about Garvey, cannot yet be resolved; but unlike his treatment of Abdul Majid or John Eldred Taylor, he never abused or villified Garvey in his public writings, though he did criticise him.

The letter that split the New York Association in 1917 must be seen as part of an extensive correspondence that Duse Mohamed Ali was carrying on with black Americans from at least 1912. The running of the African Times and Orient Review, with its American agents and contributors, must inevitably have entailed a fair amount of such correspondence. But also one may reasonably infer a considerable body of other correspondence unconnected with the review; a small fraction of this remains in his letters to the veteran black journalist John E. Bruce, preserved in the Schomburg Collection in the Harlem branch of New York Public Library. Even what is preserved here is, in its turn, evidently only a fraction of the correspondence between the two men. Thus, he begins his letter to Bruce of 12th September 1919 with "I have been writing to you as regularly as circumstances will allow", which clearly implies other letters. The whole tone of this letter is highly personal, being a defense against charges by Bruce of neglect, of late, in their friendship. Duse says;

246. Cronon, op.cit., p.43.

... I have written to you quite frequently of late. In fact, I have replied to all queries raised by you, in addition to which I have sent Mr. H.A. Johnson with a letter of introduction to you and I also wrote you about him by post.

Once before you accused me of neglect, and I then told you that I am not built that way. My great trouble is that I am too loyal to my friends and I rarely find any who, like yourself, are loyal to me, which makes it more necessary for me to grasp your friendship in both hands.

the letter ends in an even more personal vein;

I do not know what I can say further except that it is a very great pity that I am younger than you are so that we might fight this little matter out, but as it stands I shall have to chew the cud until I hear from you again, is it is (sic) no good being impatient with one's friends although they try us.

I note that you end up your remarkable letter with respect. At any rate it is something to know that I still retain your respect whatever else I might have lost. Now, just 'pull up your socks' and get a quart of ink, if your fountain pen has run dry, and a good big quill from the tail of your thanksgiving turkey which is now fattening in your back yard ... and write me a decent letter, and please do not upset me again in this manner, as it is highly unbecoming to one of your years. You remind me of a petulant girl who has an unjustifiable tiff with her devoted lover and tries to inflict a quarrel upon him because a chap in the next street has been making eyes at her. Now I want to know what Go'dam chap there is round the corner making eyes at you, because I shall have to come up your street shortly with two clubs, a revolver and pistol and I shall expect you to stand by with the one cup of coffee.

Having delivered myself of an effusion which I hope is quite suited to the case, I trust you will sit in the shade of the old apple tree in your back garden and read this letter three times carefully, and then ask Mrs. Bruce to use the slipper on you for daring to write to me in this strain.²⁴⁷

Dusé signed himself "With love and kisses, Your very own unchanged." No sane man would write such a letter to another who was not, despite any

247. Dusé Mohamed Ali, 158 Fleet Street, London, to J.E. Bruce, 105 Kosciusko Street, Brooklyn, N.Y., 12th September 1919, mss.268, Bruce Papers, Schomburg Collection.

quarrel, his close personal friend. Not only does the letter contain references to others, but clearly this can have been no mere business or political correspondence. Indeed, one is bound to wonder if Duse Mohamed Ali had known John E. Bruce during his period in America in the eighteen-nineties.

It is clear that during the Great War Duse Mohamed Ali was keeping lines of communication open which could be used by more formal organisations and activities at the end of the war. Yet he played a comparatively small part in the full-blooded Pan-African organisations that sprang to life in Britain in the aftermath of that war; this is strange as 1919 was a year of great racial tension in Britain, with anti-coloured race riots and incidents in not only provincial centres such as Cardiff, Liverpool, Barry, Newport, Mon., and Glasgow, but also in the East End of London itself.²⁴⁸ It is true that these riots mainly involved the coloured seafaring populations of these places, which had built up to unprecedented levels during the Great War, due to British manpower requirements. With the collapse of the shipping boom after the war, these men - West Indians, Lascars, Somalis, Adeni Arabs and West Africans - found it almost impossible to get work, yet were blamed by their white fellow seamen for the scarcity of jobs. Duse was, of course, far removed from the murky world of dockland; at about that time he was living in the leafy, substantial and middle class

248. See Kenneth Little, Negroes in Britain, London 1945, pp.56-60, and Michael P. Banton, The Coloured Quarter, London 1955, pp.33-5.

district of St. John's Wood.²⁴⁹ But he cannot have been indifferent to these events which, as The Times put it, "inflamed the passions of the hooligan classes."²⁵⁰ Contemporary accounts in the British press emphasised the role played by discharged soldiers, in leading white mobs in attacks on black men;²⁵¹ T. Swellibus was alive and well and had returned to his native slums. A particularly sinister aspect of these outrages was attacks on black men "associating" with white women, even when they were respectably married.²⁵² As the husband of an Englishwoman,²⁵³ he

249. His address in 1920 was 6 St. James Park, St. Johns Wood - information from Alhajji L.B. Agosto, Lagos.

250. See "Black and White at Liverpool. Police Protection for Negroes", The Times, 11th June 1919, p.9.

251. See "Race Rioting at Cardiff", *ibid*, 13th June 1919, p.9.

252. See "Limehouse Riot Trial", *ibid*, 1st July 1919, p.4, in which the prosecution is reported as saying; "If there was one thing more than another that the white seamen resented it was black sailors associating with white women, and the resulting feud between blacks and whites in London has attained such serious proportions as to require all the force of the police in the East-End to preserve the peace." In Cardiff, the mob singled out houses in which black men and white women were living together, one of their victims being an elderly Somali Alhajji, respectably married to a British woman. See *ibid*, 13th June 1919, p.9. At the end of 1918, black soldiers from Belmont Hospital, Liverpool, recovering from war wounds, were attacked by whites, men being pushed through the streets in wheelchairs by white women being particularly singled out for attack - see African Telegraph, December 1918, pp.94-5.

253. Little is known about Mrs. Beatrice Mohamed except that she was white and British. Duse Mohamed Ali left her behind when he went to America in 1921, and the separation was permanent. Information from Alhajji Agosto.

must have wondered if he and his wife were safe from abuse or even violence.

A partial explanation for this lack of engagement in the post-war upsurge of Pan-African activities in Britain is that to some extent his interests were leading him elsewhere - to West Africa and ultimately to the United States. Increasingly, he was turning from political action to economic action as the correct tactic to fight Imperialism and racism - this will be discussed in the following chapter. But also personality was a factor here. Partly, these new groups were created by men who had never been part of the 158 Fleet Street circle. One of these was J.R. Archer, councillor and former Mayor of Battersea, a very light skinned West Indian - so light skinned that, in fact, he could "pass" as white, but made it a point of honour not to hide his African ancestry.²⁵⁴ From

254. See "Men of the Month", "A Colored Mayor In London", The Crisis, January 1914, p.120, in which J.R. Archer is reported as saying; "Of course, I am a man of color. I do not wish to deny the fact, though many an Englishman is darker in appearance. But why should that be any bar to my filling the office of mayor?"; and "Men of the Month", "The Mayor of Battersea", *ibid*, March 1914, p.225. This tells that Archer's father was a Negro from Barbados, his mother a Liverpool Irishwoman. After false starts in studying for first medicine then the bar, he became involved in politics as an ardent supporter of the early Labour Party leader, John Burns. He earned his living as a photographer. In Battersea politics he was clearly assiduous and successful, sitting on the works, valuation, finance, health, and baths committees, on the last of which as chairman. He was a member of the local board of Guardians, a school manager and chairman of a group of school managers, a trustee of various charities, and, because of his mother's nationality, a member of the United Irish League. To The Crisis he declared he feared no man and brooked no insults because of the race to which he was privileged to belong.

the very fact of his political career, it is evident that J.R. Archer - and here his appearance was probably a key factor - was far more deeply accepted in Britain than Duse Mohamed Ali had ever been. Another West Indian in this new era was F.E.M. Hercules;²⁵⁵ indeed, the West Indian influence in post-war London Pan-Africanism was strong, and it may be remarked here that although West Indians were not unknown in 158 Fleet Street circles, they were certainly not prominent. At 158 Fleet Street, West Africans, Indians, Egyptians and even British were far more in evidence. This is not to say that he had any antagonism towards these West Indians, or they to him, but merely that there seems to have been distance between them. But also personal differences and antagonisms played their part.

To begin with, Duse's old opponent John Eldred Taylor was prominent and highly persona grata in these new circles. His African Telegraph, in abeyance since 1915, re-appeared in December 1918, and acted as something like an official journal to these movements, in the same way as the ATOR had to the Ottoman Committee, the Anglo-Ottoman Society, and the League of Justice. Indeed, Taylor had re-opened old wounds during Duse Mohamed Ali's hour of need in 1915, when his review had collapsed and he was under grave suspicion from the security authorities. Taylor's African Telegraph was loudly pro-British in 1914-1915; in December 1914 it specifically disowned

255. Hercules was a founder member of the African Progress Union - see the African Telegraph, January-February 1919, p.111, and was in favour of West Indian Federation - see *ibid*, p.113.

any connection with Duse;

We have no connection with the African Times and Orient Review. We understand that the Editor Mr. Duse Mohamed, has registered himself as a Turkish subject. We have not heard of the journal being published since the 18th August.²⁵⁶

This was kicking a man when he was down, and not likely to be forgiven or forgotten. It implied, especially to any West African readers, who can hardly have been aware of the full circumstances, that Duse had wilfully embraced enemy nationality, rather than been forced into this position by the mischance of the time and place of his birth.

Despite these old scores, both men were present at the African Progress Union's inaugural dinner at the Great Eastern Hotel, Liverpool Street, London, on 18th December 1918.²⁵⁷ It is worth noting what a substantial gathering of the coloured community this was. Not counting Mrs. Beatrice Mohamed and the other ladies (who seem to have had the supernumary role usually assigned to women in political movements) there were forty members and guests present. Whether Duse Mohamed Ali was a member or guest is unclear. The principal officers at inauguration were, J.R. Archer, Chairman; Robert Broadhurst, Secretary; K.F. Tandoh, Financial Secretary; and F.E.M. Hercules, Assistant Secretary. It is significant that only one of the other men there could be particularly associated with Duse's

256. *ibid*, December 1914, p.28.

257. There is a full account of this dinner, the principal guests, toasts and speakers in *ibid*, January-February 1919, pp.111-2.

circle, and that was T.A. Doherty, then lodging with him. Among the more eminent men present were the West African visitors T. Hutton Mills from the Gold Coast and T.H. Jackson of the radical Lagos Weekly Record. Jackson and his paper were, in the coming year, to be ardent supporters and admirers of John Eldred Taylor. British guests included A. Cartwright, the pioneer editor of West Africa, and the very influential Rev. John Harris (later Sir John Harris), secretary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, a man who had at times been attacked by Duse' Mohamed Ali in the ATOR. John Eldred Taylor was singled out by being among those who spoke, his theme being "The Soldiers and Sailors of the Race". Other speakers included T.H. Jackson, who discoursed on the connections between imperialism, race and social darwinism, and F. Montacute Thompson, a West African law student. Thus, although invited, Duse' was by no means among old friends at this dinner. It will be noted that his Egyptian friends had either not been invited or at least were not there.²⁵⁸ Had they been involved in the A.P.U., they would almost certainly, as in the Islamic Society, have formed a block which would have supported him and guaranteed him a certain consequence.²⁵⁹ Their absence helps to explain his very limited involvement -

258. *ibid.*

259. It would be unwise to argue from the absence of the young Egyptian students in London that they were totally uninterested in a purely Pan-African group. But the years 1918-1923 were particularly momentous ones for Egyptian nationalists, and their own national struggle would have been an overwhelming priority for these young men.

the A.P.U. was of so little importance to him that it received no mention in his autobiography.

There is nothing to suggest any close connection between Duse' Mohamed Ali and the A.P.U. from after its inaugural dinner till the middle of 1921. On the other hand, there is every indication that John Eldred Taylor was very close to the A.P.U. Such A.P.U. leaders as F.E.M. Hercules and G. Montacute Thompson frequently had speeches and articles published in the African Telegraph.²⁶⁰ This closeness did not prevent the emergence of another Pan-African movement in London, the Society of Peoples of African Origin (S.P.A.O.) of which John Eldred Taylor seems to have been the leading light. Possibly the S.P.A.O. pre-dated the A.P.U.; certainly it was in existence by December 1918, and would therefore be at least contemporary in origin.²⁶¹ Relations between the two bodies were evidently

260. See F.E.M. Hercules, "The African and Nationalism", African Telegraph, December 1918, p.84; "Women and the Re-Creation of Africa" and "The Federation of the West Indies", *ibid*, January-February 1919, pp.113 & 118-9; "Africa and Reconstruction", *ibid*, March 1919, pp.127-8; "The Native Situation", *ibid*, April 1919, pp.168-9; "Wanted: An Enlightened Policy", *ibid*, p.210; also G. Montacute Thompson, *ibid*, April 1919, pp.162-4.

261. *ibid*, December 1918, p.66 gives the first of a series of S.P.A.O. manifestoes under the sub-heading "The African S.O.S.", but neither here nor elsewhere in the African Telegraph are the details of its foundation and organisation. Since the same issue of the African Telegraph, pp.89-90, carries an article on the A.P.U., then a brand new organisation, it may be inferred that the S.P.A.O. roughly coincided with the A.P.U.'s foundation.

close and friendly; the African Telegraph gave as much prominence to A.P.U. as to S.P.A.O. activities. Thus it reported at length the A.P.U.'s role in a conference²⁶² held in Westminster on 22nd May 1919 on that perennial topic, "A Hostel for Africans in London." This conference was organised by the Committee for Welfare of Africans in Europe, a body that was presided over by Sir Victor Buxton, with John Harris as secretary, which perhaps sufficiently indicated its tone. Colonial big-wigs were present in the shape of Sir Hugh and Lady Clifford and Sir Sydney Olivier, ex-Governor of Jamaica. J.R. Archer, F.E.M. Hercules and F. Montacute Thompson were there from the A.P.U., and in addition Fred and Francis Dove, showing their usual propensity for being around when matters of moment to West Africa were being considered. The A.P.U. contingent expressed its strong disapproval that it had been invited to what, it had supposed, was a discussion, only to find that a scheme had already been decided on. As John Harris put it "the scheme was already decided on, and was but a confirmation and continuation of a Hostel scheme arrived at by the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society in the 1913 Reception." In fact, all the 1913 meeting had done was to approve a vague motion by Sir Harry H. Johnston "That the large and growing number of natives of Africa who are British subjects temporarily resident in London for educational purposes calls for some friendly recognition in this country."²⁶³

262. For details of this conference, see *ibid*, May-June 1919, pp.211-2.

263. Journal of the Royal African Society, Vol.XII, No.XLVIII, July 1913, p.426.

There was a great contrast between the 1913 and 1919 meetings on the African student hostel question, both in respect to the African spokesmen present and the tone they adopted. At the former meeting, Duse Mohamed Ali was not only present, but backed up by James C. Smith, W.F. Hutchison and Charles Rosher; in other words, the 158 Fleet Street circle was present in some force and acted as spokesmen for the African point of view. Their tone was respectful and compliant; the nearest they came to criticism of the resolution was in a few words of Duse's, who "... in supporting ..., said that much as he should himself prefer to see an African University, it would be wise to give the African visiting England for education every possible encouragement." W.F. Hutchison and James C. Smith made loyal noises, though Hutchison did permit himself to say a few words on the "one fault" of the British, lack of sympathy, and that "The African arriving in London felt himself in a great desert."²⁶⁴ This is milk and water compared with the bitter remark of J.R. Archer, made in the tenser British racial atmosphere of 1919, that Africans "could not walk about in the streets of the capital or enter a public place without being insulted and jibed at as a 'nigger'."²⁶⁵ If 'nigger talk' was absent in 1913, Duse Mohamed Ali and his friends were absent in 1919 - a striking omission,

264. For Duse Mohamed Ali's remarks at the 1913 conference, see *ibid*, p.427; for W.F. Hutchison's remarks, *ibid*, p.428; for James C. Smith's, *ibid*, pp.429-30; for Charles Rosher's, *ibid*, p.431.

265. African Telegraph, May-June 1919, p.211.

indicating that either they had lost interest in this topic, or that now the new A.P.U. seemed the obvious voice of African opinion in London. Far more militant than the ATOR men in 1913, the A.P.U.'s spokesman F. Montacute Thompson demanded that if the Hostel scheme went ahead, there should be equal African representation on the Board of Management, and that it should be laid down that the inmates were not under the Board's tutelage or guardianship.²⁶⁶ J.R. Archer was for outright rejection of the scheme, preferring an African War Memorial, to teach the British people a better and fairer opinion of Africans.²⁶⁷

It would seem that the S.P.A.O. was never as active as the A.P.U.; it held meetings at Hyde Park Corner,²⁶⁸ and under John Eldred Taylor's signature protested to Lord Milner about conditions in the West Indies.²⁶⁹ Above all, the S.P.A.O. collected information about the flogging of Africans in British West Africa.²⁷⁰ Eventually in the summer of 1919 it amalgamated

266. *ibid*, pp.211-2.

267. *ibid*, p.211.

268. See *ibid*, April 1919, p.203, for a mention of an S.P.A.O. Hyde Park meeting on race riots; in so doing, the S.P.A.O. showed that it understood the trend of events only too well - the really spectacular race riots in Cardiff and Liverpool were yet to come.

269. *ibid*, July-August 1919, pp.265-6.

270. See account of Fitzpatrick v. Taylor, in The Times, 8th November 1919, p.7.

with the A.P.U. to form the Society of African Peoples (S.A.P.), though this name does not seem to have stuck long, and the A.P.U. eventually reverted to its old title. This time, Duse Mohamed Ali was absent from the inaugural dinner, held at the Holborn restaurant on 18th July 1919, which was arranged jointly by John Eldred Taylor and E.P. Bruyning of the A.P.U.²⁷¹ However, Duse's old friend Frans Dove was present, which shows that some of the principals in the African Times and Orient Review take over of August 1912 later made their peace with Taylor. (It may be noted in passing that Silas Dove and his wife were substantial investors in some of John Eldred Taylor's companies).²⁷² The African Telegraph reported that representatives were there from "all parts" of British Africa, and although this was probably an exaggeration, J. Gumede of the South African Native National Congress was certainly present, and a toast was drunk to the delegation of which he was a member. J.R. Archer took the chair at the S.A.P. inaugural dinner, and according to The Times "said that one of the objects of the Union was to make known the sufferings and degradation of their brethren in other parts of the British Empire."²⁷³

271. See African Telegraph, July-August 1919, pp.269-71, for details of the S.A.P. inaugural dinner.

272. For example, Silas Dove had 400, and his wife Lilieth Dove 50, 10/- preference shares in the African Co-operative Corporation - see allotment of shares in African Co-operative Corporation, 5th-27th May 1915, B.T. 31/22703/139272/11. John Eldred Taylor's career as a company promoter is discussed in the following chapter.

273. The Times, July 19th, 1919, p.11.

There can be no doubt that this policy was adopted under the influence of Taylor and the S.P.A.O.; from the end of 1918 it had been Taylor's practice to systematically expose all instances of official brutality in British West Africa. As we have seen, this crusade can be traced back to the Zaria floggings of 1912. Indeed, he was building up to the dramatic climax of his career, the sensational Fitzpatrick case of November 1919. In this he was sued for libel by Northern Nigerian Resident Fitzpatrick, who the African Telegraph had reported in 1918 as responsible for the public flogging of women in 1914.²⁷⁴ Though Taylor lost the case and crushing

274. See African Telegraph, December 1918, p.105; this article, written under the pseudonym "Yanzu", was taken from the Gold Coast Leader. It was only one of several articles on the same theme in this issue of the African Telegraph, which also contained an exposure of racist attacks on invalid coloured soldiers in Liverpool (pp.94-5); a challenge to Lugard to comment on a rumour that a Northern Nigerian D.C. had been shot by an educated African who he had had flogged for not raising his hat (pp.79-80); a petition from a Sierra Leonean Pastor about his mistreatment by officials at Lokoja (p.76); and an article by Judge W.H. Stoker, K.C. attacking Lugard's judicial system and concluding "Sir Frederick Lugard's proposals contribute a retrograde step, striking a distinctly lower average for the judicial system of the amalgamated Nigerias." (pp.71-2) Stoker had resigned from the Southern Nigerian bench in 1914 in disgust at Lugard's 'reforms' - see I.F. Nicolson, The Administration of Nigeria 1900 to 1960, London 1969, p.204.

This issue of the African Telegraph was to set the pace for succeeding issues in 1919, which were to continue to harp on the connected themes of flogging, Lugard and the Nigerian judicial system. Stoker was so inveterate an enemy of Lugard's judicial system that he appeared as an expert witness called by the defence in the Fitzpatrick case, making some most damaging points. He stated that Lugard had never given precise instructions to stop floggings, and that though "No woman ought to be stripped and flogged, in his opinion, ... he could not say that stripping and flogging of women was contrary to the law as it now applied to the Native Courts of Nigeria." see The Times, 8th November 1919, p.7.

damages of £400 plus costs were awarded to Fitzpatrick, the trial made it clear that the flogging had taken place, and gave a perfect platform from which to attack the entire Lugardian judicial system. Indeed, the jury brought in a rider that "The jury are of opinion that if flogging of women is still practised steps should be taken to put a stop to it." Lugard and other officials, brought in as witnesses, had to admit under cross-examination not only that such floggings were possible and legal under the Native Court system, but also that they were repugnant to humanity and scandalous, and that it was the duty of a political officer to prevent them.²⁷⁵ Taylor was the hero of the hour, not only in West Africa but also among considerable sections of the British press too.²⁷⁶ The intense enmity between him and Duse Mohamed Ali is nowhere better illustrated than by the fact that although as a resident of London Duse must have been totally aware of the Fitzpatrick case and Taylor's moral victory, he remained silent about it in his autobiography, only mentioning Taylor as a dishonest business-man.²⁷⁷ Nor was the case mentioned in the Africa and Orient Review in 1920.

275. See The Times, 7th November 1919, p.4; *ibid*, 8th November 1919, p.7; *ibid*, 11th November 1919, p.7.

276. There are long quotations from British newspapers sympathetic to John Eldred Taylor in The Crisis, June 1920, pp.96-7.

277. "Leaves", in The Comet, 30th October 1937, p.7.

Indeed, it would be true to say that in Pan-African circles in London in 1919, John Eldred Taylor was the man of the year. He showed as much concern for the fate of the black man in Britain, subject to the vicious race riots of that year, as for the fate of his brothers in Africa. The African Telegraph vigorously attacked these outrages, and was commended for this in the W.E.B. Du Bois edited N.A.A.C.P. journal The Crisis,²⁷⁸ which was, of course, much concerned with the even more vicious American race riots of that year. Thus, John Eldred Taylor stepped into an international limelight, if only for a brief time, as a defender of his race. Though his period as a race leader was short - he died in 1924 - it is most doubtful if Duse' Mohamed Ali ever at any one moment enjoyed such fame and glory as John Eldred Taylor did in 1919. Of course it should be remembered that Duse's career as a propagandist and organiser was far longer, lasting from at least 1909 until his death in 1945, but in 1919 he was eclipsed by one of his bitterest enemies within Pan-African circles.

Mention of Du Bois leads us to another striking omission in Duse' Mohamed Ali's life in 1919 - his absence from the first Du Bois organised Pan-African Congress in Paris in February. As we have seen, he was as keenly interested as any other Pan-Africanist in the burning question of favourable terms for non-white peoples from the post-war peace settlement. To have made the journey to Paris would have been a small effort to such an experienced traveller as himself. One obvious reason for his absence was his antipathy for Du Bois, an antipathy which that great but touchy

278. See The Crisis, January 1920, p.143.

man was unlikely to forgive. Moreover, the new wave of London Pan-Africanism was well represented in Paris, J.R. Archer representing the A.P.U. and none other than John Eldred Taylor the S.P.A.O. It would be impossible to imagine Duse travelling harmoniously to Paris in that company, even if, as is unlikely, he was invited. As it was, even Archer and Taylor seem to have been at cross-purposes at the Paris Congress; the African Telegraph subsequently criticised Archer for putting the A.P.U.'s Mandate, (which included a manifesto laboured over by the A.P.U. Managing Committee) to a committee of the Congress, in confidence, rather than before the full open session.²⁷⁹ Perhaps this manifesto was an embarrassingly radical document, smothered by Blaise Diagne, in his role of watchdog for the French Government.

Not till 1921, when there were changes in the leadership of the A.P.U., did Duse Mohamed Ali play a major role in it. The changes in leadership brought a change in policy which he can only have approved and may have helped to bring about. These changes were reported in the Sierra Leone Weekly News as follows;

At a general meeting of the African Progress Union held in London on Wednesday July 20th, plans for the re-organisation of the society were discussed, and the broad lines along which it is hoped its active development will proceed were laid down.

Among those present were:- Dr. J. Alcindor, Chairman; R. Broadhurst, Secretary; J.A. Barbour James, Treasurer; Duse Mohamed Ali and Aldred S. Cann; Messrs. S.A. Hughes and G.R. Gilkes; Dr. Oja Oligabarbe (sic); James D. Royle and W.E.S. Callender.

279. African Telegraph, March 1919, pp.142-3. This account also prints in full the S.P.A.O. memorandum to the Congress.

The African Progress Union was founded in 1918 to promote the social and economic welfare of the Africans of the world. Having presented a vigorous resistance to the countless dangers of infancy, it now arrives at what it is hoped on all sides will prove an era of unexampled usefulness.

Much to the regret of the members of the Union, Councillor J.R. Archer, Ex-Mayor of Battersea, London) recently resigned the chairmanship. A letter of thanks and appreciation were forwarded to Councillor Archer.

With a new chair in Dr. Alcindor, and several accessions to the controlling body, among whom may be counted Duse Mohamed Ali of the Africa and Orient Review, that freshness of outlook and organising ability which alone can guarantee the success of the work it has undertaken is assured.

Already plans have been made for a widened scope of activity. It must have been realised by every visitor from Africa that the housing difficulty is one of the most formidable he has to contend with on his arrival in London. The Committee proposes to solve the problem for themselves by organising an African Hostel for their accommodation.

The Committee intends to keep its social work in the proper perspective. The main business of life in this economic age is work, and by this one does not necessarily mean the barter of one's labour power for wages, but the harnessing of the energies of man to the production and multiplication of the necessities of a civilised existence.

The task of Africa in the next generation is industry. Those who have the welfare of that great continent at heart can hardly do better than encourage by all practical means the economic self-dependence of the peoples of Africa. The Committee foresees for the Society a future of usefulness in this field.

A largely increased membership is anticipated, arrangements for enrolment in their own localities are being prepared. In the meantime intending members who are not resident in England are requested to write to the Hon. Secretary ...

The Committee desires it to be known that the Union is in no sense a local affair, and indeed expects the membership recruited from West and South Africa, the West Indies and America, to form the backbone of the association.

The idea is that honorary or life members, resident outside of England will always be able to enjoy the privileges afforded by the central organisation when visiting England, and at other times, perhaps, enjoy them vicariously through their sons and relatives who may be there for the purposes of education. A feature of the Committee's plans is the benevolent guardianship which they hope to exercise over the hundreds of African students who go to England each year.²⁸⁰

This is a fascinating document, both for what it says and for what it implies but leaves unsaid. To begin with, although formal tribute is paid to J.R. Archer, no pressing reason, such as illness or pre-occupation with urgent personal affairs, is given for his resignation. Nor, it will be noticed, does he seem to have been present at the 20th July meeting; although no complete list of attenders is given, surely the ex-chairman would have been mentioned, if there. Neither is there any word of John Eldred Taylor, F.E.M. Hercules or F. Montacute Thompson. Of course, some of these men may have been out of the country, but the overall impression is of an almost clean sweep of the 1918-1919 leadership, only Broadhurst remaining from December 1918. This impression is strongly reinforced by the particular welcome given to Duse' Mohamed Ali, whose remoteness from the Archer régime in the A.P.U. has been demonstrated. In saying that men such as Alcindor and Duse' alone could bring a fresh outlook necessary to guarantee success of the work undertaken, by implication the previous leaders are written off as useless. Likewise, it is in effect dismissive to refer to the Union's history up to that point as one of dangerous infancy, with a new era of mature fruitfulness having only begun with the new leaders.

In policy we can see an equally strong about turn. It is true that the African Hostel question was carried over from the old leadership, but equally true that it was a much older issue than the A.P.U. and cannot be regarded as its property. Rather, it emerged from the fundamental difficulties of life for African visitors to Britain in the early twentieth century. As we have seen, Duse' Mohamed Ali had been very much concerned

with this issue in one form or other since the Universal Races Congress of 1911, when the abortive proposal was made for an inter-racial club in London. Through the ATOR he had successfully advertised his willingness to provide accommodation and supervision for young coloured people in London. The hospitality and lodgings he provided could fairly be regarded as the first real precursor of the W.A.S.U. hostel, which was the ultimate conclusion of the African Hostel movement. The inclusion in July 1921 of "benevolent guardianship" as a role of the proposed hostel could well be partly due to his influence and example, as it was a role he had already undertaken on a considerable scale.

But much more clearly 'Dusian' was the new inclination towards a policy of economic action, rather than the political Pan-Africanism associated with Du Bois' Pan-African Congresses and the old A.P.U. leadership. This 'economic' Pan-Africanism had, as shown in the last chapter, been preached by Duse' Mohamed Ali on an increasing scale for some years. Indeed, the disappearance of the African Telegraph at the end of 1919 and the re-appearance of his review in January 1920, may well have helped to incline black residents and visitors to London towards an 'economic' line. Although 1921 was the year of the Brussels and London Pan-African Congresses, some of the London black visitors and residents may have felt that this form of Pan-Africanism had had its day, and produced meagre results at that, since the peace settlement of 1919 had disappointed minimum hopes of a new role for the black man in the post-war world. Again, despite the lack of positive evidence to prove this, it is easy to imagine Duse' Mohamed Ali saying 'I told you so', and persuading some people to embrace his economic

nostrums, derived ultimately from Booker T. Washington, in place of the Pan-African gospel according to W.E.B. Du Bois. And, since the foundation of the A.P.U. at the end of 1918, Marcus Garvey had arisen as the most spectacular star in the Pan-African firmament; however different his demagogic and massively supported U.N.I.A. might have been from any of the London Pan-African groups, with their small membership of professional men, intellectuals and businessmen, yet he too was preaching, in an arresting way, 'economic' Pan-Africanism derived ultimately from Booker T. Washington, but probably via Duse' Mohamed Ali. If 1919 was John Eldred Taylor's year, Duse' Mohamed Ali may well have thought that 1921 would be his, for not only had the organised Pan-African movement in Britain begun to turn his way, but in July 1921 he was about to leave for the United States in pursuit of a business plan of Garveyite grandiosity to link West Africa and black America.²⁸¹

Nevertheless, it would be untrue to take the change in leadership of the A.P.U. in 1921 as an indication of a total break with the Du Bois Pan-African Congresses. Alcindor chaired the opening session of the London Pan-African Congress on 27th August 1921, and most of its other leading members, including Dr. Ojo Olaribigbe, and Robert Broadhurst were there. Indeed, also were the Archerites (if they may be so called), J.R. Archer himself chairing one session, and John Eldred Taylor speaking. (This evidence of their continuing Pan-African activity, however, makes more pointed their absence from the A.P.U. re-organisation meeting the previous

281. Duse' Mohamed Ali's relations with Marcus Garvey are discussed in more detail in Chapters IV and VII of this thesis.

month.) Furthermore, Duse' Mohamed Ali's old friend and colleague, W.F. Hutchison and his former lodgers Roland Hayes, the famous American Negro tenor, and L.B. Augusto of Lagos, were participants in the 1921 London Congress.²⁸² On the other hand, Duse' himself was again absent. True, he may be that time have been en route for or even in the United States, but one supposes that had his implacability towards the Du Bois Congresses at all melted, he could easily have postponed for a little while a journey which had, after all, been under consideration since at least 1919. With this trip to America ended his more than forty year long connection with Britain, in which he had been, with varying success, journalist, actor, playwright, docker, down-and-out, historian, Turcophil, Pan-Islamist, Pan-Africanist and Pan-Afro-Asianist, Egyptian Nationalist, agitator, conspirator, businessman and guide counsellor and friend to so many who followed his footsteps to the imperial capital. Though we may consider his success as at best, qualified, in any of these roles, we may be amazed by his versatility and persistence. Perhaps he hoped in America to recruit members for the A.P.U., which had so recently taken him to its bosom. Perhaps he considered its leaders and former leaders active role in the 1921 London Pan-African Congress as a hopeless reversion to old errors. On these points he has left us no guidance and one may only hope that some day further evidence will resolve them. Certainly he intended to return to Britain when his American business was concluded; but as the

282. Langley, op.cit., pp.97 and 100-104, gives details of the contributions of these various participants.

next chapter will show, fortune was to make this impossible. His life in Britain was over.

Despite the possession of detailed information at some points, and some indications at others, it is obvious that, as the survival and recovery of evidence is to an extent fortuitous, the foregoing pages may be, at many points clearly are, far less than the full story of Duse' Mohamed Ali's political activities in London between 1912 and 1921. Still less are they a full record of African, Asian and Pan-Afro-Asian political activity in London during those years. Much of the minutiae is lacking, which is regrettable as so much of this activity must have been expressed through informal personal contacts. Thus, it would be invaluable to have a good sequence of personal correspondence between Duse' Mohamed Ali and any of his political friends, but only the most fragmentary correspondence has as yet come to light. The student of Duse' Mohamed Ali's political activities is tantalised by the thought that mouldering in a box-room in Harlem or Chicago, falling to pieces in an old chest in Cairo or Cape Coast Castle, disintegrating in a disused desk in Lahore, Calcutta or Bombay, may be letters to an old comrade, or equally interesting, letters from an old enemy.

Further, our picture of his activities may be distorted by the distribution of the evidence. Thus, this chapter contains a preponderance of information and discussion of his Islamic activities, because these were of interest to the India Office, the Home Office, the War Office and the Foreign Office, and they took steps to inform themselves and each

other about him. Even so, they made some amazing errors in fact, let alone judgement, such as M.I.5.'s belief that the ATOR was still in business at the end of 1914 and into 1915, being published by the Anglo-Ottoman Society. Likewise, Scotland Yard in 1916 stated "It is not definitely known how he is at present obtaining means of support", although this should not have been too difficult to discover.²⁸³ It was not as if he was blissfully unaware of police interest, and must not be alerted. The Colonial Office, on the other hand, seems only to have taken an interest in him in relation to his journalistic and business activities (which they suspected as a cover for agitation, when he wished to visit West Africa)²⁸⁴ but not to have cared, or perhaps known, about his political circle in London.

With such caveats in mind, nevertheless some general points of value emerge from the study of Duse Mohamed Ali in relation to the African and Oriental political scene in London from 1912 to 1921. To begin with, it gives a fascinating insight into the internal cross-currents, development and above all conflicts of these groups. This was a quarrelsome milieu, quarrels stemming, we may suppose, from the frustration of never totally fulfilling aims, of being confronted with a series of false dawns. For

283. See M.I.5. report on Duse Mohamed, F.O. 371/2355/15047, and Supt. P. Quinn, Special Branch, New Scotland Yard, report on Duse Mohamed, F.O. 371/3728/114805.

284. See C.O. 554/23/36403 and C.O. 554/40/21897.

Dusé himself, these false dawns were the foundation and various revivals of his review, the Ottoman Committee, Anglo-Ottoman Society, I.M.S.W.O.W.F., the Central Islamic Society, the League of Justice, and acceptance in the A.P.U. in 1921. His autobiography, with its invective against those who he quarrelled with, also marks the failures. To the historian, not swept up by the surging hopes of each of these departures, neither do the "failures" seem like failure. Instead, they fall into the pattern of the minority movement, especially the minority movement in exile, fighting against an overwhelmingly strong enemy. He who would dismiss the events of this chapter as the comic or squalid but unimportant squabbles of a group of nobodies should remember the equally undignified and 'ridiculous' shouting match of another group of over excitable foreigners that had taken place in London a few years previously - the 'absurd' quarrel between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, with hindsight a great event in world history.²⁸⁵ Thus the Pan-Africanists, Pan-Islamists etc. in London fought among themselves partly for the same sociological reasons as the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks had; they were in an apparent impasse, and thus to find the "correct" key to the situation seemed desperately important. In relation to this, the rich crop of personality, human eccentricity and sheer bloody-mindedness revealed in these pages sinks into insignificance.

One of the most valuable points to emerge from the study of Dusé

285. For information on the 1903 Russian Social Democratic Workers Party Congress, see E.H. Carr, The Bolshevik Revolution, Vol.I, London 1960, pp.26-37.

Mohamed Ali's political life between 1912 and 1921 is that London in those years was a focal point for movements, some primarily religious or social, but all in some sense political, of the subject coloured peoples of the British Empire. The origins of such movements may be found a good half century earlier in the pioneer Indian movements in London, and the activities of Dadabhai Naorodji.²⁸⁶ The Indian societies provided a model for the Africans to follow. The creation of an Indian student hostel foreshadowed and suggested an African student hostel; in both cases the motives were freedom from official supervision and protection from racial hostility. The Islamic Society, which was in origins an Indian Muslim body, provided a rallying point for Egyptian and other Muslims and indeed a wide range of anti-Imperialists. Through it a man such as Duse' Mohamed Ali was given opportunities of leadership and of winning friends (and making enemies) which could later be translated to other bodies. Indeed, the overlap in personnel between the Islamic, Turcophil, Egyptian, Pan-Afro-Asian and Pan-African societies is remarkable, even if not total. In this situation,

286. Probably the earliest such body was the London Indian Society, founded in 1865 by Dadabhai Naorodji, which contained no less than four future Presidents of the Indian National Congress and both formulated Indian grievances and corrected the British Press on Indian issues. It was, however, soon superceded in 1866 by the London East India Association, While in its early years this was the nearest thing to a genuine national Indian body in existence, the I.N.C. not yet having been created, it admitted retired British Indian civilians and army officers, and ultimately became a conservative body in their hands denouncing 'Babu' politicians. In this sense it anticipated the problems of the London Turcophil movement in 1913-14, in which, as we have seen, there was a fear among the British members, of "seditious" Indians and others. For details of the London Indian Society and the London East Indian Association, see Anil Seal, The Emergence of Indian Nationalism, pp.246-9.

Duse' Mohamed Ali stands out as more than any other man in such circles being involved in every aspect of these movements, and 158 Fleet Street being in most cases their organisational headquarters. This is not to say that he and his offices represented bureaucratic, fully centralised leadership and organisation. Contact between the various groups was clearly piecemeal, personal and informal. It is striking though how the same names re-occur even in bodies that are apparently totally remote from politics; thus Duse' Mohamed Ali and his wife, Khwaja Kamal ud-Din, M.H. Ispahani and his wife, "Professor" Leon, Syed Eshan El Bakry and Dr. S.C. Damoglou (who from his name must have been of Turkish origin) all appear as members of a strange, cranky group calling itself the International College of Chromatics, founded in May 1916 "in the interests of the science of colour". Its meetings were normally at 1 Albany Terrace, Regents Park,²⁸⁷ but on at least one occasion took place at Duse' Mohamed Ali's house.²⁸⁸ The topics discussed at these meetings - such topics as "National Flags and National Colours" - are of far less interest than the evidence that these political associates met socially under other circumstances. Woking Mosque, too, may be noted as a natural meeting place for not only British and Asian but also African Muslims. There is evidence of this in a photograph of Duse', the Imam of the Mosque and Chief Oluwa of Lagos on the steps of the Mosque in 1920.²⁸⁹ Duse' had in fact, according to

287. See ATOR, October 1917, pp.79-81.

288. ibid, November 1917, p.93.

289. AOR, July 1920, p.30.

Chief T.A. Doherty, arranged the hiring of a furnished house in West Kensington for Chief Oluwa, Herbert Macaulay, Oluwa's son and E.T. Scott in 1920, and so in this practical way played his part in both the Eleko controversy and the National Congress of British West Africa activity in London at that time. Members of the N.C.B.W.A. visited him at his house;²⁹⁰ but though no doubt the conversation was often political, there is no reason to assign him more than a limited, informal and advisory role, mainly on the level of practical but secondary matters such as accommodation. Dr. Sapara, having decided that there could be no real advance in Lagos without modern education for the Muslim community, visited Woking Mosque while in London in 1913, and brought back to Nigeria forty copies of Khwaja Kamal ud-Din's journal the Islamic Review for distribution in Lagos.²⁹¹ It seems a likely guess that Duse' Mohamed Ali would have been Dr. Sapara's means of introduction at Woking. In June 1919, a congregation of Muslims from Arabia, Persia, Egypt, 'Iraq, China, Sudan and West Africa, as well as English converts, met to celebrate Eid-ul-Fitr at Woking Mosque. By unanimous resolution, they sent a telegram to the President of the Peace Conference at Paris protesting strongly at the Allied treatment of Turkey and pointing out "the serious consequences involved in any decision which may deprive Turkey of her sovereignty at Constantinople, Thrace, and Asia Minor, and deprive the Sultan of his suzerainty over other parts of the

290. Information from Chief T.A. Doherty, Lagos.

291. Information from Alhajji L.B. Augusto, Lagos.

Turkish Empire." Among others, M.H. Ispahni spoke urging the congregation to adopt and send this protest.²⁹² No doubt such interactions proliferated. The cross-fertilisation between Asian and Islamic political movements and Pan-Africanism in the early twentieth century is a major topic which remains largely unexplored, but the study of these movements in the London milieu reveals a fascinating corner of this field.

Another theme which emerges from this chapter is, London as an independent and continuous centre of Pan-Africanism (and other related movements), not merely the locus of occasional Congresses. Had the African and Asian population of London been merely transitory visitors, then this activity would have been restricted to visiting delegations, and plans to help the visitor, such as the African Hostel scheme. But the presence of long term black residents, such as Duse Mohamed Ali, J.R. Archer, Dr. Alcindor, (and there were certainly equivalents such as Amir Ali among the Indians), plus regularly recurring visitors, such as John Eldred Taylor or Francis and Frederick Dove, allowed more stable and long term organisations to be undertaken - both for the purpose of representing the subject imperial peoples in London on a continuing rather than occasional basis, and to look after the interests of the Afro-Asian community in Britain. Indeed, it is evident that 1912-1921 will increasingly be seen as a most important decade in the history of the black man in Britain. Sociological distinctions between Asian and Afro-west Indian in the modern British black community look suspect in the light of this history of interaction and co-operation

292. Islamic Review, June 1919, pp.242-3.

fifty or sixty years ago! The evidence of London as a Pan-African centre in its own right makes clearer than ever the picture of early twentieth century Pan-Africanism as polycentric in organisation in addition to being heterogeneous in ideology. London takes its place with the United States, West Africa, and the West Indies as a leading centre of Pan-African thought and activity; always remembering, however, that these foci were not totally separate, but interdependent and inter-acting, in the same way as on a local scale were the organisations and personalities within London itself.

If unity and diversity are the framework within which to understand early twentieth century Pan-Africanism, nowhere is this more apparent than in the framework of ideology. Even the most personal quarrels among the London Pan-Africanists were rarely simply personal. In the allied area of Turcophil and Pan-Islamic movements, Duse' Mohamed Ali was not pushed out of the Ottoman Committee solely because of his personality, but because of the basic principal⁽¹⁾ at stake as to whether the Committee should be a movement run by (among others) non-European Muslims in their own cause, or for them by an exclusive and patronising clique of British 'do-gooders', who knew what was best for their beneficiaries. In 1921, the change of leadership and policy in the A.P.U. seem to reflect a leaning towards 'economic' Pan-Africanism, though the subsequent involvement of most of the new as well as the old A.P.U. leaders in the 1921 London Pan-African Conference blurs the lines here. Rather more certainly, Duse' Mohamed Ali's distance from the A.P.U. till 1921, though certainly having personal grounds, had a considerable ideological content too. His view that Africans should first concentrate on building up wealth via Pan-African

economic enterprises could be regarded as a species of racial syndicalism, with the typical syndicalist distaste for orthodox political action.

Finally, it should be said of all the London movements, that consciously or not, they subscribed to the doctrine of the "talented tenth". All were movements of comparatively well-off and well educated men, though no doubt many members had precarious fortunes and were largely self-educated, as was Duse Mohamed Ali. But it is significant that the A.P.U. - clearly the most radical of the Pan-African movements in London - could in 1921 envisage world-wide expansion on the basis of those whose wealth and position in life would bring them or their relatives to London. And this was contemporary with the spread of Garveyism, not so much as an organisation but as a dream, among masses of poor black people in the New World and even in remote parts of Africa. In defence of the London Pan-Africanists, in Britain at that time they had no large black constituency on which to base a local mass movement. The typical black worker, where he existed, was a seaman - a notoriously difficult category of workers to organise on account of the conditions of their working lives. It is instructive, however, that with the relative build up of a black working class in Britain during and just after the Great War, and the consequent racial persecution of 1919, some Pan-Africanists in London took notice of their plight, particularly John Eldred Taylor and his African Telegraph. But this was the exception that tries the rule. In general, and this is particularly true of Duse Mohamed Ali, the London Pan-Africanists sought to lead the overseas black masses at long range; and through their tactics of loyal petitions and the press campaigns (even if in an African run and controlled press) by

implication accepted what Duse^é Mohamed Ali had in 1912, approvingly called, putting grievances "before the throne of Caesar".

CHAPTER VI

BUSINESS AND PAN-AFRICANISM

1912-1921

Although already a middle aged man in 1912, Duse' Mohamed Ali showed remarkable energy in the following nine years. Not only crusading editor, and tireless organiser and supporter of a plethora of movements, he also, on an increasing scale, tried to put into practice the economic precepts that he was advocating. He may also have wished to make his own fortune in the process. Having known real privation, at times, wealth must have had its attractions; and its acquisition would have been by no means incompatible with those doctrines of economic self-help, which he believed to be the surest path to power and freedom for the "darker" peoples. Though his business activities were to yield neither personal wealth, nor enrichment and power for the "darker" peoples, yet they have great interest as taking place within a broader economic-cum-political movement of black people with similar aims. Thus, they help to throw light on that comparatively neglected topic, the economic aspect of Pan-Africanism.

The starting point for the burgeoning of his business career was running the ATOR. Indeed, African Times and Orient Review Ltd., was his first experience of setting up a limited liability company, and his first experience of an economic enterprise created, controlled and run by coloured men. From the very beginning this company carried within it, quite consciously, the seeds of further business enterprise beyond the field of journalism. One of its official objects was "to establish a bank or banks and make advances to customers and others with or without security and to make advances and allowances to customers and others with or without security and upon such terms as the Company may approve and generally to

act as banker for customers and others."¹ The idea of an African controlled bank had occurred to James Africanus Beale Horton thirty years previously,² so this was not an entirely novel idea to West Africans of the sort who were Duse Mohamed Ali's colleagues in African Times and Orient Review Ltd. Nevertheless, it seems that this interest in banking came from the commercially inexperienced Egyptian rather than from, such business men as C.W. Betts and Fred. Dove, for in January 1917 an ATOR editorial stated;

It is a well-known fact among prominent West Africans that as long ago as 1912 we outlined a scheme for the establishment of a Native Bank which would meet the growing need of purely native merchants and traders. This idea grew out of native trade stagnation, resulting from a banking monopoly which did not always operate in the best interests of native enterprise, but rather, by reason of its nature, tended to strengthen the hands of the European trader at the expense of the native.³

1912 was in fact a year when banking matters were much in discussion in West Africa, especially in Nigeria, because of the collapse of the Bank of Nigeria, leaving the Government favoured Bank of British West Africa as the sole Bank in the field. The African business community in Lagos was understandably worried by this event;

1. Memorandum and Articles of Association of African Times and Orient Review Ltd., 26th August 1912, article 3(j), BT 31/20888/123943/1.
2. C. Fyfe, A History of Sierra Leone, Oxford 1962, p.437; also the writer has had the benefit of conversation with Mr. Fyfe, who is shortly to bring out a biography of Horton.
3. ATOR, mid-January 1917, p.4.

hostile behaviour on the part of the Bank of British West Africa was alleged in a pamphlet published in Lagos and entitled: Wanted: Banks for British West Africa: an Appeal from the Native Traders of Lagos to the Financiers of Great Britain. This stated that the Bank of British West Africa charged 'rates of interest which were excessively high ... even ... exorbitant' and displayed 'intolerance in business matters'. The immediate cause of the pamphlet seems to have been the amalgamation of the Bank of Nigeria with its older and more successful competitor. Its writers asserted that the Bank of Nigeria 'had produced an immediate reduction in the rates of the Bank of British West Africa', had 'financed natives', and insisted that the amalgamation of the two banks had produced 'consternation'. They concluded that 'the crying need of Southern Nigeria in the present stage of development of the country is for banking facilities - for the establishment of two or three banks.⁴

There is no reason to believe that such sentiments grew less strong as the years went by.

As matters befell, some years elapsed before Duse' Mohamed Ali attempted any banking scheme for West Africa in practice. But he soon found that, almost unavoidably, his editorial work introduced him to the economic hopes and difficulties of his readers, especially those in West Africa;

From 1912, when I started publication of the African Times and Orient Review, I was periodically importuned to assist the farmers and traders of the Gold Coast and Nigeria to purchase supplies and market their products as a result of the assistance I had accorded to the farmers of Sierra Leone.⁵

In the two years following the ATOR's foundation, his business interests grew steadily. An evolution towards actual participation in black commerce

4. See W.T. Newlyn and D.C. Rowan, Money and Banking in British Tropical Africa. A Study of the Monetary and Banking Systems of Eight British African Territories, Oxford 1954, p.119.
5. "Leaves", in The Comet, 22nd January 1938, p.7.

was shown by section five of the aims and objects of the Oriental, Occidental and African Society, published in November 1912.⁶ But he does not appear to have actually become a trader until March 1914, coinciding with the review's re-organisation at that time. Though he now began to practise his economic gospel, as yet this was ancillary to journalism. The first weekly ATOR announced a Buying Department, which would supply overseas readers with what goods they required. Although for the time being this was to be on a very modest scale, supplying private clients only, future expansion was hoped for into a full scale buying and shipping service, acting for overseas merchants.⁷ The Buying Department formalised by May 1914 into an organisation called the African and Oriental Bureau; this was still an ATOR satellite.

How profitable such activity was, is doubtful. In reminiscence, Duse Mohamed Ali complained about the bad faith of many West African customers, and protested that he had only charged nominally for his services;

I ... opened a purchasing Bureau in connexion with my publication, charging a nominal 2½ per cent on all transactions. I filled several indents demanding a deposit of twenty-five percent (sic) with all orders, the balance to be paid on delivery. Only in very exceptional cases did I ever receive the remaining seventy-five percent although I always conceded the seven or eight per cent I secured from suppliers for complete cash payments made by me in London.⁸

6. ATOR, November 1912, p.182, quoted in Chapter V, p.517.

7. ibid, 24th March 1912, p.2.

8. "Leaves", in The Comet, 22nd January 1938, p.7.

But this was written twenty-five years or so after the event, and was coloured by the fact that by the time of writing he had abandoned the struggle to put his economic plan into practice. By 1938 he was in a self-justifying, scapegoat seeking mood. In fact, the Bureau had traded rather less selflessly than he would have had the reader of his autobiography suppose. In fact, the Bureau purchased goods for overseas clients on condition that orders were accompanied by a postal order for two shillings, plus a remittance to cover costs and carriage, and a commission of five per cent.⁹ Without further details, it is impossible to estimate the Bureau's profitability. But we may note that when the ATOR re-appeared in January 1917, it included an advertisement for the Bureau,¹⁰ still offering substantially the same terms to its customers. These advertisements continued until the review again ceased publication after October 1918, and though they did not re-appear when the ATOR began publication in January 1920, that was because Duse Mohamed Ali's trading had meanwhile developed into a fully fledged limited liability company. By 1917 the Bureau (sometimes referred to as the ATOR Trading Department) was offering to "buy for Africans and Orientals anything from a box of pins to a motor car" and the ATOR's pages were littered with advertisements for shirts, caps, cigarettes, fountain pens, rubber stamps, dominoes, cutlery and shaving requisites. Since these were offered under "own brand" brand names (such as the "Orient" pen), they must have been ordered from the

9. ATOR, 19th May 1914, p.195.

10. *ibid*, January 1917, p.i.

manufacturer in some quantity, with sales expected on a commensurate scale. Second hand cars and lorries were also on offer. It would be fascinating to know who were the customers for these lorries, in view of the important role of the African entrepreneur in developing motor transport in West Africa,¹¹ but they remain unknown.

By August 1917 the review's Trading Department was taking a further step forward. Not only did it strike a note of racial solidarity by warning readers of possible European swindlers - "unknown persons who come in the guise of benefactors, but who are really exploiters in disguise" - whose bona fides the Trading Department would be glad to check; but at the same time it offered help with the acute wartime shipping problems, to ATOR subscribers who were produce traders. Those interested were to be informed about negotiations under way with American firms, that were considering sending steamers to West Africa to collect produce.¹² This is a tantalisingly limited piece of information; if Duse Mohamed Ali was looking to black American firms for this aid, then it could be said that he was anticipating Garvey's Black Star Line. More certainly, the desire to connect the West African producer with the American market directly rather than through European middle men, was a major characteristic of Pan-African business efforts, as will be shown by numerous other examples.

11. For the African role in the development of motor transport in British West Africa, see A.G. Hopkins, An Economic History of Lagos 1880-1914, Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1964, pp.365-73, and E.K. Hawkins, Road Transport in Nigeria, London 1958, pp.40-50. Hawkins, however, does not consider the industry before 1945.

12. ATOR, mid-August 1917, pp.59-60.

Possibly selling mail order goods to overseas, especially West African, buyers, holds the key to how Duse Mohamed Ali made his living between the ATOR collapse in August 1914 and re-appearance in January 1917. It may well be that this mail order business survived during that time. In September 1914 he was probably planning major business expansion in West Africa, for in that month he applied to the Colonial Secretary for a safe conduct to visit all the British West African colonies from Gambia to Calabar. This application was vague as to precise objectives, putting emphasis on a patriotic and loyal wish to "solicit support from the natives of West Africa for the Prince of Wales Fund" though he did mention a wish to obtain "a first-hand view of local conditions".¹³ As his magazine had already ceased publication, he can have hardly intended to undertake the expense of this journey for the sake of journalism, so it could be that a survey of trading prospects was what he had in mind. But the Colonial Office, already hostile to him because of the ATOR's activities, was unimpressed by his loyal effusion and did not even ask him to clarify the reasons for his request. It decided that as his review was "a notorious disseminator of sedition and lies" and he was "a strong supporter of the 'Pan-Ethiopian' or Africa for the Africans movement", it was "highly probable that he is going out to stir up discontent".¹⁴ Safe conduct was refused. In case he might even so be foolhardy enough to attempt the journey, Elder Dempster was asked to inform the Colonial Office if and when he sailed.¹⁵

13. Duse Mohamed Ali to S. of S. Harcourt, 22nd September 1914, C.O. 554/23/36403.

14. See minutes in C.O. 554/23/36403.

15. C.O. to Elder Dempster, 26th September 1914, *ibid.*

Security plans were made for his reception should he arrive in British West Africa - The Colonial Secretary wrote to all the West African Governors;

As the real object of his visit may be of an undesirable character, I have asked Messrs. E.D. & Co. to let me know if & when Duse Mohamed sails. As soon as I learn that he has left England, I will inform the Governor of the British Colony at which the steamer will first touch in order that arrangements may be made to keep a watch on his movements and conduct. If he arrives but does not land in a colony, or if having landed he leaves for another British Colony, the Governor of the first Colony should inform the Governor of the second of his departure & destination.¹⁶

But, discouraged by the refusal of safe conduct, or worried and pre-occupied by increasing police interest in his affairs at the close of 1914, he never attempted the trip. Despite this outcome, his plan is significant as the first of a series of such, which were to come to fruition, after long delays, in 1920. All these subsequent travel schemes were explicitly part of his business activities.

By January 1917, he had forged close links of both sympathy and business with one of the most important African trading communities in the British Empire - that of British West Africa. From that date, if not earlier, till at least February 1918, 158 Fleet Street acted as London Office for a West African family firm, the British and African Produce

16. Draft of S. of S. Harcourt, confidential letter to Governors of Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast and to Governor-General of Nigeria, 2nd October 1914, *ibid.*

Supply Co.¹⁷ This firm, founded by W.T. Duncan at Cape Coast Castle many years previously, had prospered over the years. It had expanded to Accra, Sekondi, Axim, Lomé and Porto Novo. By 1917 the most dynamic member of the family was S.W. Duncan, the oldest of the founder's sons, who in 1915 had extended the business to Lagos.¹⁸ By January 1917, Lagos was the firm's head office. Elsewhere in Nigeria branches had been set up in Ibadan, Abeokuta, Oshogbo and Kano¹⁹ - later still branches in Agege and Lalupon plus numerous agencies were to be added.²⁰ This wartime expansion illustrates an important point, in relation to West African traders in general and to Duse Mohamed Ali's West African trading efforts in particular, namely that the war, after adjustment for the loss of enemy markets, was a time of expanding aspirations for African produce exporters. But at the same time as offering mouth-watering visions of expansion and wealth, it also, through the wartime shipping crisis, made it most difficult for traders to ship their produce to remaining markets. Many African businessmen were convinced that the Imperial regulations for the allocation of shipping resources unduly favoured the big European firms and discriminated

17. See advertisement for British and African Produce Supply Company, Merchants and farmers, inside front cover of ATOR, mid-January 1917. This advertisement was repeated every month until February 1918. It lists the company as exporting palm-oil, palm-kernels, coconuts, cocoa, piassava, mahogany, gum, and maize; and as importing provisions, hardware, cotton goods, silks, tools and haberdashery.
18. Allister Macmillan, The Red Book of West Africa, London 1920, p.109.
19. Advertisement for British and African Produce Supply Company, inside front cover of ATOR, mid-January 1917.
20. Red Book of West Africa, p.109.

against the smaller African concerns. In Nigeria, the spokesman for the discontent so aroused was none other than S.W. Duncan, who became "extremely popular" among the African traders, and made a number of trips to London to advocate their cause to the Colonial Office, the press, British politicians, and anyone else who would listen.²¹ In November 1916 he even had his criticisms of the allocation of shipping tonnage aired in The Times, and about the same time was quoted at large in a Parliamentary debate on the sale of enemy property in Nigeria. In this letter to The Times S.W. Duncan aired the grievances of African business interests in Nigeria and British West Africa in general;

a combine of seven British firms ... have for years past dominated the trade of the West African Colonies.

This combine was nominally formed for the purpose of regulating the price to be paid to the natives for produce. The combine extended its operations by an arrangement under which it secured 50 per cent. of the available space, at all the Coast Ports, of the sole line of steamers trading to West Africa. The only competition which they were too proud to fight was the German organization consisting of German merchants supplied by 51 German steamers. ...

Since the war the combine at Lagos, Nigeria, have made an arrangement with the sole steamship company trading to Nigeria by which they have secured 60 per cent. of the cargo space for themselves with 20 per cent. to the Niger Company, The London and Kano Trading Company, and the Tin Areas of Nigeria, leaving 20 per cent. for all the native and other British merchants, with the result that they are in a position to fix what prices they like for produce, as no one outside the combine has the slightest chance of shipping any considerable quantity of produce.

21. *ibid*; also see M. Perham, Lugard, The Years of Authority, London 1960, pp.600-601, which quotes characteristic Lugardian ridicule of Sam. Duncan. Rather less typically, Lugard seems to have quite liked Duncan, and following an interview with a delegation headed by Duncan, at which he had made a butt of him, invited him to an official dinner.

There is no desire on the part of the combine to 'live and let live', as the following will show. Out of a total tonnage of 12,000 tons exported from Nigeria in the month of May by the steamers Karina, Burutu, Elmina, Withernsea, and Eboe, only a little over 400 tons was allocated to the native shippers. In June out of 9,000 tons only 350 tons was granted to native shippers. This equally applies to other British merchants outside the combine. In fact, Nigeria at present is apparently a private estate of the seven combine firms and the steamship firm operates as if they owned it.²²

One can sense the frustration felt by Sam. Duncan. On the one hand he was in the course of successfully expanding his firm within Nigeria, but on the other he was presumably finding that he could only market substantial quantities of produce overseas via his over-mighty competitors in the combine. Though he was clearly doing quite well in business, he might have been doing far better. Hence recourse to the already traditional tactics of middle class West Africans - a trip to London to publicise the position and solicit support.²³ It is very likely that Duncan was in touch with Duse' Mohamed Ali during this 1916 visit to London, in view of Duse's role as a contact man among black visitors in town, and his fame among middle class West Africans as editor of the ATOR. They seem to have seen eye to eye on both business and politics, and on the connections between the two, as is made clear by his eulogy of S.W. Duncan in the AOR in 1920. This proclaimed that the British and African Produce Supply Company had been so successful that "within three years the value of the

22. The Times, 7th November 1916, p.9. Lugard noted with distaste the use of this letter in Parliament; see Perham, op.cit., p.601.

23. A classic example in the pre-war era of protest trips to London would be those of the Gold Coast A.R.P.S. over the 1911 Forests Bill - see Kimble, A Political History of Ghana, pp.366 & 368-70.

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", and also warmly supported Duncan's past and present struggles on behalf of "more consideration for native shippers" from the Government.²⁴ Thus it seems that Duse' Mohamed Ali's connection with S.W. Duncan marked an important landmark in the development of his business career. As agent for the British and African Produce Supply Company, which not only imported into West Africa the sort of goods Duse' had been despatching since 1914 but also aimed to export most of West Africa's chief tropical products, he was associating himself with the trade in West Africa's basic sources of wealth - her palm-oil, palm-kernels, cocoa, rubber, logwoods etc.

However, the high point of his career in London working with West African produce was not as agent for Sam Duncan. It was as agent for that friend and ally in London Muslim and Turcophil circles, M.H. Ispahani. Ispahani was a man of wide business experience, coming from a leading Indian mercantile family of Persian origin, who as far back as 1895 had opened a branch of his family's firm in Calcutta.²⁵ By July 1915 he had become a director of a City firm of merchants, Jules Karpeles and Co.²⁶ At that

24. AOR, January 1920, p.45.

25. See "A Prominent London Merchant" (profile of M.H. Ispahani), in ATOR, February 1917, p.38.

26. See register of directors of Jules Karpeles and Co., 6th July 1915, BT 31/20964/124672/21. He was still a director in 1920, though only one of the other three 1915 directors was then still on the board - see BT 31/20964/124672/30, 31st December 1920.

time, in reward for "services rendered to the Company by various Contracts introduced" he was given a substantial though not controlling holding in the company's ordinary shares.²⁷ All of the other directors appear to have been British, and there was one other Indian shareholder at the time Ispahani came into the firm.²⁸ Thus this could hardly be considered a "coloured" company, yet it is clear that Ispahani became its dominant figure. By February 1917 he was Managing Director, had "now turned his attention to the West and to Africa", and Duse Mohamed Ali was recommending him to "our friends on the coast".²⁹ At the same time he was proving his worth to Ispahani by guidance in what was, to the Indian, a new and perhaps difficult field of operations;

Early in 1917, the firm of Jules Karpales (sic) approached me regarding cocoa supplies. I introduced one Gold Coast trader who contracted to supply a shipment of cocoa. He obtained an advance credit together with bags; secured the cocoa and shipped it direct to the Boston firm which had ordered the product from Karpales (sic)!

This man visited London shortly after. I took him to the firm and he was threatened with arrest unless he paid the advance and the cost of the bags. He paid.³⁰

27. Ispahani was given 1,000 £1 ordinary shares, considered as fully paid, for his services to the company; see BT 31/20964/124672/22, 6th July 1915.
28. The other Indian shareholder was C.H.M. Rustomjee, merchant, of Calcutta, who held 700 £1 ordinary shares - see certificate of share allotments of Jules Karpales and Co., 13th January 1914, BT 31/20964/124672/16.
29. ATOR, February 1917, p.38.
30. "Leaves", in The Comet, 22nd January 1938, p.7.

Theoretically Duse' Mohamed Ali should have commended this enterprising if sly Gold Coaster, since he had by-passed the London middle-man and exported direct to the United States! But that would be to expect a utopian dedication to principles. More seriously, such troubles persuaded Karpeles and Company to safeguard their interests by sending Duse' as their own representative to West Africa "to secure a reliable produce connexion". How far this choice was made out of religious partiality, how much out of political sympathy, how much out of business calculation and how much out of sheer friendship can only be guessed. Probably all were elements. Karpeles' formal request to Duse' Mohamed Ali to visit West Africa as their agent came at the end of 1917.³¹ He was to appoint agents for Karpeles in Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Gold Coast, Togoland and Nigeria³² - which suggests that Ispahani planned a break into the West African produce market on a large scale.

By now, of course, Duse' had the albatross of enemy alien status well and truly tied around his neck in addition to Colonial Office disapproval of his past record as an agitator in West African affairs. As in 1914, the Colonial Office was suspicious as to his "real" motives, feeling that he would become a centre for the complaints of dissatisfied natives, though having nothing definite against him.³³ In the light of his connection

31. Jules Karpeles & Co. to Duse' Mohamed Ali, 21st December 1917, C.O. 554/40/21897.

32. Duse' Mohamed Ali to S. of S. Long, 3rd May 1918, C.O. 554/40/21897.

33. *ibid*, minute 2, 6th May 1918 and minute 3, 7th May 1918.

with Sam Duncan, whose opinion of the hindrances to the growth of native African commerce he fully shared, it is clear that the Colonial Office's fears were not entirely unfounded. It cannot be seriously doubted that Duse Mohamed Ali saw his role as agent for Karpeles in terms of something more than mere personal advantage - in fact in terms of aiding African merchants to by-pass "the combine". He was informed by the Colonial Office that no assistance could be given to him for the reason that "... on grounds of public policy, it is desired to restrict within the smallest possible limits the number of persons travelling to and from West Africa."³⁴

This refusal was despite the willingness of the Home Office to meet him half-way over travel documents. Though after considerable delay the Home Office had refused to provide him with a Passport, on the grounds that he was unknown to the Egyptian Government and must therefore re-register as a Turkish enemy alien, it had been willing to grant him a permit to leave for West Africa and to re-enter Britain again. But at the same time the Home Office warned him;

there might be some difficulties about my landing in any of the ... Colonies and also to re-embark from the said Colonies for England when I have finished my business.³⁵

For this reason Duse Mohamed Ali had felt the need to ask the Colonial Office for a permit to land in and re-embark from the West African Colonies and to

34. S. of S. Long to Duse Mohamed Ali, 11th May 1918, C.O. 554/40/21897.

35. See Duse Mohamed Ali to S. of S. Long, 3rd May 1918, C.O. 554/40/21897. This letter explains his dealings to date with the H.O. over the question of travel documents, extending from 21st December 1917 to that time.

advise the Governors of his intending visit, to prevent him "encountering any difficulties".³⁶

The upshot was a refusal and a further postponement of his visit to West Africa; but his connection with Karpeles did not end at this point, perhaps because of the other close ties between himself and Ispahani. Instead of Duse Mohamed Ali himself, in 1918 his ex-lodger and pupil, the Omanhene of Anamabu's relative Claud Ennin became Karpeles' representative on the Gold Coast.³⁷ It seems reasonable to assume that this was on Duse's recommendation. Although at the same time Duse was making arrangements to expand his own produce trading activities, yet he was still prepared to commend Ispahani's firm to his readers as one which was established on the Gold Coast (through Ennin's agency), would deal equitably with genuine business proposals, and was preparing to extend to Nigeria as soon as the shipping situation permitted.³⁸ Karpeles and Co. had failed to break through the shipping allocation bottleneck that was also restricting opportunities for African produce exporters in Nigeria, but was envisaging an improvement in the situation with the approaching end of the war.

During the same period that Duse Mohamed Ali was associated with the attempt of Jules Karpeles and Co. to break into the West African market, he was also busy with several other schemes of a commercial or financial

36. *ibid.*

37. See "To-Day", ATOR, September 1918, p.25.

38. *ibid.*

nature. The first of these was a link between his earlier activities as a writer and journalist, and his growing interests as a businessman. This was a project to produce, together with his Gold Coast colleague in the ATOR, W.F. Hutchison, a business directory for West Africa to be called the West African Directory and Year Book. This project was an added reason for his wish to visit West Africa in 1918, as he explained to the unyielding Colonial Office. His agents on the coast, he said, had failed to provide him with the necessary information and consequently the Directory had already been delayed from its planned date of issue of 1st January 1918.³⁹ Meanwhile, he had already been soliciting support for his West African Directory in another and most significant field - the black community in the United States. In October 1917 he had written to R.R. Moton, Booker T. Washington's successor as principal of Tuskegee Institute, evidently as a continuation of an earlier exchange of letters;

When you realise that the West African Directory is being published for the first time you will realise the impossibility of my sending you a copy of it. I however take pleasure in sending you a circular which explains what it is all about and the size it is likely to be, together with the number of copies of our first edition, which we feel certain will be sold.⁴⁰

It seems hardly likely that Moton, an influential man but no particular friend of Duse Mohamed Ali's, would have been the only black American to be

39. Duse Mohamed Ali to S. of S. Long, 3rd May 1918, C.O. 554/40/21897.

40. Duse Mohamed Ali to R.R. Moton, 24th October 1917, R.R. Moton Papers, General Correspondence, 1917, Tuskegee Institute Archives.

approached. This scrap of evidence is an important indication that The Directory was planned as a link between two of the most commercially aspiring of the world's black communities - the produce traders and farmers of West Africa and the black American professional and business class.⁴¹ As we have seen in Chapter IV of this thesis, this was a conjunction from which Duse Mohamed Ali came to expect the redemption of his race from first poverty and ignorance and then other forms of oppression.

Unfortunately, this scheme to produce a commercial handbook, which would reveal the African trader and farmer of West Africa to the black banker, businessman and professional man in the United States, was so long delayed by continuing official obstruction of his travelling, that by the time it appeared in 1921⁴² it was hopelessly out of date. The only

41. For a short survey of the growth of Negro business enterprise in the United States, see E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States, revised ed., New York, 1957, pp.387-413; for Negro business in New York City up to 1920, see Seth M. Scheiner, Negro Mecca, A History of the Negro in New York City 1865-1920, New York 1965, pp.69-72, and 74-81; for Negro business in Chicago, see St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, Black Metropolis, New York 1945, passim; for a monograph study of the growth of Negro business throughout the United States, see Abram L. Harris, The Negro as Capitalist, A Study of Banking and Business Among American Negroes, Philadelphia, 1936, passim. It is perhaps a commentary on the aspirations, rather than success, historically speaking, of the American Negro in business that the eminent black American historian John Hope Franklin, in his From Slavery to Freedom, A History of American Negroes, 2nd ed., revised and enlarged, New York 1964, gives this theme only the most cursory treatment.
42. Duse Mohamed Ali and W.F. Hutchison, eds., West African Directory and Year Book, London 1921; this work will hence be referred to in footnotes as WADYB.

edition, that for 1920-21, contained almost no commercial information collected later than 1917. It compares most unfavourably as a practical handbook with A. Macmillan's Red Book of West Africa, published in 1920, which contains much interesting and curious information about African as well as European business in British West Africa. The West African Directory's editors were aware of its defects, and offered the work with a most apologetic introduction;

After considerable difficulty we are at length placing our West African Directory and Year Book in the hands of our readers and advertisers.

This publication has given us an extraordinary amount of trouble to compile by reason of the fact that we were breaking new ground, and in consequence of this many of our agents did not realise the kind of information we required. This, of course, entailed a huge correspondence and as the numerous particulars came from a great distance, we often found after some months, that these had been lost in the post and we were then compelled to demand duplicates.

We have, however, at last succeeded in producing the Directory, and we trust that the trading communities in Europe, Africa and America will lend their support to the only publication of its kind in existence.

We know the Directory is not as perfect as it might be, but it is our intention to improve it each year in the interests of our readers.

Now that the publication has appeared our agents will arrive at a fuller realisation of our desires, and will, we hope, enable us annually to improve upon the present issue.⁴³

Since Duse Mohamed Ali left Britain for good in 1921, the matter of subsequent improved editions was not put to the test. But one can hardly suppose that the subscribers, some of whom had been solicited as far back as 1917, would have cared to offer further support, in view of the Directory's evident and acknowledged deficiencies.

43. *ibid*, n.p.

Nevertheless, though clearly a commercial failure both in itself and in its purpose, the West African Directory is of considerable interest. It shows awareness of the problems facing African produce traders in West Africa at the height of the Great War, even if it can have been of little use to those same traders in the changed conditions of 1921. The sections on Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast both contain references to the wartime shipping shortage.⁴⁴ The section on the Gold Coast - the longest and most interesting section in the book⁴⁵ - enumerates the effects of the shipping crisis on the cocoa industry. Though in 1917 the total production of Gold Coast cocoa had increased by 26 per cent., yet the total price obtained for the crop had declined by £700,869, an average of 10 per cent. less than the previous year. The only bright point had been the rise in United States purchases to almost one third of the season's total exports.⁴⁶ Behind these figures we can see the frustration felt by the Gold Coast farmers and traders at the economic trend, together with the emergence of a seemingly possible brighter future in the American market. The Directory was not content with merely statistically implying these wartime difficulties. It printed a polemical blast from the pen of Duse's old friend, the proven and seasoned campaigner J.E. Casely Hayford, against the Empire Resources Development Committee. This body was accused of threatening the integrity of West African lands (a sacred issue to Casely Hayford)

44. *ibid*, pp.90, 161 & 180.

45. *ibid*, pp.129-313. The total length of the work was 253 pp.

46. *ibid*, p.154.

through their plan to pay off Britain's war debt by the systematic exploitation by capitalist concessionaires of Africa's agricultural and mineral resources.⁴⁷ This article would stand as a good measure of the Directory; of interest now to historians, its polemics were as dead as the dodo in 1921, by when the Empire Resources Development Committee was no longer a bogey to be feared. In general the Directory's tone was less abrasive than that of Casely Hayford's contribution. Thus though mentioning the granting in 1913, and subsequent failure, of Lever's concession at Yonnibanni in Sierra Leone, it forebore to make any adverse comments on that episode.⁴⁸

In terms of biographical information about the African business community in West Africa the West Africa Directory is particularly disappointing especially by comparison with the Red Book of West Africa. It contains only five potted biographies, and of these the only one which throws any light on the economic history of West Africa at that time is of not an

47. See J.E. Casely Hayford, "The West African Land Question", *ibid*, pp.184-188.

48. *ibid*, p.94. Of the demise of the Yonnibanni concession, all that the Directory had to say was; "In 1915 ... machinery was removed to the Gold Coast, as the owners had not been successful in attracting labour or in overcoming the difficulties of labour and transport."

African but a white man, J.M. Stuart-Young.⁴⁹ Yet this was not as anomalous as may at first appear, for Stuart-Young, who was destined to play a part in Duse Mohamed Ali's later years, was in no way a representative of the forces that were cramping and crushing African traders. Though the big firms in West Africa were exclusively white, that is not to say that the small ones were totally African, and in fact Stuart-Young was an example of what already was a dying breed, the small independent white trader. He was a palm-oil ruffian, trying to exist in the era of combines, mergers and near-monopoly in West African import and export trade. As such he shared a predicament in common with the African trader. But beyond this, he seems to have been a man with a genuine, if not unprejudiced, liking for Africans and belief in their capacities, unusual among European commercial personnel in West Africa. He had emerged by his own efforts from the Manchester slums, but remarkably he was nevertheless a romantic with none of the callous indifference to others and success worship of the typical self-made man. He had literary as well as commercial ambitions, producing extraordinary numbers of volumes of now almost unreadable romantic

49. Biographical sketch of J.M. Stuart-Young, *ibid*, pp.252-253; for further information on Stuart-Young see his autobiographical works The Coaster at Home. Being the Autobiography of Jack O'Dazi, Palm Oil Ruffian and Trader Man of the Niger River, and The Iniquitous Coaster. Being the Second Volume of 'The Coaster at Home'; London 1917. The other potted biographies in the WADYB were of Sierra Leonean Joseph Sumanah Farima Bonor, p.248; of George Bundu Beareh, a Temne from Freetown who had become an Assistant Supervisor of Native Courts in Nigeria, p.249; The Hon. Awame Sri II, Fia of Awauna and member of the Gold Coast Legislative Council, pp.249-250; and James Alfred Dawson of Quittah, Gold Coast, who had been a member of the Universal Races Congress of 1911, pp.250-252.

novels and verse, many of them on West African themes.⁵⁰ His literary tastes, which were taken seriously by Duse Mohamed Ali, were no doubt a further link between the two men. The West African Directory described him as;

one of the best known and most interesting personalities in West Africa. Born at Manchester on the 3rd March 1881, he migrated to the coast before 21; trained in Liberia and on the Ivory Coast; visited the Niger for the first time in 1905; founded his business at Onitsha in 1909; and is now a potent factor in the trading and political life of his beloved Nigeria. He attributes his success to personal hard work, but especially to a solid belief in the potentialities of the negro - to affording to each member of his staff every possible advantage derivable from an individual interest in the progress and development of the business. This policy has brought the house to such a stage that Mr. Stuart-Young will soon have to drop the reins and hand over to a limited company, his work as a pioneer and founder being now fully accomplished.

Mr. Stuart-Young ... has well earned the title of 'The West African Kipling', the great poet of Empire having sponsored his disciples book in 1908, 'The Seductive Coast' ...

The business motto of his house has always been 'The cheapest obtainable compatible with sound value and excellent quality', and the native name conferred on Mr. Stuart-Young ten years ago (O Dazi Aku) confirms the quality of this description, for it means 'the trade repairer and composer' - he arranges to the communal advantage the trade of his district. Mr. Stuart-Young has fought his battle against very long odds, against firms with a hundred times his capital, and he has won. It is not at all improbable that a prolongation of the war and the consequent shortage of tonnage will smash most of the junior 'opposition' on the Niger; but Mr. Stuart-Young steadily protests that thirty-seven or even forty (three years hence!) will not be too old for him to take up the cudgels again for a new start. Such optimism, typically British, deserves its crown of success.⁵¹

50. There are no less than 21 volumes of poetic and other literary works by Stuart-Young listed in the British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books, in addition to the 2 autobiographical volumes. Some of these are on West African themes, drawing on Stuart-Young's experience of life there - e.g. Merely a Negress: A West African Story, London 1904; A Cupful of Kernels. Stories, Studies and Sketches, mainly from the West African Coast, London 1909; Chits from West Africa. Stories and Sketches, London 1923.

51. WADYB, pp.252-3. Stuart-Young seems to have retired from trading in 1919, for in his article "Some Reminiscences of Nigeria", Chamber's Journal, 7th ser., vol.14, August 1924, p.586, he speaks of 1908-19 as "my own trade-period there".

This passage, with its surface optimism and undercurrent doubt about the future, conveys graphically the struggle of the small produce trading and import-export firm faced with giant rivals. It is interesting to see that at the time of writing, although Stuart-Young was supposed to have "won" his fight with bigger firms, yet he was prepared, if necessary - that is, if forced to - to re-start his business career from the bottom. As for the prediction of his firm becoming a limited company, it is left unclear whether this was dictated by its success or by a desperate last ditch attempt to raise more capital to hold off the big firms a little longer. The remarks about his encouragement of his employees and his arranging trade to "the communal advantage" seem to be genuine enough, for he was well enough liked by the people of Onitsha for them to erect a statue to his memory after his death.⁵² We may only guess the exact details of Duse' Mohamed Ali's first meeting with him, but it is said that Stuart-Young was travelling in Europe and the other British West African Colonies between 1919 and 1923.⁵³ Thus it is possible that they met in London as early as 1919; they certainly met in Lagos the following year.

Before leaving the West African Directory and Year Book, it remains to discuss the light it throws on Duse' Mohamed Ali's business connections

52. Information from Mr. Ukpabi Asika, Ibadan, 8th March 1967. Whether this statue survived the Nigerian Civil War the writer does not know.
53. See letter from H.E. Wilkinson Cole in The Comet, 25th March 1935, p.1, which sympathetically discussed the sad state of affairs that Stuart-Young was in by that time, and reminisced about his earlier life.

with the United States. The evidence here is slender but interesting, consisting of a full-page advertisement for the Great Southern Importing and Exporting Co., Inc., of 105 Kosciusko Street, Brooklyn.⁵⁴ In addition to giving details of the goods it had to offer and the tropical produce it was interested in, its advertisement struck a loudly pan-Negro note with the slogan "Why not racial unity in commerce?" But what makes the Great Southern Importing and Exporting Company even more interesting is that its address was identical to that to which in 1919 Duse' Mohamed Ali was addressing correspondence to J.E. Bruce. In a letter written to Bruce in September 1919 Duse' confided that he had "been extremely worried about many things" (one of his worries no doubt being the West African Directory) and also referred to having received in London a Mr. Headley, with whom he had discussed Bruce's company. There can be little doubt that this was the Great Southern Importing and Exporting Company, and that Bruce, too, was trying his hand at creating commercial links between his own black American community and the African in West Africa. Headley, as Bruce's emissary, had been allowed to make copies of such of Duse' Mohamed Ali's correspondence as was of interest to Bruce's company. This may well have been commercial correspondence with West Africans, but the letter does not specify.⁵⁵

54. WADYB, p.214.

55. See Duse' Mohamed Ali to J.E. Bruce, 12th September 1919, J.E. Bruce Papers, Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library.

Before looking at Duse Mohamed Ali's more fully fledged efforts to become a tropical produce trader, let us examine another of his wartime schemes, in this case financial rather than commercial. It has been seen how he may have been involved in a scheme to raise a loan for the Ottoman Government on the eve of the Great War. In financial though not political terms, its sequel was a plan he proposed in the early months of 1918 for raising a £12,000,000 war loan from the population of British West Africa. Politically, this clearly fits in with his belief, advocated in the ATOR at this time, that coloured subjects of the Western Powers must, in their own self-interest, make every possible sacrifice to aid the war-effort

The scheme was addressed to Bonar Law, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but a copy was sent to the Colonial Secretary, Walter Long, and it was at the Colonial Office that the matter was considered. His proposal to the Chancellor of the Exchequer said;

Your recent speech makes it quite obvious that the war revenue is not keeping pace with the increasing demands upon the Treasury. It seems to me that the financial resources of the West African Colonies have not been seriously tapped. Sir Frederick Lugard obtained £3,000,000 from Nigeria and the last vote of the Gold Coast Colony, which in some slight measure I had the honour to influence, amounted to £170,000.

Now, I estimate that there are at least 10,000,000 Native adults in West Africa including the Government officials, clerks etc., who could contribute from £1 to £10 to War Bonds, which should yield at least £12,000,000. To reach these people, I would suggest that the Colonial Bank, the Bank of British West Africa and Messrs. Swanzy, Miller Bros., the Niger Co., the African Association, and Russell and Co. should be approached with a view to receiving War Loan by instalments.

The Banks would deal with the general body of the Natives and the firms with their Native employees, adopting the same system of instalments as obtained in the case of the white employees of these firms, and these Native employees would canvass among the Native customers of these firms to the same end.

I believe that it would be possible from this source to raise £6,000,000 - £8,000,000 within six months of the introduction of the scheme and a further £6,000,000 to £8,000,000 before the expiration of the first twelve months of the operation of the loan.

Little or no printing would be required for this purpose except, of course, the usual application forms, which should be as simple as possible, as the major portion of the business could be done through the Banks, and the before mentioned firms, as they both come into contact with a larger section of the population than the West African Post Offices.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Colonial Bank, the Bank of British West Africa, Messrs. Swanzy, Miller, Niger Co., the African Association, Russell and Co. with the settled conviction that both the banks and the West African trading firms would co-operate in an undertaking which is both praiseworthy and necessary.

The columns of the 'African Times and Orient Review' would also be placed at the disposal of the Government in order to influence a Native West African War Loan.⁵⁶

As a practical plan (even if the target was surely highly over-optimistic) this was feasible; at least, so most of the non-official institutions to which his plan had been circulated thought. Within eleven days of the original letter being sent out, he was able to send the Colonial Secretary copies of favourable replies from both the West African Banks, and from

56. Duse Mohamed Ali to Chancellor of Exchequer Bonar Law, 5th March 1918, C.O. 554/40/11271. It is, of course, possible in view of the timing of this letter that it was merely intended to soften the C.O.'s attitude and smooth the way for his visit to West Africa. But without discounting this, he was entirely serious in feeling that such contributions to the Allied war effort were in the long term political interest of West Africa.

the African Association and H.W.B. Russell and Company.⁵⁷ The attitude of the banks, who may be presumed to have had a cautious view of West African financial realities, was particularly friendly. The Colonial Bank answered "if the Chancellor takes up your suggestion, which we think a good one, we shall, for our part, be very glad to fall in." The Bank of British West Africa, much more experienced in the ways of the Coast than the Colonial Bank, which had only recently established itself in West Africa, was in full accord with Duse's plan, but pessimistic about the likely official reaction.

We quite agree with your view you express with regard to endeavouring to get subscriptions for War Bonds in West Africa. We believe that if the case were properly advertised, a great amount of money could be obtained there. We have already put this view before the War Savings Committee, but we are sorry to say that our suggestion was not enthusiastically received.

The response of the Colonial Office to Duse Mohamed Ali's careful and thoughtful efforts was a particularly mean one. On the basis that he was "a pushing person with a doubtful past" who was attempting to take false credit "for some of the success in raising war contributions in W. Africa" and who would, if encouraged "pose as the financial adviser of the S. of S. in W. African matters",⁵⁸ he was curtly informed that the matter was being

57. See Colonial Bank to Duse Mohamed Ali, 7th March 1918, and African Association to Duse Mohamed Ali, 6th March 1918, enclosed in Duse Mohamed Ali to S. of S. Long, 8th March 1918; and Bank of British West Africa to Duse Mohamed Ali, 11th March 1918, enclosed in Duse Mohamed Ali to S. of S. Long, 16th March 1918, in which was also enclosed a letter to Duse Mohamed Ali from H.W.B. Russell & Co., now missing from the C.O. file; for this entire correspondence, see C.O. 554/40/11271.

58. *ibid*, minute of 13th March 1918, on the basis of which the C.O. acted.

attended to already.⁵⁹ But at the same time the Colonial Office, showing that it objected not to the plan but to the man, wrote to the Bank of British West Africa asking "their views as to the possible market for Exchequer Bonds and similar securities in West Africa, if they were issued to the natives under a system of payment by instalments."⁶⁰

The West African War Loan scheme was an example of Duse Mohamed Ali's penchant for action on the grand scale. By comparison, his trading activities in 1917-1918 were far more modest, but they were growing in scope. In September 1918 he took a step onward from the modest African and Oriental Bureau and Buying Agency by announcing in his review, under the motto "ONE FOR ALL AND ALL FOR ONE", a new organisation which would not only supply overseas customers with British and American goods, but would step forward into the world of tropical produce trading. The ATOR disclaimed any possible damage to Ispahani's efforts, by stating "there is enough in Africa for all comers". The announcement continued;

we have ... made arrangements to deal with native produce, whether from Asia or Africa, on a large scale. We are opening extensive premises which will be used as a clearing house for Oriental and African commodities. We want tobacco, gum, rubber, cotton, oils, grain, gold, tin, hides, cocoa, copra, and every kind of raw material from Africa and the Orient. We want our readers to send us on a large scale samples of every kind of commodity, with price required, keeping us posted on the question of fluctuation from time to time. We want these samples at once, and we want them large.

59. C.O. to Duse Mohamed Ali, 20th March 1918, draft copy, C.O. 554/40/11271.

60. See draft of C.O. to Bank of British West Africa, 20th March 1918, *ibid.*

If consignments are sent to 'The Africa and Orient Exchange', 158 Fleet Street, we shall get you the best possible market price, deducting a commission of 5 per cent. to pay the necessary office and expenses. We will also arrange advances against bills of lading, but you must first send on your samples in order that we may know the quality of the produce with which we are to deal.

Some time ago we told our readers that they must 'make money if they intended to retain their place in the sun'. We repeat this injunction.⁶¹

At the same time the announcement also emphasised that in the matter of ordering goods from Europe the Exchange would give customers a fairer deal than most European firms. Indeed, the whole project was launched on a tide of rhetorical appeals to race solidarity and hostility to the iniquitous burdens and "fraudulent expenses" which, it was alleged, European firms imposed on the overseas coloured trade.

In May 1919, Duse Mohamed Ali's existing trading interests were converted into a limited liability company, the Africa and Orient Trade Exchange Ltd.⁶² His chief partner in this enterprise was a man called Charles Mead, variously described as British or Indian by nationality, and "Shipper of Bombay in the Empire of India", "Engineer and Contractor", or merchant by occupation. Mead's address was, at different times during the life of the company (which nominally lasted till 1923) given as 94 Dean Street, London W.1 (not a respectable address) and 16 Wallers Road,

61. ATOR, September 1918, pp.25-6.

62. This company's certificate of incorporation was issued 2nd June 1919 - see BT 31/24684/155688; its Memorandum and Articles of Association on 29th May 1919, see BT 31/24684/155688/2.

Mount Road, Madras.⁶³ It is not clear whether he was an Indian or a white man, but if the former he was the only non-European, apart from Duse Mohamed Ali, who was to be either a director of or investor in the company.⁶⁴ Together with a Mrs. Katherine Lewis, whose address was given as 158 Fleet Street and occupation simply as "married woman", Mead signed the company's original Memorandum and Articles of Association.⁶⁵ In due course, during 1920, the company acquired two other directors - the Hon. Arthur Augustus Anson of 63 Montagu Square, W.1, and Claud Ronald Anson (presumably a relative of A.A. Anson) of Itchell Manor, Croudall, Hertfordshire.⁶⁶

63. Mead signed the company's initial statement of nominal capital in place of Duse's signature, which is struck out in the document - see BT 31/24684/155688/2. In this document he is described as "Engineer and Contractor". In a contract between Mead and Duse Mohamed Ali on the one hand and the Africa and Orient Trade Exchange on the other Mead is termed "Shipper of Bombay in the Empire of India; see BT 31/24684/155688/8. In the company's Particulars Respecting Directors ... of 22 July 1919, he is simply described as "shipper" and the Dean St. address is given as his usual residence; see BT 31/24684/155688/6. In the Register of Directors submitted on behalf of the company on 18th November 1921, he is simply described as "merchant" and the Madras address is given as his usual residence; see BT 31/24684/155688/12.
64. It is clear from the documents in BT 31/24684/155688 that the other directors were British, as were the other investors.
65. See BT 31/24684/155688/2.
66. Their names are first mentioned in clause (c) of a Special Resolution passed at an extraordinary general meeting, 158 Fleet Street, 4th June 1920 and confirmed on 21st June 1920; see BT 31/24684/155688/10. Their addresses are given in Summary of Share Capital and Shares ... of the Company, 31st December 1920; BT 31/24684/155688/11; their resignation is in Register of Directors of 18th November 1921, BT 31/24684/155688/12. The last of these documents gives the Ansons' other occupations as "none".

Which of the original pair of directors inveigled these two into the company is not known, but they were each credited on 31st December 1920 with 2,750 one shilling preference shares and a block of £5 preference shares - eighty-three to Arthur and eighty-two to Claud.⁶⁷ Perhaps we may surmise that their purpose was to give bogus tone and real cash to a company which was already decidedly shady, as we shall see. Their directorships ended by the close of 1921.

The first transaction of the company of which there is any record was the purchase from its founders, Mead and Duse Mohamed Ali, of their pre-existing trading arrangements. In the words of the agreement;

the 'Vendors' have for many years past carried on Import and General business with Africa, India, Egypt, Burma and Siam respectively and have established connections with Owners, Producers and Growers there and hold Powers of Attorney over 'Concessions' and have offers of large and regular supplies of Produce, Raw Materials etc. and have been asked by the owners of Lands and Concessions and Farms to organise Shipping, Trading Agencies and arrangements generally for dealing with their property ...⁶⁸

In this there is an echo of the approaches which West African producers and traders are said to have made to Duse Mohamed Ali since 1912 to help them market their export produce. However, it was a business not a charitable agreement, and in return for their "connections",

67. List of shareholders of the Africa and Orient Trade Exchange Ltd., 31st December 1920, BT 31/24684/155688/11.

68. An Agreement made ... BETWEEN DUSE MOHAMED ALI, ... and CHARLES MEAD ... of the one part, and the AFRICA & ORIENT TRADE EXCHANGE LIMITED of the other part ..., 11th July 1919, BT 31/24684/155688/8.

"Powers of Attorney" and "offers" the two men were to be paid £1,000 plus all the ordinary shares of the company.⁶⁹

Details of the concessions, options and agreements they sold to their company provide valuable evidence of the extent and nature of Duse Mohamed Ali's activities in tropical produce trading up to this juncture. The list of agreements etc. bought by the African and Orient Trade Exchange Ltd. was as follows;

1. Sara Esian Timber Co. Commercial St. Secondee, G.C.C. Six concessions for gold, timber and manganese properties. 99 years Lease. Copy of agreement in office, with particulars.
2. S.B. Williams, 9a Gloucester Rd., Freetown, Sierra Leone. Gold, rubber and kola nut concession in the healthiest spot on the Coast. 20 sq. miles in area. Also Palm oil estate and mahogany plantation which he has just bought from the mortgagors, and for which the Germans offered £12,000 before the war. He wants this sum for it. 2,000 acres in area. 100,000 palm oil trees, good river entrance. Has discovered a new oil seed which has been analysed by the Imperial Institute in 1917. Seed consists of coat 20% kernel 80%, yielding 48-60% oil. Residue could be made into oil cakes etc. ...
3. Chief Office Hyah, C/o C. Micah, The Bank, Axim G.C.C. Two gold concessions and a cocoa plantation for sale. 2,000 fathoms square. Wants £100 for option.
4. R. David Minta, Bensus, Lower Wassaw, G.C.C. Secretary to Paramount Chief, and Attorney to three sub-chiefs desirous of placing their concessions on the European market. Offers the richest of these, gold and mahogany to Mr. Mohamed, and is at present shipping mahogany.
5. J.E. Ashong, Ganda St., Dixcove, G.C.C. Mahogany property with 2,000 standing trees, 400 figured, Price £3,500 cash and £6,500 shares for timber and agricultural rights.
6. United Produce Co. Lome, Togoland. Appointed Mr. Mohamed their sole agent for Europe to deal with produce matters.

69. *ibid.*

7. H.D. Ackumey, Lome, Togoland. Shipping Mahogany.
 8. Fred. Pentsil Amerah, G.C. Gaisey House, Commercial Rd., Winnebah, G.C.C. Wants documentary credit for an advance F.O.B. offers 3 miles timber land and 1 sq. mile oil land as security.
 9. Essah III, Chief of Eudoe via Appam, G.C.C. Wishes to supply cocoa on consignment if we will supply bags 500. Has enough cocoa and palm kernels on his own and peoples land to fill these easily, and does not wish to deal with Europeans here.
 10. Sam Forster, C/o Bannerman, St. Edmunds, James Town, Accra. Wishes to be appointed agent for firm, offers cash and house property as security also cocoa plantation yielding 1,200 tons per season.
 11. T. Fashola, Princes Bridge St., Victoria Rd., Lagos, S.P.N. Wishes to send on consignment produce etc. Also has large stores and land which he wishes to sell or will deposit as security if appointed as agent.
 12. Kwabeng Produce Co., 136 Selbourne Ave., Accra, G.C.C. Want to ship cocoa, all the members are farmers.
 13. A.O. Onimole, Ijekun Market, Offin Shayamu, via Ikorudu, Jebu Remo Nigeria. Produce to ship, offers security of farm and house.
 14. MacCormack Bros., East Brook St., Freetown S. Leone. Cowhorns, rattan, cane, canwood, kernels, palm oil, jute, fibre to ship.
 15. Oshilaja Bros., 68 Gt. Bridge St., Lagos, S.P.N. Hides and general produce to ship, wants in exchange manufactured goods.
 16. A.B. Sule, Ake Abeokuta, S.P. Nigeria. General produce and ginger, will sell F.O.B.
- Omar Sariskousy, Box 346, Alexandria, Egypt. Cotton, cotton seeds, onions, rags and bones.
- Nakirhoda Amirbhai & Co., 5-6 Bamrung muang Rd., Bangkok, Siam. Tobacco, fine cut, large quantities which Mr. D.M. Ali is empowered to dispose of in the U. Kingdom.
- S.M. Bahadur, 87 Torphanchang Ronsi, Bangkok, Siam. Siam rice and antimony.
- M.A. Gamali, 1455 Mchambawima, Zanzibar, E. Africa. Native produce to export, and cotton goods to import.

Tropical Products Co., Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I. Ginger, pimento, coffee, cocoa, annatto, honey.⁷⁰

It will be noted that the greater part of this list is concerned with West Africa. It seems likely, if not certain, that all the West African connections came from Duse Mohamed Ali rather than Mead, since the latter was an Indian rather than African merchant, whilst we know that Duse had been concerned with West African trade for nearly seven years and had been especially active in seeking such connections since September 1918. Whereas his name is specifically mentioned in clauses four, six and sixteen, Mead's is not mentioned at all. Indeed, Duse Mohamed Ali's name even turns up, in clause sixteen, in the unexpected context of a tobacco sale agreement with an Indian firm trading in Siam. When in clause nine a Gold Coast chief, Essah III of Eudoe, gives a specifically racial reason for his offer we see a glimpse of the spirit of race solidarity and hostility to whites among some Africans engaged in international commerce at this time.

Another point which emerges from the agreements is the importance of the Gold Coast compared with other African territories in Duse's business affairs, with Nigeria coming second and Sierra Leone trailing far behind. It is evident that in the period leading up to the creation of the Africa and Orient Trade Exchange Ltd. he had found the Gold Coast the most promising area in which to seek his fortune and to establish a thriving African controlled international trading network. This was, of course, no mere capricious choice. Regardless of the

70. *ibid*, attached schedule of concessions.

question of the real value of his various offers and concessions (a point perhaps beyond calculation now), the Gold Coast with its palm products, gold, timber and above all cocoa, had the most flourishing export trade of any British West African territory. The Gold Coast cocoa industry, totally the creation of the African farmer and the most valuable element in the colony's exports, was the most obvious starting point for the creation of an African controlled exporting system. In addition, substantial Gold Coast timber and palm product resources were firmly in African hands. Nigeria was a land of potential, with its cocoa industry and palm products offering exciting possibilities of future expansion. Only Sierra Leone seemed to look back on the past rather than forward to the future. The unattractiveness of Sierra Leone as a field for grandiose business plans is indicated by the fact that during his visit to West Africa in 1920, Duse Mohamed Ali did even not bother to call there.

But grandiose business plans, even if tinged with idealism, need substantial capital. This the Africa and Orient Trade Exchange Ltd. never had. Almost half its ordinary shares, and half its preference shares were, by 31st December 1920, issued for considerations other than cash. By the same date, 750 £5 preference shares and 25,000 1/- ordinary shares had been issued subject to payment wholly in cash, and a full £5,000 of calls had been received, this presumably representing the bulk of the company's cash assets.⁷¹ What, if any, benefits had accrued from the

71. See Summary of Share Capital and Shares, 31st December 1920, BT 31/24684/155688/11.

concessions and agreements acquired from the founders is not known. It is alarming to discover that on June 4th 1920 an Extraordinary General Meeting held at 158 Fleet Street lifted virtually all restrictions on the directors' borrowing powers, and made Duse, Mead and the Ansons permanent life directors. Furthermore a new article was added to the company's articles of association;

No director ... shall be disqualified by his office from contracting with the Company either as Vendor, Purchaser or otherwise, nor shall any such contract or arrangement entered into by or on behalf of the Company in which any Director is in any way interested, be liable to be avoided nor shall any Director so contracting or being so interested be liable to account to the Company for any profit realised by any such contract or arranged by reason of such Director holding that office, or of the fiduciary relation thereby disclosed ...

The only restrictions on Directors were that they must disclose their interests and would have no vote where they were interested parties. Even these restrictions might "at any time be suspended or relaxed to any extent and either generally or in respect of any particular contract, arrangement or transaction by the Company in General Meeting."⁷² In short, irrespective of the interests of its investors, the door was opened for the directors to milk the company in their own private interests. This may explain why only shortly before these changes the company made arrangements to raise an initial £5,000 and an eventual total of £20,000 by a mortgage on "its undertaking, and all its stock in trade goodwill and book debts and all its other property present and future including its uncalled capital."⁷³

72. See BT 31/24684/155688/10.

73. See Particulars of a Series of Debentures ..., 17th May 1920, BT 31/24684/155688/9.

The destiny of this company was clearly speedy insolvency rather than the economic salvation of the Negro Race. It maintained at least a nominal existence until the end of 1921, but from 1922 (i.e. after Duse' Mohamed Ali had left the country) none of the legally obligatory returns of information were made to the Companies Register Office; consequently, on 17th August 1923 it was struck off the register and compulsorily dissolved.⁷⁴ Despite inevitable suspicions about the way in which this company was conducted, and the yawning gulf it reveals between the theory and practice of racial economic advance, the Africa and Orient Trade Exchange Ltd. cannot be dismissed as an episode in the history of fraud rather than of Pan-Africanism. To begin with, despite lack of evidence that it ever attempted any serious role in West African produce trading, yet this negative evidence must be considered as inconclusive. If evidence were to be uncovered that the company made serious, even if unsuccessful or even incompetent efforts to trade, then a revised, more favourable picture would be necessary. Secondly, in comparative terms its rather shady nature is of a piece with the business activities of other Pan-Africanists of roughly the same era - such men as Marcus Garvey, W. Tete-Ansa, and John Eldred Taylor.⁷⁵

74. For these steps in the company's final decline and fall in 1922-3, see BT 21/24684/155688.

75. Unfortunately there is as yet no detailed monograph study or even article on Garvey's business activities. As yet the best account is that to be found in E.D. Cronon's Black Moses. Tete-Ansa's business career is the subject of A.G. Hopkins, "Economic Aspects of Political Movements in Nigeria and the Gold Coast", JAH, vii, 1, 1966. John Eldred Taylor's business career has yet to be given the attention it undoubtedly deserves; his role in the creation of the ATOR can be read in Chapter IV of this thesis, his creation of the African Telegraph in Chapter V, and an outline of his role as a company promoter and magnet for the West African investor later in this chapter.

All these men were at one time or another connected with Duse Mohamed Ali. It would be naive to suppose that only rogues undertook such enterprises, so it is necessary to suggest an alternative explanation. Big ideas, slender resources, and no backing from orthodox financial institutions, do not lead to "short cuts" only among black, Pan-African inclined businessmen.

The climax of Duse Mohamed Ali's business life in the period 1912-1921 began in July 1920 with his visit to Nigeria and the Gold Coast. The incidents of the journey have an interest in their own right. He reported in the AOR such matters as the political life of Lagos, and the petty racial discrimination that coloured passengers suffered on Elder Dempster boats in those days. It is well to remember that the first experience of an educated and influential West African on leaving his country for Europe was likely to be some insult from a steward or white fellow passenger. On his first day out Duse Mohamed Ali noted;

four young coloured doctors fresh from college returning to the Coast to start a career, one with an English wife, who seems to excite the impertinent curiosity of some of the young Government officials who strut the deck with an air which borders on the ludicrous. Tea is duly served; but the waiters, although polite, are not enthusiastic about the coloured section of the human freight.⁷⁶

Petty racial incidents multiplied as the voyage progressed. Passengers were racially segregated at dinner. Duse averred that he "did not mind that condition of affairs, because I would rather not associate with people with whom I could have nothing in common."⁷⁷ Given this atmosphere,

76. AOR, September 1920, p.13.

77. *ibid.*

he was astonished when one morning a white man bade him "good-morning".⁷⁸

The most unpleasant incident came after calling at Accra, when the white wife of a mulatto dentist refused to sit at the same table as Dr. J.C.

Vaughan of Lagos, though he too had a white wife. The dentist maladroitly explained that "his wife had no objection to dining with ... (Dusé) but that his wife objected to dine with natives!"⁷⁹ Dusé's general comments on Elder Dempster's service were bitter and characteristic;

the company possessing, as it does, the monopoly of West African steamship traffic, there will be little likelihood of improvement until there is competition which will be competition and not a working arrangement or even amalgamation.

As may be imagined, the Native traveller suffers most by this inadequate service. He is relegated to an uncomfortable table in the dining-room, to the state-rooms on the lower deck, even when berths are available higher up, and is generally made to feel he is in the way by the company's servants and most particularly by the passengers, the latter forgetting that the bread they go to the Coast to earn can only be obtained by Native goodwill.

The swank of your cheap European clerk and his three-stair-back wife is really appalling. And this making every allowance for a newly-acquired importance to which the poor dears, even in their wildest flights of imagination, never hoped to attain to; little they realise the great harm they are doing to themselves or their country.⁸⁰

Poor Dusé Mohamed Ali! Even on this trip, in which he was engaged in an exciting venture which would, he hoped, radically change West Africa's destiny, he was pursued by the egregious figure of T. Swellibus, instantly recognisable in the above extract. It is useless to accuse him of being

78. *ibid.*

79. *ibid.*, December 1920, p.53.

80. *ibid.*, September 1920, pp.14-5.

over-sensitive here; circumstances had given him an unflattering perception of white behaviour to coloured people. His remarks have their significance on other levels too for they show his hyper-awareness of the monopoly situation in vital parts of the West African economy. If the shipping monopoly was galling to the African traveller, it was something far worse for the African exporter.⁸¹

Duse Mohamed Ali's visit to West Africa in 1920 ultimately grew from the complaints he had received over the previous eight years from West African farmers and traders. Nor was it the first effort he had made to help them;

The universal complaint among West African farmers and traders was their alleged inability to obtain adequate facilities from the individual Bank then operating in West Africa.

I had several interviews with the officials of the Colonial Bank, which was then negotiating with Barclay's in the direction of amalgamation, and was anxious to secure information from me regarding the possibilities of extended banking business in West Africa. I told them banking competition was vitally necessary in the interests of Native effort and, if the Bank would be prepared to establish branches in West Africa, I would use such influence as I possessed to induce Native traders and farmers to give their business to the Colonial Bank.

After numerous interviews the then manager used my information and arranged with a man from the Gold Coast who claimed to be a chief and, therefore, capable of obtaining considerable business for the Bank through his connexions.

A branch was duly opened and a working arrangement was arranged between the existing bank and the Colonial...

As this working arrangement was quite contrary to our original understanding, I decided to make an effort in another direction which would be in the best interests of the West African Native traders and producers.

81. For an account of the achievement of a virtual monopoly of shipping to British West Africa by Elder Dempster, see Hopkins, An Economic History of Lagos 1880-1914, pp.321-33; for an account of the same process to 1924, see A. McPhee, The Economic Revolution in British West Africa, London 1926, pp.95-8.

In view of the fact that America was the greatest consumer of Cocoa, I got in touch with an American Bank which signified its intention to set up branches in West Africa provided I could secure guaranteed deposits as a foundation for subsequent business.⁸²

This account summarises a process lasting several years. As was shown at the beginning of the chapter, West African banking interested him from August 1912. Even his sanguine temperament did not put the 1912 scheme for a Native Bank into practice, and we may suppose that he saw the Colonial Bank as a more practical substitute. If West African traders and farmers felt that the Bank of British West Africa, from 1912 to 1917 the sole British West African Bank,⁸³ did not or would not meet their needs, then it made sense to encourage competition, if only from another European controlled bank. One can probably date Duse' Mohamed Ali's discussions with the Colonial Bank back into 1916, for the January 1917 ATOR contained a long account of its activities in the West Indies since 1837,⁸⁴ and a puff for the Colonial Bank's new venture in West Africa;

82. "Leaves", in The Comet, 29th January 1938, p.7.

83. In 1912 the Bank of British West Africa absorbed the Bank of Nigeria after several years struggle - see Hopkins, op.cit., pp.225-32; Newlyn and Rowan, Money and Banking in British Colonial Africa, p.119, cites an example of African hostility in Lagos to this event. For the start of the Colonial Bank's activities in West Africa, see ibid, p.119, C.V. Brown, The Nigerian Banking System, London 1966, p.23, and A. Macmillan, Red Book of West Africa, p.302.

84. ATOR, January 1917, pp.9-10. For another account of the growth of the Colonial Bank see Macmillan, op.cit., pp.302-3.

It is an axiom that trade cannot thrive without healthy competition. West Africa has now been favoured with a competing Bank, which promises to deal equitably with all clients regardless of colour or condition. We strongly recommend the Colonial Bank to our readers, who need have no fear that they will be dealing with a Bank which will be absorbed in a similar manner to that of the Bank of Nigeria. The Colonial Bank is a sound concern. It has come to West Africa to stay. Hence all West Africans who are anxious for the material welfare of the Motherland should rally to its support, for in supporting the Bank they will at the same time assist in ameliorating trade conditions that had become well-nigh intolerable.⁸⁵

How long it took to become disillusioned with the Colonial Bank is not clear. It continued to advertise in the ATOR - one of the very few expatriate West African firms to do so - until the review's disappearance in 1918. But by 1920 he had given up hope from that quarter. West Africans found little satisfaction in the Colonial Bank; "They continued to believe that they were discriminated against and regarded the British Banks as chiefly concerned with maintaining the dominance of expatriate trading houses."⁸⁶

It is ironic for the hopes depending on the Colonial Bank in West Africa that its extension there in 1917 was a consequence of that romantic arch-imperialist, Lord Beaverbrook, having bought control. For a time he actively directed the Bank's affairs, seeing it as an apt vehicle for his ideas of "imperial economic development and unity."⁸⁷ Duse Mohamed Ali

85. ATOR, January 1917, p.4.

86. Newlyn and Rowan, op.cit., p.119.

87. Tom Driberg, Beaverbrook, A Study in Power and Frustration, London 1956, p.71, makes it clear that Beaverbrook was personally responsible for the Colonial Bank seeking expansion within the Empire but outside its traditional field of operations in the West Indies. In a curious way his outlook at this period seems to have been not so very different from Duse Mohamed Ali's - both of them seeking unity and strength for "their" people via economic development. But a more detailed knowledge of the operations of the Colonial Bank in the era of Beaverbrook control, and expansion into British West Africa, awaits a definitive biography of Beaverbrook himself.

explained his view of the Beaverbrook era in the Colonial Bank in an article published in New York in 1928;

Lord Beaverbrook ... decided that West Africa would be an excellent field for exploitation. He carried into consultation certain West Africans who were resident in London. And upon their assurances that the Bank would receive native support, provided liberal treatment was accorded the Native trader, local branches ... were immediately set up in West Africa. In the meantime the noble Lord who had engineered an amalgamation between the Colonial Bank and Barclay's of London had, as far as our information goes, some slight difference of opinion with his co-directors ... which resulted in the resignation of Lord Beaverbrook. The ... Policy ... as outlined by the retiring Chairman was then gradually reversed. The Bank arrived at a "working arrangement" with the Bank of British West Africa and the last state of the Native was worse than the first.

The Colonial Bank which was heralded as the Savior ... withheld its promised assistance and the Bank of British West Africa told its seceding Native clients who returned for aid to go to their 'friends' of the Colonial Bank. Thus the West African trader found himself between the devil and the deep blue sea, and he saw no other hope than that of interesting Foreign Capital or to be dependent upon, or hope for, the 'goodwill' of a hostile Combine.⁸⁸

Though not correct in all its details - Beaverbrook resigned his active role in the bank because of accepting Government office in 1917, and the sale to Barclay's did not take place till some years after that resignation⁸⁹ -

88. See Africa, New York, June 1928, p.12. In the same article he described the operations of the Bank of British West Africa in the pre-1917 period in most unfavourable terms - "after its absorption of an earlier enterprise known as the Bank of Nigeria - a Bank proposed and financed mainly by the Natives (sic) - (it) not only held up English Credits granted to the Native but also, for the most part, obstructed any effort on the part of producers to transact any business on their own account. This caused the Native to cast about for some rival Banking organization which would be of some assistance in the herculean struggle they were having with the Combine and the Bank."

89. See Driberg, op.cit., p.71. The Colonial Bank sold out to Barclay's (D., C. & O.) in 1926 - see Newlyn and Rowan, op.cit., p.75.

this is useful for the further evidence it gives of the Colonial Bank's consultation with West Africans. The silence of this article on its author's own role throws doubt on his autobiography, in which he figured largely both as a consultant and a channel for consulting others. Probably this exaggerated. Be that as it may, the Colonial Bank raised and then disappointed many hopes in British West Africa.

When Duse Mohamed Ali looked to America for a banking alternative in 1920, he turned to an American Negro bank. Though not revealed in his autobiography, it was disclosed by the Lagos Weekly Record during his stay in Lagos.⁹⁰ Unfortunately, the Record either did not know or at least did not disclose the name of the bank in question. This was a crystal clear example of the type of racial economic action which Duse Mohamed Ali had been working towards in the previous few years. Now his contacts in the United States, and West Africa, must have seemed about to bear fruit, through a really exciting conjunction of West African controlled basic economic resources and American Negro money and know-how.

Arriving off Lagos on Friday 16th July 1920, his landing was delayed by immigration officials, and made subject to the payment of a £30 deposit.⁹¹ His fare alone, without other expenses of the journey, had probably cost him over £50,⁹² and his resources were not large. This may have been

90. Lagos Weekly Record, 24th July 1920, p.6.

91. See AOR, December 1920, p.53.

92. ibid, September 1920, p.14, states that the price of a cabin passage to Lagos was then over £50.

an attempt to discourage him from landing at all rather than to restrain his behaviour. However, the immigration service relented and agreed to accept a bond in lieu. This was executed by a respected citizen, Dr. Orisadipe Obasa of Ikeja;⁹³ a foretaste of the enthusiastic reception that Lagos was to give him.

Once safely ashore, on 16th July 1920, African Lagos distinguished him with its welcome. "The whole Muhammedan community" said one eye-witness, "thronged to the wharves to welcome Mr. Duse Mohamed Ali ... one of the zealous defenders of coloured rights throughout the world." He was presented there and then with an address of welcome, "signed by all the chiefs and rulers of the Province", and including among many other fulsome tributes the following remarks;

Our pleasure is twofold - in the first place, because you are a worthy brother in the faith that is so dear to our hearts, and in the second place (and by far the most important!) because you are a worthy member and great representative of the great race to which

93. Dr. Obasa was an interesting and significant figure in more ways than one. Together with his wife, he was one of the earliest pioneers of motor transport in Nigeria. It may be noted that his wife was the daughter of possibly the wealthiest of late C.19 Lagosian merchants, R.O. Blaize, and her inheritance from him financed the pioneer bus service which the Obasa's ran in Lagos between 1913, and 1918 when the service was terminated because of continuing losses. See Hopkins, An Economic History of Lagos 1880-1920, pp.372-3, which makes it clear that high capital requirements were a major factor in the ultimate failure of this undertaking; one is therefore bound to speculate that Obasa was privy to the purpose of Duse Mohamed Ali's visit and saw it as heralding changes which would guard Lagos entrepreneurs against failure due to lack of capital. Dr. Obasa was also one of the pioneer Nigerian members of the National Congress of British West Africa, being present at a preliminary meeting called by Dr. R.A. Savage in Lagos as early as 1915, and being elected treasurer of the Lagos Committee of the West African Conference in March 1919 - see Langley, West African Aspects of the Pan-African Movements 1900-1945, pp.263-4.

we have the honour to belong. The saintly work which you have done in the interests of our common faith, and the noble efforts which you have put forth, in and out of season, for the upliftment and the welfare of our common race, have been so well known in these parts that your name has become a household word among us at a time when we most need your friendship and your love.

Not surprisingly, Duse Mohamed Ali was delighted with his reception in Lagos;

All day Saturday and Sunday I was inundated with visitors. I could not possibly have realised, had I not visited Lagos, how greatly my small efforts on behalf of West Africa had been appreciated, especially as I arrived unheralded.

On the Sunday afternoon I was invited to speak at the Mosque erected by the late Shitta Bey of Lagos, where I was accorded a most enthusiastic reception. This was followed by a banquet at Shitta Bey's compound on Thursday July 22nd, at which there were many Christians present, and where my very good friend, ... (J.M. Stuart-Young), very kindly came to say a few words in praise of my work for Africa, the other eulogists being -

A. Folerin, barrister-at-law.

Dr. R. Akiwande Savage.

M.A. Elegba.

The very Reverend Patriarch Campbell.

Professor A. Deniga.

Bisiriyu Ade Mumuney.

Ellis St. John Nicol.

I was really overwhelmed by these tributes ...

Savage toasted him at this banquet for his "unselfish work for Nigeria" which would "never be forgotten"; Patriarch Campbell proposed a toast to "African Brotherhood", particularly significant as this was an occasion of Muslim-Christian unity; and "Professor" Deniga, referring back to the Zaria floggings, said that "to the activities of such men as Mr. Duse Mohamed was due the Negro's present-day claim to publicity, whenever such abuses were lightly indulged in by the official world."⁹⁴

94. AOR, December 1920, pp.53-4, for Duse's own remarks on his reception. See ibid, September 1920, pp.22-3, for eye-witness account by Stuart-Young of the wharfside reception, the banquet and speeches.

These eulogists were not merely Lagos worthies, but included some of the most politically conscious figures in Lagos at that time. Both Campbell and "Professor" Deniga had been delegates at the Accra meeting of the National Congress of British West Africa⁹⁵ whilst Savage, who has already appeared in this thesis, is usually credited with being one of the originators of the N.C.B.W.A. idea. Campbell was one of the leading figures in the independent African church movements among the Yorubas.⁹⁶ These take their place in the highly significant phenomenon of "Ethiopianism", which has been established as one of the precursors of both African Nationalism and Pan-Africanism.⁹⁷ Campbell also was one of the leading organisers of a Garveyite group in Lagos shortly after Duse's visit.⁹⁸ This was not a group of prominent Lagos African commercial men, though it is true that there were close links between the independent church movement among the Yorubas and the spread of African cocoa farming in Nigeria.⁹⁹ Only Stuart-Young, who although popular among Africans was

95. Their names are included in the list of delegates given by A. Macmillan in his Red Book of West Africa, p.140. Adeoye Deniga was also the author of African Leaders Past and Present, Lagos 1915, and The Nigerian Who's Who for 1934, Lagos, 1934, and many other works.

96. See J.B. Webster, The African Churches among the Yoruba, Oxford 1964, pp.94, 111, 114-5, 127, 147-9, 155 and 160 for details of Campbell's career as a religious leader.

97. See G. Shepperson, "Ethiopianism and African Nationalism", Phylon, XIV, 1, 1953, pp.9-18.

98. See J. Coleman, Nigeria, Background to Nationalism, p.141.

99. See Webster, op.cit., pp.110, 113-4, 119-20, 162-3 and 172.

not persona grata in the European community, was a fully fledged representative of produce trading and the import-export business. Thus the banquet at Shitta Bey's compound, though gratifying to Duse Mohamed Ali's self-esteem, was not really a sign of progress in his banking mission. The praise he received was in relation to his crusading journalistic past rather than to his business present. Meanwhile, since the banquet was "the first time in the history of Lagos that Christian men and women have met a representative body of Muslims in the bond of brotherhood to celebrate any event", it was "proposed to have an annual Christian-Muslim celebration on July 22nd, in commemoration of my visit, ... to be called 'Duse Mohamed Day'."¹⁰⁰

Other events in Duse Mohamed Ali's first few days in Lagos included a dinner given by West Indian employees of the railway on 21st July, and a visit to Oba Eleko on 26th. As his visit coincided with a period in that great event in Lagos history, the Eleko controversy, this was a political as well as a social occasion. His report of what he saw - the poverty and decay of the Oba's affin and court - was so pleasing to the master-mind of the Eleko campaign, Herbert Macaulay, that he included it as an appendix to an anti-Government pamphlet.¹⁰¹ Likewise Duse criticised the filthy, unpaved and insanitary state of the African districts

100. AOR, December 1920, p.54., p.100; and ... debater, ... 49-1 and ...

101. See Herbert Macaulay, Justitia Fiat: the Moral Obligation of the British Government to the House of King Docemo of Lagos, London 1921, pp.76-8.

on Lagos Island, contrasting them with the impressive and orderly appearance of the official and European quarter. - He blamed this on the Government, but was careful to absolve the current Governor, Sir Hugh Clifford, and to put the odium on Lugard.¹⁰² But though no doubt this dabbling in Lagos politics endeared him to many Lagosians - it must, for example, have cemented his friendship with Herbert Macaulay - yet it was a diversion from the practical business of securing the necessary guaranteed deposits for the American Negro bank. The Lagos Weekly Record put its finger on the unspoken query hanging over his mission;

It is understood that Mr. Duse Mohamed will meet some of the principal businessmen in town to discuss the situation. We think there is a large field here and a Negro banking business with sufficient capital at its disposal ought not to find any difficulty in doing quite a respectable business. Of course, much depends on the attitude of local African businessmen towards it.¹⁰³

Exactly who were the African businessmen with whom he consulted in Lagos is not known, with the presumable exception of his host there, J.W. Vaughan, whose father was an interesting figure in nineteenth century Nigerian history; an American Negro who emigrated to Liberia, and then Nigeria, where he made a successful career as a shopkeeper.¹⁰⁴ J.W. Vaughan¹⁰⁵

102. AOR, December 1920, pp.55-56.

103. Author's emphasis. See Lagos Weekly Record, 24th July 1920, p.6.

104. See A. Macmillan, op.cit., p.108; and J.B. Webster, op.cit., pp. 49-51 and 112.

105. For information on J.W. Vaughan, see A. Macmillan, op.cit., p.108; and Webster, op.cit., p.131.

had inherited his father's business in 1893, running two Lagos hardware stores, and was said in 1920 to be "the only native trader who ... can compete with the European firms in the hardware trade."¹⁰⁶ Further, he was a leading supporter of the Native Baptist Church movement. He was likely to have had a natural sympathy for Duse's plan.

Serious consultations with Lagos African businessmen, however, awaited the conclusion of a journey up-country to Ibadan, which was a resounding success. Guarantees of deposits "for upwards of £30,000" were obtained from the farmers and traders there.¹⁰⁷ As the centre of a cocoa growing area of growing importance, Ibadan was clearly one of the key centres in which he would have to attract interest if his plan was to succeed.

No difficulties were put in his path by the redoubtable Captain Ross, Resident at Ibadan.¹⁰⁸ Leading local cocoa farmers and traders met him at Ibadan station, among them being the traders Salami Agbaje, and Akinpelu Obisesan,¹⁰⁹ the ATOR's old supporter, leading organiser of the co-operative movement among Ibadan cocoa farmers and admirer of Marcus Garvey.¹¹⁰ Obisesan noted with pleasure on Duse's arrival that his

106. Macmillan, op.cit., p.108.

107. "Leaves", in The Comet, 29th January 1938, p.7.

108. *ibid*, 22nd January 1938, p.20.

109. Obisesan Diaries, Africana Collection, University of Ibadan Library, entry for 29th July 1920.

110. Information from Dr. J.B. Webster and Dr. R. Gavin, then of Department of History, University of Ibadan, February 1967.

"colour is like that of ours ... briefly there is not little difference between him and ourselves here and we had nice conversations with him."¹¹¹

It is notable that he was readily accepted by such West Africans, who although shrewd, were less cosmopolitan than the "been-to's" he had hitherto known in London.

His few days in Ibadan were packed with meetings in Salami Agbaje's compound, the first taking place immediately after his arrival. He carefully played upon the emotions of his hearers, using the oratorical techniques at the disposal of an old trouper. At the first meeting, according to Obisesan, "he gave us the history of his life in brief, what was the fate of his parents a very unfortunate one all present sympathised with him, he brought trade plan and Banking plan also."¹¹² This gives the definite impression that he cleverly worked up his listeners' emotions before coming to his main point. One can imagine the effect of hearing of his family bereavements on the intensely family-minded Yorubas. At a meeting the next day;

trade and Banking were the two subjects dealt with. Mr. Mohamed before bringing the meeting to a close in his speech mentioned the ill and cruel treatment he had undergone in England, how he was boycotted by the European inhabitants of London, he mentioned that he was at one time hard-up badly. - he was necessitated to weep on this occasion and all the members of the meeting sympathised with him greatly.¹¹³

111. Obisesan Diaries, entry for 29th July 1920.

112. ibid.

113. ibid., entry for 30th July 1920.

This emotional approach was so successful that in addition to obtaining his guarantees, money was subscribed to meet his personal expenses; £25 from the Ibadan Native Aboriginal Society and £5 from a private family.¹¹⁴

After Ibadan, by Captain Ross's permission, he went further into the interior to Oyo, where he had an audience with the Alafin. He was accompanied on this visit by "Chief Sowemino, Balogun of the Abeokuta Christians, who was then residing at Ibadan" and who acted as interpreter. The Alafin was the highest traditional African dignitary that he was to meet, and he was duly impressed. He had intended to continue his journey beyond Oyo into the Northern Provinces. But he was headed off from this by official temporising,¹¹⁵ and one may surmise that a black-skinned Muslim who wore trousers, spoke English, had a reputation as a seditionist, was a crusading journalist, and who was closely connected with the hated coast African middle-class, would have been even more unacceptable to Northern Nigerian officialdom than missionaries, or legal counsel in Kano.

So far Duse Mohamed Ali's visit to Nigeria had been enjoyable and seemingly successful. But on his return to Lagos, matters took a serious turn for the worse. He called a public meeting with the hope of adding to the guarantees collected at Ibadan. The seemingly friendly Lagos men proved fickle, when it came to a matter affecting their own pockets;

114. *ibid*, entries for 2nd and 3rd August 1920.

115. For this journey from Ibadan to Oyo, and his frustrated intention to enter the Northern Provinces, see "Leaves", in The Comet, 22nd January 1938, p.20.

This meeting was largely attended by the most prominent traders in Lagos as well as by a few influential professional men. These professional men, who were never guilty of any effort calculated to advance the interests of their countrymen, informed those present that, already there were two Banks in Nigeria and these were quite adequate to any business Lagos Native merchants or traders were likely to need. Naturally, the interested parties followed the lead of their misleaders.¹¹⁶

To make matters worse, an attack of malaria followed. Lagos having been lost, his project was probably already wrecked. Although the Gold Coast was the most economically developed of the British West African colonies, Lagos was easily the largest and most thriving single commercial centre, and it would probably be safe to say had the biggest African business community. With the hostility of this community, the American Negro bank was hardly likely to translate plans into action, and it is not, therefore, surprising, that no such bank came to British West Africa.

Nevertheless, persistence being one of Duse Mohamed Ali's characteristics, he still canvassed the Gold Coast before returning to Britain. Perhaps he had exaggerated hopes of the Gold Coast cocoa farmers, who were probably the richest farmers in British West Africa. His hopes may have been heightened by his colleague, W.F. Hutchison, who in January 1920 had written of the cocoa farmers in his native country;

The farmers are notoriously accumulating wealth and think no more of £1000 to-day than they did of £50 thirty years ago. In the absence of banks and opportunities for safe investment, burying the money is the obvious universal method of accumulation. Hardly a generation has elapsed since cash trade began to take the place of barter. The Gold Coast people are infants in the use of currency. But they will grow in economic knowledge as they increase in financial

116. *ibid*, 29th January 1938, p.7.

strength and business skill, and when the propitious moment comes for the people to take the capitalization of their industries into their own hands, it is from the farmers' hoards that the funds will be provided. The financial education of the farmer is one of the heaviest and most responsible tasks that are laid upon the educated sons of the soil.¹¹⁷

In the event, the Gold Coast cocoa farmers proved more receptive than the Lagosians, and guaranteed deposits to the value of £45,000¹¹⁸ - though whether all this would have been forthcoming had they been called upon to produce it is another matter. Unfortunately, there is no detailed evidence of who Duse Mohamed Ali met, where he travelled, and what techniques of persuasion he used in the Gold Coast.

It may well be that his efforts there were more perfunctory than in Ibadan, for in Accra he was swept up into a new business scheme, of gargantuan dimensions, which on return to Britain he was to present in Messianic terms as the salvation of Africans throughout the world. This was a newly minted company,^{the} Inter-Colonial Corporation.¹¹⁹ It was announced to readers of the AOR with a nice combination of appeals to race patriotism and to cupidity;

The Inter-Colonial Corporation, Limited, of Accra, British West Africa, ... has started business. This is a limited company founded by Africans for Africans with a nominal capital of five million pounds - roughly twenty million dollars - divided into £1 ordinary shares, and is the corporation in which every Native of Africa, whether resident in Africa, the West Indies, the United States of America or the South American Republics, should invest his or her money.

117. AOR, January 1920, p.17. In defence of the optimistic tone of Hutchison's article, it should be noted that at the time of publication the post-war boom in West African produce sales and prices was still in progress.

118. "Leaves", in The Comet, 29th January 1938, p.13.

119. *ibid*, pp.7 & 13.

During the eight years this Review has been in existence we have never advocated any wild-cat schemes either in or out of these pages. Our readers are aware of this, and we now for the first time recommend a sound scheme which is calculated to enrich every African investor who by supporting the corporation will also be performing a patriotic duty. ... These are 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 be at length put to the exploitation which has been proceeding on the Continent of Africa for upwards of 300 years.¹²⁰

This was followed by further appeals to African solidarity, and portrayal of the threat from the "financially powerful and politically strong" combines to the "fabric of African agriculture and Native endeavour."

It would be unwise to dismiss the Inter-Colonial Corporation as simply a cynical swindle, or on the other hand to take Duse Mohamed Ali's Pan-African rhetoric at purely face value. He was well aware that capitalising at such an astronomical level was a propaganda gesture. He admitted in his autobiography that this was done "to give the exploiting interests a few uncomfortable days of speculative reflection." But also he claimed a more solid purpose - "my object ... was to place the stock within the reach of a large section of the literate West African population."¹²¹ His fellow directors in this doubtful enterprise were all residents of the Gold Coast, and members of the business and professional class:- Alfred Lincoln Cudjoe, of Accra, General Merchant and Planter; Ferdinand

120. AOR, December 1920, p.61.

121. "Leaves", in The Comet, 29th January 1938, p.13.

Christian Lokko, Accra, Auctioneer and Appraiser; Joseph Nathaniel Abeohe-Evans, Accra, barrister; Paul Ebenezer Thompson, Djimapo and Accra, Farmer; Charles Duncan Bruce, Accra, Trader; and Malam Kadiri Inglis, Accra, Trader and Commander of Hausas. The company's secretaries, W. Addo-Blankson and Robert Sackey-Nettey, were likewise Gold Coasters.¹²²

What is certain is that the Inter-Colonial Corporation shows two aspects of Duse Mohamed Ali's business life; his penchant, as seen in the £12,000,000 West African War Loan plan, for schemes on a colossal scale; and secondly a flair for using his business enterprises as publicity for his Pan-African ideas. To these could be added a reckless propensity to skate on thin ice, since needless to say there is no evidence that the founders of the Inter-Colonial Corporation themselves had remotely adequate capital resources. Nor was there, one must suppose, the slightest likelihood that any orthodox financial institution would come to their aid. Whether any number of small West African investors entrusted their savings to the corporation, persuaded by Duse Mohamed Ali's exhortations, is not known.

The only hope for the Inter-Colonial Corporation, and it was a slender one, was to pull off some spectacular business coup. This was indeed attempted - Duse Mohamed Ali went to New York and arranged to supply thousands of tons of cocoa there.¹²³ That is, the company was in quest

122. Directors and secretaries of the corporation are listed in an advertisement for the company in the WADYB, p.xiv.

123. "Leaves", in The Comet, 29th January 1938, p.16; this will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

of that mythical commercial grail of the times, a direct trade between the West African producer and the American market. It was this that sent Duse Mohamed Ali to the United States in 1921. But for several months his journey was delayed while he hung about in London awaiting a visa from the American Consulate. He believed that there was more to this delay than the bureaucratic slowness and continuing complications caused by his Turkish nationality - which still made him technically an enemy alien. But now it was not the British authorities, who had issued him with a permit to leave and re-enter the country, that were suspected of underhand behaviour;

I ... applied to the American Consul-General for a visa ... The Consul-General communicated with Washington from whence Official permission was granted me through the London Consulate to visit America. But when I called some weeks later, I was informed by the Consul-General that he had received no news whatever.

I called each week for a period of some four months only to be told, 'No news yet!'

Being of the opinion that there was some conspiracy afoot, I wrote a member of Congress with whom I had considerable correspondence, requesting him to make enquiries about my visa at the State Department.

In due course this gentleman sent me an Official copy of permission to enter the United States which had been sent the Consul-General three months previously.

The following day, after the receipt of the communication from Washington, I called at the Consulate and enquired of the Consul-General whether he had heard from Washington. He rather curtly answered 'No!'

I then produced my letter ...

Even then there were further delays, some petty, others serious. Behind the delays in issuing his visa, Duse Mohamed Ali saw the hand of Lever Brothers;

I subsequently discovered that Sir W - L - had contacted the Consul-General and was responsible for the obstructive delay. This gentleman, with his large interests in West Africa, knew that my visit to America might conceivably upset his monopoly of West African produce.¹²⁴

Clearly, such allegations should be looked at very carefully. No American acting in an official capacity, could have had any official motive for acting in the way alleged. What Duse was intending, was far from being against American interests. One could understand some nervousness from Lever Brothers, though their interests were more palm-products than cocoa. But with its vastly greater capital and resources of every kind, Levers was eminently equipped to crush any such would-be rival by conventional, less dubious, business methods. Lacking evidence other than Duse's allegations, it would be wise to treat this episode as proof only of his hatred of the big expatriate firms, above all Levers, and belief that they would stoop to any trick to crush potential African competition. After all, 1920 was the year in which Lever Brothers, a real not illusory giant, absorbed the Niger Company and was set on the final road to the creation of the United Africa Company in 1929. An understandable fear of monopoly in the aggressive hands of Lever Brothers must be seen as the background to Duse Mohamed Ali's accusations.¹²⁵

124. *ibid*, pp.13 and 16.

125. For details of these Lever Bros. mergers, see J. Mars, "Extra Territorial Enterprise", in M. Perham, ed., Mining Commerce and Finance in Nigeria, London 1948, pp.60-63, which also speaks of the "aggressive" trading policy of the Lever Bros.-Niger Co. merger of 1920 towards smaller rivals.

Whatever impediments may have been in his path, in 1921 Duse Mohamed Ali set off for the United States, where he was to dwell during the booming nineteen-twenties. This was not his original intention, but events prevented his return to Britain. It was a major change in his life, even so far as the limited original intention of only visiting America was concerned. The British Empire and London were no longer central to his actions, as, despite all his criticisms of British Imperialism, they had been until then. In other ways, as will be seen in the next chapter, there was continuity. Throughout his ten years in America he made one after another attempt to market West African produce in the United States, and preserved a good deal of his earlier political outlook.

But before moving on to examine his life in the United States after 1921, it remains to enlarge on the background to his first phase of business activities. To begin with, it is interesting to note that he was by no means the only Pan-Africanist in what may be called the London-West Africa circuit, who was concerning himself with business affairs in the period 1912-1921. Notice must also be taken of his one-time associate and later rival and enemy, John Eldred Taylor. At what point in his life John Eldred Taylor became consciously a Pan-Africanist cannot as yet be dated, though he was clearly one such by the end of 1918, on the evidence of the African Telegraph. He had, however, already been a businessman and more particularly a company promoter for many years; his activities in these fields considerably pre-dating those of Duse Mohamed Ali, and continuing until his death in London in 1924.

As early as 1905, John Eldred Taylor was investigating the natural

fibres growing in the Sierra Leone Protectorate, and optimistically hoping that the Bengal jute industry might be rivalled.¹²⁶ This had political implications in that it showed an awareness of the need to develop the economic resources of the interior of the country. Taylor seems, as a consequence, to have gained a reputation in Freetown as "one of the few of our countrymen" who would do anything to help the natives of the Sierra Leone Protectorate.¹²⁷ His first really ambitious project, launched a few years later in 1908, was Sierra Leone Deep Sea Fishing-Industries Ltd., a company to exploit and market by modern methods West Africa's deep sea fish resources, using up-to-date trawlers and curing the fish locally.¹²⁸ When one considers the important place of stockfish,

126. See Sierra Leone Weekly News, 16th September 1905; I am indebted to Mr. C. Fyfe, Reader in African History in the University of Edinburgh, for this and other references from the Sierra Leonean press to J.E. Taylor's business career. Taylor's interest in jute is also mentioned in the SL Government Gazette, 17th March 1905.

127. SL Weekly News, 5th May 1906.

128. Registration of this company in London was proposed on 26th August 1908; see BT 31/18354/99352/1; Taylor was named as the firm's managing director in an advertisement in the SL Weekly News, 31st October 1908. The other original directors of the company were two Englishmen, Charles L. Watchurst of Lewisham, London S.E., and J.O. Turnbull of Upper Tooting, London S.W.; and three Sierra Leoneans, the Hon. J.H. Thomas, Samuel F. Owens and Simeon Josephus Coker, all of Freetown. Of these three by far the most interesting and important was J.H. Thomas, who was not only a member of the Legislative Council from 1907-1912 and from 1915, and Mayor of Freetown eight times between 1905 and 1915, but also was successful in business, being regarded by Christopher Fyfe as "a fine example" of the self-made Creole magnate. His age - he was 62 in 1908 - wealth and offices made him a figure of immense respectability, which must have been one of the major inducements to Freetown people to invest in the company. 81 of them had subscribed shares nominally worth £617 by 7th January 1909, Thomas himself subscribing shares worth no less than £100, a large sum in Freetown in those days - see BT 31/18354/99352/10. For other details of Thomas' life, see Fyfe, A History of Sierra Leone, pp.535-6 and 617, and Macmillan, Red Book of West Africa, p.269.

imported from the North Atlantic, in the diet of many parts of British West Africa, it can be seen that his scheme had at least an immediate plausibility. Actually, the exploitation and marketing of West Africa's considerable fish resources on a large scale by West Africans themselves has proved an intractable problem even to this day, and former British West Africa is still importing large quantities of stockfish.

This begs the question, however, of whether John Eldred Taylor ever seriously intended that fish should be caught and cured and marketed and eaten, or whether he rather intended to create a bogus company which would attract the savings of the unwary and enrich himself. There is no doubt that, as Duse Mohamed Ali was to remark, there was something "fishy"¹²⁹ about his fishery company - or rather one should say companies, as he floated a whole string of them, bewilderingly merging one into another. One would have to tread a complex path to unravel his manipulations, beginning with the Sierra Leone Deep Sea Fishing Company of 1908; through the Volta River Coconut and Produce Company, which he ceased to be manager of in 1913; the West African Trawling and Trading Company, the first of his ventures to be registered in London, which was liquidated in 1913; and on to a bewildering variety of successors. In Freetown itself there was the Eyatunde Trust Company, which in later years acted as a mechanism for the complicated share transfers between the different Taylor companies - though in talking about Taylor Companies there are further difficulties

129. "Leaves", in The Comet, 30th October 1937, p.7.

as sometimes he chose to remain behind the scenes for a time, only openly emerging as a director at a late date. As far as can be traced, his other companies were:- West African Fisheries and Industries Ltd., a successor to the West African Trading and Trawling Company; the portentously named African Co-operative Corporation, registered in 1915 and lasting till John Eldred Taylor's death; and three companies that manipulated the complicated finances of the African Co-operative Corporation; Colonial Business and Finance Ltd., St. Cuthbert's Syndicate Ltd., and the British Union African Company.¹³⁰ Had John Eldred Taylor had his way, there would have been at least one other name to add to this string. An Extraordinary General Meeting of West African Fisheries and Industries Ltd. decided in 1916 to change its name to African Industries Ltd., but the Board of Trade refused to agree, either to this or to an alternative,

130. For West African Fisheries and Industries Ltd. see BT 31/18354/99352; West African Trading and Trawling Company Ltd., BT 31/20739/122645; Colonial Business and Finance Ltd., BT 31/20915/124198; St. Cuthbert's Syndicate Ltd., BT 31/21097/125895 and the African Co-operative Corporation Ltd., BT 31/22703/139272. For the unregistered British Union African Company of 1 Lombard Court, E.C. and the Freetown registered Eyatunde Trust Company, both of which played their role in the curious share manipulations that characterised the African Co-operative Corporation; see, for e.g., details of shareholdings in the African Co-operative Corporation in BT 31/22703/139272/34. Even this does not exhaust the list of John Eldred Taylor Companies, for the SL Weekly News of 17th May 1913 announced his resignation from the Volta River Coconut and Produce Co. Ltd.

African Transport and Industries Ltd.¹³¹ The African Telegraph, which at least in its 1918-1919 days was run by the African Co-operative Corporation,¹³² seems to have been one of the few positive fruits of these companies of which we may be certain, apart from private gain by Taylor and his various

131. See Extraordinary General Meetings of West African Fisheries and Industries Ltd., held at 118-22 Holborn, 7th March 1916 and 7th and 26th September 1917, BT 31/18354/99352/34 and BT 31/18354/99352/36; also see John Eldred Taylor to Assistant Registrar, Companies Registration Office, Somerset House, 30th May 1918, which pleads; "as we have complied with all other provisions of the Companies Acts, and as we are at the moment engaged upon the importation and transport to the country of Palm Oil, Palm Kernels and other Foodstuffs required urgently by the Ministry of Food, we trust that the Board of Trade will grant our request to change the name of the Company to 'African Transport and Industries', which clearly depicts to the mind of our numerous Clients in West Africa the work upon which we are engaged." - see BT 31/18354/99352. It would be perhaps wise to suspend judgement on the trading referred to in this letter, which also mentioned concessions agreements with West African Chiefs. As with Duse Mohamed Ali's Africa and Orient Trade Exchange Ltd., evidence of a real attempt to trade rather than merely to speculate would compel a more favourable re-evaluation of the Taylor Companies. Such evidence of trading as there is in the African Co-operative Corporation's balance sheets, underlines the impression that the volume of trade involved was extremely small. The last balance sheet submitted to the Registrar of Companies, that of 31st December 1918, itemised £3,368.15. for produce trading under capital and liabilities - compare with £2,641.12.8. for directors fees and expenses. See BT 31/22703/139272/27.

132. The African Co-operative Corporation, as publisher of the African Telegraph, was cited as defendant in the Fitzpatrick case in November 1919; see The Times, 7th November 1919, p.4.

associates, (who seem to have been chiefly British).¹³³ The paper was used to defend him against criticism of his business conduct. Thus its first issue "explained", in highly tendentious terms, the relationship between the West African Trawling and Trading Company, West African Fisheries and Industries, the African Co-operative Corporation and Colonial Business and Finance Ltd. The latter two were represented as financial knights in shining armour, coming to the rescue of those who had put their money in the earlier companies, this excusing the transfer of shares from them to the African Co-operative Corporation without the shareholders' permission.¹³⁴ Again, in February 1915 the African Telegraph published a full page letter from John Eldred Taylor attacking enemies in West Africa who regarded him as a swindler.¹³⁵

The John Eldred Taylor companies shared with Duse Mohamed Ali's Africa and Orient Trade Exchange Ltd. a marked propensity to make it easy for their directors to prosper at the shareholders' expense. Share pushing was handsomely rewarded. Here the African Co-operative Corporation would serve as an example. By its articles of association, the company could pay a commission of 50 per cent. to anyone subscribing, agreeing to

133. Careful study of the sources cited in note 130 above shows that the only one of these companies to have a majority of African directors at any time was Sierra Leone Deep Sea Fishing and Industries Ltd.

134. African Telegraph, 14th November 1914, p.8.

135. *ibid.*, 25th February 1915, p.61.

subscribe, procuring or agreeing to procure shares. This commission was to be paid on the nominal value of the shares so subscribed, and was to consist of either cash or shares considered as fully paid.¹³⁶ Furthermore, the African Co-operative Corporation, like the Africa and Orient Trade Exchange Ltd., raised a substantial mortgage, thereby providing what was no doubt otherwise in short supply, ready cash. A syndicate of Birmingham businessmen were persuaded to act as mortgagees on cocoa, palm-oil and coconut properties in the Gold Coast, acquired by the African Co-operative Corporation from Colonial Business and Finance. John Eldred Taylor probably travelled in person to Birmingham to make these incautious men fellow directors, and to negotiate these mortgage agreements, which netted £5,500 in all.¹³⁷ No doubt in the short run the Brummies thought that they had concluded a great business bargain, since (no doubt because of this new acquisition of cash) in 1917 the fees and expenses of the eight directors totalled £2,641.12.8. Mr. E. Leonard Jones, the accountant at whose business address the mortgagees were formally inducted into their new directorships, did notably well, receiving £583.7.3. -

136. See Memorandum and Articles of Association of the African Co-operative Corporation Ltd. 8th February 1915, BT 31/22703/139272/3, especially clauses 3, 11, 13, 22 and 23.

137. The property being mortgaged consisted of leases of and agreements relating to Gold Coast cocoa plantations and other lands, which had, as it happened, been acquired from another Taylor company, Colonial Business and Finance Ltd. For full details of these mortgage transactions, see BT 31/22703/139272/20, dated 15th December 1916 and BT 31/22703/139272/22 of 17th February 1917; for details of the role of the Birmingham mortgagees as directors, see BT 31/22703/139272/16 11th December 1915 and special resolution of the ACC Ltd. passed at Extraordinary General Meetings held on 10th and 31st January 1917 at 105 Colmore Row, Birmingham, BT 31/22703/139272/21.

considerably more than John Eldred Taylor's own £300.18.4.¹³⁸ But in the long run any wild hopes among the mortgagees were doomed to disappointment. In 1925, when the company was being liquidated subsequent to John Eldred Taylor's death, "the person who was most active in the matter of the mortgage and himself one of the mortgagees wrote to say that he had neither the time nor the money to spend on his fare from Birmingham to London for the affairs of the Company."¹³⁹ This "person" was presumably E. Leonard Jones.

An ability to gull Birmingham businessmen, who traditionally have prided themselves on hard-headedness, is perhaps a tribute to John Eldred Taylor's shrewdness and plausibility. But unless one chose to believe that he did this out of revenge for the wrongs inflicted on his country and race by British Imperialism, it has little direct connection with Pan-Africanism. What it does illustrate is that speculation and sharp-practice were a very inadequate substitute for capital and real commercial expertise when it came to solid commercial advance as opposed to paper "deals" in smoke-filled rooms. Unfortunately, shortage of capital and solidity rather than speculation were a common denominator of John Eldred Taylor's, Duse Mohamed Ali's and other businesses undertaken by Pan-Africanists. Perhaps we might adduce from this a general principle:

138. See the ACC Ltd. statement of balance, 31st December 1917, BT 31/22703/139272/26.

139. See Samuel Hughes, for executors of J.E. Taylor, to Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, 30th September 1925, BT 31/22703/139272.

that Pan-African, or Pan-Africanists', business activities strongly tended towards sharp-practice, mutual recriminations, apparent financial and commercial folly, bad-faith, and dismal insolvency not because of any inherent dishonesty on the part of their progenitors, but because circumstances permitted them only the options of desperate gambles and unjustified risks. Insofar as the aim of some - notably Duse Mohamed Ali - was the transformation of the economic circumstances of large numbers of Africans, operations on a modest and viable scale (given very limited capital etc.) would not suffice. Inasmuch as a gospel of self-enrichment was preached as part and parcel of a gospel of race enrichment, it was hardly likely that the leaders of such businesses would abstain from the opportunities for lining their own pockets that presented themselves, via the path of company flotation and directorships. One is bound to draw the conclusion that in practical and ideological terms alike the Pan-Africanists' business dreams were doomed from the start.

Nevertheless, there is a considerable element of hindsight in this judgement. The period just before, during and just after the First World War had some encouraging features from the point of view of the would-be Pan-African tycoon. To begin with, it is clear that British West Africa, as well as providing tropical produce, grown by African farmers rather than expatriate planters, also had a class of potential investors - the western educated Africans living mainly in the coastal regions and consisting of lawyers, doctors, clerks in Government and commercial employ, merchants, auctioneers etc., plus in the Gold Coast and to a lesser extent Southern Nigeria a growing body of farmers enriched by the cocoa industry. This

is not to say that here was a sufficiently wealthy and numerous investment class to support the more gigantic commercial fantasies of the time, but at least there were numbers and wealth enough to excite expectations.

Light is thrown on the West African investor of this era by the records of John Eldred Taylor's African Co-operative Corporation and West African Fisheries and Industries. The latter's first return of share allotments in January 1909¹⁴⁰ listed 92 subscribers to the company's 10/- shares, who together were allotted 1234 shares. In theory, their applications should have brought in £308.10.0., as half the nominal value was payable on application, the rest on allotment. Against the company's nominal capital of £10,000, or even against the 7,800 10/- shares immediately offered for subscription, this was a meagre response. It is hardly surprising that ultimately this and other Taylor companies sought more dubious money outside West Africa. But this was not the immediate next step. All but one of the first 92 share subscribers were Sierra Leoneans (the exception being from the Gold Coast). No less than 81 were residents of Freetown. In short, this was the response of the Freetown Creoles, a community long past its golden days of prosperity.¹⁴¹ Only four men felt

140. See BT 31/18354/99352/10, 7th January 1909.

141. For the decline of the Creoles in business in the early C.20, see C.Fyfe, A History of Sierra Leone, pp.613-4, which concludes; "trade was booming, revenue coming in as never before, but the Colony's inhabitants found themselves growing steadily poorer, without prospect of recovering their commercial prosperity", and Arthur T. Porter, Creoledom, A Study of the Development of Freetown Society, London 1963, pp.114-5. For the decline of the Creole in the professions and the Government service at the same period, see Fyfe, pp.614-6, and Porter, pp.61-3.

able to subscribe for 50 or more shares. These were the Hon. John Henry Thomas (200 shares); Simeon Christopher Coker (100 shares); Silvanus Alexander Juxon Smith (50 shares) and George Georgius Cole, probably the G.G. Cole later to be a backer of the ATOR, (100 shares). But forty people subscribed for only five shares or under. By the summer 1909 a better harvest of investors was garnered in other parts of British West Africa.¹⁴² Between 30th July and 28th August 1909, 2,761 more 10/- shares were allotted to 109 more subscribers - 3 in the Gold Coast, 16 in Sierra Leone and 90 in Nigeria, of whom 65 were in Lagos. This time only four of the Sierra Leoneans subscribed even 20 or more shares against no less than 56 of the Nigerians; an apt commentary on the comparative wealth of the African communities in Freetown and Lagos at that time. The largest single subscriber was a Freetown man, the lawyer Silas Dove (200 shares, his wife subscribing a further 25), but it is worth recalling that Silas Dove practised extensively in Nigeria, where he must have made much of his fortune, and within a few years his address in similar documents was invariably given as Onitsha.¹⁴³ Other notable subscribers included Herbert Macaulay (100 shares) and Dr. Oguntola Sapara (15 shares). In fact it may be noted that the Saros of Nigeria seem to have had more money to speculate with (or at least more expansive hopes about the future)

142. See BT 31/18354/99352/17, for all details of share subscriptions and allotments in the company between 30th July 1909 and 28th August 1909.

143. For e.g., see BT 31/22703/139272/11, allotments of shares etc. in African Co-operative Corporation between 5th and 27th May 1915.

than their Freetown kinsmen.¹⁴⁴ Even so, the money being invested by West Africans was clearly quite insufficient for a company with the aim of buying steam trawlers and supplying Freetown, the Colony, the Sierra Leone Protectorate, and other places along the West African Coast with fresh, dried and cured fish.¹⁴⁵ Thereafter the notices of share allotments of this company increasingly feature such names as Colonial Business and Finance Ltd.¹⁴⁶ and assume the appearance of financial slight of hand rather than genuine investment.

But the glaring omission from the lists of West African Fisheries and Industries' West African investors is the lack of any substantial number from the Gold Coast, whose cocoa production, supplemented by palm-kernels, palm-oil and rubber, was already almost a wonder of the world, transforming the wealth of sections of its population. This omission was remedied by the African Co-operative Corporation, which obtained considerable support from the Gold Coast. Between 5th and 27th June 1915, it attracted 311

144. This bears out A.G. Hopkins belief that the period leading up to the outbreak of the Great War was one of prosperity and opportunity for the African businessmen of Lagos, despite a tendency there too to look back on the 1870's and 1880's as a golden age. See Hopkins, An Economic History of Lagos, Chapter 6, esp. pp.439-40.

145. See Prospectus of Sierra Leone Deep Sea Fishing and Industries Ltd., BT 31/18354/99352/5.

146. e.g., see BT 31/18354/99352/43, Shares in West African Fisheries and Industries (the successor to SLDSFI Ltd.) allotted between 31st December 1917 and 31st December 1918.

share subscribers¹⁴⁷ - 128 in the Gold Coast, 161 in Nigeria, 10 in Britain and the remainder in Sierra Leone. Whether because the Sierra Leoneans were feeling the effects of the loss of their palm product market in Germany (the country's largest pre-war customer) or whether they were "once bitten twice shy" in relation to their fellow countryman's schemes, their's was the most inconsiderable contribution. It is noticeable that the Gold Coast subscribers, who were predominantly 'natives' though including some whose names suggest a Sierra Leone Creole descent, included no less than 65 subscribers of 100 or more 10/- preference shares. Two of these, the merchant George Owoo of Accra and the influential produce traders, Ofori brothers of Larteh and Mongoase, subscribed 500 shares. By occupation, these Gold Coast investors included 19 who described themselves as farmers, plus a fair spread of other occupations - clerks, traders, merchants, tailors, carpenters, chiefs, a station master and an auctioneer. Geographically, they were distributed between the new cocoa areas of the interior and the old trading ports of the coast, the allotment document mentioning Accra, Pram Pram, Asurgah, Tinkong, Adawsoo, Palkroo, Aburi, New and Old Mongoase, Nswam, Christiansborg, Saltpond, Cape Coast Castle, Okoroase, Koforidua, Larteh, Quittah, Akropong, Apinsu and Awunage.

By comparison the Nigerian investors in the African Co-operative Corporation, though more numerous, included far fewer substantial subscribers. Only 20 of them subscribed for 100 or more shares, though these included

147. For all details of these allotments and holding of shares, see BT 31/22703/139272/11.

the largest single subscriber, Chief Sagay and family of Akukpe town, Sapele; who subscribed for no less than 1,000 10/- shares. Unlike the Gold Coast subscribers, the Nigerians contained a high proportion of Sierra Leoneans or persons of Sierra Leonean descent - names like Wright, George, Daniels, Jackson, Williams, Cole, Pratt, Johnson, Sawyerr, Leigh, Cline and Macarthy predominate.¹⁴⁸ Of these Sierra Leoneans, the largest investors were Silas and Lilieth Dove, who between them subscribed for 450 10/- shares, and the most eminent Bishop James Johnson, who subscribed for 100 shares. The impression is thus confirmed that the Sierra Leonean who sought his fortune in Nigeria was by this period by and large a wealthier and more optimistic man than the stay-at-home in Freetown. Bishop Johnson's interest in the company is a token that it attracted support from the most respectable, respected and influential members of the African community in Lagos. Though always a controversial figure, James Johnson was a man who was never touched by personal scandal, and was noted for the austerity of his conduct. His biographer establishes

148. The possession of such names did not, of course, invariably betoken a Sierra Leonean descent - J.K. Coker, for example, was a pure Yoruba - but a list of this period in which such names predominate can reasonably be presumed to reflect predominantly Creole or Creole descended persons. It would be interesting to know if this community in Nigeria sent remittances to their less prosperous relatives in Freetown on any scale.

him as a man with a Pan-African outlook,¹⁴⁹ and it would be fascinating to know if he regarded his £50 sunk in the African Co-operative Corporation as an investment or as a Pan-African gesture. But 'sunk' is the appropriate word for any investment in this company. Despite a considerable response from the West African investor (assuming that calls were fully paid), the money brought in was clearly far short of the initial nominal capital of £30,000,¹⁵⁰ and as in the earlier case the gap was "filled" on paper by shady manipulations. Nevertheless, the record of these two companies in selling shares to West African investors shows that there was a market in British West Africa for investment in African companies. Indeed, since the concept and the response transcended political boundaries, they could loosely be called pan-African, though they would fit in better with the concept of British West African regionalism.

149. E.A. Ayandele, Holy Johnson, London 1970, p.42, states that Johnson saw the Sierra Leone Native Pastorate as "the first institutional process in the evolution of Pan-Africanism"; p.308, draws attention to Johnson's participation in the first Pan-African Conference, London 1900; and pp.375-6, points out that although Johnson's vision of Pan-African unity via Christianity died with him, yet Kwame Nkrumah's concept of a "monolithic state and unity for Africa" can be seen as "essentially a revivification of James Johnson's dream", and that "Holy Johnson's soul is, with respect to the Pan-African movement, still marching on."

150. See BT 31/22703/139272/2. This nominal capital was divided into 50,000 10/- preferred shares and 1,000,000 1/- deferred shares.

A look at the general trend of economic events in the three major territories of British West Africa during the period of Duse Mohamed Ali's London business career throws further light on both his hopes and his failures. In the Gold Coast, to begin with the most spectacularly successful of the British West African colonies in produce exports prior to the Great War, cocoa grown by African farmers transformed the national economy. In 1911, Gold Coast cocoa exports totalled 39,700 tons, valued at £1,613,000 f.o.b.; by 1913, the last complete year before the outbreak of the war, these figures had risen to 50,600 tons and £2,489,000.¹⁵¹ Cocoa production was leaping ahead of other produce, such as palm products, wild rubber and lumber, and in 1911 the colony became the world's biggest exporter of cocoa beans.¹⁵² Indeed, just as Duse Mohamed Ali was becoming interested in West African produce marketing, this key industry was on the verge of further expansion. Improvements in transport, notably the coming into operation in 1911 of the Accra-Pakro sector of the railway, tapping the pioneer Akwapim cocoa area, greatly helped movement of the crop to the coast and stimulated the already expansive hopes of the farmers in that area. The generally optimistic outlook of the Gold Coast farmer on the eve of the Great War is shown by the greatly increased

151. See Polly Hill, Migrant Cocoa Farmers of Southern Ghana, Cambridge 1963, pp.176-7.

152. See R. Szereszewski, Structural Changes in the Economy of Ghana 1891-1911, London 1965, p.67, and Kwamina B. Dickson, A Historical Geography of Ghana, Cambridge 1969, pp.167-8.

output of cocoa immediately after the war,¹⁵³ for the cocoa tree usually takes from fifteen years to reach maturity.¹⁵⁴

Naturally, this expanding cocoa farming industry demanded expanding capital. As Miss Hill has shown, the initial capital employed at the beginning of the industry, in Akwapim, at the end of the nineteenth century, came from the farming communities' own rather than expatriate sources.¹⁵⁵ By an extension of the traditional "pledging" system, a farmer could raise fresh capital for either expansion or to ward off hard times, and recourse was frequently had for such purposes to an indigenous class of creditor-farmers who were sometimes financiers on a considerable scale. Thus there would seem to be no real evidence that 'unhelpful'

153. The Gold Coast exported no less than 176,000 tons of cocoa in 1919, compared with 91,000 tons in 1917 and a mere 66,000 tons in 1918, though some of the differential between the 1918 and 1919 figures is accounted for by farmers holding back their crops due to the low prices in the former year. See Polly Hill, The Gold Coast Cocoa Farmer, A Preliminary Survey, London 1956, p.109.

154. Polly Hill, Migrant Cocoa Farmers, p.181.

155. Polly Hill, The Gold Coast Cocoa Farmer, pp.58-71, and Migrant Cocoa Farmers, pp.166 and 183-6. For the role of wild rubber collection and sales in the accumulation of capital later invested by Gold Coast farmers in cocoa farms, see Raymond Dummett, "The Rubber Trade of the Gold Coast and Asante in the Nineteenth Century: African Innovation and Market Responsiveness", Journal of African History, XII, 1, 1971, pp.95-6, and Peter C. Garlick, "The Development of Kwahu Business Enterprise in Ghana since 1874", Journal of African History, VIII, 3, 1967, pp.468-70.

European banks were any hindrance to cocoa production as they were largely irrelevant to its financing. The expatriate was firmly in control only when it came to the marketing of the crop outside the country, but here there were signs of apprehension among farmers at least as early as 1908, when many responded to a sharp decline in cocoa prices by refusing to sell.¹⁵⁶ The price of cocoa depended partly on its quality - and quality control was a major problem - but even more on that mysterious entity beyond the farmers' control, the world market; and though there were some African shippers, substantially the farmer was connected with the world market through the expatriate buying firm.¹⁵⁷ In his transactions with the expatriate firm, the farmer or middleman cocoa trader would commonly be required to give some form of security.¹⁵⁸ Here the indigenous financing system did not suffice.

The war created severe problems for the Gold Coast cocoa farmer. Till November 1916 prices held reasonably steady, but then slumped; added to which in February 1917 the British Government cut cocoa imports by 50 per cent. In these circumstances, many farms were abandoned, and in the following year many farmers found prices not attractive enough to persuade them to even harvest their crop. The United States market was

156. The Gold Coast Cocoa Farmer, pp.104-5.

157. This was, in many cases an ultimate rather than immediate connection since Gold Coast cocoa traders, though greatly overshadowed by expatriates in exporting, nevertheless often acted as middlemen between the expatriate firm and the farmer.

158. The Gold Coast Cocoa Farmer, p.60.

only a partial relief for these troubles, for in 1918, because of the poor quality of some shipments, the American Government prohibited Gold Coast cocoa imports.¹⁵⁹ All this, plus the shipping difficulties of those war years, demonstrates that they were far less propitious times for Duse Mohamed Ali to attempt his plans than the pre-war years had been. Immediately after the war there was a boom, but the delay in Duse Mohamed Ali's trip to West Africa made him miss what was the most propitious moment of all, and when he reached the Gold Coast in 1920 the country was in the grip of a disastrous slump which continued into 1921-22.¹⁶⁰ The Inter-Colonial Corporation could hardly have been launched at a worse time. As for the "guaranteed" deposits that Duse Mohamed Ali collected in the Gold Coast in that year, they surely reflect the farming and trading community's desperate search for a financial prop rather than a solid intention to tie savings up in this way. One is left with the impression that the American Negro bank was looking for depositors and the Gold Coasters were in search of easy bank loans - a sad hiatus in the supposed racial common economic interest of black Americans and West Africans.

Turning from the Gold Coast to Nigeria there is a similar outline to be discerned. The years immediately prior to the war were a time of growing opportunity, in which the African business community shared; the

159. *ibid.*, pp.60-1 and 108-9.

160. For the post-First World War boom and slump and its effects on the Gold Coast cocoa industry, see *ibid.*, pp.61 and 109-10, and D. Kimble, A Political History of Ghana, pp.49-50.

war years were a time of confusion and difficulty; and there was a brief post-war boom followed by a severe slump in 1920-21 which hit the African businessman, with his much smaller capital resources, far harder than his big European competitors, and likewise came at the most inopportune moment for Duse Mohamed Ali.

To look a little more closely at the pre-war period first, this was in general a time of good prices and expansion for Nigerian produce exports. In 1913 the price of palm kernels was the highest in the history of the trade;¹⁶¹ while in the immediate pre-war years Nigeria's nascent cocoa-growing industry was beginning to produce thousands rather than hundreds of tons per annum and, more importantly, farmers were engaged in the expanded planting which was to result in really large scale production immediately after the war.¹⁶² The leading and most successful pioneers of cocoa farming were that interesting group of proto-nationalists, the Agege planters.¹⁶³ Leaders of independent African churches, ardent champions

161. Hopkins, op.cit., p.388.

162. For figures of the growth of Nigerian cocoa exports from the quinquennium 1892-6 to the quinquennium 1917-21, see R. Scott, "Production for External Trade", in M. Perham, ed., The Native Economies of Nigeria, London 1946, p.250.

163. See Webster, African Churches among the Yoruba, pp.110, 113-4, and 119-20. For information on the spread of cocoa farming into the interior of Yorubaland, see S.S. Berry, "Christianity and the Rise of Cocoa-Growing in Ibadan and Ondo", Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, IV, 3, December 1968, pp.439-51. Unfortunately the major academic study of the Nigerian cocoa farmer to date, R. Galleti, K.D.S. Baldwin and I.O. Dina, Nigerian Cocoa Farmers, An Economic Survey of Yoruba Cocoa Farming Families, London 1956, is in no sense a historical work, and skates over the growth of Nigerian cocoa farming from its start till 1938 in p.1 of its massive 621 pp. (not counting appendices) of text.

of African and critics of European civilisation, such men can be regarded as having constituted a potentially receptive audience for such economic doctrines and plans as Duse brought - which to an extent they had already anticipated and were practising. In Lagos, African entrepreneurs were making the initial steps in the development of Nigeria's motor transport industry. By 1914, W.A. Dawodu, who among other things held the sole agency for Ford cars, was reputed to have an annual turnover of £26,000, though no doubt few Nigerian businessmen were operating on this scale. Other Lagos men, such as the merchant J.H. Doherty, were seizing the opportunities for expansion into the interior created by the railway, which by 1911 stretched from Iddo to Kano. By 1914 Doherty had branches at Abeokuta, Ibadan, Epe, Ibaru, Ikirun, Oshogbo, Warri, Zaria, Kano and Duala in the Cameroons, in addition to his headquarters in Lagos.¹⁶⁴

Despite the tendency for some sections of the Lagos community to look back on an earlier time as the golden age of Africans in business, A.G. Hopkins, the economic historian of Lagos, asserts that the total value of trade in African hands had increased considerably since the supposed golden days of the eighteen-seventies and eighties, though as a percentage relative to European trade it may have declined slightly.¹⁶⁵

The First World War hit Nigerian produce farmers and exporters in the same way as it hit those in other British West African colonies -

164. For information on W.A. Dawodu and J.H. Doherty, see Hopkins, An Economic History of Lagos, pp.371-2 and 395 respectively.

165. *ibid*, pp.439-40.

through the loss of the German market (above all serious to the palm-kernel trade) and the elimination of the Woermann line, leaving Elder Dempster in even tighter control of West African shipping than hitherto. Shipping rates rose steeply at the outbreak of war for all British West Africa, and the shipping bottleneck hampered exports.¹⁶⁶ As has already been seen earlier in this thesis, the African business community of Nigeria considered that the shipping bottleneck was being manipulated in favour of the big European trading firms and against the much smaller African merchant. Nevertheless, the African merchant and planter seems in some cases to have continued to thrive - Webster states that J.K. Coker, one of the most successful of the Agege planters, only reached his peak of prosperity after 1916. Even in 1916 he was able to donate £757 from his personal fortune to the central funds of his church.¹⁶⁷

Although Nigerian businessmen and farmers benefitted from the brief period of boom in West African produce in 1919 and the earlier part of 1920, the slump of 1920-21 had a much more profound impression.¹⁶⁸

166. As an example of the effects of the shipping bottleneck on trade, about 100,000 tons of palm-kernels were held over in British West African ports in the years 1915-6 alone; see N.A. Cox-George, Finance and Development in West Africa, The Sierra Leone Experience, London 1961, p.174.

167. Webster, op.cit., p.172.

168. For a general survey and statistics of the post-war boom and slump, see Sir W.K. Hancock, Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs, Vol.II Problems of Economic Development 1918-1939, Part 2, London 1942, pp.338-40.

Many of the more eminent individual fortunes were ruined or at least crippled. Thus S.H. Pearse, who at the outbreak of the war had been wealthy enough to invest £10,000 in War Bonds, had to sell not only these bonds but his hotel as well and to totally reconstruct his business.¹⁶⁹ J.K. Coker was "almost ruined".¹⁷⁰ The African merchant community in general never recovered its position as independent produce exporters, being in the aftermath increasingly restricted to the role of middlemen agents for the big European firms.¹⁷¹ At the same time as these disasters, the immediate post-war years saw a further turn of the screw by the largest European firms in Nigeria in the direction of monopoly and monopsony. In 1919, the two chief competitors of the Niger Company, till then the biggest unit, amalgamated to form the African and Eastern Trade Corporation Ltd. In the following year that greatest of bugbears, Lever Brothers, bought the Niger Company for £8,500,000 and attempted, but failed, to buy the African and Eastern Trade Corporation too. Even the African and

169. Hopkins, op.cit., pp.435-7.

170. Webster, op.cit., p.162.

171. Hancock, op.cit., p.210, states that by 1937 98 per cent. of Nigeria's cocoa exports were in the hands of 13 European firms. M. Ferham, ed., Mining, Commerce and Finance in Nigeria, p.120, tells of the relegation of the previously independent Nigerian exporter to a mere middleman status, and of one unnamed Nigerian trader defaulting on debts of £20,000 in the post-war slump.

Eastern, the weaker of these two great combines, was launched with an issued capital of £6,000,000.¹⁷² In the following decade these giants were to follow a ruthlessly aggressive trading policy against small firms, African or European. The implications for Duse Mohamed Ali's efforts are obvious; the Inter-Colonial Corporation, a mere paper tiger of the business world, could not remotely compare with even the weaker of the two combines of the nineteen-twenties. But the emergence of these two combines in 1919-1920 should surely be related to Duse Mohamed Ali's admission that the Inter-Colonial Corporation was in some measure a ruse of psychological warfare against the "exploiting interests".

To turn from Nigeria to Sierra Leone, (which need not detain us long as Duse Mohamed Ali never directed his more specific and grandiose attentions there), the story is again one of difficulty and disruption, from the outbreak of the war onwards. The impact of wartime inflation and the worsening of the terms of trade against the colony in import-export trade are shown by the almost uninterrupted decline in Post Office Savings Bank deposits from 1914 to 1920.¹⁷³ As Germany was overwhelmingly the

172. For the post-war mergers in the big Nigerian trading firms, see M. Perham, ed., Mining, Commerce and Finance in Nigeria, pp.60-63, and Hancock, *op.cit.*, pp.207-8. For a most discrete account of these mergers, see Charles Wilson, The History of Unilever, Vol.I, pp. 250-3 and 304-5.

173. For wartime inflation, see Cox-George, *op.cit.*, p.185; for wartime worsening of the terms of trade, see *ibid*, p.175; for the decline in P.O. Savings Bank deposits 1914-1920, see *ibid*, p.191.

largest customer for the country's biggest export item, palm-kernels, the outbreak of the war had the most serious effect on its economy. Indeed, almost all produce prices declined steeply in 1914, and for palm-kernels the 1913 level was not regained till 1916. As for the wartime shipping crisis (which reflects that throughout West Africa), at its worst point in 1917, only 774 ships of 1,526,640 total tonnage entered or cleared Sierra Leone, compared with 1,989 ships of 2,931,085 tonnage in 1913.¹⁷⁴

Having briefly looked at the three main British West African territories and at the prospects for Duse Mohamed Ali breaking into the produce exporting business in 1912-21, let us now look at the question of the viability of his proposed West African War Loan and of his attempt to introduce an American Negro bank into West Africa. It is true that there were wealthy West Africans willing and able to put substantial sums into War Bonds, as the example of S.H. Pearse of Lagos shows; but there seems little doubt that overall he seriously over-estimated the amount of money available for such a purpose among the peoples of British West Africa. By 31st March 1920, the Bank of British West Africa had a total of £11,800,000 on deposit and in current account, while on 31st December 1919 the Colonial Bank, its only rival, had £8,508,544 in the same categories.¹⁷⁵ Only a proportion of these sums was money placed by the

174. For the effect of the war on produce exports and shipping, see *ibid.*, pp.171-3.

175. See Macmillan, Red Book of West Africa, pp.299 and 303.

African community, and they represented a very large increase on the sums available only a few years previously. Thus, in 1910, the Bank of British West Africa had only 4,410 depositors and £1,074,793 on deposit throughout British West Africa. As well as bank deposits, there were also Post Office Savings Banks in the different colonies, and cash privately hoarded by those many West Africans who were suspicious of any kind of bank.¹⁷⁶ Without venturing a hypothetical figure for African savings in British West Africa in the middle of the Great War, one can only say that £12,000,000 represents a most optimistic target for Duse Mohamed Ali's West African War Loan, though no doubt a well-organised scheme could have raised a lesser sum.

Finally, to consider the background to the Negro Banking scheme; it is true that 1920 was a time of expanding Negro banking in the United States.¹⁷⁷ But the largest of the Negro banks in 1920, the Solvent Savings Bank and Trust Company of Memphis, Tennessee, had just become the first Negro bank to have \$1,000,000 on deposit. Like many Negro banks at this time, it did have a penchant for hazardous schemes;¹⁷⁸

176. Polly Hill has remarked on the aversion to banks of Akwapim cocoa farmers even in much more recent times - see Migrant Cocoa Farmers, p.185.

177. For the story of American Negro Banking, see Abram L. Harris, The Negro as Capitalist. A Study of Banking and Business among American Negroes, Philadelphia, 1936, passim; Arnett G. Lindsay, "The Negro in Banking", Journal of Negro History, XIV, 1, January 1929, pp.156-201; and Franklin E. Frazier, The Negro in the United States, revised ed., New York 1957, pp.391-96.

178. Lindsay, op.cit., p.185.

but clearly neither this nor any other American Negro Bank in 1920 had the resources to compete with the established West African Banks. Indeed, one of the great weaknesses of the American Negro Banks of this period was their lack of any solid connection with any major industry or source of wealth - a defect the Bank of British West Africa certainly did not share! At their highest peak of success, in 1926, the American Negro Banks had combined resources of only £13,000,000.¹⁷⁹ This financial weakness would not have been adequately compensated for by their tendency to feel that racial co-operation was their destined role. Indeed, in British West Africa, any such sentiments could only have led them into deep waters. The fate of the Bank of Nigeria, absorbed by the Bank of British West Africa in 1912, would have probably awaited any incautious foray - if not the even worse fate of outright ruin and collapse.

Overall, then, the auguries were not propitious for Duseé Mohamed Ali's business activities in the period 1912-1921, though there was enough encouragement in the West African situation, especially in the years 1912-1913 and 1919-1920 to make his efforts far from totally irrational. Additionally, it must be remembered that he was never an entrepreneur pure and simple, but rather saw his business life as a means to a social and political end. His vision of a wealthy, united and powerful race was an asset insofar as it made him continue his struggle against all odds, but a liability in assessing the hard realities of business. It is true

179. See Broadus Mitchell, review of A.L. Harris, The Negro as Capitalist, in Journal of Negro History, XXII, 1, January 1937, p.97.

that grandiose social and political notions are not incompatible with spectacular success as an entrepreneur, as the career of Cecil Rhodes shows. But Rhodes never conducted his business along other than the most ruthlessly practical lines, while his larger and wilder social and political dreams remained dreams. The moral would seem to be that Duse Mohamed Ali's attitude to business and Pan-Africanism was based on an illusion; but this is to use hindsight. It was to be a decade before he abandoned the course he had set himself in this respect.

CHAPTER VII

IN AMERICA 1921-1931

Dusé Mohamed Ali left the uncertain, depressed world of post-World War One Britain some time in the second half of 1921.¹ There is every reason to believe that his visit was intended as a business trip, not a migration. His purpose was to negotiate American contracts for thousands of tons of cocoa, to be supplied by the Inter-Colonial Corporation; for the time being he continued to maintain his old headquarters at 158 Fleet Street,² and his wife also remained behind in London.³ Yet quite apart from the particular circumstances that kept him from returning to London, it is not difficult to understand why he found the United States of the twenties more congenial to his highly speculative approach to commercial life than Britain could ever have been. The United States in the nineteen-twenties was a place in which it was still possible to have unlimited faith in the powers of the astute individual to enrich himself. It was a period when, notoriously, speculation ran amok, encouraged by the most respectable and conservative institutions of American capitalism, when

1. This is a good example of his defective memory, as on more than one occasion writing in Nigeria in the nineteen-thirties and forties he referred to having gone to America in 1920 - e.g. in his obituary of Marcus Garvey in The Comet, 6th August 1940, p.4. Two other pieces of evidence prove that he did not leave till 1921; firstly, he was present at a general meeting of the African Progress Union in London on 20th July 1921 - see S.L. Weekly News, 3rd September 1921, p.143; secondly, in an interview with the St. Louis Clarion, St. Louis, Mo., in October 1923, he referred to his two years effort in America; this would accord completely with the thesis that he left Britain for America some time after July 1921. See St. Louis Clarion, 19th October 1923, R.R. Moton Papers, General Correspondence 1923, Tuskegee Institute Archives.

2. See "Leaves", in The Comet, 29th January 1938, pp.16 and 17.

3. Private information from Alhaji L.B. Augusto of Lagos.

in the business field anything could happen and probably would.⁴ In this context, Duse' Mohamed Ali's schemes, all of which continued to be concerned with West African produce, in particular cocoa, at least had the merit of relating to something that actually existed! In the context of American nineteen-twenties speculative optimism, far from being at all bizarre, they must have seemed normal and plausible, not least to himself. After a few years in the United States he seems to have become, at least figuratively, "dead" to his former life in London; in March 1923, John E. Bruce received a letter from Amanda Ira Aldridge, daughter of the great black actor, then in London, asking if news of Duse' Mohamed Ali's death was accurate, before announcing it to his wife.⁵ Possibly a degree of deception was involved in these reports, for at least one of Duse' Mohamed Ali's intimates in his last years in London, L.B. Augusto, believed that Duse' and his wife were not on the closest terms.⁶ Certainly when Duse' arrived in Nigeria in 1931, he was accompanied not by Beatrice Mohamed but

4. For a discussion of the feverishly optimistic business atmosphere in the United States in the 1920's, see J.K. Galbraith, The Great Crash 1929, Penguin ed., London 1961, pp.30-50. J.E. Bruce writing to Carter G. Woodson, 2nd August 1922 said that he had "almost persuaded (Duse') to remain in this country as he and I both realise that Europe is 'finished' especially England." See Ac.3579, Addition 1 to Box 5, Carter G. Woodson Papers. I am indebted to Dr. K.J. King for this and the item in note 18 below.
5. See Amanda Ira Aldridge to John E. Bruce, 7th March 1923, Bruce Papers, mss. 1994, Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library.
6. Private information from Alhaji L.B. Augusto.

by an American woman called Gertrude La Page, who lived with him in Lagos for a number of years.⁷ For whatever reason, Beatrice Mohamed seems to have passed out of his life when he finally left Britain.

His new life in America was not to be fully taken up with business deals, but alternated between bursts of intense business activity, and intervals in which he turned his attention to black nationalism, journalism, broadcasting, cultural nationalism and popular lecturing on African history and culture. At times, particularly after various business disasters, he must have been reduced to something like living on his wits - for which his early experiences had given him ample training. Thus the decade of his life between the ages of 55 and 65, a time when many men are coasting gently downhill towards peaceful retirement, must have been as strenuous as any other period in his life. He never seems to have settled down in one place in the United States, but to have led a peripatetic life that included such places as New York, Boston, Washington, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, and Tuskegee.

His first interest in New York was his cocoa negotiations. Despite the obstruction which he rightly or wrongly believed the American Consul had placed in his path to frustrate his visit to America, he received help from this source. In an interview with the St. Louis Clarion in October 1923 he stated;

7. Duse Mohamed Ali's connection with Gertrude La Page is discussed in the following chapter.

The Consul General in London, realising the importance of this (West African produce) trade to the United States supplied me with letters of introduction to such important industrial associations in America as the United States Chamber of Commerce, the New York Chamber of Commerce and the American Importers and Importers (sic) Association.⁸

Such aid could hardly have been denied to any businessman travelling to the United States on a bona-fide business trip. He also took powers of attorney from his own company, and prior to his leaving London two of his fellow directors arrived from West Africa to take over his London office in his absence.⁹ One of these men can fairly confidently be identified as Joseph Nathaniel Abeoche-Evans,¹⁰ but no evidence has appeared to identify the other. Abeoche-Evans was to play a key role in the ensuing events.

Unfortunately, it is not known with whom Duse undertook his negotiations in New York.¹¹ According to his autobiography, he successfully secured a contract for the supply of ten thousand tons of cocoa to unnamed "cocoa interests in the United States". But having sent copies

8. St. Louis Clarion, 19th October 1923.

9. "Leaves", in The Comet, 29th January 1938, p.16.

10. *ibid*, p.17, describes one of these two men as an "impecunious lawyer"; in the list of the Inter-Colonial Corporation's directors published in the WADYB, p.xiv, Abeoche-Evans is the only lawyer.

11. The only present source for the details of these negotiations and their conclusion is "Leaves", in The Comet, 29th January 1938, pp.16-17.

of this contract to his colleagues in London and the Gold Coast, he received three days later - i.e. before the contracts could have been received in either London or Accra - a cable from the two directors in London cancelling his powers of attorney. Pleas for explanation were ignored. He was left stranded in New York and looking mighty foolish. On his own admission, he became "the laughing stock of Wall Street", people who knew of the affair mockingly greeting him with "How's cocoa to-day?" Only when he returned to West Africa a decade later was any explanation revealed to him. Then he was told that Abeoche-Evans had obtained a loan from a London Bank "doing business on the coast" with, however, a condition;

on condition that my contract was cancelled with the added inducement to such cancellation, that a client of the Bank could be found who would finance the Company, always provided, I was entirely eliminated.¹²

It will be noted that this account of his conceals almost as much as it tells. Not only are the American "cocoa interests" anonymous, but also, no doubt through fear of a libel action, he discretely veiled the identity of the London bank. This, however, is not difficult to unveil. In 1921-1922 there were only two London banks in business in West Africa - the Bank of British West Africa and the Colonial Bank. Since the Colonial Bank had gone out of business twelve years before his account was published,¹³ he had little reason to fear a libel action from that quarter. There can be little doubt, therefore, that he regarded the Bank of British West

12. *ibid*, p.17.

13. The Colonial Bank was taken over in 1925; see Charles V. Brown, The Banking System in Nigeria, London 1966, p.23.

Africa as responsible for instigating Abeche-Evans' treachery. Whether his story about the rift in the Inter-Colonial Corporation is believed or no - and there is no evidence to either confirm or contradict it as yet - in the light of the general suspicion among African businessmen that the BBWA was hostile to them, it can be accepted that he believed this story to be true. That the entire story was not a mere fabrication is proved by an Associated Negro Press report that appeared in the Reporter, Birmingham Ala., of 27th July 1927;

Shortly after the war, Duse Mohammed (sic) Ali the Egyptian editor, historian and traveller, came to America and sought to establish a huge concern among American Negroes whose business would be to deal in the products of West Africa. At that time, Duse Mohammed (sic) exhibited powers of attorney to act for the richest planters in the region. It is not known whether Mr. Ali has ever forsaken his efforts which were calculated to employ the money and the talent of the colored business man of America. For a long time, he did not meet with success.¹⁴

Here is another confirmation that he saw his business plans as essentially Pan-African, linking the West African grower with the black American business world. But exactly how the black American business man was to be fitted into the Inter-Colonial Corporation's projected operations is not clear; although there was certainly a black business community in New York in 1921, and although some in that community, notably John E. Bruce, were interested in importing West African produce, it is problematical whether any were operating on a scale that would permit them to

14. The Reporter, 27th July 1927; see R.R. Moton papers, General Correspondence, 1927, Tuskegee Institute Archives.

handle ten thousand tons of cocoa, worth well over one million dollars.¹⁵

On a personal level, this collapse in his fortunes was disastrous; "my London office was closed, so was my publication and I found myself practically stranded in America."¹⁶ But since picking himself up from the floor had become a lifelong habit, we need not be surprised that within two years he was promoting yet another large scale West African produce company, the American African Oriental Trading Company Inc. In the interval, he was not without the help of old friends and old acquaintances. The surviving correspondence of John E. Bruce, who acted as his host, contains a number of references to him, which makes it clear that the two men were in close touch in 1922-23, and that others regarded Bruce as the appropriate man to approach for information about him. For example, a letter from Cambridge, Mass., dated 21st June 1922, to Bruce's wife Florence, mentions that a letter had been received from "Dusé Ali Effendi Mohamed". Assuming that as a matter of course Mrs. Bruce would see Dusé, Bruce asked her to give his regards.¹⁷ In December 1921, which cannot have been long after Dusé's arrival, Bruce took him to call on the eminent black historian, Carter G. Woodson, but was disappointed to find

15. The average value per ton f.o.b. of Gold Coast cocoa in 1921 was £36; see P. Hill, The Gold Coast Cocoa Farmer, Appendix E, p.132.
16. "Leaves", in The Comet, 29th January 1938, p.17.
17. mss. 1953, Bruce Papers, Schomburg Collection. For other mentions of Dusé Mohamed Ali in Bruce's correspondence at about this time, see Bruce to George E. Sherlock, 18th January 1922, mss. 1936 Bruce Papers; Bruce to Mrs. Bruce, 22nd June 1922, mss. 1954 Bruce Papers; William H. Wilkes to Bruce, 1922 ?, mss. 1922 Bruce Papers.

Woodson away.¹⁸

There were still those in the black community who remembered him as a historian, the author of In The Land Of The Pharaohs. Taking advantage of this reputation, he turned the clock back thirty years or so and undertook "an extensive lecture tour throughout the Western and Southern States".¹⁹ Khalil Mahmud recounts his lecturing in the early twenties as follows;

In 1921-22 ... he lectured widely in New York and Washington and paid a visit to Boston under the auspices of his host John E. Bruce. At the American Negro Academy Congress in Washington he lectured on the necessity for a Chair of Negro History in United States educational institutions. Later in New York he spoke on the topic 'Africa Old and New' at the A.M.E. Zion Church. ... There can be little doubt that Duse influenced the Negro's growing interest in his African cultural heritage in the decade of the twenties.²⁰

It is interesting to note his activities within such highly significant black American institutions. The only place his autobiography specifically mentions him visiting is Tuskegee Institute.²¹ This was a pilgrimage to the life-work of the revered Booker T. Washington. Also, as seen in the previous chapter, he had been in correspondence some years before with Washington's successor at Tuskegee, R.R. Moton.

Through John E. Bruce's good offices, Moton sent Duse Mohamed-Ali a friendly general invitation to visit Tuskegee.²² But he received a rather

18. Bruce to Woodson, 25th January, 1922, Accession 3579, Addition 5 to Box 5, Woodson Papers.
19. "Leaves", in The Comet, 29th January, 1938, p.17.
20. See introduction to In The Land Of The Pharaohs, 2nd ed., p.xxiv.
21. "Leaves", in The Comet, 9th October, 1937, p.18.
22. R.R. Moton to Duse Mohamed Ali, 31st March, 1922, R.R. Moton Papers, General Correspondence 1922, Tuskegee Institute Archives.

cantankerous reply;

My dear Major Moton,

I am in receipt of your very kind letter of March 31st which I find it impossible to interpret.

I shall be only too happy to come to Tuskegee and speak before your people there if we can arrange a date which will be mutually satisfactory, but in any event, even if I should plan a Southern tour and I included Tuskegee in the itinerary, some financial arrangement would have to be arrived at between us in that connection.

I shall be delighted to hear from you again and learn your views. With every good and perfect wish...²³

It is evident from this that Duse would only appear as a professional lecturer, and expected to be paid for his services. But Moton was not unduly eager to see him at Tuskegee. Duse's answer is annotated in Moton's own hand, probably for the instruction of a secretary, "no reply unless he writes again". Moton may, of course, have disliked or suspected Duse Mohamed Ali personally. He was a far more respectable figure, from the conventional point of view, than the Egyptian.²⁴ More particularly,

23. Duse Mohamed Ali, 230 West 136th Street, New York City, to R.R. Moton, Tuskegee Institute, 4th April 1922, R.R. Moton Papers, General Correspondence 1922.

24. It is not, of course, necessary to take at face value all the hard things said about Moton by Du Bois in The Crisis in the early nineteen twenties - e.g. "may we not advise our Inter-racial friends, - do not fill your committees with 'pussy footers' like Robert Moton" - The Crisis, May 1921, p.7. For a judicious recent assessment of Moton, see Kenneth J. King, The American Background of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions, pp.324-5, which points out that; "The temptation to oversimplify the enmity between the Tuskegee and Atlanta schools of thought, or between Garveyism and Tuskegeeism obscured the fact that Du Bois was a close personal friend of Moton, and Garvey one of the staunchest admirers of the Tuskegee Spirit. ... Moton was 'in hearty accord with the Pan-African movement', and had told Du Bois in 1921 that he would be glad to be put down as a member. Nor had Moton any objection to having Du Bois as visiting lecturer." Dr. King continues by pointing out that Moton had to operate on two levels well illustrated by the fact that shortly before inviting Du Bois to Tuskegee Institute in November 1928, he had been asked by Thomas Jesse Jones to help in winning the Sultan of Zanzibar to an anti-Du Bois position!

Dusé had by this time thrown in his lot with his ex-employee Marcus Garvey, and was acting as spokesman for the UNIA in attempting to gain Moton's co-operation. On the identical date of his reply to Moton about the Tuskegee invitation, he mailed him on behalf of the UNIA. This will be discussed presently. Suffice to say now, there is clear evidence that these approaches annoyed Moton, and that he was not prepared to have anything to do with Garveyism, despite Garvey's high regard for the founder of Tuskegee.²⁵ Yet despite these reasons for Moton being lukewarm about Dusé Mohamed Ali's appearance at Tuskegee, strangely enough this did come about, and for this there is more evidence than the say-so of "Leaves". In a letter to Moton dated 19th February 1923, soliciting Moton's support for his American African Oriental Trading Company, Dusé remarked; "you will remember that I discussed this matter with you during my visit to Tuskegee."²⁶ This visit must thus have taken place between April 1922 and March 1923. As Dusé recalled the visit, it was an entirely happy one;

I spent eight most enjoyable and inspiring days at that Institution. I saw all there was to see. Useful trades including scientific farming were being taught, and the academic angle was not neglected.

25. Marcus Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey or Africa for the Africans, comp. A.J. Garvey, 2nd ed., with introduction by E.U. Essien-Udom, London 1967, pp.xiii-xv and Part I, p.41.

26. Dusé Mohamed Ali, for American African Oriental Trading Company Inc., 3202 Cottage Grove Avenue, Chicago, Ill., to R.R. Moton, Tuskegee Institute, R.R. Moton Papers, General Correspondence, 1923.

The only criticism I had to offer was the speed employed in every department. Both boys and girls were up before sunrise and I observed a frantic rush from one class-room to another which continued until nightfall. I marvelled that these students could carry away all they learned.

I was not alone a visitor, but also a helper; a poor one no doubt. I lectured each night of my stay on 'African origins, Civilisation and History' which I believed was greatly appreciated.²⁷

By April 1922²⁸ Duse' Mohamed Ali had become a leading functionary of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association - a rapid change from his earlier hostility towards Garvey. Certain reasons suggest themselves for this about-face. Firstly, with the collapse of his cocoa contracts, Duse' Mohamed Ali was no doubt glad enough to retract his earlier attitude and to find a place on the UNIA bandwagon. From Marcus Garvey's side, Duse' Mohamed Ali was a man of wide experience in both journalism and business, and whatever the personal differences between them may have been, they shared, to a considerable extent, the same outlook. Both worshipped the memory of Booker T. Washington; both put a great stress on Pan-African economic activity. Duse' Mohamed Ali may have been swayed towards a more friendly attitude to Garvey by the pro-UNIA attitudes of such West African connections as Patriarch Campbell, who was, like many in Lagos, dismissive of Garvey's political pretensions, but enthusiastic about the Black Star Line.²⁹ John E. Bruce and William H. Ferris, too,

27. "Leaves", in The Comet, 9th October 1937, p.18.

28. The evidence for this dating is the letter sent by Duse' to Moton on behalf of the UNIA, 4th April 1922 - see R.R. Moton Papers, General Correspondence, 1922.

29. See J. Ayo. Langley, "Garveyism and African Nationalism", Race, 11, 2, October 1969, pp.159-60.

may have worked for a Garvey-Dusé Mohamed Ali rapprochement.

With the loss and dispersal of the records of the UNIA, it is impossible to give an exact and detailed account of his role in the UNIA. In the recollection of Mrs. Amy Jaques Garvey, he headed an African Affairs department for the movement and contributed articles to the 'Negro World', its press-organ, approximately from the years 1922-24.³⁰ This period was co-terminous with the growing difficulties of the UNIA following its leader's conviction for fraud in 1923. Dusé Mohamed Ali had left the movement prior to Garvey's imprisonment in February 1925,³¹ following the failure of his appeal against conviction. It would, perhaps, not be unfair to regard Dusé as having been something of a fair weather Garveyite. However, Dusé Mohamed Ali must be defended against the charge levelled by Cronon that in later years he went around London running down Garvey to anyone who would listen, referring to him slightly as his former messenger-boy.³² In fact, Dusé Mohamed Ali never returned to London after his period with the UNIA, and, as will be shown, his retrospective verdict on Garvey's career was a sympathetic, though not uncritical one.

30. Information from Mrs. A.J. Garvey to the writer of this thesis.

31. For the trial and imprisonment of Marcus Garvey, see Richard Hart, "The Life and Resurrection of Marcus Garvey", Race, 9, 1, October 1967, p.222.

32. See Cronon, Black Moses, p.43. Though Cronon writes of Garvey being so treated after employing Dusé, his source is a communication to the U.S. Secretary of State dated 6th April 1921, i.e. before Dusé left London.

Garvey's immense talents as a prophet to the masses were not shared by Duse Mohamed Ali. But in other ways Duse had assets not then equalled by Garvey - in particular, the enormous range of contacts and friends he had made among "the darker races" across the world, first through In The Land Of The Pharaohs and then his London magazines. Compared with Garvey, he was perhaps a more respectable seeming man, and seems to have been used to approach conservative black American leaders on behalf of the UNIA. Evidence survives of his so approaching R.R. Moton of Tuskegee Institute, though without success. In his best Victorian style, he wrote to Moton in April 1922;

My Dear Major Moton,

Mr. Marcus Garvey, at my suggestion, is requesting you to contribute a paper at the Convention to be held during the month of August, among those eminent gentlemen of like importance to yourself, who are outside the movement and who have something relevant to say in regard to the Race at large and that branch in America in particular. Until the names are all in it will be impossible to fix a day in August, but no doubt the date can be arranged to meet your convenience.

If for any reason you have engagements in August which would preclude the possibility of your coming to New York for the Convention, I would suggest that you might prepare your paper, in any case, which could be read by another. I think, however, that it would be in the highest interest of yourself and the Institution you so ably represent, if you could find it consistent with your convenience to be present.³³

But Moton found this invitation inconsistent with either his convenience

or inclination, and endorsed Duse's letter "no reply". Not put off so

easily, the persistent Egyptian sent a further note on June 20th;

My Dear Major Moton,

I think you have overlooked my letter of April 4th in which I requested you to contribute a paper to the Universal Negro Improvement Association's Convention if you found it impossible to be present.

33. R.R. Moton Papers, General Correspondence, 1922.

I shall be very glad if you will let me know your decision because the papers to be read at the Convention are to be printed in book form and time is passing.³⁴

This second entreaty brought a frosty, unhelpful and misleading answer from Moton's secretary;

My Dear Sir:

Your letter of June 20th which reached the Institute in the absence of Dr. Moton is being held for his attention on his return to the school. In the meantime I am writing to advise you that we do not locate in our files a letter from you under date of 4th April requesting Dr. Moton to prepare a paper for the Universal Negro Improvement Association's Convention.³⁵

The British Colonial Office itself could hardly have drafted a more starchy reply! The Tuskegee file copy of this letter is endorsed, again in Moton's hand, "too late now" - no doubt written with much satisfaction and relief. To be fair to Moton, like any principal of a Negro college receiving a substantial part of its money from white "benefactors", he could not afford to be overtly identified with black radicals,³⁶ least of all if, like Garvey, they were regarded in white liberal circles as anti-white. Indeed, Duse himself probably considered Garvey's anti-white reputation a liability

34. *ibid.*

35. *ibid.*

36. See Kenneth J. King, The American Background to the Phelps-Stokes Commissions, cited in note 24 above, on the need for Moton to pursue an ambiguous policy. But Dr. King also makes it clear that Moton was not totally unsympathetic to Garvey, and cites his invitation to Garvey and Mrs. Garvey to visit Tuskegee and address the students there in November 1923; see *op.cit.*, pp. 326-7.

to the movement.³⁷

It would be unwise to assess Duse' Mohamed Ali's effectiveness as a UNIA executive on the basis of one failure. No details have come to light of his work as head of the UNIA's African Affairs department. In Africa, especially in West Africa, he had numerous very real friends, who had been prepared to help him materially at critical stages in his career, and who honoured him for his journalistic crusades on their behalf. Though British West African Garveyites were only rather tenuously connected with the UNIA organisation³⁸ - which at best was not the most efficiently run body - yet Duse' Mohamed Ali may have played an important role as a link man. His work for the UNIA may perhaps help to explain the phenomenon of copies of the UNIA journal, the Negro World, turning up in such unlikely places as Northern Nigeria, where it was read by a small number of "foreign" natives³⁹ - that is, by such people as the Sierra Leonean, Gold Coast and Southern Nigerian clerks who had supported and been helped by the ATOR. Its old subscription lists, backed up by a personal appeal from its former editor, would have provided a viable basis for the distri-

37. This is discussed further below.

38. See Langley, West African Aspects of the Pan-African Movements, pp.125-132.

39. For Governor Sir Hugh Clifford's official assessment of the circulation of the Negro World in Nigeria in 1921-22, see *ibid*, pp.130-31. Clifford, on the basis of information from his officials in the North, found that the Negro World had a circulation in Kano, Munshi and Illorin, on a very small scale, among "a very limited class of native, not indigenous to the Northern Provinces".

bution of the Negro World in many parts of Africa. Turning from Africa to the United States, Duse' Mohamed Ali could well have had a symbolic importance to the UNIA, as African born, and as one who had a far wider knowledge of the world than most Garveyites. Few Garveyites would have had his connections with and knowledge of Pan-Islamism and Indian Nationalism. Mrs. Garvey remembers him as usually wearing his Fez as a protection against discrimination.⁴⁰ There is no doubt that he was perfectly conscious that an exotic appearance, identifying a black man as not a black American, could give protection. In his novel about the racial struggle in America in the nineteen-twenties, Ere Roosevelt Came, serialised in Lagos between February and October 1934,⁴¹ he has a black American character explain the effects of adding pseudo-tribal marks to his face;

it got me a lot of respect in this country. I was African, and an African wasn't a United States Negro; that got me a lot of help in out-of-the-way places with my messed up American language and all that. I changed my named to Alamazoo ...⁴²

Within the Garvey movement, with its usage of uniforms, regalia and exotic dress,⁴³ a Fez wearing Egyptian Muslim would have had an obvious appeal.

40. Information from Mrs. A. J. Garvey. For another example of a Fez-wearing African in the U.S.A., see the photograph of Mohammed Jama, first East African student at Tuskegee Institute, October 1915, in King, *op.cit.*, p.2.
41. The first instalment of this novel appeared in The Comet, 24th February 1934, pp.10-12, and it ran weekly until the final instalment on 13th October 1934, pp.11-12 and 17.
42. *ibid*, 29th September 1934, p.13.
43. See Cronon, *op.cit.*, pp.62-4, 68 and photographs opposite pp.110 and 111.

One wonders whether, like the character in his novel, Duse Mohamed Ali sometimes spoke a little Arabic, in order to impress people. No doubt his attendance at Mosque in London had given him command of at least a few Arabic phrases used in Muslim prayers and devotions.

Belief in separation of white and black, which led Garvey to outrage much black opinion by fraternising with the Klan and other extreme white racist organisations, was a point of potential disagreement between Duse Mohamed Ali and his leader. But perhaps Duse was able to equate Garvey's race separatism with an idea he had been propagating in his last years in London, namely the creation of a black American run state in ex-German East Africa. He wrote in the Negro World in 1922 on this theme, relating the Negro-State idea to the conditions obtaining in the New World - indeed surveying the entire world race scene;

In the month of June I briefly discussed the question of the necessity for an entirely Negro government in the late German colonies in East Africa. ... In view of the approach of the Universal Negro Improvement Association's convention I consider it opportune to deal more fully with the question ... especially in view of the Hon. Marcus Garvey's careful statement in regard to his recent interview with the 'imperial wizard' at Atlanta. I am not sure that the League of Nations, or the governments forming the League, really desire to help the Negro in the direction of independence. The Negro himself is largely to blame for this... It is his duty to agitate constitutionally and keep that agitation alive. It is useless to say that the New World Negroes have no habitation in Africa; that the climate is bad and the 'savages' are worse than the climate, and all the other senseless arguments of a like character. It is curious to note that despite these 'dis-advantages', of which the 'advanced' Negro frequently complains the European has been able to bear these imaginary ills and has succeeded in enriching himself at the expense of the so-called 'savage' and of Africa. ... Fortunately there is a growing body of opinion among patriotic Negroes in favor of African repatriation, and this being the case it is high time that the case should be stated for the benefit of the League of Nations, to whom it should be known that Negroes to the number of two millions, both from the United States of America and from other parts of the world, are ready to be sympathetically dealt with to help the

from the British colonial possessions in the West Indies and South America, as well as from the French colonies and protectorates, fought on behalf of the Allies in the late war. The Jews also fought in the late war. The Jews through Great Britain's mandate in Palestine have been given a home ... (to) the Negroes ... the continent of Africa is their homeland, and they have every reason to expect that they shall be given a home as and when they might desire to return there. It might be advanced that the 'advanced' Negroes in the New World are contented with the conditions, (sic) and are more likely to appreciate such political and economic advantages as are accorded them in the West rather than those negative benefits which they might receive at the hands of the various European governments who are ... protecting the several African peoples ...

In rebuttal of this hypothesis it would be as well to inform the League of Nations that in the British West Indies and British South America the condition of the Negro ... is becoming worse as years advance. ... there is a continued reduction in the wages of laborers on plantations and in the lower walks of industrial life. Politically they have no voice whatever in the management of the affairs of the majority which they form, and those who have migrated to such countries as the Republics of Guatemala and Honduras do not receive any consideration at the hands of these South American Republics ... The British Ministers in these Republics have stated that they are not accredited ... to protect the interests of Negroes, but to represent the interests of Englishmen and white colonials. There is a considerable difference between the treatment meted out to Negroes in the French colonies in the West Indies, and that ... under the British flag ...

The Negro under French rule in the New World is for the most part a citizen of France with adequate representation at the seat of the French government in Paris. On the other hand the Negroes under the British Crown, although their loyalty ... remains unquestioned, have not received that high consideration ... that they so justly deserve. In the United States of America the Negroes have also labored under considerable disadvantages in spite of a citizenship that is nearly valueless: especially in the Southern States ... They ... have a right to settle and as when (sic) they then desire in the land of their forefathers, and in view of the fact that they have fought as well as the Negroes of the West Indies in the interests of 'self-determination', and the 'rights of small nationalities', they are of the opinion that they should not be left out of any calculation which has for its objects the apportioning of the lands of their people in Africa. In these circumstances it is the duty of the League of Nations to see to it that the Negroes shall have a settlement in the late German colony of East Africa where a government could be formed comprising intellectual Negroes from the United States of America, and the British West Indies. This government might also contain some of the educated East Indians who at present form a large part of the trading community in British East Africa and who have vested interests in that portion of Africa. But it must be understood that whilst the League might be sympathetically disposed to help the

Negro to a settlement in his homeland, the Negroes must be prepared to manifest their wants in a manner at once unequivocal and insistent. God helps those that help themselves.

Such governments could be under the protection of the South African Union, which at present holds the mandate for the late German East African Colony (sic). It might be alleged that the Negroes are incapable of adequately carrying on a government ... We beg to point out that notwithstanding the disadvantages under which the Republics of Hayti and Liberia have labored, they have both carried on a comparatively successful government. ... Moreover the contact which the Negroes in the New World have had with Western forms of government since the foundation of the Haytian Republic and that of Liberia enables them to be in a much better condition, than were their brothers who established and carried on the government in the two countries named above.

We feel therefore that there is no body of people who have deserved more at the hands of the Allied Government than the Negroes of the New World and of Africa. It should be borne in mind that the Negroes of the British Gold Coast Colony and Nigeria assisted in the late war, as well as those from Senegal under the French Government... and because of this they have every right that some portion of their own land may be reserved for them where they might safely enjoy the blessing of freedom which is the right of every member of the human family.

We feel that the present unrest which obtains among Negroes throughout the world and more particularly in the New World might be very largely remedied by the establishment of a government in Africa for Negroes in their own political and economic interest.

It is obvious that it is not in the nature of things that the majority of Negroes would immigrate (sic) from the New World to Africa, but it is reasonable to suppose that those who form the industrial and intellectual groups ... would welcome an opportunity for the acquisition of a house which they could call their own, because at the present time with the exception of Liberia, no body of Negroes would be allowed to immigrate (sic) to the land of the forefathers in Africa without objectionable and pernicious hindrances from the Europeans who are now occupying and administering the country.

The demands we make are not merely sentimental. They are the demands of justice and we sincerely trust that the League of Nations will be alive to the dangers which are threatened from the large body of Negroes if they are not granted an adequate outlet for intellectual political and industrial expansion.⁴⁴

44. Negro World, 15th July 1922 in R.R. Moton Papers, General Correspondence, 1922.

of the final chapter of THE NEGRO IN THE NEW WORLD.

Despite its ponderous circumlocutions and tiresome repetitions, this is an important document for understanding Duse Mohamed Ali's political outlook, more particularly as an active member of the UNIA. What is immediately evident is that little in this article could not be found in the pages of the African Times and Orient Review or Africa and Orient Review between January 1917 and December 1920. It is dangerous to argue too confidently from limited evidence, but it would seem that although Duse had influenced Carvey when the latter was in London, the reverse process did not take place to a significant degree when Duse was in New York. Having so much in common in their basic ideas, if not in their political styles, Duse Mohamed Ali could fit well enough for a time into the Garveyite world, without really significantly changing his stance. A striking change, however, from his leaders in the African Times and Orient Review, was the absence of any appeals to Queen Victoria's name, laments for the decline in the influence of the British Crown, and appeals to the British, in their own "best interests", to live up to their supposed higher ideals. British "fair play" and the British monarchy were now replaced by the League of Nations as the fount of justice; despite a typical 'Dusian' warning of the trouble that might follow if Negro grievances were not redressed,⁴⁵ he kept to the traditional spirit of the loyal, if indignant, petition. Further, he acknowledged the part played by British and French West Africans in the Great War, yet his emphasis was a traditional 'return of the exiles' one of the sort that had such deep roots in black American

45. cf. the final chapter of In The Land Of The Pharaohs.

history. But one is bound to recall that African intellectuals of the time often resented and rejected the idea of Africa's need of an Afro-American leadership class - Kobina Sekyi being, a notable example of this reaction.⁴⁶ Sekyi would no doubt have felt that those who were under the impression that ex-German East Africa was a South African mandate, or for that matter that the Union of South Africa was a suitable guardian of an Afro-American regime there, were unfit to lead their African brethren. Indeed, these errors of fact and judgement contrast poorly with the highly informed standard of Duse' Mohamed Ali's journalistic writing on Africa between 1912 and 1920. Was this a momentary lapse of concentration, due to writing an article in haste to meet an editorial deadline, or does it perhaps reflect that Duse' Mohamed Ali was already by July 1922 becoming out of touch with African affairs? Although, as will be shown, he by no means lost his contacts with Africa during his ten years in the United States, he would not have had such good opportunities there to meet African leaders, as he had enjoyed in London. Though he associated with Africans in America, and wrote to his old friends in Africa, he never ran an American equivalent of 158 Fleet Street, that unique rendezvous of leaders of the "darker races" from three continents. Such contacts were not to be found within the UNIA in New York.

Taking into account Garvey's colourful personality, and the great

46. Langley, "Garveyism and African Nationalism", p.168. A much earlier example of the rejection of Afro-American tutelage by an African leader is the break made by James W. Dwane from the South African Ethiopian Church in 1900 on the grounds of its domination by the African Methodist Episcopal Church - see B.G.M. Sundkler, Bantu Prophets in South Africa, 2nd ed., London.1961, pp.41-2.

importance of his movement, one would expect to find much about Duse Mohamed Ali's association with him in his autobiography. To a work so richly anecdoted, more particularly concerning famous people, Garvey ought to have presented a splendid subject. Yet there is no mention whatever of Garvey in Leaves From An Active Life. The reason for this is easily guessed. It would have been foolhardy in the extreme for a foreign resident in a British colony in the nineteen-thirties to advertise the fact that he was a former Garveyite. Duse Mohamed Ali, was by that time an old man who could have had no wish to be deported back to the United States, or even worse to Egypt, a land in which he would have been an almost total stranger. Even in the obituary of Garvey which he published in his Lagos magazine The Comet,⁴⁷ he made no mention of working for Garvey in the nineteen-twenties, though he did refer to Garvey's working for the African Times and Orient Review in the safely distant days before the Great War, and before the UNIA existed.

Fortunately, there is a partial compensation for this lack of what could have been a superb source of information on Garvey and the UNIA, in Duse Mohamed Ali's novel of the American racial struggle, Ere Roosevelt Came. In this work, Garvey appears, thinly fictionalised, under the name of Napoleon Hatbry, as does Du Bois under the parodied name of Dr. Reginald Bologne De-Woode. But whereas in the case of Du Bois/De Woode, Duse Mohamed Ali had no personal reminiscences to call on, and his hostile portrait cannot give any deep insight into Du Bois' role in the N.A.A.C.P.

47. The Comet, 6th August 1940, p.4.

the reverse is true for Garvey. Napoleon Hatbry is first introduced to the reader of Duse's novel haranging a Harlem audience - a scene Duse must have witnessed - on the need to return to the African Motherland. References to Africa in his speech divide his hearers, some finding them a cause for witticism.⁴⁸ Although this first introduction of Hatbry into the novel refers to him as "a very sable and by no means prepossessing demagogue", yet elsewhere the novel shows real understanding of the reasons for Garvey's popularity among the masses;

Napoleon Hatbry was not only dreaming but endeavouring to evolve a plan which would at least make Africa 'all black', for he had successfully selected the slogan - 'Africa for the Africans!' It is indeed true that the average Afro-American denied having lost anything in Africa, and that Dr. Reginald Bologne De Woode, the special champion of the educated group, was fighting tooth and nail for the political and social recognition of the American people of colour ... Prior to the advent of Hatbry, the real black of America had no champion. As a rule Afro-American leaders, who were of mixed blood, were mainly selected and employed by the white political bosses to do their bidding without being allowed to enter the secret conclaves or caucuses of the dominant group. It therefore followed that these hireling 'Leaders', whether preachers or laymen, were for the most part, using their people as pawns in the political game of the whites.

The circumstances attendant upon the selection of leaders of mixed blood by the white politicians was to be found in the fact that the whites always discredited the mental capabilities of the simon-pure black. Rightly or wrongly, they believed that the admixture of 'superior' blood was an unfailing index to a high criterion of mentality. Beside this conclusion was the outstanding fact that the mulattoes or near-whites did in a large measure procure educational advantages in pre-emancipation days which were denied the blacks. Not a few independent or philanthropic-minded planters and slave owners were known to take a personal interest in their offspring. Others were granted special privileges in the 'great houses', received preferential consideration and were taught by their master-fathers to despise the black feminine stock from which they sprung. And this resulted in a division between the two coloured elements which is only now being healed by segregation and inter-marriages which

48. "Ere Roosevelt Came", in The Comet, 3rd March 1934, p.10.

are mainly due to economic conditions. The black man when marrying a mulatto woman not only secures a thrill but at the same time satisfies his vanity when walking abroad with a 'high yaller' on his arm. And the 'high yaller' who has become an expensive luxury, marries the black man because he invariably proves a better provider than the male of her own complexion. The men of mixed blood, usually marry a black, or what is termed a brown skin, by courtesy, because, being a worker she will assist in building up his fortunes should he be industriously inclined. The Afro-American 'brown skin', it should be noted in passing, is far less haughty than her 'high yaller' sister.

The advent of Hatbry was, therefore, hailed by the blacks as a distinct evidence of the intervention of an ever watchful Creator who sent to the real Afro-American a real black leader who, Moses-like, would lead them back to the land of their forefathers.

In the case of Dr. De Woode, the political forces believed that he aimed at the attainment of Afro-American social and political equality. And inasmuch as he always saw white and thought white, they ... would ... wear him down on the one hand, and by extending some slight show of social recognition on the other, effectively reduce him to a condition of enslavement. Thus, his 'policy' remained wobbly and uncertain with a consequent diminution in the volume of his following. This condition of affairs continued until Hatbry's appearance, whose success was instantaneous because of his racial ideas and the fire those ideas contained, which was absent in the mild academic propaganda of the much learned Doctor. The self educated Hatbry aimed to build an industrial group. Dr. De Woode stressed the 'intellectual' at the expense of the industrial. He seemed unable to understand that Doctors, Lawyers and Preachers, although a necessary evil, were mere parasites who, as a class, contributed comparatively nothing in the way of group advancement or enrichment and that a race possessing no material foundation was doomed to extinction.⁴⁹

What Duse Mohamed Ali has to say here about Du Bois is unfair and biased. It reflects the old Booker T. Washington-Du Bois quarrels, in which he had participated from the sidelines. A glance at The Crisis in the nineteen-twenties shows that Du Bois was neither bland in his politics, subservient to whites, nor even opposed to the idea of building a black

49. *ibid*, 28th April 1934, p.10.

economic base. It is interesting to see that Du Bois and The Crisis approved at least two black American attempts to form steamship companies contemporaneous with the much abused Black Star Line. These were; the African Steamship and Sawmill Company, chartered, like the Black Star Line itself, under the easy-going laws of Delaware, with a nominal capital of \$1,000,000, located in Philadelphia, and with Dr. L.G. Jordan as President and Bishop W.H. Heard as treasurer; and the Inter-Colonial Steamship and Trading Company of New York City, which in June 1920 had purchased the steamship 'Intercolonial' from the U.S. Shipping Board for \$16,720.33.⁵⁰ Du Bois also endorsed a projected Negro Central Bank as a means "to break the power of white capital in enslaving and exploiting the

50. See The Crisis, September 1920, p.239, and September 1921, p.227. These items both appeared in a regular feature on current black business developments, and must be weighed against Du Bois much better known attacks on Garvey. For a refutation of Duse Mohamed Ali's idea that Du Bois was bland in his politics, it is only necessary to refer to The Crisis' robust handling of the case of Dr. Sweet, a Negro doctor in Detroit who killed one white man and wounded another during a mob attack on his house, and who was ultimately with NAACP help, acquitted of murder-- see The Crisis, November 1925, pp.7-8 and 10; January 1926, pp.125-9; and July 1926, p.114. But this case would also tend to confirm Duse Mohamed Ali's impression that Du Bois was primarily concerned with the upper class Negro at that time. This is even conceded by his biographer, Francis L. Broderick-- see Broderick, W.E.B. Du Bois Negro Leader in Time of Crisis, Stanford, 1958, pp.117-8.

darker world."⁵¹ Nevertheless, Duse Mohamed Ali was surely right enough in stating that Du Bois/"De Woode" had never been a popular figure with the masses. It is evident that in the passage from Ere Roosevelt Came quoted above, Duse was dropping all pretence of writing a novel, and giving his Nigerian readers a more or less straight explanation of the reasons for Garvey's charisma among the black masses. Despite dogmatic tendencies, this passage establishes that Duse had a perceptive understanding of certain aspects of black American history and sociology.

Ultimately, the novel endorsed neither the Garvey nor the Du Bois approach (as Duse misrepresented it) to the black American predicament - though he was, one should note, careful to avoid any imputations of fraud against Garvey. Rather, he felt that Garvey was self-defeating, as he undertook measures which simultaneously needed white help, yet antagonised

51. See "A Central U.S. Negro Bank", The Crisis, August 1921, p.122, which states, "there is to-day a strong movement in Harlem for a Negro Bank and a movement which is soon going to be successful. This Negro bank is eventually going to bring into co-operation and concentration the resources of fifty or sixty other Negro banks ... and this aggregation of capital is going to be used to break the power of white capital in enslaving and exploiting the darker world." These were sentiments that would surely have met the total approval of Duse Mohamed Ali himself, and help to underline that a hard and fast dividing line cannot be drawn between pro and anti-Du Boisians in the nineteen-twenties. The Central Bank never came into existence, and indeed throughout the nineteen-twenties the New York Negroes remained tardy in the matter of creating or supporting black banks. See Harry H. Pace, "The Business of Banking Among Negroes", in The Crisis, February 1927, p.187. Perhaps one may partly explain this by recalling that New York was, after all, the centre of white banking in the United States, and the major New York banks were presumably able to offer better terms to black customers than any potential black bank.

whites, his business activities being a prime example.⁵² In view of the fact that he had accused Du Bois of pandering to whites, this might seem inconsistent. But the heroes of the novel are a mulatto, Smithson, who passes as white and infiltrates the Klan into its highest leadership;⁵³ and Browne, a black graduate of Harvard Law School,⁵⁴ who saves the black community and the United States from every kind of melodramatic threat, internal and external. However, Browne's method is not civil rights law practice, but the organisation of an all-black airline, which at crucial moments acts as an air force.⁵⁵ Lawyer Browne has a close and friendly but independent relationship with a white liberal called Dr. Detritcher, who ends up as President of the United States.

The implications of this are interesting. To begin with, a black controlled airforce is, if anything, an even more potent symbol of black power and capacity than a black steamship line, and reflects a similar kind of thinking. In a curious way, it was semi-prophetic, as it anticipated

52. "Ere Roosevelt Came", The Comet, 21st July 1934, p.17, says of "Hatbry's" business crash; "notwithstanding his many failures, he possessed such a magnetic hold upon his followers that they regarded him as a martyr who had been sacrificed to the cause of Negro uplift which had for its ultimate objective the creation of an Independent African State where Negroes the world over would be permitted to enjoy that freedom which was denied them under Nordic domination. Carried away by his eloquence, his following failed to realize that his alluring dream could not be effectively accomplished without the co-operation of the very Nordics he had unremittently vilified."

53. see ibid, 16th June 1934, p.11. Free their browner brethren from the rule of the white man. They would arrive in aeroplanes.

54. ibid, 14th April 1934, p.10. driven into the sea.

55. ibid, 4th August 1934, p.11-12, 18th August 1934, p.11, 8th September 1934, p.11, and 15th September 1934, pp.11-13.

by a year or so the actual exploits of John Robinson and Colonel Julian in the Italo-Ethiopian War.⁵⁶ But what is also clear is that Duse Mohamed Ali was suggesting that a better future for the black American would certainly lie via vigorous and independent self-defence and assertion; if necessary, which it probably would be, by force of arms; and led not by demagogues but by black intellectuals willing to foresake their ivory towers. This would ultimately lead, he suggests in his novel, not to outright racial war, but to the isolation and defeat of the most vicious elements in white American society and the ultimate possibility of healthy relationships based on mutual respect between white and black.⁵⁷ So Duse Mohamed Ali was ultimately optimistic about the possibility of racial harmony within the American system, though cannot fairly be reproached for underestimating the difficulties and dangers, or for preaching accommodation to white prejudices.

56. See Angelo Del Boca, The Ethiopian War 1935-1941, trans. by P.D. Cummins, Chicago and London 1969, p.92, which in a survey of the miniscule air force possessed by the Ethiopians in 1935-6 says; "there were two American Negro pilots, John Robinson of Chicago, who flew the few Ethiopian planes that were airworthy, and Hubert Eustace Julian of Harlem, better known as the 'Black Eagle'." They became heroes to millions of black Americans for their exploits - Robinson, for example, was one of the ten persons receiving the most prominent front page display in the leading black newspaper the Chicago Defender in the period 1933-38; see Cayton and Drake, Black Metropolis, p.403. On the symbolic level, note the use made of the idea of American Negro air power by Wellington Butelezi in South Africa after the Great War. He "told his followers that all Americans were Negroes and that they would be coming soon to set free their brother Africans from the rule of the white man. They would arrive in aeroplanes. When they came, 'the Europeans would be driven into the sea'." - E. Roux, Time Longer than Rope, p.140.

57. "Ere Roosevelt Came", The Comet, 13th October 1934, p.11.

Yet although it is clear from the above that in the final estimate he was far from being a Garveyite, his last verdict on Garvey, on hearing of the death of his former employee, pupil and leader, was a generous one;

Perhaps no African, living or dead, has made such an impression on the world at large and quickened the desire for racial self-reliance and self-dependence in the breasts of Africans the world over, than the dead leader. Marcus Garvey was employed in the London Office of 'The African Times and Orient Review' for the greater part of a year, when this writer possessed every opportunity of observing Mr. Garvey at close quarters. During that 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. Hence, when we visited the United States in 1920 (sic) we were pleasantly surprised at the size of the International Organisation he had founded. It is to be deeply regretted that his dream of a permanent home for the peoples of African Origin was not destined to be realised, but the fact remains that he altered the economic and political consciousness of the African the world over. It was not within the compass of his endeavour to lead his people to the Promised Land of political and economic freedom; but he has unquestionably altered their outlook as no previous leader seemed capable of accomplishing. He has passed on to join the great majority. May his soul rest in Peace is our sincere wish.⁵⁸

Duse Mohamed Ali's association with the UNIA was far from a total pre-occupation. By February 1923 he had become President of his next Pan-African style business venture, the American African Oriental Trading Company Inc. (AAOTC), which seems to have been totally unconnected with the UNIA. This company was incorporated under the compliant regulations of the state of Delaware - a common haven for shaky or shady companies in those days. Its head office was at 44 Whitehall Street, New York City, but such evidence as exists of its transactions suggests that its business

58. Obituary for Marcus Garvey, The Comet, 17th August 1940, p.4.

was mainly conducted from the Chicago address of 3202 Cottage Grove Avenue.⁵⁹

In fact, this New York office was run not by the company's President, but by a Captain J. Leighton Bertie who held the title of assistant general

manager.⁶⁰ It is known from the recollections of C.W. de Graft Johnson, the Ghanaian scholar and writer, that Duse Mohamed Ali spent a part of the nineteen-twenties in Chicago - where apparently he dwelt long enough to gather an impressive library of Africana around him.⁶¹ There is cir-

cumstantial evidence of his time in Chicago in Ere Roosevelt Came, which includes a sequence in a black Chicago speakeasy and dance hall, though of course this could be merely derived from hearsay, or conventional accounts in sensational crime novelettes and newspapers.⁶²

The company was floated with a nominal capital of \$300,000 in common stock, offered in \$5 shares at par.⁶³ Though this was a heady start, yet it will be noted that it was comparatively modest compared with the

59. The earliest known extant document demonstrating the existence of the AAOTC, from which the above information is taken, is Duse Mohamed Ali, for AAOTC Inc., to R.R. Moton, 19th February 1923, in Moton Papers, General Correspondence, 1923.

60. See Aims and Accomplishments of the American African Oriental Trading Co., Inc., 1923?, in R.R. Moton Papers, General Correspondence, 1923.

61. I am indebted to Dr. J.A. Langley for this information, which he received from C.W. de Graft Johnson in person.

62. "Ere Roosevelt Came", in The Comet, 10th March 1934, pp.10-11.

63. Aims and Accomplishments of the American African Oriental Trading Co. Inc.

64. See also Trade, pp.464-6, related the rise and fall of a bank which was made from porter, to proprietor of a bank with \$1,455,266.62 in deposits, and whose business career and reputation was destroyed, like many another in America, by the financial collapse of 1929-30.

ill-fated Inter-Colonial Corporation, and perhaps represents a relative degree of business realism. Also, it should be noted that although most black American business enterprises of that time were small - the barber's shop, the grocery store or the beauty parlour being typical⁶⁴ - yet the AAOCTC was not unique in its initial capital structure. The early nineteen-twenties can provide not a few examples of black American business companies on this kind of scale. The Inter-Colonial Steamship Corporation claimed assets of \$130,192 and possession of a ship said to be worth \$100,000. The African Steamship and Sawmill Company was nominally a \$1,000,000 corporation.⁶⁵ Both these are of especial interest as being contemporaneous with the Black Star Line, and having fairly obvious Pan-African implications - though that is not to say that the Pan-African style company was the norm in Negro company flotation on the grand scale at that time. Binga's State Bank of Chicago, though certainly seen as a symbol of black race advancement, is a good example of an ambitious enterprise free of any Pan-African aims.⁶⁶

64. See Cayton and Drake, Black Metropolis, p.438, for tables of the ten most numerous types of Negro business in Chicago; though these figures are for 1938, there is no reason to believe that they were radically different in the previous decade. Beauty parlours come first, followed by groceries, barber shops, tailors, cleaners and pressers, restaurants, coal and wood dealers, taverns, undertakers, shoe repairers, and dressmakers. This finding is broadly confirmed in the case of New York too; see Scheiner, A History of the Negro in New York City, pp.78-81.

65. The Crisis, September 1920, p.239 and September 1921, p.227.

66. Cayton and Drake, op.cit., pp.464-8, relates the rise and fall of Jesse Binga, who rose from porter, to proprietor of a bank with \$1,465,266.62 in deposits, and whose business career and reputation was destroyed, like many another in America, by the financial holocaust of 1929-30.

Duse Mohamed Ali attempted to attract support for the AAOTC from eminent black Americans; as Moton was approached, so no doubt were others. He was encouraged to approach Moton by his surprisingly friendly reception at Tuskegee a few months previously. Writing to the Tuskegee Principal, he stressed the need for an all out effort in the interests of their race;

I am writing you for the purpose of soliciting your co-operation for the purpose of having some intensive effort put forward in the interest of the success of our Company. You will remember that I discussed this matter with you during my visit to Tuskegee. I feel certain in the interest (sic) of race solidarity you will combine actively towards the objective we wish to obtain. Those who would interest others must first themselves be. I therefore hope that in addition to influencing friends you will take at least one share yourself as a proof of your confidence in my bona fides.⁶⁷

If Duse had genuine confidence in Moton, it was misplaced. In his usual way with Duse's letters, Moton endorsed the appeal "no reply". We may conclude he was not favourably impressed by the company's prospectus, which Duse Mohamed Ali had hopefully enclosed.

This document,⁶⁸ all optimism in the usual manner of company prospectuses, provides information about Duse Mohamed Ali's chief associates in the AAOTC, and projects an unmistakable Pan-African message. Its objects are given thus;

THE MAIN OBJECT OF THIS COMPANY IS TO CEMENT AND FOSTER CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE NATIVES OF WEST AFRICA AND THEIR CO-PATRIOTS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

67. Duse Mohamed Ali to R.R. Moton, 19th February 1923, Moton Papers, General Correspondence, 1923.
68. Aims and Accomplishments of the American African Oriental Trading Co. Inc.

This corporation is to be used as a trading organization and partially a banking proposition, whereby the Negro planters and producers of West Africa can be freed from the present jurisdiction and oppression of the European banking and financial institutions, and in doing so, secure to a better extent the advantageous prices secured at the market of the consumers of their products. At the present time the only people who are advancing these natives money for the planting and the harvesting of their crops, are the European banks and financial institutions, who in turn for this accommodation demand that such crops be sold through them or people designated by them, allowing the natives a purely nominal figure for their product, while they themselves make the enormous difference between the price they allow the natives and the price the merchandise actually commands in the countries where it is consumed.

The products in which this corporation will deal, are the principal exports of West Africa, namely: Palm-oil, palm-kernels, hides, cocoa, copra, mahogany, dye woods, ground nuts, rubber and coffee.

The principal imports which the company will supply to the natives are as follows: Prints and other cotton piece goods, crockery, hardware, enamel ware, cement, corrugated iron, gasoline, salted fish, flour, rice biscuits, salted beef and pork, motor trucks, automobiles and general merchandise.

In other words Duse Mohamed Ali's plan was the old formula, put perhaps more simply and forcefully than ever. The one major change was that now London had no role, not even as a clearing house, in his business plans. Nothing could illustrate more clearly his total separation, in under two years, from his old life there. To emphasise its Pan-African message, the prospectus concluded;

It will be seen from the outline that this company has, outside of its purely commercial features which are great in the possibilities of financial success, the great spirit of co-operative help and the JOINING HANDS ACROSS THE SEA OF THE NEGROES IN THIS COUNTRY AND THOSE OF WEST AFRICA. It is by this unification of the commercial life by the Negro that it will be possible to bring about the emancipation of his comrades and allow the Negro producers of the world to actually govern their own products and lift themselves from the financial oppression of European and other banking influences. It is the idea

of the company to use the commercial strength, which will be assured through the binding together of the Negro race in the two continents, to make this corporation the emancipation stone of the entire Negro population.

Thus the AAOFC continued the ambiguous double appeal characteristic of Duse Mohamed Ali's business ventures of his London period - to the black man's desire to get rich, and to his racial patriotism and solidarity.

But despite these appeals to racial solidarity, the AAOFC was not an all-black company in its leading personnel. There are five men named in the company's prospectus, of whom only two were black - Duse Mohamed Ali and the Gold Coast merchant and planter, Alfred Lincoln Cudjoe of Accra, a former director of the ill-fated Inter-Colonial Corporation. Cudjoe, who was a product of that nursery of Gold Coast entrepreneurs the Basle Mission, was to be the firm's link man with the West African producers. It was also stressed that Duse Mohamed Ali had great influence in West Africa too; it was claimed that "by establishing him as president it would solidify and create a spirit of trust and friendliness between those Negroes of West Africa and of this country." Large claims were made not only for what Cudjoe could do for the company, but even for what he had already done;

You might say of this gentleman that he practically knows every native planter and producer in the Gold Coast Colony and adjacent colonies. ... the original work of banding together these farmers to join this organization has already been done by Mr. Cudjoe and it is only a question for us to accomplish this company, and these farmers will join right in and use it as their sales organization. Mr. Cudjoe has assured us that he personally, as well as his associates and his farmer friends, will, the minute this corporation is formed and shows them assurances of some assistance and capital from this side, themselves become shareholders and do everything in their power to promote and enlarge this corporation.⁶⁹

The claims of company prospectuses are not to be taken too seriously; they may represent at best aspirations, at worst an intention to lure and deceive the unwary. But it would be unwise to dismiss the claims made on behalf of Cudjoe as mere bubble-blowing. West African interest in doing business with America was real enough. There are a number of examples in the nineteen-twenties of British West African cocoa farmers attempting to export their produce direct to the American market through their own marketing organizations,⁷⁰ and it is very likely that Cudjoe was well informed about and in touch with this kind of sentiment.

The three white members of the company were given inferior billing in the prospectus. The already mentioned Bertie, assistant general manager in New York, was said to have been "for many years in charge of the West Indian Steamship Company of England". He was supposed to know West Africa as well as the West Indies and to have experience of barter and trade.

70. For e.g., in 1924-25, as a result of moves initiated by chiefs in the Eastern Province of the Gold Coast, the Gold Coast Farmers Association began direct cocoa shipments to the U.S. on a sufficiently large scale to seriously reduce shipments through the usual British firms. The cocoa was bought on credit at 25/- per load - about 5/- more than offered by the highest bidding European merchants. But the scheme collapsed when the Association's broker misappropriated most of the proceeds and absconded. Over £300,000 was lost, and legal proceedings arising out of this fiasco continued till as late as 1937. See D. Kimble, A Political History of Ghana, pp.51-2.

The efforts of the Gold Coast businessman W. Tete-Ansa to market West African produce direct in the U.S. are discussed subsequently in this chapter. Suffice to say here that the remnant of the Gold Coast Farmers Association had joined forces with Tete-Ansa by June 1928 according to Duse Mohamed Ali, who wrote in Africa magazine, New York, June 1928, p.6; "West African Co-operative Producers Ltd., will work harmoniously with the all but defunct Gold Coast Farmers Association, inasmuch as Mr. Kwame Ayew, the organizer and President of the Gold Coast Farmers Association, has assumed a directorship on the board of the West African Co-operative Producers Ltd."

The remaining two white members of the company were New Yorkers, father and son, John C. Seager Senior and Junior. The elder Seager was to be general manager of the corporation, and had been a shipping agent and grain importer in New York since 1868. His son was to be manager of the company's African headquarters in Accra.⁷¹

In the autumn of 1923 the AAOTC was still presenting itself to the black American public. But by this time, its president had changed his promotional tactics to include, it would seem, a travelling publicity campaign. In mid-October he was to be found in St. Louis, using the black St. Louis newspaper The Clarion⁷² - a believer in the idea that the black man should progress through business rather than political demands⁷³ - to drum up support. He was by no means unknown to the black citizens of St. Louis, since he had delivered a lecture there on May 21st 1923 on "Egypt under Tut-Ankh-Amen" in which he had expounded "the race and lineage of this celebrated king" and explained "many of the secrets concerning same as well as the mysteries of ancient Egypt."⁷⁴ The company

71. Aims and Accomplishments of the American African Oriental Trading Co. Inc.

72. St. Louis Clarion, 19th October 1923, Moton Papers, General Correspondence, 1923.

73. This was, at least alleged by The Crisis, in an article in its issue for March 1921, p.220.

74. Baltimore Herald, 16th May 1923, in Moton Papers, General Correspondence, 1923.

had since opened an office in St. Louis at 209 North Jefferson Avenue, and Duse had won the heart of the Clarion by offering "every facility for investigating and (to) familiarize ourselves with the organization". The nominal capital of the company had by now been raised to \$600,000, though this was described by Duse as a modest sum, chosen "so that the capital might be quickly subscribed to enable us to get on with the business and show results" - after which further capital would flow in on a massive scale. He was reported as "offering" the trade formerly done by the Germans in West Africa before the Great War, "estimated" at \$150,000,000 annually, to those who would support his company. He claimed to have with him securities worth \$498,000, to "cover" the \$500,000 of preferred stock being offered.⁷⁵ One is bound to be sceptical about these securities, though he may well have had options, leases etc. on West African properties. Cudjoe was said to have already created "trading posts and warehouses... for the sale of manufactured goods and the reception and storing of the raw materials". Readers who were worried about the role of the Englishman, Bertie, in what was presented as a race unity organisation, were re-assured that "a staff of colored help will be operating under Captain Bertie who will teach them the business in order that they might function after he has retired."⁷⁶ Indeed, it would seem that remarks of this sort made their mark, for a few years later, an Associated Negro Press report⁷⁷ on

75. St. Louis Clarion, 19th October 1923.

76. ibid.

77. See The Reporter, Birmingham Ala., 21st August 1927; The Eagle, Washington D.C., 19th August 1927; The Informer, Columbus S.C., 22nd August 1927; all in Moton Papers, General Correspondence, 1927.

W. Tete-Ansa's cocoa marketing plans contrasted Tete-Ansa's decision to use white American staff and his slighting remarks about the business capacity of black New Yorkers with Duse Mohamed Ali's contrary practice. In this respect Duse Mohamed Ali would appear to have been more of a 'race man' than Tete-Ansa. In his St. Louis interview, he again stressed the "hands across the sea" aspect of his company, stating that West Africans, whose messenger he was, regarded the black Americans as "their close blood relations". He went over all the old ground about the extortionate British middlemen between the West African producer and the American consumer, and stressed that the West Africans were not savages but civilized people, with civilized appetites for American manufactures. But despite the bullish tone of his interview, it ended on a note which admitted the difficulties of the past and hinted at more in the present;

No great effort can be devoid of disappointment and during my two (2) years of effort in this country I have had many disappointments.

But I have never been discouraged because the word failure has been eliminated from my vocabulary and this present month we mean to get on with business in hand several contracts being already entered into with important manufacturers in St. Louis as well as New York.

The sale of stock is going well but we cannot have too much assistance and I feel certain that those have (sic) holding back have only done so because of lack of information.⁷⁸

In fact, it is certain that the AAOTC failed to attract sufficient support.

Though the details and exact time of its end are not known, by August 1927

Duse had sunk into such obscurity that the Associated Negro Press no longer

knew whether he was still pursuing his business efforts, referring to his

business career only in the past tense.⁷⁹

78. St. Louis Clarion, 19th October 1923.

79. See Associated Negro Press reports as listed in note 77 above.

There would seem to have been an interval, then, between the collapse of his earlier business efforts in America, and his involvement in W. Tete-Ansa's American West African Co-operative Producers, Inc., in 1927-28.

During this time, what information there is of his activities gives the impression that he turned to cultural nationalism. Indeed, even in his earlier business phase in 1921-23 he had used his name as a historian and journalist.⁸⁰ A fez wearing Egyptian who could lecture knowledgeably and in a popular manner about the history and politics of Egypt, and Africa in general, and who could spice his lectures with personal anecdotes of his many adventures and travels, was sure to be able to make some kind of a living in the black American world. Furthermore, as in London, he found that his Muslim religion was an asset to him, making him respected by black and white Americans, and the welcome brother of the tiny minority of foreign Muslims then living in America. As in London, Islam and black cultural nationalism were inter-related themes of his American years.

The main scene of Duse Mohamed Ali's Islamic-cum-black cultural nationalist activities in America was Detroit, and since this was the scene of the early years of the Nation of Islam, one is bound to wonder if he had any direct connection with its formation. Could he have perhaps even been the mysterious W.D. Fard, founder of the Nation of Islam, trader, man from the East and incarnation of Allah? The answer, alas, must be that he was surely not. All accounts of Wallace Fard strongly stress his light

80. The St. Louis Clarion interview of 19th October 1923 opened with the phrase; "We called upon Duse Mohamed Ali, Effendi, the Egyptian Historian and Publicist".

skin, while Duse Mohamed Ali was definitely dark, and ascribe to Fard a more intransigent rejection of all things white than can ever be associated with Duse even at his most militant. Furthermore, W.D. Fard's period of activity in Detroit was 1930-33, while Duse left America in 1931.⁸¹ But it remains a reasonable speculation that his activities in Detroit helped to inform ordinary black people about Islam and develop a climate suitable for the Nation of Islam's early growth. The Nation of Islam's stress on an Oriental origin for black Americans⁸² may relate to the Oriental stress of Duse Mohamed Ali's cultural activities in Detroit, which will be discussed presently. One is bound, also, to speculate on the likelihood of some connection between Duse Mohamed Ali's activities in Detroit, and those of Noble Drew Ali. Noble Drew Ali, perhaps the earliest of modern black American Muslim "prophets", had established a temple in Detroit by 1925. Furthermore, he insisted that black Americans "must call themselves Asiatics, Moors, or Moorish Americans."⁸³ Could he, perhaps, have attended some of the Muslim activities organised by Duse Mohamed Ali in Detroit, and been impressed by Duse's Egyptian origins and sense of belonging to a great

81. For details of W.D. Fard's career in Detroit, see E.U. Essien-Udom, Black Nationalism, A Search for an Identity in America, Chicago 1962, pp.43-5. The writer has had the great benefit of both correspondence and discussions with Professor Essien-Udom on the question of the possibility of an identity between Duse Mohamed Ali and W.D. Fard; the outcome was agreement that Duse Mohamed Ali could not have been W.D. Fard, exciting though the idea might be.

82. Essien-Udom, Black Nationalism, p.262.

83. *ibid.*, pp.33-5, outlines the career of Noble Drew Ali.

and ancient culture as well as religion? It is, at least, to be doubted if black folk in Detroit had ever before encountered anything quite like Duse Mohamed Ali! His first Islamic activity in Detroit can be traced back to a visit made there shortly after his Tuskegee trip - i.e. during or shortly after the second half of 1922. He went to Detroit "at the request of a group of Muslim Indians to whom I had been introduced shortly after my arrival in New York."⁸⁴ No doubt these men, none of whom he named, were originally contacted via the good offices of his Indian Muslim friends in London.

Possibly the Detroit Indian Muslims knew about the Central Islamic Society in London and had heard about Duse Mohamed Ali's role in it, for they asked him "to organise a Muslim Society which would be the means of establishing a prayer-room with a regular system of weekly prayers which had been sadly neglected."⁸⁵ The outcome was a Muslim organisation on the lines of the London Central Islamic Society, looking after not only the religious but also the social life of the Detroit Muslim community, and seeking the support of non-Muslim sympathisers. A committee of management was formed, and Duse Mohamed Ali was elected President for two terms of office. Assuming these were yearly, this would have given him office in the Detroit Central Islamic Society until at least 1925. How much of this time he was resident in Detroit can only be guessed. We are told that "lectures and concerts were held at frequent intervals"

84. "Leaves", in The Comet, 5th February 1938, p.7.

85. *ibid*

and that "many of the most important members of Detroit Society, Civic and Social, were very often entertained."⁸⁶ In some ways, such activities must have been even more satisfying for him in Detroit than they had been in London. Now he was the respected leader of a Muslim community, and no doubt a useful bridge between these Asian Muslims and American life. There was far less likelihood in Detroit than in London of coming across white men of the W.S. Blunt type, who might query his bone fides as an Islamic leader. Nor would white American sympathisers at that date have normally objected to a little anti-British Empire propaganda among the Detroit Central Islamic Society's activities.

Out of the Detroit Central Islamic Society grew a more broadly based cultural group called the American Asiatic Association.⁸⁷ This can be tentatively dated as coming into existence towards the end of 1925,⁸⁸ and had the large objects of "more amicable relations and a better understanding between America and the Orient in general than had previously obtained."⁸⁹ An organising committee, part Indian and "other-Oriental groups", part American, was set up, with Duse Mohamed Ali as organising secretary. Not

86. *ibid.*

87. *ibid.*

88. *ibid.* This tells us that the American Asiatic Association broke up after being in existence for "no ... longer than twelve months", and that the break-up coincided with the death of Houdini in Detroit. Houdini died on 31st October 1926 - see Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1969 ed., Vol.11, p.752.

89. All the following details of the American Asiatic Association are from "Leaves", in The Comet, 5th February 1938, p.7.

only the Mayor and Mayoress of Detroit, but also the Persian Charge d'Affaires and the Egyptian Minister in Washington and his wife were induced to act as patrons. Clearly, the American Asiatic Association was able for a time to establish itself as a highly respectable organisation. Its activities, as described by Duse Mohamed Ali, sound entirely innocuous. For example, they gave Duse the opportunity to revive some of his old theatrical talents;

By way of introducing the Association to Detroit, I gathered a company of local dramatic and musical talent and produced two short Oriental costume plays of my own interspersed with selected musical numbers ... costumed within an Oriental setting designed by myself and executed by the scenic artists at the local Theatre.

We subsequently obtained the voluntary services of informed Oriental lecturers then resident, or visiting the United States, to discuss the religions and literature of the Orient in addition to such available Americans who had resided in the East and were capable of speaking authoritatively on political or social subjects as they understood them.

But within a year Duse Mohamed Ali's unfortunate experiences in the Ottoman Committee in London repeated themselves;

jealousies arose with a number of factional squabbles among various Oriental groups over the question of control and, these factions were joined by some of the ill-informed but aggressively ambitious American element, who were anxious to reduce me to a mere cypher, after I had made the organisation both practicable and possible.

Were these "aggressively ambitious American elements" white or black?

Unfortunately Duse Mohamed Ali does not say. They might either have been white "sympathisers" of the sort he had already, to his cost, encountered in the London Ottoman Committee; or, on the analogy of the factiousness of other early Muslim groups in America,⁹⁰ black people. Be that as it

90. For details of dissension in Noble Drew Ali's movement, see Essian-Udom, op.cit., p.35; for details of the split between W.D. Fard's supporters and opponents in the Nation of Islam's early years in Detroit, see ibid, pp.44-5.

may, he resigned his office early in November 1926; disagreements continued within the Association between the Indians and Americans, and after a few months it "died a most inglorious death". Theatrical and lecturing work provided an escape from these unpleasantnesses. Indeed, it is possible to date his rupture with the American Asiatic Association because he states that it coincided with the death of Houdini in Detroit.⁹¹ This had caused the management of the theatre in which Houdini had been appearing to engage Duse Mohamed Ali and his "oriental performance" for a week as an emergency substitute act. However, he continued his activities in the apparently less quarrelsome Detroit Central Islamic Society.⁹² Exactly when he severed his Detroit connections is not clear, but they still existed in the later months of the following year when, on the verge of leaving for "a series of lecture engagements in Chicago" he was first approached by Tete-Ansa⁹³ and began to be drawn back into the West African produce trading world. As a post-script to his life in Detroit, it may be noted that not all his social life there was in the Islamic or Oriental Cultural fields. He was proud to have been prominent among the Detroit Order of Elks, rising to be an Exalted Ruler!⁹⁴

But these years after the collapse of the AAOTC were not entirely spent in the Mid-West, for in 1926 he became the founder and General-Secretary

91. Houdini died on 31st October 1926 - see note 88 above.

92. "Leaves", in The Comet, 5th February 1938, p.7.

93. *ibid.*

94. *ibid.*

of a cultural organisation in New York called the America-Asia Association Inc.⁹⁵ Most likely this was formed on the re-bond from the Detroit American Asiatic Association. This would be entirely consistent with his lifelong tenacity, and with the precedent of the formation of the Anglo-Ottoman Society after being driven out of the Ottoman Committee. It claimed the same patrons as the Detroit organisation, and announced the following as its objects;

1 To acquaint the people of America with the literary, Artistic and Religious culture of the Orient and to present the viewpoint of the outstanding thinkers and writers of the day. This will be done by means of lectures, stage plays, association bulletins and a magazine published quarterly.

2 To give those who desire it an opportunity for first hand study of various Oriental languages - a much neglected field in America.

3 To establish trade contacts in the Orient by means of a Trade Contacts Bureau, which will be able to supply accurate information regarding markets and establish reliable trade connections.

4 To secure Oriental fabrics and art goods of the highest grade and true esthetic value for members and others. These things will represent the work of authentic Oriental craftsmen and artists (sic).⁹⁶

This is strongly reminiscent in its aims and objects to the Oriental Occidental and African Society which Duse Mohamed Ali had created in London way back in 1912. It is perhaps a measure of temporary disillusion with the world of Pan-African style produce trading that modest business activities of the very limited kind he had been operating fourteen years previously were merely the third and fourth objects of this association.

Nothing is known of its membership, save Duse Mohamed Ali himself, who was

95. See Africa, Vol.I, no.1, New York, 1928, p.2.

96. ibid.

its General-Secretary; and a woman called Mary Forest, who was its "Art and Field Secretary",⁹⁷ and who later became the Secretary of Africa, the abortive magazine published in New York in June 1928 by Tete-Ansa and edited by Duse Mohamed Ali himself. The America-Africa Association Inc.'s projected magazine is shrouded in mystery, and it seems doubtful that it was ever published. In general, this Association, though not without a certain interest, would seem to represent the doldrums of Duse Mohamed Ali's career in America, from which he was extricated by involvement with that stormy and controversial figure, W. Tete-Ansa.⁹⁸

Duse Mohamed Ali had actually met Tete-Ansa a few years earlier whilst he was still in London. Tete-Ansa had spent the years 1921-23 in London studying commerce and banking, before that having been a successful cocoa produce merchant who had had the good sense or good fortune to sell out in 1919 and so escape the 1920 cocoa slump.⁹⁹ Nothing could have been more natural than that a Gold Coast man of his interests should have visited 158 Fleet Street. But unfortunately, Duse Mohamed Ali wrote his account of his dealings with Tete-Ansa in a spirit of retribution - the two men quarrelled less than a year after their meeting again in America in 1927. So all Duse had to say of their first meeting was that Tete-Ansa "floated into my London Office ... like many other adventurers."¹⁰⁰

97. *ibid.*

98. The only substantial published work on Tete-Ansa is A.C. Hopkins, "Economic Aspects of Political Movements in Nigeria and the Gold Coast 1918-1939", Journal of African History, Vol.II, no.1, 1966, pp.133-152.

99. *ibid.*, p.136.

100. "Leaves", in The Comet, 5th February 1938, p.7.

But in about August 1927, Tete-Ansa sent an "urgent letter" from New York to Detroit in which he sought Duse Mohamed Ali's assistance in his business plans; it might seem to be a case of the biter bit, for with the letter was a company prospectus, using the names of "some six or seven Paramount Gold Coast Chiefs whom I (i.e. Duse) knew by repute and was to all appearances a very informative and convincing document." The letter flatteringly said that these Chiefs, knowing of Duse Mohamed Ali's efforts for West African producers, had asked Tete-Ansa to solicit his assistance on their behalf. A second letter soon followed the first, which, according to Duse, was "piteously urging me to come to New York at once as my advice and assistance were vitally necessary to his success as he was a sort of 'Innocent (?) Abroad'."¹⁰¹

Though no doubt coloured by later resentment, there would seem to be a basis of truth in this account. Compared with Duse Mohamed Ali, whose experience in West African produce marketing went back to 1912 in some sense, Tete-Ansa was almost a novice. Between 1925 and 1930 Tete-Ansa created three companies - West African Co-operative Producers Ltd. (1925); the Industrial and Commercial Bank Ltd. (acquired by Tete-Ansa 1924 and transferred to Nigeria 1928); and the West African American Corporation Inc.,¹⁰² in which Duse was involved in 1927-28, and which was finally incorporated in 1930. There is no doubt that Tete-Ansa was a man with an idea. As A.G. Hopkins puts it;

101. *ibid.*

102. Hopkins, *op.cit.*, p.138.

Tete-Ansa's own proposals ... reflected the needs of the time in a way that previous schemes had failed to do. His originality lay in his breadth of vision, which enabled him to gather ideas that had been looked at before from a very restricted viewpoint. Tete-Ansa was not concerned simply with one aspect of the economy of one colony. He set out to encompass all stages of the import and export trade. The three companies he formed represented a bold attempt ... as the great liberator; it was the means by which traditional forms of economic operation could be translated into modern commercial institutions; it was also the means by which the new feeling of racial unity could be harnessed and set to work on the problem of the economic development of Africa. Moreover, he looked beyond the confines of one's own town, and even one country, towards the larger concept of negro unity which was the dream of the political leaders of the 1920's.¹⁰³

All this should surely be conceded to Tete-Ansa except the point of originality. Duse Mohamed Ali had been developing substantially the same ideas since 1912, and his ideas had not sprung fully armed solely out of his head, but had emerged from the 158 Fleet Street milieu, in which there was such a strong representation of West African nationalists and businessmen - a generation whom it is wrong to suppose were only narrowly interested in constitutional advance. As for the attempt to translate these ideas into practice, the Inter-Colonial Corporation of 1920 and the American African Oriental Trading Company of 1923 were clearly in the field before the earliest of Tete-Ansa's efforts. Indeed, as a Gold Coaster, a cocoa trader, and a visitor at 158 Fleet Street some time between 1919 and 1921, he can have hardly failed to be aware of some of these precedents, which must have played their part in inspiring his own efforts. What could be more natural than that he should turn to Duse Mohamed Ali for advice in 1927? An added point of contact between the two men was that although

103. *ibid.*, p.140.

Tete-Ansa was raised a Christian, at some point in his life he became a Muslim.¹⁰⁴ Whether he had fully accepted Islam in 1927-28 is not known, but on 1st March 1928 he concluded a letter to Herbert Macaulay in Lagos with the Arabic Muslim greeting "Salamalekum".¹⁰⁵

Soon after being appealed to by Tete-Ansa, Duse Mohamed Ali was at work on behalf of the West African American Corporation, and associated projects. He played a part in drumming up support for Tete-Ansa in West Africa; he was the lynch-pin of the magazine Africa which was designed to be the Tete-Ansa publicity organ in America; he negotiated cocoa contracts for Tete-Ansa with American cocoa interests; and he played a part with Tete-Ansa in a cultural and social organisation for Africans in the United States. To take the West African letters first, he backed up Tete-Ansa's appeals to three prominent Lagos figures, Herbert Macaulay, Chief Oluwa and Chief Ali Balogun. His friendship with the first two of these went back several years and has already been noted. To Herbert Macaulay he wrote on 10th January 1928;

Everything is now in order to do business from New York where an agency has been established and a new company, the American West Africa Co-operative Producers, Inc., has been registered with a capital of \$1,000,000.

Mr. Ansa invited me to co-operate with him on this business and I am doing so with the conviction that you and Chief Oluwa will do your utmost to assist this venture in every way, as it means the ultimate salvation of the people of the country. The Bank is also to be established as soon as Mr. Ansa comes out to Africa, and it is my wish that you shall do your utmost to obtain such guarantees of deposits for the bank in order that upon its establishment there

104. *ibid*, p.136.

105. W. Tete-Ansa, Broadway Central Hotel, New York City, to Herbert Macaulay, Lagos, 1st March 1928, Macaulay Papers, III, 7, General Correspondence, 1928 in Africana Collection, University of Ibadan Library.

will be a guaranteed support at Lagos. I have written to other important persons at Ibadan and Abeakuta (sic) to this end.

It is also necessary to conserve the palm-oil directly and indirectly under your control in order that adequate supplies may be forthcoming, inasmuch as Lagos will be receiving cables and credits for required quantities immediately upon receipt of your reply. Hold yourself ready to act with promptness and despatch.¹⁰⁶

The Bank referred to here was the Industrial and Commercial Bank, which had been acquired by Tete-Ansa in 1924, and whose operations were transferred by him from England to Nigeria in 1928, thereby becoming, with disastrous consequences, British West Africa's first African controlled bank.¹⁰⁷ The letter to Chief Ali Balogun was in much the same vein.¹⁰⁸

It is interesting to find Herbert Macaulay, who might be regarded as the type of 'old-fashioned' and merely 'constitutional' nationalist, involved in this economic road to West African, and beyond that to race salvation. In fact, Herbert Macaulay had been privy to Tete-Ansa's plans since at least 1926, when he had with Chief Oluwa and "other prominent Nigerians" become part of the Nigerian board of West African Co-operative

106. Duse Mohamed Ali, 1058 Dean Street, Brooklyn, New York City, to Herbert Macaulay, Lagos, 10th January 1928, Macaulay Papers, III, 7, General Correspondence, 1928.

107. See Hopkins, op.cit., p.139, and Newlyn and Rowan, Money and Banking in British Colonial Africa, pp.97-8, which comments; "during its short life the bank ran the whole gamut of those dangers and abuses to which early banking ventures are traditionally exposed." Newlyn and Rowan continue; "The company's books, for example, were found to be in a chaotic state ... The debts due to the bank, which (in accordance with the traditions prevailing in such ventures) included a substantial advance to the Managing Director, and another, only slightly smaller, to the company under his control, proved to be almost wholly irrecoverable."

108. Duse Mohamed Ali, 1058 Dean Street, Brooklyn, to Chief Ali Balogun, Lagos, 12th January 1928, Macaulay Papers, III, 7, General Correspondence, 1928. Also see Duse to Chief Oluwa, 12th January 1938, ibid.

Producers Ltd.¹⁰⁹ Tete-Ansa, Oluwa and Macaulay had first met as long back as 1920 in London (another example of London as a rendezvous for West Africans).¹¹⁰ Indeed, Tete-Ansa seems to have found London a generally useful place for picking up sympathisers. It was surely there that he met those stalwart Pan-Africanists and members of the APU, Robert Broadhurst (the APU's first Hon. Secretary) and J.A. Barbour James, of whom Tete-Ansa had written to Herbert Macaulay in November 1926 concerning West African Co-operative Producers Ltd.;

associated with me is that constant admirer of yours - Mr. Robert Broadhurst, who as we know him has the welfare of our Motherland deeply at heart. Mr. Barbour-James is another true son of Africa, his many years experience in the Post Office service on the Gold Coast as a Senior entitles him to be a serious coadjutor in our enterprise.¹¹¹

Barbour James had been instrumental in introducing Tete-Ansa to another West Indian, H. Isaac Jeffers of Port of Spain, Trinidad, a solicitor through whom he hoped to "approach our People in the West-Indian Spheres to join forces with us in order that we may extend and carry on the work of not only developing our economic advancement, but also to ameliorate

109. See W. Tete-Ansa, for West African Co-operative Producers Ltd., to Herbert Macaulay, Lagos, 29th November 1926, Macaulay Papers, III, 5, General Correspondence, 1926.

110. Information to writer from Chief T.A. Doherty, Lagos, 2nd April 1967.

111. See note 109 above. For information about Broadhurst, Barbour James and the APU, see Chapter VI of this thesis.

the conditions of the African Peoples generally."¹¹² There is every reason to admire the breadth of Tete-Ansa's vision, even if it was within an already established tradition rather than entirely original.

But part of Tete-Ansa's tragedy was that his breadth of vision was beyond his resources, or perhaps his powers of detailed organisation - defects that he shared with his exemplar and colleague Duse Mohamed Ali. Despite the confident letters sent by Duse Mohamed Ali and Tete-Ansa to prominent West Africans early in 1928, all was by no means ready for business to start, and the African millenium to be inaugurated. The muddle, confusion and perhaps bad faith and dishonesty within the Tete-Ansa organisation, and external opposition to it, are revealed by a long rambling and apologetic letter from Tete-Ansa to Herbert Macaulay dated 1st March 1928;

Since the arrival of Mr. Crabtree in England I have not had the opportunity of writing to you, because I find it necessary to centralize the organisation in America, and I have been here since last March for that purpose, Mr. Crabtree and I have not met but we have been in communication. (sic)

He reported that you stood by him through thick and thin and he owes you £100 which has been guranteed (sic) by you, and although I did not approve of his general conduct whilst in Nigeria of which you are aware, instead of silently carrying out our programme, it is only fair that the company should refund to you all monies expended by you on his behalf - This will be done upon my arrival in Lagos.

In reality he has violated his contract with the Company, his unseemly conduct unquestionably hampered him in carrying out his duties. He has not even returned with tentative contracts for the supplies of cocoa, palm oil or groundnuts nor has he been able to set up a constructive policy for the directors in Nigeria to follow;

112. W. Tete-Ansa, for West African Co-operative Producers Ltd., to H. Isaac Jeffers Esq., 7 Hart Street, Port of Spain, Trinidad, British West Indies, 8th November 1926, Macaulay Papers, III, 5, General Correspondence, 1926.

however, his report which, in a sense is vague, serves as an evidence that our People in Nigeria approve of the movement and they will grant material help when we arrive in Nigeria.

Mr. Duse Mohamed Ali, whom you know and what he stands for, is here co-operating with us and I have read all his letters to you.

We have already formed the company here, and hope to complete financial arrangements this week, and I shall be able to sail for Africa during next month with staff to commence operations.

We shall be ready to open the trading business and as soon as we get support, the bank will be also opened simultaneously as (sic) that we may not be handicapped.

I know what you can do, but in order to impress the representatives of the finances (sic) who may go out with me, we want your help in order to organize the Native rulers and the Chief traders both in Lagos and up country - Although, we need the co-operation of the community, it is possible that in matters of this kind, the opposing factions will naturally aim to undermine us, and they will therefore set up a campaign (sic) for that purpose. I know we shall have succeeded if you get in all your followers and let in the others gradually.

I understand that Principal Euba is the president of the Farmers Association is (sic) Southern Nigeria, and we shall be obliged if you will get into touch with him and let him organize his Association properly and get him to enroll as many members as he can get hold of, keeping proper register with names and addresses and probable supply and when we arrive we shall take over the Association and let them be represented on the directorate so they can enjoy our connections - This, I think will leave no loophole for any group to use against us.

Mr. Euba's son sailed some time ago for Lagos and he may give you a personal call, and he promised to help his father to organize the Association.

If anything happens in the meantime, it will be necessary for us to cable you for an assurance of supplies of cocoa and palm oil, please do so unreservedly, because you will be helping a great cause. Before concluding this letter, I should like to mention in confidence, that Mr. Kwamina Tandoh alias Chief Amoah III of Cape Coast who I met in America was hired by the opposing groups in order (sic) lure and side-track me - He boasted openly here that he was working in the interest of the British Gov. and against me - He failed to stand the weather however, and has sailed for Africa and probably he may try to bias the minds of your group against us, therefore try to watch the traitor; a 'whiteman's nigger' as they call them in America. 113

This letter gives more of an impression of chaos than of organisation; of a lack of any real co-ordination between the different sectors of Tete-Ansa's organisation. It contradicts Duse Mohamed Ali's eager assurances two months previously that all was ready in New York to start operations. As for the opposition of Amoah III - a man with good Pan-African credentials who had been a founder member and Financial Secretary of the APU in London and had attended the second, third and fourth Du Bois organised Pan-African Congresses - his enmity was real enough.¹¹⁴ He had already written to Macaulay from London at the end of February to the effect that;

I shall be leaving for Nigeria with the idea of starting Corporation to create and establish a land Bank, to finance industries and to grant financial facilities to farmers, Traders and Chiefs; in a word, to organise various agricultural districts into co-operative societies through your registered company and other companies. I am backed by the biggest banking institutions in the world.

My idea is to help our people with no intention to engage in commercial fights or disputes (sic) but if any tricks are played on me my people will not be found lacking the strength and stability. Please prepare your people to seize the opportunity.¹¹⁵

How far Tete-Ansa's charges against Amoah III should be credited is doubtful. Du Bois certainly regarded him as a bona fide person, for he endorsed his business efforts in The Crisis as early as November 1927 - a benefit

114. K.F. Tandoh/Amoah III had been the first secretary of the APU in London - see account of the inaugural dinner of the APU in the African Telegraph January-February 1919, pp.111-2. For his participation at the Pan-African Congresses, see The Crisis, January 1924, p.120 and November 1927, p.307.

115. Chief Amoah III, Hotel Russell, Russell Square, London, to Herbert Macaulay, Lagos, 28th February 1928, in Macaulay Papers, General Correspondence, III, 7, 1928.

that he did not extend to either Duse Mohamed Ali or Tete-Ansa. The Crisis revealed that not only had Amoah III been seeking financial backing in London, but also in New York.¹¹⁶ The sympathetic attitude of The Crisis towards Amoah III's plans serves as a further useful warning against any supposition that its editor was at that time indifferent to economic plans for race advancement; it would be more correct to see the Du Bois of the nineteen-twenties as having a greater inclination to political and legal action, but also having an interest, tempered by a healthy scepticism at the wilder schemes, in race business affairs too.¹¹⁷ The suspicion that powerful London financial circles were using Amoah III as a catspaw to smash Tete-Ansa's plans cannot be proved, but is significantly reminiscent of Duse Mohamed Ali's allegations about the part played by the Bank of British West Africa and Abeche-Evans in the destruction of the Inter-Colonial Corporation's cocoa trading in America. Certainly there is no reason to believe that Amoah III was a British Government stooge. A letter

116. The Crisis, November 1927, p.307, states; "Chief Amoah is a thoroughly modern man and is interested in the economic emancipation of the black cocoa growers of the Gold Coast. He has tried to get banking and credit facilities in England, and for some time lately he has been in due consultation with the leading bankers of New York City. It is said that an American branch bank may soon be established in West Africa."

117. See note 51 above for other business schemes with Pan-African implications sanctioned by The Crisis, in the nineteen-twenties. But having made the point about the interest of The Crisis under Du Bois in such things, it must be conceded that, for example, such matters as the graduation of black Americans from universities could always attract far more space in the journal.

from the British Consulate-General in New York to the Commercial Counsellor at the Embassy in Washington in November 1928 denied that the Consul-General had any knowledge of official support for Amoah III from either London or West Africa, though Amoah III had been claiming this to his associates.¹¹⁸ The most reasonable conclusion of the causes of the clash between Tete-Ansa and Amoah III is that though both shared basically the same ideas, both wanted the prestige and material benefits of leadership. In the world of Pan-African style economic activity in the nineteen-twenties, there were too many Chiefs and not enough Indians.

If Tete-Ansa was loud in his accusations against Amoah III, so, later, was Duse Mohamed Ali in his accusations against Tete-Ansa. According to Duse's version of events, the initial contact between them led to his arranging an interview between Tete-Ansa and the solicitors of the Wilbur-Suchard cocoa manufacturing firm of Philadelphia. After several months of negotiations, two contracts were concluded, the first for the immediate supply of ten thousand tons of cocoa at an agreed price; and the second for up to fifty thousand tons of cocoa annually "at a price to be mutually agreed, upon the fulfilment of the first contract." But for some years there had been suspicions in America, often well-founded, about the quality of British West African Cocoa. So it is not surprising that a cocoa expert of the New York Cocoa Exchange was to travel to West Africa and

118. See H.G. Armstrong, British Consulate General, New York, to Sir J. Joyce Broderick, Commercial Counsellor, British Embassy Washington, 27th November 1928, F.O. 371/12831/A 8426.

assess the quality of the cocoa. A credit of \$300,000 was arranged to "pay" for purchases on the spot.¹¹⁹ Presumably this was really for advances, as it would not have fully paid for 10,000 tons of cocoa.¹²⁰

It had been arranged that Tete-Ansa would travel with the cocoa examiner to West Africa - presumably he was one of the "representatives of the financiers (sic) who may go out with me" referred to in Tete-Ansa's letter to Macaulay of 1st March 1928.¹²¹ But to Wilbur-Suchard's consternation, when their cocoa expert was about to sail, they discovered that no passage had been booked by Tete-Ansa. Their lawyer called on Duse Mohamed Ali to give an explanation. Tete-Ansa's answer was that he was awaiting monies from West Africa to pay his passage. Rather than wait for these to materialise, Wilbur-Suchard advanced \$700 for travelling expenses, Duse Mohamed Ali actually witnessing, so he says, the hand over of the money. But Tete-Ansa still did not sail with the cocoa examiner and had perhaps never intended to;

He was secretly negotiating with a group of financiers to form a company to take over the two contracts as his collateral; create him managing director and advance him five thousand dollars to pay his expenses to execute the contracts!

He received that five thousand from the New York people in addition to the seven hundred from the Philadelphia group and instead of sailing for West Africa, he went off to Paris where he remained for some six months.

119. "Leaves", in The Comet, 5th February 1938, p.8.

120. The average value per ton f.o.b. of Accra cocoa in 1928 was £50 - see tables in P. Hill, The Gold Coast Cocoa Farmer, p.132. Thus, the full purchase price for 10,000 tons of cocoa would have been approximately £500,000.

121. See note 105 above.

The Philadelphia firm's Examiner obtained no information whatever of the 'magnet's' Company on the Gold Coast, nor was any Cocoa available. The Examiner subsequently arrived in Lagos with a like result and the Wilbur-Suchard people lost their cash advance to the 'magnet' and the expenses incurred by their Examiner.¹²²

This ought not perhaps to be regarded as the last word on these matters, but it would seem at least to be a sad commentary on the way business was conducted within Tete-Ansa's organisation. Perhaps the real truth is that with no real financial backing, Tete-Ansa, like his critic Duse Mohamed Ali himself, had little option but to keep precariously afloat by sharp practice, in this case by playing off one set of potential buyers against another. It is perhaps worth noting that, although Duse Mohamed Ali's account of his relations with Tete-Ansa was not published until 1938, by which time Tete-Ansa was a largely discredited figure, he only referred to him in such indirect terms as; "the Gold Coast financial 'Magnate', magnet would be a better term, as this man was not only a master craftsman at attracting the Coin Current, but has always been very successful in causing such ... to stick very closely to him."¹²³

The double dealing, supposed or real, over the Wilbur-Suchard cocoa contracts was only one cause of the rift between Tete-Ansa and Duse Mohamed Ali. Another was the conduct of the magazine Africa, which was intended to give publicity to Tete-Ansa's enterprises. It had long been an aim of Tete-Ansa to back up with a newspaper his plans for salvation

122. "Leaves", in The Comet, 5th February 1938, pp.8 & 20.

123. *ibid*, p.8.

of the race through "co-operative" economic action. In his approaches to the West Indian solicitor H. Isaac Jeffers in 1926, he had listed first among the objects of his movement, "the establishment in London of a 'Press' for the purpose of publicity and to voice the sentiments and disabilities of our Race."¹²⁴ It is hard not to imagine that having been resident in London between 1919 and 1923, he was unaware of the precedents of Duse Mohamed Ali's Africa and Orient Review and John Eldred Taylor's African Telegraph. But it would seem that Tete-Ansa's press plans never came to fruition until he met Duse Mohamed Ali in America, and then the course of events was brief and disastrous. According to Duse;

The cost of the initial production of Africa, including office rent and a small editorial staff, incurred a liability of about five hundred dollars. Of this sum, the 'Magnet' supplied one hundred dollars, and left me to pay the balance as best I could.

When I discovered the double game he had played in connection with the new company ... I decided to cut my losses and suspend publication of Africa which was confined to its initial number.¹²⁵

So Africa was a total failure as a publicity magazine - indeed Tete-Ansa seems at times to have received far wider publicity from the Negro Press than a small circulation low budget magazine can have hoped to give.

Thus an Associated Negro Press report of his activities was printed in summer 1927 in several Negro journals in such widely separated cities as

124. W. Tete-Ansa to H. Isaac Jeffers, 8th November 1926, Macaulay Papers, III 5, General Correspondence, 1926.

125. "Leaves", in The Comet, 12th February 1938, p.7.

Birmingham Alabama, New York and Washington.¹²⁶ But this publicity was not entirely satisfactory, since these reports, although giving details of his plans, took umbrage at his declared intention to use white rather than black Americans in his companies, and concluded with the warning words, "there are those in New York ... who are investigating Mr. Tete-Ansa's credentials and who affect to think him a clever adventurer only." His publicity in the black American Press was not always so mixed as this - the Chicago Defender published in November 1927, with friendly comments, a long letter explaining Tete-Ansa's business schemes.¹²⁷

But if Africa magazine was a failure as a publicity vehicle, it is despite this of considerable interest to the historian for the light it throws on the activities of those involved in it. For instance, from it can be learned a fair amount about the cultural as well as business activities of Tete-Ansa, Duse Mohamed Ali and their circle in New York at that time. The America-Asia Association Inc. of New York, which has already

126. The report was in the Eagle, Washington D.C., 19th August 1927; the Informer, Columbus, S.C., 22nd August 1927; the Reporter, Birmingham, Ala., 21st August 1927 - see Moton Papers, General Correspondence, 1928. The Eagle report gives as its source the New York World of 15th August 1928. As this list merely represents R.R. Moton's press cuttings, there is good reason to suppose that this report appeared in other Negro newspapers too.

127. Chicago Defender, 26th November 1927, in Moton Papers, General Correspondence, 1927. The Defender was, of course, the most influential of the black newspapers in Chicago at that time. Its friendly attitude towards Tete-Ansa can be well understood in the light of the fact that its editor, Robert S. Abbott, was "an ardent Race Man", who "believed in 'individual achievement' coupled with vigorous group action as the Negro's program for advancement." See Cayton and Drake, Black Metropolis, p.400.

been discussed, is a case in point.¹²⁸ Africa gives information too about the Native African Union of America Inc.,¹²⁹ which had been formally founded on 6th February 1927 and incorporated on 9th February 1928. But its origins seem to go back into 1926, when a group of Africans in New York, mainly from West Africa, asked Duse Mohamed Ali to be their adviser in the formation of a Native African Union. Its patrons by 1928 were Duse Mohamed Ali; W. Tete-Ansa; Fred Dove, Duse Mohamed Ali's friend since 1912, continuing even in old age the grand old Victorian Creole tradition of interest in public affairs; and, strange to say, Tete-Ansa's arch enemy and rival Chief Ansoah, III. It may well be that the Chief had not quarrelled with Tete-Ansa at the time he became first associated with the NAUA, but certainly by the time Africa magazine was published in June 1928 the two men were at each other's throats. The officers of the NAUA were; President, V. Quashie Lawson of Quittah, Gold Coast; 1st Vice-President, "His Royal Highness Prince" Eket "Royal House of Ibibio"; Treasurer, Edet Effiong, Calabar, Nigeria; Secretary-General, Franklyn A. Gilipin-Jackson of Freetown, Sierra Leone; and 2nd Vice-President, Eli B. Nyombolo of Cape Province, South Africa. There was also a board of seven un-named directors, four Africans and three Afro-Americans. The

128. Africa, June 1928, p.2. This gives details of its organisation and aims, but not of any activities since the time of foundation in 1926.

129. Hence referred to as the NAUA. Information about the NAUA is from Africa, June 1928, p.20; and from Duse Mohamed Ali's regular "About it and About" feature in the Nigerian Daily Times, 20th January 1933, pp.3-4.

NAUA's offices were at Laws Building, 200 West 135th Street, New York City. It claimed to be the first organisation of its kind in the United States and to have "the sole purpose of protecting Africans in America, at the same time proving to the peoples of the Western Hemisphere that the African has been misrepresented in his Social, Commercial, Political and Economical standing with other groups." In other words, it was highly reminiscent of the sort of organisations in which Duse' Mohamed Ali had been involved in London before the Great War. It no doubt has a relationship with these London precedents, just as the Indian student house in the United States followed the example of London.¹³⁰

The NAUA's detailed aims and objects were not merely narrowly concerned with Africans, but also included black Americans. This was made clear by the first of these objects, which was:

To bring together all Native-born Africans of good moral character, residing in the United States of America, and their offsprings with a view to a sympathetic co-operation for their common welfare, protection and interest in collaboration with such other persons of African descent for their mutual benefit and advantage.¹³¹

Other objects included the promotion of athletics, physical culture, arts, sciences, music and drama entertainment on a non-profit making basis.

130. For the various organisations which Duse' Mohamed Ali was involved in before the Great War in London, see Chapter V of this thesis; for the Indian student house in the United States, see Chapter V, note 224.

131. For this and other objects of the NAUA, see Africa, June 1928, p.20.

An "African Home", reminiscent of the earlier similar projects in London, was to be acquired in the greater New York area. There were commercial aims - to be a medium between African and American commercial houses, in order to encourage commercial enterprise. There was to be a newspaper "through whose columns we can enlighten the American public in matters relative to Africa ... at the same time correcting whatever false statements are made by those who try to besmirch the name of Africa". Presumably Africa magazine was in part intended to fill this role. An information bureau was to help prospective tourists and emigrants to Africa; here the NAUA seems to have been dabbling in that old theme, the return of the exiles. And in case any man should accuse the NAUA of being a trouble making body, it undertook to preach respect and obedience not only for the U.S. constitution and laws but also for those of its constituent states. In all, there can be no doubt that the NAUA was strongly derivative of the earlier African organisations in London, discussed in Chapter V of this thesis. It is a reasonable guess that Duse Mohamed Ali had a large hand in drafting its aims and objects as presented in Africa magazine.¹³² To what extent these worthy objects remained a mere pious hope is not fully clear, but it is possible that the NAUA was connected with one extraordinary Dusanian project in 1930, namely to mount a black expedition to explore Africa. He sounded the Foreign Office on this idea. Regrettably the relevant documents are no longer

132. It is instructive to compare these aims and objects with those of the Oriental Occidental and African Society in 1912 - see Chapter V of this thesis, note 220.

in the F.O. file.¹³³ An NAUA project which was temporarily realised, was a Confidential African Information Bureau run from the same address as Africa magazine itself, 55 West 42nd Street New York.¹³⁴ It could be regarded as a rough equivalent of the old Africa and Orient Trade Exchange in London.¹³⁵

Such administrative organisation as Africa had in its brief existence was that W. Tete-Ansa acted as its President, Duse Mohamed Ali as its Vice-President and editor. The treasurer was a black American, Joseph J. Boris, editor of Who's Who in Colored America, and the Secretary was Mary Frost, also one may guess a black American.¹³⁶ The magazine had 24 pages, and its cover design, far inferior to Walter Crane's pleasing art nouveau cover for the ATOR, represented a sphinx. Its agents in West Africa were stated to be Kwamina E. Ampiah in Ashanti; and West African Co-operative

133. This missing document was F.O. 371/288. This is not the only example of Foreign Office notice of Duse Mohamed Ali's life in the United States. In 1928 the Foreign Office collected a file on his activities in the United States, F.O. 371/12831/A 4326/699/45. Other papers in this series, which was concerned with the whole nexus of W. Tete-Ansa, West African Co-operative Producers Ltd., and Chief Amoah III in respect of their American activities in 1928-29, have been preserved:- see F.O. 371/12831/A 473/45; F.O. 371/12831/A 7483/6575/45; F.O. 371/12831/A/699/45; F.O. 371/12831/A/2891/699/45; F.O. 371/12831/A 6321/699/45; F.O. 371/12831/A 8299/699/45; F.O. 371/12831/A 4324/699/45; F.O. 371/12831/A 6321/699/45; F.O. 371/12831/A 8426/699/45. But unfortunately, despite this wealth of documentation, the specific item on Duse Mohamed Ali has not been preserved. It is, however, clear enough that, in view of its context, it would have been about his association with W. Tete-Ansa.

134. Africa, advertisement on inside of back cover.

135. See Chapter VI of this thesis for details of the Africa and Orient Trade Exchange.

136. Africa, p.4.

Producers Ltd., in Accra, Secondi and Lagos.¹³⁷ Much of the one and only issue was written, or probably written, by Duse Mohamed Ali himself, including an introductory item; an editorial feature called "The Moving Finger Writes"; a serio-comic piece called "Hello Wall St." on the need for better connections between Africa and the American business world; a book review; a theatre review; and a long article "America and Oriental Trade".¹³⁸ This added up to well over one third of the magazine's total space. Though he had written prolifically for his London magazines he had never had to write so much of the ATOR or AOR, which had attracted such a variety of contributors, some of them distinguished. By the yardstick of his earlier work in London, Africa was clearly a far shakier, less well founded effort, even from the purely journalistic view.

A considerable part of Africa magazine was devoted to economic propaganda, of which the central piece was a long article by Tete-Ansa himself entitled "West African Possibilities".¹³⁹ This was tailored for a white American business audience. It avoided any mention of Tete-Ansa's long

137. *ibid.*

138. *ibid.* The items probably written by Duse Mohamed Ali are "Our Program", p.2; "Hello Wall Street", p.7; and the theatre review on pp.17 & 22 written under the pseudonym "the balcony savage" - cf. "the savage stallite" in the ATOR. All these items are characteristically Dusian in their style. Openly ascribed to his pen are "The Moving Finger Writes", pp.5-6 & 12; "The Defense of Serge Saganor", pp.11-12, a book review, which includes a resumé of the background to and events of the 1912-13 Balkan Wars; and "America and Oriental Trade", pp.18 & 23-4.

139. W. Tete-Ansa, "West African Possibilities", Africa, June 1928, pp. 8-9, 12 & 16.

term racial hopes, and concentrated on such socio-economic points as the large resources in valuable raw materials of British West Africa; the educated and advanced state of its native peoples, rendering them a suitable market for all American manufactured goods except "fur coats and radiators"; the present domination of West African overseas trade by "Foreign Corporations", and the West African's wish to break their monopoly by inviting in competition; and the West African's continuing ownership of the land from which the raw materials sprang. The crucial point, which made American commercial exploitation of these other factors possible was, said Tete-Ansa, the growth of co-operation among the West Africans themselves;

Hitherto there have been attempts at trade direct with American firms by individual Africans but they have been handicapped on account of lack of credit facilities.

The difficulty, however, is being overcome through the Co-operative movement which is taking hold in West Africa. Co-operative Societies are being organised in the Gold Coast and Nigeria with the full support of the African rulers and with the co-operation of the British Government (sic) which is taking the needs of the Africans into account as part of its original policy.

These co-operative societies will through their affiliated institutions, guarantee both the buyer and the seller in West Africa. ¹⁴⁰

These remarks were seconded and buttressed by Duse Mohamed Ali in a subsection of his editorial, ¹⁴¹ though he also took the opportunity for a few side blows at his old enemies Lord Leverhulme and the British Empire Resources Development Committee. Indeed there seemed to be something like a note of regret in Duse's assertion that "it would have been quite unnecessary

140. *ibid*, pp.9 & 12.

141. See Duse Mohamed Ali, "West Africa and Co-operative Trade", *ibid*, pp.6 & 12.

for the West African native to seek financial assistance outside the British Empire had British Capitalists, Banks and trading firms, as well as the West Coast Banks given the African a square deal!"¹⁴² Despite everything, it would seem that he still harboured a nostalgia for the British Empire.

Africa magazine was not entirely devoted to propaganda for Tete-Ansa's commercial plans, though that was its primary purpose. Duse Mohamed Ali wrote at considerable length on political events in Egypt, Turkey, the Middle East and India,¹⁴³ showing that his old interest in and knowledge about these areas had by no means entirely passed away. But essentially he had nothing new to say on these matters. Comments such as "the Anglo-Egyptian diplomatic clock has acquired the reprehensible habit of ticking backward -- it has been up to that reactionary trick of backward discourse since 1882", or "the suggestion that India is incapable of ruling itself is as sensible as the assumption that the Balkan States are on a high plane of cultural advancement"¹⁴⁴ smack of what he had been writing fifteen years previously. It is to be wondered how many American readers would have found these and similar remarks relevant, interesting or even comprehensible -- their proper context was that of the British Empire.

Even after his disillusioning experiences with Tete-Ansa, Duse Mohamed Ali was to have one last attempt at marketing West African cocoa in the

142. *ibid*, p.6.

143. See "The Moving Finger Writes", *ibid*, pp.5-6; and *ibid*, p.11.

144. *ibid*, p.6.

United States,¹⁴⁵ though it is perhaps significant that his final effort was in no way overtly connected with Pan-Africanism. He was introduced to a Mr. Rutger Bleeker, "member of the New York Cocoa Exchange, a broker who bought the commodity for Hershey the Cocoa Manufacturers", by one who had been a friend of his since his return to the United States in 1921, a Jewish businessman called Runkle.¹⁴⁶ After several interviews, Bleeker's decision was that business could be done if Duse Mohamed Ali "really had any confidence in the Native grower ... after previous experiences." The crux of the matter was felt to be quality and credit. The West African grower required credit, but the American buyer was reluctant to concede this solely on the basis of a colonial government cocoa examiner's stamp of approval, since all too often shipments so certified had proved defective in quality on arrival. Bleeker therefore suggested that business should be done through the West African banks and their representatives in America. As he put it;

Why can't they ship through the Banks? We need the cocoa; they need the money; we will pay the market price landed in New York and will quote a price for their acceptance in advance of shipment.... if they possess the most elementary knowledge of business, they must understand that business men do not part with their cash until they know what they are getting for their money.

145. All information about this episode in Duse Mohamed Ali's life is from "Leaves", in The Comet, 26th February 1938, p.7.

146. "Leaves", in The Comet, 12th February 1938, p.7, states; "when I first arrived in the United States I contacted a Hebrew contractor, Runkle by name. This man who was exceedingly astute in business had proved himself a friend in the highest sense of that term. He knew everybody worthy to be known in New York."

Dusé Mohamed Ali accepted this argument as "indisputable". Furthermore, he accepted a challenge that if he could find backers to pay his expenses on a trip to West Africa and to put up a fund to guarantee shipment of at least one hundred tons of cocoa, Bleeker would "assure" that such cocoa would be sold in New York before arrival.

Firstly, it is clear that this was a purely business arrangement, and on the limited scale suitable for a trial venture, rather than being in the mould of the all-or-nothing Pan-African style ventures of the previous dozen years. Secondly, it would seem that the risk element fell solely on Dusé Mohamed Ali. The fact that he was willing to undertake this challenge shows that there was more to his produce trading activities, of which this was to be the last example, than running others into risk. Somehow he found a friend in New York who was willing to put up the required fund, depositing £10,000 in the Bank of British West Africa, and also paying Dusé's passage to West Africa plus fifty pounds for personal expenses. It is a comment on the state of Dusé Mohamed Ali's own finances after ten years in business in America that he had no money to pay his own expenses. Gertrude La Page, the American woman who went with him as his wife, had to pay her own passage and expenses. Thus, Dusé Mohamed Ali left the United States in 1931 chasing the same illusion of cocoa trading that had brought him there in 1921. But if circumstances had been by no means propitious in 1921-22, they were even worse in 1931, when the far graver depression and lower commodity prices of the thirties

were ahead.¹⁴⁷ It will be noted that by the time of this last cocoa trading effort, he had jettisoned all idea of financing such trade with black American money, and was working as a free-lance rather than as a would-be spokesman for his race. His American associates were probably all white - Bleeker certainly, while there is nothing to suggest that the anonymous guarantor was black. The hated Bank of British West Africa was to be the financial institution through which the project was to be organised. Save for the hope of marketing West African produce directly from the grower to the American buyer, little was left of his former brave plans.

The account given in the previous pages of Duse Mohamed Ali's life in America necessarily has passed over much of what he said and did. Brief glimpses can be obtained from his occasional journalistic pieces, written during the first years after his return to Nigeria, of a colourful and interesting life quite apart from the worlds of business, journalism, lecturing and organising religious and cultural groups. Thus, he undertook a certain amount of radio broadcasting. This first came about indirectly through the activities of the embryo Native African Union of

147. The following tables of the average value per ton f.o.b. of Gold Coast Cocoa exports, 1928-33, illustrates this point;

<u>Year</u>	<u>Average value</u> <u>per ton f.o.b.</u> (£)
1928	50
1929	41
1930	36
1931	23
1932	24
1933	21

See P. Hill, Gold Coast Cocoa Farmer, p.132.

America in New York in 1926. Shortly after the NAUA had been entertained by a group of Yoruba musicians, Duse Mohamed Ali was asked by a programme producer for radio station W.A.B.C. for suggestions for a replacement programme for the following week. The upshot was a one hour programme, introduced by "Mr. Duse Mohamed Ali the Egyptian Historian". Despite an attack of nerves in front of the 'mike' - hardly surprising, since in fact he can have known scarcely more about Yoruba music than his listeners - the programme was successful enough to lead to many subsequent broadcasts on New York and New Jersey stations.¹⁴⁸ On another occasion he was taken to meet the famous Hearst newspaper columnist Arthur Brisbane by his friend Runkle,¹⁴⁹ and was delighted to find that Brisbane not only recalled his In The Land Of The Pharaohs but even had a copy to hand on his voluminous bookshelves. Runkle was so impressed that he suggested to his Egyptian friend that it would be more profitable for him to foresake cocoa trading and enter full-time journalism as "The Man who made Teddy Roosevelt mad!"

But unfortunately, Duse Mohamed Ali's autobiography contains almost no information about his personal life between the years 1921 and 1931, or even about his general impressions of America. The latter point is, however, partly remedied by his novel Ere Roosevelt Came. In this we see a considerable interest in the sociology of inter-racial sexual relations

148. See Nigerian Daily Times, 20th January 1933, pp.3-4. With his usual vagueness about chronology, in this article Duse Mohamed Ali dates this event as taking place in "winter 1926".

149. "Leaves", in The Comet, 12th February 1938, p.7.

in America. Two leading characters in the novel are very light skinned mulattoes who can pass as white. One of them, Smithson, is the illegitimate son of a Southern Colonel, the head of the Klan, and as a tiny child had witnessed his father brutally murder his black mother.¹⁵⁰ As an adult, Smithson is married to an aristocratic white Virginian woman, who rejects him when she learns that he is coloured, but later sees the error of her ways.¹⁵¹ On the other hand, her brother, who is the fiancé of the other leading mulatto character, Ette Swanson, is an unmitigated brute straight out of the Victorian melodrama that Duse was so well acquainted with. He attempts to rape Ette once he discovers that she is coloured.¹⁵² The moral of all this is plain - that coloured men are more honourable in their dealings with white women than white men with coloured women; in other words, Duse's old theme of "White Women and Coloured Men". But mulattoes as such are not the heroes of the book; the two characters mentioned above have to be mulattoes to fit the complexities of the somewhat over-involved plot. No reader could find credible a dark skinned black American marrying an aristocratic white and racist Virginian, and furthermore being accepted as a member of the Klan! A third mulatto character, Jones, is by contrast an example of what Duse saw as the spoiling effects of an over academic education on his race. Jones describes his rake's progress thus;

150. "Ere Roosevelt Came", The Comet, 24th March 1934, pp.10-11.

151. *ibid*, 17th March 1934, p.10; 30th June 1934, pp.13 & 18; and 11th July 1934, pp.11-13.

152. *ibid*, 31st March 1934, pp.10-12.

My gran'father didn't know the letter A, from a load of manure, an' he got himself a farm an' made money. He sent me to college an' mortgaged the farm to do it. I came out o' school full o' hope an' ambition, but useless as an earner. No white man wanted me in his office, only as his messenger. I tried waiting, an' portering, an' the Pullman service, for a while. The work was hard, the pay small, an' I quit. The old man lost his farm an' died an' I - well, there was easy money at pimpin' an' gamblin', an' I ended up in the 'pen'.¹⁵³

Ultimately, the degenerate Jones becomes a traitor to his race, suborned by fear and money to spy for the Klan. But for all that, one suspects that he is a useful mouthpiece for Duse Mohamed Ali to express thoughts that he would have found embarrassing to openly avow. Thus, through Jones, he is able to attack black clergymen as;

the last thing God ever let live. When they ain't graftin' on politics they're graftin' on the poor saps who listen to their shoutin' an' Bible punchin'. They don't care how the congregation gets the money so long as they get the kale ... on Sunday. They're great on buyin' second hand churches that are always in debt. If they were'nt in debt all the time the niggers they preach to wouldn't part with a dime.¹⁵⁴

All this is nicely consistent with Duse Mohamed Ali's belief that Islam was the religion for the black man, and that Christianity was a corrupting influence.

There is no evidence in Ere Roosevelt Case that Duse Mohamed Ali had appreciated and taken part in the exciting cultural life that was to be found in some of the newly expanded Northern urban black communities in the nineteen-twenties - the world of jazz and the Harlem renaissance celebrated

153. *ibid*, 24th March 1934, p.12.

154. *ibid*, p.11.

in the works of such writers as Langston Hughes.¹⁵⁵ His only picture of black night life is seen through the desires of the despicable Jones, who is eager to spend the money allowed him by the Emperor of the "Invisible State" to indulge in booze and whores in the atmosphere of a jazz cellar.¹⁵⁶ Here, one can see that Duse Mohamed Ali's tastes were in some ways incorrigibly Victorian British. He was, after all, sixty-five in the year that he left America, and his basic tastes had been formed long before in the eighteen-eighties and nineties. This comes out in the way he portrays the language of low-class black Americans - it is straight from the Victorian music hall world of 'Nigger Minstrels' and 'Chocolate Coloured Coons', and could have been written by a man who had never been nearer the United States than the boards of a Moss Empire. Despite his ten years in America, despite his earlier visits there as a young man, it would seem that he was no more fully at home there than he had been, ultimately, in Britain.

155. See Langston Hughes' autobiography, The Big Sea, 3rd, impression, London and New York, 1945, pp.223-33, for a description of the Harlem Renaissance which, while fully aware of its exploitive aspects, captures its genuine excitement too.

156. "Ere Roosevelt Came", in The Comet, 10th March 1934, pp.10-11.

CHAPTER VIII

BACK TO AFRICA

1931-1945



Duse Mohamed Ali as an Old Man
in Lagos

From The Comet
10th October 1936

Dusé Mohamed Ali's return to West Africa in 1933 began inauspiciously. When his boat arrived at Takoradi in the Gold Coast, the Colonial health authorities refused him permission to land. The same happened at the next port of call, Cape Coast. Then at Saltpond, "legal friends" - probably old ATOR supporters - were urging him to land "at all costs" and promising that they would see that his liberty was not endangered. His own belief was, "the 'interests' quickly learned of my mission and they approached the Government of the Gold Coast", and that those who had "wrecked" the Inter-Colonial Corporation "feared a very much overdue reckoning".¹ In other words, he did not know who was responsible, but strongly suspected those who had, in the past, been or seemed hostile to him. The official reason for his exclusion remains obscure, though it is not difficult to hazard some guesses. To begin with, he was accompanied by his second wife,² Gertrude La Page, who like Beatrice was white.³ One can imagine the reaction of the colonial immigration officials to a black man arriving from the United States with a white wife! Even without the suspected machinations of hidden enemies, this circumstance alone would probably have been enough to induce the authorities to find technical reasons - such as 'unsatisfactory' health documents - for his exclusion.

1. "Leaves", in The Comet, 26th February 1938, p.7.

2. *ibid.*

3. Gertrude La Page's mother was said to be a prominent American Hotel proprietress called Mary Murphy - see Comet, 9th October 1937, p.3. Gertrude La Page had been a professional singer in the United States - see Nigerian Daily Times, 5th October 1932, p.10. Presumably La Page was a stage name. How, when or where she met Dusé Mohamed Ali the writer has been unable to discover, other than that it was evidently in the United States between 1921 and 1931.

Additionally, there might have been a long official memory of his previous activities, or even some official knowledge of his association with Garvey in the United States. Certainly the Foreign Office had noted his connection with W. Tete-Ansa.⁴ But this, at present, remains mere speculation, as evidence of the actual reason for the Gold Coast authorities action remains obscure. It is even possible that his health documents were out of order.

Be that as it may, despite the proffered support of his old friends, Duse decided to acquiesce in his exclusion;

Had I been alone I would have followed the advice of my friends, but I could not conscientiously embarrass my wife who had not previously travelled abroad, nor could I encroach on the financial resources at her command. I therefore made a virtue of a necessity ...⁵

But to accept exclusion from the world's major cocoa producing country was virtually to abandon his mission. There still remained Lagos, but although his autobiography gives no indication of this, his reception by the authorities there proved to be as hostile as in the Gold Coast. In desperation, he now decided to fight, and called on some of his old Lagos friends for help. Some, apparently including Dr. Sapara, failed to respond.⁶ Among those he approached was Herbert Macaulay, who was sent a desperate note on 30th September 1933;

I am in great trouble please assemble friends and come on board to me at once. Government would not let me land in Gold Coast. Communicate with Central Mosque Secretary.

4. See previous chapter.

5. "Leaves", in The Comet, 26th February 1938, p.7.

6. "About it and About", in Daily Comet, 27th June 1945, p.2.

Please get busy. I need help. The ship only remains in Lagos a few hours and something must be done at once. In haste.⁷

Macaulay, who has often been remembered as spiteful and vituperative to his enemies,⁸ was staunchly loyal to this friend in need. This should be remembered by those who wish to weigh the balance of Macaulay's personal qualities. He organised assistance, and another old friend, Dr. J.C. Vaughan, signed "the necessary Bond".⁹ As in the case of Duse's cold official reception in the Gold Coast, it is only possible to guess at the motives of the Lagos authorities.

But once ashore, the even greater difficulty remained of securing cocoa contracts. If 1920-21 had been a difficult time for a would-be

7. Duse Mohamed Ali, from on board S.S. Reggerstroom, Apapa, to Herbert Macaulay, Lagos, 30th September 1931, Macaulay Papers, General Correspondence, III, 10, 1931.
8. Obafemi Awolowo recalls Macaulay with respect in his autobiography, but nevertheless admits of his Lagos Daily News "Africans who were friendly with white men ... were denounced as imperialist agents, and branded as having sold Nigeria for their personal gains and advancement." See Awo. The Autobiography of Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Cambridge 1960, p.69; Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism, p.197, bluntly states; "For more than four decades he did more than any other man to create divisions among the educated elements in Lagos. His ruthless abandon in vilifying his opponents in his paper and on the platform left deep and unhealed scars which decidedly influenced later developments in the nationalist movement." Richard L. Sklar, Nigerian Political Parties. Power in an Emergent African Nation, Princeton 1963, p.43, singles out Macaulay with John Payne Jackson as two men whose "immoderate aims and allegedly demagogic methods earned them the antipathy of prominent leaders of the respectable African élite."
9. "Leaves", in The Comet, 26th February 1938, p.7.

cocoa exporter attempting to break in on the big 'combine', 1931 was well-nigh impossible. The great world slump had knocked the bottom out of cocoa prices,¹⁰ and farmers and middle-men would, one imagines, have found it impossible to do business on the terms Duse' was offering. This is largely confirmed by his own account, written though it was in a spirit of reproach;

I communicated with certain farming groups in Ijebu-Ode, Abeokuta and Ibadan, and laid my plans before them. These men wanted "Advances", either against non-existent produce, or to enable them to collect assignments from the farmers. When I informed them that there were no Advances forthcoming but they could easily ship their produce to my friends through the Bank ... they silently faded away; and after six months' period of fruitless waiting, I cabled my friend to withdraw his deposit from the Bank. A few did promise more small "trial" shipments but although than (sic) six years have elapsed at this writing, I am still awaiting those promised "trial" shipments.¹¹

His money was soon exhausted, and his sole remaining support was Gertrude La Page. Instead of returning to the comfort of her mother's home, as she could have done, she stood by him.¹² It should be remembered that Duse' Mohamed Ali was now sixty-five. A man of less determination, of less courage, would have accepted that his life was a total failure, perhaps died of disappointment and despair.

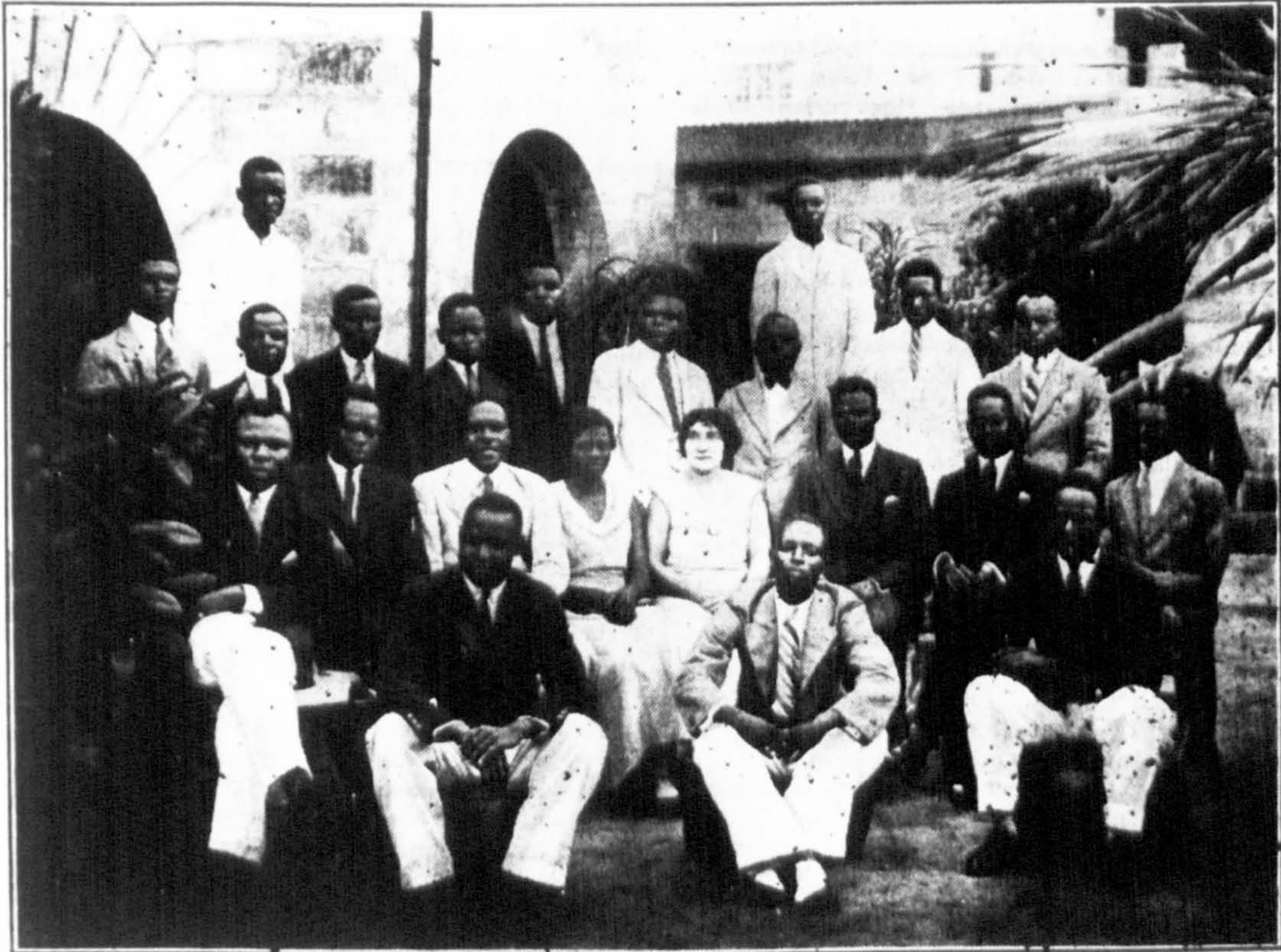
But the tough old Egyptian now set about rebuilding his career in a truly remarkable way. We have seen that life throughout had been one of rosy hopes followed by disastrous reversals of fortune, and then dogged survival and recovery. But this was to be his last great disaster, and

10. See Chapter VII, note 147.

11. "Leaves", in The Comet, 26th February 1938, p.7.

12. *ibid*, pp.7 & 19.

although the remainder of his life was to be lived on a more limited



...in 1934, he was his a weekly salary at the remuneration of
 a private secretary. To make a young Nigerian this would have seemed a
 grossly large sum, but later remarked "it was the first time in half
 a century that my immediate superior had accepted so small a fee, even

Gertrude La Page and her Rosicrucian Students

From The Comet Christmas 1935

...wards of Nigerian
 ... op.cit., pp.60-64.
 ... February 1935, p.11
 ... in 1934, he was his
 ... as a trainee, and the
 ... of £2 per month rise 20
 ...

although the remainder of his life was to be lived on a more limited stage - the still somewhat parochial Lagos of the years 1931-45 - it was to be a story of solid, if modest, achievement. On his death in 1945, his newspaper the Daily Comet, which he had almost single-handedly founded as a weekly in 1933, remained as an ongoing concern within the dynamic Zik press empire; nor was this his only monument, for more intangibly, he had influenced a whole generation of Nigerian "youngmen", among whom were some of the most prominent future political leaders of the country. Yet to achieve these things, he had first to start again almost at the very bottom of the journalistic profession. He became a freelance, hawking his work to Lagos newspaper proprietors, at a time when the journalist's profession in Nigeria was characterised by low standards, even lower pay, and a plenitude of young hopefuls from the mission schools who had given up hope of employment in Government or the commercial world.¹³ Nevertheless, the old veteran proved his worth by persuading the proprietors of the Nigerian Daily Times to give him a weekly column at the remuneration of a guinea a week.¹⁴ To many a young Nigerian this would have seemed a princely income,¹⁵ but Duse later remarked "it was the first time in half a century of my journalistic career I had accepted so small a fee, even

13. For a graphic account of the pay, status and standards of Nigerian journalists in the early thirties, see Awolowo, op.cit., pp.80-84.

14. "Leaves", in The Comet, 26th February 1938, p.19.

15. Of his journalistic debut, with the Daily Times, in 1934, Awolowo says that he spent his first three months without pay as a trainee, and the next five months as correspondent in Ibadan at £2 per month plus 2d per column inch published. See Awo, p.83.

for London 'pot-boilers!' But it paid my rent and necessity knows no law."¹⁶

This was something, in an era when, among Nigerian journalists, only newspaper editors and their immediate assistants could afford bicycles!¹⁷

Not everyone in Nigeria who had known better days showed such resilience. Duse Mohamed Ali's old friend J.M. Stuart-Young was now irremediably set on a decline that was to last until his death on 27th May 1939.¹⁸ Poor Stuart-Young was in dire straits by 1930 (and probably well before), and like many of his African colleagues in the ranks of small independent cocoa traders, was looking to Tete-Ansa's organisation for help. A pathetic letter from him to West African Co-operative Producers Ltd., is also a most revealing piece of evidence of the fate of the small trader in the era of the combine. Beginning with the hopeless admission that he could not supply produce statistics requested, as they were "a matter of financial acumen" (a quality he evidently lacked), he went on to describe what had happened over the previous twenty years on the lower Niger, and why help was essential;

if, after reading the following, you fail to agree that something must be done against the strangle-hold the Merger and the BIG CONCERNS have on the River, then it is hopeless for me to talk further to you.

I am positive that the moment an Agency was established here, and powers were offered for shipments by the Natives (instead of local sales at ruled prices of the Merger) there would be such a rallying to your standard as you would find more than gratifying.

16. "Leaves", in The Comet, 26th February 1938, p.19.

17. Awo, pp.80-1.

18. See memorial article on J.M. Stuart-Young, in West African Pilot, 27th May 1940, p.5. Azikiwe had reason to remember him in his paper; according to information given to the writer by Mr. A.K. Disu, Nigerian Ministry of Information, Lagos, 31st March 1967, the young Azikiwe had been a member of a reading club run in Onitsha by Stuart-Young.

To-day, in the whole of this Province, there is not ONE African shipper; whereas, in pre-war years, and war years, there were at least a dozen from Onitsha, with the aid of the Nigerian Marine for river transport.

I myself averaged some 1,000 casks of oil and 13,000 bags (roughly a thousand tons (sic) of kernels a year. To-day I am nobody. To-day all the Natives are held under the vice-like grip of the Merger, and other BIG firms, who are willing (in their own interests) to play the Merger Game.

In the time I speak of (say 1910 to 1919) there were only FIVE European concerns (I ranked third highest); but there were a round dozen HEALTHY AND SOUND Native Traders, mainly Sierra Leoneans and Lagosians.

Since the Armistic (sic) (reaping where they have not sown) other "Merger Associated" firms have come here (Walkdens, Trading Assoc. of Nigeria, African and Eastern, Welsh etc.) - and to-day the position is this -

Merger Firms -

African and Eastern Corporation.
Niger Company.
Trading Association of Nigeria.
Walkdens.
Welshs.
Christians.

and for Opposition -

Holts (on the river since the first)
and myself ditto.

(ALL NEW AND SINCE THE ARMISTICE)

Ollivants
French Co. (C.F.A.O. -
S.C.O.A. (just arrived).

Now the best answer to your question of what trade CAN be done is surely this -

Since the Merger, and at Merger prices, inasmuch as we are all compelled to obey their dictates:

Ollivants are buying Oil at the rate of 100 casks a month. Kernels at the rate of 1,000 bags a month.

C.F.A.O. are buying Oil at the rate of 120 casks a month. Kernels at the rate of 1,200 bags a month.

BOTH these firms are reaping where they have not sown, as Ollivants are only here three years and C.F.A.O. here under two years!

And I?

Practically nothing - because I am strangled by (a) bad and inadequate Bank Agency, and (b) cold treatment in the matter of transport by the Niger Co. steamers - but THEIR POWER LIES IN THEIR CAPITAL.

As to the African community - not a SINGLE ONE HAS SHIPPED for years! They are all bound to sell locally - and it is from THEM that the firms buy the cask (wholesals) and buy the 20/50 cwts of kernels at a time.

Now isn't it logical that there would be a rallying to you, if you came here, and could arrange that, before BUYING ENOUGH TO FILL A BOAT, you could get Elder's or one of the other lines to come here? Onitsha is 200 miles up the river, and all the year round (except for a few days, may be, in April) open to oceancraft of the "Brancher" type.

The reason why I can't hold my own is that the Bank (Bank of British West Africa) advances only 75% of local cost which leaves me to pay for casks and bags, river frt. and export duty - making actually some HALF advance of cost! Result - well £500 becomes £250, £250 becomes £125, £125 becomes £60 - and "out goes the gas".

I have tried to tell you facts - now weigh them up, and save the River from becoming the Cemetery (sic) of the Native Trader, and the Garden of the Merger and the Merger's Fellow-Conspirators!¹⁹

It is a well-known story now that West African Co-operative Producers failed to prevent not only the lower Niger trade but West African trade in general from becoming the "Garden of the Merger".²⁰

In these circumstances, Duse Mohamed Ali's more modest efforts in the Lagos of the depression years should perhaps be praised for a fitting sense of realism. He began his weekly column in the Nigerian Daily Times in November 1931, under the heading "About it and About",²¹ which he was also

19. J.M. Stuart-Young to West African Co-operative Producers Ltd., 11th March 1930, Macaulay Papers, General Correspondence, III, 9, 1930.
20. For the story of West African Co-operative Producers see A.G. Hopkins, "Economic Aspects of Political Movements in Nigeria and the Gold Coast", Journal of African History VII, 1, 1966, pp.133-52.
21. See "About it and About", "The Hard Time Bogey", Nigerian Daily Times, 13th November 1931. The column's title was explained by a quotation from Fitzgerald's translation of Omar Khayyam;

"Myself when young did eagerly
frequent
Doctor and Saint and learned
Argument
About it and about: but evermore
Came out by that same door as
in I went."

to use in The Comet. He continued to produce his column through 1932, and even beyond the date when The Comet began to appear in 1933.²² It contained a medley of remiscences; current affairs - exhibiting his growing taste for the role of armchair strategist and diplomatic commentator;²³ social questions;²⁴ history;²⁵ literary discussions;²⁶ and sometimes sheer nonsense.²⁷ Like all regular columnists, he sometimes simply ran out of subjects.²⁸ Inevitably, much of this mass of verbiage now seems ephemeral, but there is little doubt that, with its wide outlook, it was a breath of fresh air among the generally parochial Lagos newspapers. It

22. Thus, the Daily Times of 29th December 1933, p.7 contained a Duse "About it and About" on the philosopher Comte, while The Comet first appeared on 22nd July 1933.
23. e.g. "Spain the Unpredictable", on the new Spanish Republic, Daily Times 22nd July 1932, p.4; "Those German Colonies", on German hopes of regaining their lost colonies, Daily Times, 16th December 1932, p.3; "Litvinoff Captures America", 15th December 1933, p.7.
24. e.g. "Female Slavery" - an attack on bride price - Daily Times 26th February 1932, p.10.
25. e.g. "Ever Heard of Moshesh?", Daily Times, 30th December 1932, p.5.
26. e.g. article on Voltaire, Daily Times, 26th March 1932, p.5.
27. e.g. "The Chimpanzee Actor", Daily Times, 12th October 1933, p.7.
28. See "What Shall I Write?", Daily Times, 24th November 1933, p.7. Considering that by this time he was also churning out copy for The Comet, it is hardly surprising that for once a subject eluded him!

is doubtful if the Nigerian press had ever had such a columnist before. No trace of self-pity is to be found in these articles, and indeed he used the very first of them to berate the West Africans for their attitude to the depression. Holding up as examples the settlement of the American West, and the lives of such self-made men as Rockefeller, Henry Ford, Edison, Sir Thomas Lipton and Barney Barnato, he uninhibitedly gave rein to the Samuel Smiles side of his nature. This was an omen for his Nigerian years, for in general the Duse Mohamed Ali of 1931-1945 was a more conservative figure than he had been hitherto - though, as we shall see, not invariably so. The conservative Duse of these last years was no more consistent than the radical Duse of 1912-21. But nothing could measure the general shift of his opinions more than his first "About it and About", which actually used the deeds of the capitalist exploiters of West and South Africa as a reproach to West Africans rather than to the British;

The diamond exploiters wrested their wealth from the land of South Africa and your West African firms have enriched themselves from the lands of West Africa. In this connection, it is claimed that the farmer and trader are not adequately remunerated; hence farming does not pay. This is all humbug. The merchant cannot well be blamed for taking advantage of conditions. He is in West Africa for business. There is no philanthropy in business.

However, this line of argument was quite conformable with delivering a broadside on hard work as the road to self-betterment, and on the superiority of the good old pre-European ways in West Africa - though also skillfully covering his flank by tributes to the western educated class. Casely Hayford, Sarbah, Sir Samuel Lewis, Blyden, Blaize and Payne were singled out from the past. In the present, neatly avoiding the mud-slinging factionalism of the Lagos elite, he praised in general "the honourable and

distinguished corps of rising Barristers and Physicians". And his conclusion was in some ways a reversion to the early days of the ATOR;

The land possesses the wealth. No industrious and self-respecting West African needs go about devoid of the necessities of life.

There is dignity in honest labour which no wealth can buy. Men have back-bone; jellyfish have none. Go back to the land young man and show the manhood within you, thereby becoming a credit to your country and yourself. There are no hard times in West Africa other than those made by yourself.²⁹

Among the plethora of themes he treated in his "About it and About" column, the need for hard work, individual effort, and a return to the land was one he returned to numbers of times.³⁰

Without giving up his weekly article in the Daily Times, at some time during 1932 he was engaged by T.A. Doherty, now owner of the Lagos Nigerian Daily Telegraph, to edit that paper. The salary was £25 a month,³¹ which together with his weekly guinea from the Daily Times would have enabled him to live like a gentleman in the Lagos of 1932. While editing the Nigerian Daily Telegraph the germ of the idea of the future Comet came to him; "a real honest-to-goodness weekly publication of an informative character was badly needed in Nigeria."³² But the Telegraph had "neither the means nor

29. "About it and About", "The Hard Time Bogey", in Daily Times, 13th November, 1931.

30. See Nigerian Daily Times, 9th April 1932, p.4; 26th August 1932, p.4; 11th November 1932, p.3; 10th February 1932, p.3; 16th June 1933, p.7.

31. "Leaves", in The Comet, 26th February 1938, p.19. For Doherty's proprietorship see Omu, The Nigerian Newspaper Press 1859-1937, Ph.D. thesis, University of Ibadan, 1965, pp.120-21.

32. "Leaves", in The Comet, 5th March 1938, p.7.

the needful facilities", and to tell the truth, was finding its expensive if experienced editor a financial burden. The paper was losing money, and so Duse lost his editorial chair. The parting was, however, amicable enough, and he remained on friendly terms with T.A. Doherty,³³ who had, after all, given him some months of employment at a decent salary and in a position in which he could re-establish his reputation as a somebody rather than a down-and-out failure. It was perhaps about this time that he briefly became editor of the Daily Times, and there attempted to put into effect the ideas he had wished to implement at the Telegraph. The circumstances of this were that "the Editor-Manager ... suddenly surrendered his job and left the proprietors committed to a special Christmas Number ... with no capable person to carry on." He was "called to the rescue and saved the situation."³⁴ He began to make changes in the Daily Times Saturday edition, but once again ran into proprietorial opposition, his difficulties being increased by ill-health;

I was moving too quickly for those in control and complaints were made about the added expense I had incurred in my efforts to brighten the Saturday edition. Overwork resulting from my strenuous labours to produce the 1932 Christmas number on time, in addition to my work on the Saturday Edition, caused me to be ordered to hospital ... where I remained for four weeks but, notwithstanding the fact that I still managed to contribute my weekly articles, a letter was sent me in hospital giving me one month's notice to quit ...³⁵

33. "Leaves", in The Comet, 26th February 1938, pp.19-20 and 5th March 1938, p.7., and private information to writer from Chief T.A. Doherty, Lagos, 2nd April 1967.

34. "Leaves", in The Comet, 26th February 1938, p.20.

35. *ibid*, 5th March 1938, p.7.

But at this point his dogged determination saw him through. Having failed to persuade either the Daily Times or the Nigerian Daily Telegraph to carry out his idea, he decided to set up his own weekly journal;

While completing my month' notice to leave The Times, I began to formulate plans for producing the kind of weekly News-Magazine I had in mind.

As funds were insufficient to effectively carry forward my plan, I approached a few acquaintances with the hope of obtaining the needful financial assistance to register a publishing company.³⁶

Money was the most serious problem. The costs of setting up The Comet cannot, as such, have been great. As far as staff was concerned, it was in its early days virtually a one man band. His only helper was a very young man, Mobolaji Odumewu - later to rise from this humble apprenticeship to the position of one of Nigeria's leading pressmen.³⁷ Wages paid to such staff as The Comet had in its early years were poor.³⁸ But there was the unavoidable legal obligation, under Nigerian Press Law, of putting up a bond of £250 to the government.³⁹ Where this money came from remains a mystery. Possibly Gertrude La Page still had funds left at her disposal; Chief Doherty supposes that Duse Mohamed Ali's Muslim brethren rallied round him.⁴⁰ Another possible helper was the West Indian businessman

36. *ibid.*

37. Information from Mr. Mobolaji Odumewu. The small size of The Comet's staff in the thirties, with the editor doing virtually all the work, was mentioned to the writer by Oba Samuel Akinsanya, Odemo of Ishara, Afin Ishara, 20th March 1967.

38. Information from Mr. Mobolaji Odumewu.

39. Omu, *op.cit.*, p.381.

40. Information from Chief Doherty.

and former Garveyite leader in Lagos, A.S. Wynter Shackelford, who had made a fortune organising the bakery industry in Lagos, and who was known as a friend of Duse Mohamed Ali and The Comet during the nineteen-thirties and forties.⁴¹ All that Duse himself revealed in his autobiography was his will to procede;

There were many promises but no fulfillment, so I took my courage in both hands and proceeded to accomplish the things which my "friends" termed "impossible!"

... adequate funds were not forthcoming. But I never lacked courage nor confidence in myself. And above all I had confidence in God.⁴²

41. Amos Stanley Wynter Shackelford, "The Bread King of Nigeria", came to Nigeria as a railway clerk in 1913, became an entrepreneur in 1917, and in 1921 started in the bakery trade in Lagos. By acquiring the services of an army trained baker, and introducing both technical and distribution innovations, he made a fortune during the difficult inter-war years, also successfully operating ferry services and petrol stations, and expanding into the Gold Coast in 1934. He was so successful that the shares he privately sold to his friends at £50 each later sold for as much as £3,000. See Peter Kilby, African Enterprise: The Nigerian Bread Industry, Hoover Institution Studies no.8, Stanford University 1965, pp.7-8. But Shackelford was more than a businessman - he entered into Nigerian political life, became a member of Lagos Town Council, and was a noted philanthropist - see *ibid*, p.8 n.5. In 1922 he had been President of the Lagos branch of the U.N.I.A. - see G.H. Walker, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Southern Provinces, Nigeria, The Universal Negro Improvement Association, paragraph 5, in C.O. 583/109/6134. This being the case, it is very plausible that he helped Duse over the question of the £250 bond. Possibly as a railway clerk back in 1913 he had heard of Duse's efforts on behalf of Hall and Taylor. Duse's obituarist in the Daily Comet, 27th June 1945, p.2, presumed that the close working relationship, as well as friendship, between Duse and the Shackelfords was common knowledge, for he remarked that the old editor had left Mr. and Mrs. Shackelford "to carry on the good work".
42. "Leaves", in The Comet, 5th March 1938, p.7.

Barrister S.Y. Eke of Benin, who knew Duse in the forties, recalls that in conversation the old man accused those who had said they would support The Comet, when it was being mooted, of double crossing him; and when asked how he had contrived to run the paper, he would answer "Out of nothing God created the world".⁴³

Wherever the money needed to launch The Comet came from, Duse Mohamed Ali's achievement in creating a lasting element in the Nigerian press scene must, to be fully understood, be put in the context of the nature and development of the Nigerian press in those years. In some ways, Duse's early difficulties were much like those of other Nigerian would-be newspaper proprietors. According to a leading authority on the Nigerian Press, Dr. F. Omu, "it was not always easy for proprietors to get sureties because it would seem that people in high places were reluctant openly to identify themselves with the critics of Government." Further, potential sureties feared involvement in the frequent quarrels between proprietors and printers, which necessitated the execution of a fresh bond. And in describing the general motives of Nigerian press proprietors, Dr. Omu largely outlines Duse's individual position;

... although a handful of people donated money for the purpose of sustaining particular newspapers, philanthropy played little part in the inauguration of most newspapers. The fact was most people established newspapers to earn a living ...

... a good number of newspapermen were people in want of employment. There were various categories of this class of people. For example, there were those who had been dismissed from, or who had resigned from their jobs. There were also people incapacitated by illness or legal prohibitions ... from continuing their chosen professions.

43. Information to writer from Barrister S.Y. Eke, Ore-Oghene, Benin City, 20th April 1967.

... almost all the newspapermen in the nineteenth century and quite a few in the present century, were people ambitious to recover from financial ruin.⁴⁴

But in other ways, The Comet was less typical of its times, or was an omen of new directions in the Nigerian Press. To begin with, its very survival was a considerable achievement, for of the 33 newspapers founded in Nigeria between 1920 and 1937, 33% died in less than a year, 23% died in their third year, 4% died in their fifth year, and 10% in their seventh year.⁴⁵ Thus, The Comet outlived T.A. Doherty's Nigerian Press Ltd., publishers of the Nigerian Daily Telegraph. This company was "virtually bankrupt" by 1937;⁴⁶ Duse's separation from it could thus be regarded as a blessing in disguise. Yet another way in which The Comet differed from the usual Nigerian newspaper of pre-1933 was that its editor-proprietor was a real newspaperman. Normally in the twenties, and even to an extent in the thirties "ownership and control ... were ... concentrated in the hands of lawyers, doctors, chemists, businessmen, and even surveyors and architects" who were not "exclusively devoted to the profession of journalism". With Ernest Ikoli and W.C. Labor, Duse Mohamed Ali was one of the rare exceptions to this rule.⁴⁷ In another way, by being a publisher-editor-printer, he was representing an older tradition in Nigerian newspaper publishing.⁴⁸

44. Omu, op.cit., p.57.

45. *ibid*, p.127.

46. *ibid*, pp.120-21.

47. Increase Coker, "The Nigerian Press: 1929-1959", in Report on the Press in West Africa, prepared for international seminar on "Press and Progress in West Africa", University of Dakar, May 31st - June 4th 1960, p.76.

48. *ibid*, p.83.

However, the paper proved responsive to the new wave limited liability companies that began to re-organise the press in the nineteen-thirties⁴⁹ - in 1941 The Comet's publication was taken over by a limited liability company, the Comet Press Ltd.⁵⁰ Almost certainly this was a response to two pressures, one internal, and one external. Internally, since 1937, The Comet had had to face competition from Azikiwe's West African Pilot, which with its mixture of a popular format, sensationalism, and heady radicalism, almost instantly achieved what was, for West Africa, an unheard of circulation - in its first year, little less than 10,000 daily, compared with The Comet's 4,000 weekly - which had, moreover, remained static at that level since 1933. This had been a respectable circulation in the pre-Pilot era; since 1933, only the Daily Times among the Dailies, and none of the weeklies, had exceeded it.⁵¹ Now Duse began to lose staff - for example Mobolaji Odumewu⁵² - as well as circulation, to the lusty newcomer.

49. *ibid*, and Omu, *op.cit.*, pp.114-122.

50. See declaration by Solicitor J.S. Hughes of the formation of the company, 5th June 1941, file 526, Registry of Companies, Nigerian Federal Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Lagos.

51. See Nigeria Blue Book, 1933, C.O. 660/24, for official circulation figure of The Comet in 1933, and *ibid* 1934-37, C.O. 660/25-28, for The Comet's circulation during those years. For the West African Pilot's circulation in 1937, see *ibid*, 1937, C.O. 660/28. For the circulation of the Nigerian Daily Times 1933-37, see *ibid*, 1933-37, C.O. 660/24-28. For the impact of the West African Pilot, see K.A.B. Jones-Quartey, A Life of Azikiwe, Penguin African Series, London 1965, pp.147-8.

52. Information to the writer from Mr. Mobolaji Odumewu.

Externally, the advent of the Second World War made the price of newsprint rocket,⁵³ and so shook the weaker elements in the Nigerian press. Even before 1939 The Comet was losing circulation. By 1938, The Comet's circulation had sunk to 3,000; the Pilot held steady at 9,750, and the Pilot's chief rival, the Daily Times, was selling 5,900 daily.⁵⁴ Probably the Comet Press Ltd., the last of Duse' Mohamed Ali's limited liability companies, was a desperate attempt to raise further capital to fight the twin threats of the Pilot and inflation in the costs of production. This was all in vain, however, for The Comet was destined to be swallowed up by Zik, though there was a temporary rise in its circulation to 5,000, after the introduction of a Wednesday edition in 1941.⁵⁵

Having given the general context in which The Comet operated, we may now look at the way in which the magazine was organised and developed. It began its life as a weekly on 22nd July 1933; added the Wednesday edition on 12th November 1941; and on 16th May 1944 went through its final evolution of its founder's lifetime, to become a daily, known as the Daily Comet. As we have already seen, the initial editorial staff was not large, but from this humble beginning, it developed into a considerable operation, for an African run and owned business in Nigeria then. By Duse' Mohamed Ali's death, the Daily Comet was employing at least 50 people and claimed a

53. See Omu, The Nigerian Newspaper Press, pp.128-9. By late 1942, the average price of newsprint had tripled compared with pre-war prices.

54. Nigeria Blue Book, 1938, C.O. 660/29.

55. *ibid*, 1942, C.O. 660/33. But by 1942 the Pilot's circulation had risen to 11,600.

circulation of over 8,000.⁵⁶ In its early years it was printed by the Ife-Olu Printing Press, owned by Nigerian businessman, I.W. Osilaja. In 1935 the paper moved from its original home in Custom Street to new premises at 64 Broad Street,⁵⁷ and in August of the following year proudly announced "we have procured our own machinery and type to make The Comet worthy of its ever increasing circulation." At the same time, the office moved yet again from 64 to 89 Broad Street.⁵⁸ Yet for what the official statistics are worth, The Comet's circulation was not then increasing, and there is a mystery about the whole affair of the acquisition of the Broad Street premises and the printing press.

On the testimony of two of those who knew Duse well in those days - Mobolaji Odumewu and Oged Macaulay, son of Herbert Macaulay - the second Broad Street premises, the printing machinery, and the types were all provided by Mr. Williams, General Manager in Lagos of the United Africa Company.⁵⁹ This was a valuable benefaction; even six years later the printing machinery and types were considered to be worth £1,500.⁶⁰ Now

56. See obituary issue of Daily Comet, 27th June 1945, p.2.

57. See The Comet, 3rd August 1935, p.5.

58. See The Comet, 25th July 1936, p.5, for the move to 89 Broad Street, and ibid, 1st August 1936, p.5, for the acquisition of machinery and types.

59. Information from Mr. Oged Macaulay, 5a Ondo St. East Lagos, 11th March 1967, and Mr. Mobolaji Odumewu, General Manager Nigerian National Press, Apapa, 4th April 1967. Their two accounts were in agreement, and were given without reference to each other and in response to a question as to how Duse Mohamed Ali financed his paper.

60. See Return of Share Allotments in Comet Press Ltd. 26th March 1942 - 5th June 1942, file 526, Registry of Companies, Lagos.

it should be remembered that the U.A.C. was the crowning achievement of Lever Brothers in West Africa, the ultimate fruit of all the combines and mergers that Duse and his friends had been struggling against for so many years. Was this a move by the U.A.C. to secure the docility of what had become one of the most influential Nigerian journals? Had Duse Mohamed Ali sold his principles in return for a modicum of security in old age? These questions must be asked. But the former cannot as yet be answered; and as for the latter, it seems unlikely to be true for two reasons. To begin with, his first "About it and About" in the Daily Times had shown that, in relation to the economic distress of the Nigeria of the thirties, he was more ready to blame Nigerian idleness and lack of individual initiative (as he saw it) than the big expatriate firm. In other words, some years before there was any question of help from this unlikely quarter, he had ceased to write about it with active hostility. Secondly, despite receiving money from the U.A.C. (and in the circumstances we are bound to conclude that he did), he did not scruple to attack Lord Leverhulme and his firm in the most forthright terms in his autobiography, which was published in The Comet wholly after he had accepted help.⁶¹ It is true that these attacks were in reference to matters long past, and that Sir William Lever was alluded to in thinly veiled form rather than openly. But it is clearly impossible to believe that the U.A.C. aid for The Comet constituted a quid pro quo for a total cessation of his attacks on Lever Brothers. Indeed,

61. "Leaves" appeared in The Comet between 12th June 1937 and 5th March 1938. Its attacks came in the issues for 30th October 1937, p.17 and 29th January 1938, p.16.

after 1936, he did not only attack Lever Brothers' past. Though referring to it by a periphrasis, he attacked the U.A.C. for its role in the cocoa hold-up of 1938, and defended the Nigerian Produce Traders Union protagonist, Samuel Akisanya;

It is quite obvious that matters cannot be allowed to drift but that the Government should protect the interests of the farmers if unrest of an untoward kind is to be avoided. There were the accusations brought against the "Pool" during the recent meeting at the Secretariat when the local representative of the principal West African trading firm declined to place the "Pool" agreement upon the table in order to refute the allegations of Mr. Akisanya. This incident was an undoubted sign of weakness on the part of the Pool which lends colour to the statements made by the representative of the Nigerian Produce Traders Union.⁶²

But whereas at one time such a conflict would have caused Duse Mohamed Ali to issue a clarion call to black men the world over to combine to fight the rising tide of economic oppression, and thereby set their feet on the road to political freedom, by way of economic success, now he tamely observed "it is devoutly to be hoped that there will be a little mental stock-taking resulting in an amicable understanding in the best interests of the Farmers, the Government, and the members of the Pool."⁶³ A little later, he welcomed as a happy solution to the cocoa crisis the appointment by the Colonial Office of a commission to visit Nigeria and the Gold Coast to investigate the Cocoa Pool and the hold-up.⁶⁴ Though by no means a turncoat or a toady, his editorial outlook had certainly become far more conservative. In conversation, as opposed to print, he still attacked anything that might

62. The Comet, 15th January 1938, p.5.

63. ibid.

64. ibid., 19th February 1938, p.5.

strangle the economic life of the people, including the U.A.C.⁶⁵ On the other hand, on 2nd March 1935, the Comet column written under the pseudonym "Growler", actually criticised Governor Clifford for excluding Levers from Nigeria!⁶⁶

Certainly the help from the U.A.C. postponed rather than solved the financial problems of The Comet. Duse Mohamed Ali's attempt to counter these difficulties was the creation of the Comet Press Ltd., incorporated on 5th June 1941, with a nominal share capital of £5,000.⁶⁷ The days of his speculative ventures with enormous nominal capital were long passed. The new company's directors were Duse Mohamed Ali himself and three Lagos Muslims - Sunni Youssouf Ottun, an auctioneer; Haudu O. Sunmola, a trader; and Mustapha K. Ekemode, a clerk.⁶⁸ All these three men resigned their directorships in the course of 1942. Their place was taken by a Yoruba accountant, John Ojo Adebayo, who by July 1942 was the company's secretary; and ^{by} September 1942 a director. From October 1942 till February 1945, he and Duse Mohamed Ali were the sole directors, and he played a large part in running the company's business affairs.⁶⁹

65. Information from Mr. Mobalaji Odumewu.

66. The Comet, 2nd March 1935, p.9.

67. See file 526, Registry of Companies, Lagos.

68. *ibid*, particulars of Directors of Comet Press Ltd. 5th June 1941.

69. See *ibid*, Agreement of Sale between Duse Mohamed Ali and Comet Press Ltd., witnessed by J. Adebayo as secretary of the company, 29th July 1942; Alteration of directors of Comet Press Ltd., 8th September 1942 and 8th October 1942. No further changes in directorships are noted in these documents till Zik's take-over.

Until February 1945, the Comet Press Ltd. never attracted substantial amounts of capital. At its formation, Duse Mohamed Ali was credited with 2,000 £1 ordinary shares, considered as fully paid, in return for the company's assets, valued at £2,014.10s. It is interesting to note that the second largest item in these assets, following £1,200 for the printing machines, was £405.10s. owing from debtors - a high proportion of the firm's capital value, and an indication perhaps of general hard times.⁷⁰ But apart from Duse's 2,000 shares, there were only 153 £1 ordinary shares and 14 £5 preference shares issued by 5th June 1942 - S.Y. Ottun and H.O. Sunmola being the largest shareholders with 64 preference shares each.⁷¹ What percentage of this subscribed capital was ever paid up is not recorded. The only other significant subscribers from then till February 1945 were J.O. Adebayo, who subscribed 50 £1 preference shares in August 1942, and an Ebutte Metta clerk, Joseph Ishola Salami, who subscribed 100 preference shares at the same time.⁷²

The big change in the Comet Press Ltd. came in February 1945, with Zik buying up an overwhelming controlling interest.⁷³ The return of share allotments in the company for 19th February 1945 declared Zik's Press Ltd. to own 690 out of 692 subscribed ordinary shares, and 384 out of 386

70. See *ibid*, list of assets in return for which Duse was credited with his 2,000 shares, in Return of Share Allotments, 26th March 1942-5th June 1942.

71. *ibid*.

72. *ibid*, Return of Share Allotments from 1st August 1942-21st August 1942.

73. See account in West African Pilot, 20th February 1945, p.1.

preference shares.⁷⁴ The motive for this sale of the company to Azikiwe was purely commercial.⁷⁵ Now old, in poor health, and unable to secure The Comet's future without some such arrangement, Duse Mohamed Ali at last surrendered any claim to be the guiding hand behind his paper, although he remained a director of the company until his death on 25th June 1945. But even before Zik's purchase of a controlling interest in The Comet Press, there were portents of the coming event. When The Comet became the Daily Comet Zik's West African Pilot responded with an unusually warm commendation, coming from the leader in the Nigerian daily newspaper field to a new rival;

On Tuesday, May 16th, 1944, The Comet began publication as a daily Newspaper by the Comet Press Ltd. This is a very audacious move especially in wartime when the cost of newspaper production has soared beyond normalcy. It is also an exemplification of business enterprise.

We are happy to recollect the arrival of Duse Mohamed Alli (sic), its Managing Director, in this country barely twelve years ago, when he started The Comet as a weekly news magazine. The periodical clicked and the people of Nigeria became "Comet-conscious".

On behalf of ourselves and the other Newspapers associated with us in the romance of journalism in this part of the world, we extend to Mr. Duse Mohamed Alli and his band of workers our congratulations and hope that they would continue their mission of evangelization with success. The country is in a position to support as many daily Newspapers as possible, provided the technical and editorial organization and administration are available.

The first two issues of the Newspaper were neatly printed. The editorial matter was well chosen and the leaders were balanced. The columns were devoted to news about personalities, provinces and foreign countries. And the Newspaper proudly proclaims that it is published "for a thinking public". We offer our best wishes to the Director and staff of the Comet Press Limited and assure them our co-operation in the common struggle to destroy all vestiges of man's inhumanity to man in Nigeria.⁷⁶

74. See Return of Share Allotments in Comet Press Ltd., 19th February 1945, in file 526, Registry of Companies, Lagos.

75. Information to writer from Chief A. Enahoro, 6th April 1967 and Mr. Oged Macaulay, 11th March 1967.

76. West African Pilot, 18th May 1944, p.2.

It may well be that the West African Pilot was sanguine about the prospects of the new daily because its editor was already anticipating adding it to his group of papers.

Even earlier than such portents, Duse Mohamed Ali ceased to be an active editor. At exactly what stage he ceased to write the editorials is not clear, as his name appeared over the editorial column till his death. But in November 1943, the West African Pilot carried an item describing the Yoruba Muslim journalist M.R.B. Ottun as The Comet's editor.⁷⁷ His tenure of the editorial chair did not last long, for shortly after taking over the Comet Press, Zik appointed a new editor, Anthony Enahoro, a young man from Uromi who had been a Zik Press journalist since January 1943. The twenty-two year old Enahoro determined to "make the Daily Comet the voice of youth and of the trade unions."⁷⁸ Thus in the closing months of his life, Duse Mohamed Ali's newspaper gave the first big opening to a man who was destined to become one of his country's leading politicians.

Whatever satisfaction the old man felt at handing on his paper as an ongoing concern to a new generation, he surely felt a certain sadness too.

77. *ibid*, 20th November 1943, p.1, M.R.B. Ottun had for many years been a regular writer for The Comet. There are notes signed by Ottun as editor of The Comet in the Macaulay Papers, General Correspondence, III, 23, 1944. These are dated 3rd January 1944 and 21st February 1944, and are both addressed to Herbert Macaulay.

78. Daily Comet, 10th March 1945, p.2, announced that the editorial chair had changed hands a week before - though "Edited by Duse Mohamed Ali" still appeared over the editorial "Men and Matters" column. Also see A. Enahoro, Fugitive Offender, The Story of a Political Prisoner, London 1965, p.74.

Chief Enahoro recalls that in his last months Duse Mohamed Ali expressed doubts about the way the Zik takeover was working out, though he also accepted that the takeover had been the only way to keep the paper alive.⁷⁹ After his death, the last relic of the Dusan regime, John Ojo Adebayo, was "relieved of his directorship" by the shareholders at a General Meeting of the company held on 7th December 1945, and replaced by the General Manager of the West African Pilot, Adolphus Kofi Blankson. Since the shareholders virtually meant Azikiwe, in effect this was Zik clearing away the old order. He and Blankson were the sole directors from that time.⁸⁰

From 1933 to 1945, The Comet was, in effect, Duse Mohamed Ali's life. It is instructive to note that in many ways it was profoundly dissimilar to his London reviews. The Comet's tone was lighter, employing the short sentence and paragraph structure, and snippets of information of the "did you know that" kind, typical of the frivolous popular journalism of the nineteen-thirties. This was, however, a worthwhile innovation in terms of the Lagos Press, which had traditionally been written in heavy neo-Victorian prose almost incomprehensible to the ordinary Nigerian reader. Not till the advent of Zik's West African Pilot was The Comet to be out-

79. Information from Chief A. Enahoro. Duse also talked in a similar vein to S.Y. Eke - information from Barrister S.Y. Eke, Ore-Oghene, Benin, 20th April 1967.

80. See Change of Directors of Comet Press Ltd., 8th December 1945, in file 526, Registry of Companies, Lagos. Blankson was Zik's business factotum in the post-war era, being a director of the African Continental Bank and National Auditor of the N.C.N.C., besides his role in Zik's newspaper empire. See Richard L. Skar, Nigerian Political Parties, pp.164, 453 & 518.

classed in the techniques of popular journalism.

The Comet's popular format must have helped its comparatively good circulation. Thus, Chief Enahoro remembers reading The Comet to his mother as a child - a duty which, he implies, he found more pleasant than reading the usual "ponderously prolix editorials" of the Lagos press, which were "more than a little difficult to negotiate".⁸¹ Chief Obafemi Awolowo remembers Duse Mohamed Ali's style as breezy and easily understood, and his paper as selling like "hot cakes" in Ibadan in the thirties, being especially popular with "youngmen".⁸² Though both these distinguished Nigerians were later to become successful professional men as well as political leaders, it is clear that at that earlier stage in their lives, when their education was incomplete, they found The Comet's style in line with their needs, as did many others. The thirties in Nigeria was a time when "Standard VI", itself a rare accomplishment, was the acme in educational attainment for all but a tiny minority. Thus the newspaper readership was overwhelmingly one of people with only a primary education, who needed popular rather than "quality" journalism.⁸³

81. Enahoro, Fugitive Offender, p.45.

82. Information from Chief O. Awolowo, Ibadan, 16th February, 1967.

83. Omu, The Nigerian Newspaper Press 1859-1967, p.142, quotes statistics showing that in 1937 there were 218,610 primary pupils in Southern Nigeria as against 4,285 secondary pupils; in 1926 the respective figures had been 138,244 and 518; and in 1912, 35,716 and 67. In these circumstances, Dr. I. Geiss's dismissive remark that "The Comet ... reflects more the taste of cheap British journalism in the thirties than serious interest in Pan-Africanism", though true, misses the point that "cheap" journalism was an intelligent adaptation to circumstances. See I. Geiss, "Notes on the Development of Pan-Africanism", Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, III, 4, 1967, p.731. But in Awo. The Autobiography of Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Cambridge 1960, p.84, Awolowo gave the first place in the Nigerian Press of the late thirties to the West African Pilot, despite his strong antipathy for Zik and his methods. Dr. Oruwariyo of Ibadan told the writer on 19th February 1967 that though The Comet was generally considered a good paper, the Pilot was considered head and shoulders above it.

The Comet was innovatory in other important ways; although it by no means neglected Nigerian parish pump topics - indeed, no Nigerian newspaper could have survived if it had done so - it followed the traditions set in Duse Mohamed Ali's "About it and About" column in the Nigerian Daily Times in also having world-wide interests which could not really be said of any other Nigerian newspaper of the early nineteen-thirties. This was most spectacularly illustrated by his close editorial coverage of German and Italian ambitions in Africa during the thirties, which will be looked at in some detail presently. But, to take some other examples, we can find him discussing the position of the Afro-American, Afro-Brazilian and Afro-West Indian;⁸⁴ Japanese Militarism in the Far East;⁸⁵ and the 1938 disturbances in Palestine.⁸⁶ In relation to Nigerian affairs, The Comet was cautious; it never identified itself totally with any of the Nigerian political parties, and apart from one lapse, a hostile obituary of Sir Kitoyi Ajasa, avoided personal mud-slinging of the type traditional in the Lagos press. The attack on Ajasa proved the wisdom of Duse's usual caution in such matters, for though Ajasa had in many ways been an unpopular figure, public feeling was outraged by abuse of an eminent Nigerian by a foreigner. Even to-day, the resulting furore is remembered by the older

84. The Comet, 29th July 1933, p.2.

85. ibid, 18th June 1938, p.5.

86. ibid, 13th August 1938, p.5.

generation in Lagos and Southern Nigeria.⁸⁷ Ajasa's family threatened legal action (though it is hard to see their grounds as English law does not recognise libel against the dead), and Duse felt obliged to published a retraction.⁸⁸ Support came only from another outsider, J.M. Stuart-Young.⁸⁹

Probably this unwise and untypical outburst was occasioned by bitter memories of being cold-shouldered by Ajasa in previous years - possibly Ajasa was one of the influential professional men who had opposed his Inter-Colonial Corporation in Lagos in 1920. Certainly Duse Mohamed Ali spent a great deal of his time in his Comet years mulling over the events of his past life, often referring to them in his paper. The most remarkable example of this was his autobiography, "Leaves from an Active Life", serialised in The Comet from 12th June 1937 to 5th March 1938, which

87. For Duse's Ajasa obituary, see *ibid*, 5th June 1937, p.5. This began with the words "That remarkable person known as Sir Kitoye Ajasa has passed to his account with all his doubtful glories and honours. After making much wealth and cleverly manipulating matters to obtain a knighthood he dies a pauper with hardly one sincere friend to cheer him on the way. He possessed no helpful consideration for his people ...". Much was made of Ajasa's lavish hospitality to Europeans, to prove the moral that "in this section of the Empire any native who buys his way into European Society, spending his substance to that end, is only living in a fools paradise." Oba Samuel Akisanya, and Chief O. Awolowo remember themselves feeling affronted by this obituary, while Chief T.A. Doherty, Alhajji L.B. Augusto, Mr. Oged Macaulay and Mr. A.K. Disu of the Nigerian Federal Ministry of Information all testified to the writer that it caused a great scandal. For the general atmosphere of mudslinging in the Lagos press, see William Donald Edmunds, The Newspaper Press in British West Africa 1918 to 1939, M.A. dissertation, University of Bristol, 1951, p.13.

88. Information from Mr. A.K. Disu, Lagos, 31st March 1967.

89. See J.M. Stuart-Young to Duse Mohamed Ali, 8th June 1937, in Macaulay Papers, General Correspondence, III, 16, 1937.

contained, as well as a mine of information about his travels and deeds in four continents, much of his philosophy and outlook on life. Only second in interest to "Leaves From an Active Life" is his serial novel "Ere Roosevelt Came",⁹⁰ which as we have seen in the previous chapter, is in part a reflection of his life in the United States in the nineteen-twenties. But the most striking thing about this mass of reminiscence, apart from an understandable tendency to self-justification, is the lack of any open admission of the closeness of his association with Marcus Garvey.

This can almost certainly be explained by necessary caution. He was an Egyptian, not a British subject,⁹¹ and could have easily been deported as an undesirable, back to a country which although his birth-place would have been very alien to him. This, too, helps to explain his almost sycophantic praise of senior British officials in The Comet. Sir Donald Cameron, in particular, was heaped with praise; but Cameron was generally popular in the Nigerian Press.⁹² Usually, he was prepared to give the colonial administration the benefit of the doubt. A typical example was

90. See The Comet, 24th February 1934 - 13th October 1934.

91. Exactly when he became an Egyptian subject is not known, but the Particulars of Directors of the Comet Press Ltd. of 5th June 1941, which was a legal document, gave his nationality as Egyptian; see file 526, Registry of Companies, Lagos.

92. For an example of his praise of Sir Donald Cameron, see The Comet, 28th October 1933, pp.3-4. This passage is cited in Edmunds, op.cit., p.209, where it is put in the context of Cameron's generally good press.

his support for the unpopular Yaba Higher College.⁹³ The Comet was certainly conciliatory in tone, compared with the ATOR, and its vigorous attacks on Lugard and many other Nigerian officials of its day. Those who would criticise Duse Mohamed Ali for this should remember the many times he had risked and lost everything for causes he believed in, and the respect and liking for the British, and especially the British ruling class, that had always uneasily co-existed with his more radical attitudes. Furthermore, he was now an old man, and perhaps felt entitled to a little peace and security in his closing years. Certainly this attitude was not mercenary - he died as he had lived for most of his life, a poor man.⁹⁴

In general there was little that could be called Pan-African about The Comet. That is not to say that it abandoned all the concepts that Duse had been preaching for so many years. He still regularly preached Booker T. Washingtonian ideas about hard work in manual occupations, use of the land, and industrial education. Indeed, he even contemplated creating an industrial school himself, though the project foundered through

93. See The Comet, 27th January 1934, pp.3 & 23, and following issues. For the general dislike of the Yaba scheme, see Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism, pp.123-4, and 218, and Kalu Ezera, Constitutional Developments in Nigeria, Cambridge 1964, p.55.

94. See obituary of Duse Mohamed Ali, "We Lose a Prince of the Pen", Daily Comet, 27th June 1945, p.2.

lack of funds.⁹⁵ His support for Yaba Higher College must be related to this scheme and his great respect for Tuskegee Institute. He continued to defend the good name of his race against the prejudices common in the white world; thus, for example, in September 1935 he treated his readers to an outline of the spread of racist ideas and practices in Britain from the supposedly happy days when Queen Victoria bestowed knighthoods on the likes of Sir Samuel Lewis.⁹⁶ This article could have been almost word for word written in the ATOR or AOR as far as its sentiments were concerned. And in a decade in which so much pernicious nonsense was abroad about the evils of miscegenation, Duse Mohamed Ali went out of his way in The Comet to defend those coloured people who were of mixed European and African ancestry. On one occasion he even strongly rebuked his old friend J.M. Stuart-Young for an attack on marriage between white women and African men. This is

95. This project was mentioned in Duse's "About it and About" feature in the Nigerian Daily Times, 11th November 1932, p.3. "Leaves", in The Comet, 26th February 1938, p.20 states; "My wife and self sensing the local necessity for education of an industrial kind, we decided to raise the nucleus of a Fund toward that end by putting over a Musical and Dramatic entertainment. I informed the late Colonel Rowe of my plans and he suggested that I should secure the Director of Education, E.R.J. Hussey's interest in the matter.

Mr. Hussey was willing to co-operate and I solicited a grant of land for the purpose. We held our entertainment aided by both European and African participants but the net result, after expenses had been met, amounted to less than ten pounds.

The Lands Department duly assigned me a plot of land at Yaba but, although the soil was too poor for our purposes, we found the terms and conditions absolutely prohibitive. Consequently we were compelled to leave the matter in abeyance..." For an early example of his support for Booker T. Washington type ideas and projects in The Comet, see the issue for 5th August 1933, pp.3-4. For a later example, see The Comet, 6th March 1937, p.5.

96. The Comet, 28th September 1935, pp.8 & 24.

the theme "White Women and Coloured Men", which had concerned him as far back as his days as a New Age contributor.⁹⁷ Likewise he attacked the pretensions of "Scientific" racism - such as the "findings" of Dr. H.L. Gordon of Nairobi that "natives" had smaller and inferior brains to Europeans, and the publicising of those "findings" to British children via that worthy journal, the Children's Newspaper. He denounced theories such as Dr. Gordon's, which purported to prove Africans to be childlike, as a mere cover for economic exploitation under the name of trusteeship.⁹⁸ On later occasions he denounced, in his "Men and Matters" column, the Aryan myth and even the noted biological scientist and Communist intellectual J.B.S. Haldane, for regarding the equal capacity of Africans as not proven.⁹⁹ But these were echoes from the past. What is missing from The Comet is the advocacy of any overall plan, economic or political, whereby the "darker races" could confront their enemies in unity and advance along the road to freedom. The nearest to a Pan-African scheme advocated in the pages of The Comet was editorial support in the late thirties for an African "Buffer State", to stretch from the tropic of Capricorn to the tropic of Cancer, and to be guaranteed by the European Great Powers. This would be a place where "the African may be allowed to work out his own political and economic salvation undisturbed by those dominating agencies which have failed to

97. *ibid*, 4th January 1936, pp.12-13 contains a long attack on miscegenation and in particular on marriages between Englishwomen and Nigerians; this was sternly rebuked by Dusé Mohamed Ali in *ibid*, 25th January 1936, p.7.

98. The Comet, 10th March 1934, p.5.

99. *ibid*, 11th August 1934, p.5 & 31st October 1936, p.7.

advance his material or political welfare." But no course of action was advocated to achieve this rather unlikely state, and the very idea came not from an African but from an Englishman called A.J. Siggins. Siggins' plan, which was published in The Comet, saw the "Buffer State" as, in some obscure way, a contribution to keeping the peace in Europe as much as anything.¹⁰⁰ Although the "Buffer State" plan reminds us of Duse Mohamed Ali's earlier advocacy of an African State in former German East Africa, yet it can only be regarded as the fading shadow of Pan-Africanism rather than the substance.

However, it was by no means the case that he was uninterested in African Affairs in a general sense during his Lagos years. Indeed, one of his most constant preoccupations during the thirties was the apparently impending repartition of Africa at the hands of Italy and Germany, with the compliance of Britain and France. From as early as December 1932, in his days as a columnist for the Nigerian Daily Times, he had taken note of the ambition of some elements in Germany to restore Germany's lost colonial empire.¹⁰¹ What Duse Mohamed Ali could not know was that despite its increasing level of propaganda about former German Africa as the thirties proceeded, the Hitler régime placed Africa low in its list of priorities. To Hitler, German colonisation was primarily a matter of Ostpolitik, and

100. The Comet, 6th May 1939, pp.5, 7 & 10.

101. "About it and About", Nigerian Daily Times, 16th December 1932, p.3, attacked Lothar Bohlen, Managing Director of the Woermann Line, for his colonial hopes.

Africa a side show¹⁰² - which, however, could be exploited with his usual clever opportunism to the disadvantage of Britain and France. Indeed at times London inclined to the view that détente could be achieved in Europe at the price of concessions to Hitler in Africa - an illusion, but one very frightening to British West Africans.¹⁰³ In 1938 rumour was rife in Nigeria that the country might be handed over to Germany as part of a general African colonial settlement and repartition. The Comet shared these fears, noting that the Prime Minister who had been "mainly responsible for the transfer of Czech territory" might also be tempted to "compensate Germany with Nigeria by way of a quid pro quo for the loss of her former African colonies."¹⁰⁴ Although these fears were soon soothed by "a definite statement of the intentions of the British Government with which there can be no cause for complaint",¹⁰⁵ yet this scare brought about a major change in The Comet's editorial attitude to Germany's supposed territorial ambitions in Africa.

102. See Wolfe, W. Schmokel, Dream of Empire: German Colonialism, 1919-1945, New Haven and London 1964, pp.17-20.

103. *ibid*, pp.103-128 *passim*, shows that a willingness to hand over parts of Africa was particularly a trait of the Chamberlain Government. But Chamberlain & Co. were not the only offenders - as late as November 1939 the Labour Party advocated a negotiated peace, to include an "agreed, non-imperialistic settlement of colonies"; i.e. the handing over of colonies to Hitler. See *ibid*, p.129.

104. The Comet, 19th November 1938, p.5. *Ibid*, 12th November 1938, p.5 remarked "rumour is rife that Nigeria is to be handed over to Germany in exchange for Tanganyika."

105. *ibid*, 3rd December, 1938, p.5.

Prior to that time, if not exactly sympathetic, Duse' Mohamed Ali had taken a surprisingly cool and fatalistic attitude to German demands. The Comet never went so far as the contemporary Gold Coast newspaper Vox Populi, which was consistently pro Nazi. But its attitude was quite distinct from the anti-German tone of the British West African Press in general; The Comet, although not pro-German, was the only journal to support Vox Populi in the desire to return to Germany her African colonies.¹⁰⁶ A typical Dusan editorial on the return of Germany's colonies is the following from The Comet of 26th September 1936;

Germany intends to hold a "Colonial Week" when meetings will be held throughout the country demanding the return of her former Colonies. If Europe is not looking for serious trouble with the utter extinction of her civilization, her rulers might profitably face facts and return those German Colonies ere the European Continent is deluged in blood. Herr Hitler is a man of determination who really means business. The operation may be painful, but it were wiser to lose an arm or a leg rather than the loss of the head.¹⁰⁷

However shortsighted this attitude may seem at first, yet there is some justification for Duse' Mohamed Ali's attitude. To begin with, such Nazi theory as there was about native administration in Africa was not so very different, making allowances for a different jargon, from the orthodoxies of British indirect rule theory, the basis of British administration in Nigeria and most other British African colonies at that time. To the Nazi theorists, the African was possessed of a genuine folk culture of his own, except where Europeans had committed the criminal folly of educating him

106. Edmunds, The Newspaper Press in British West Africa, pp.213-6.

107. "Men and Matters", The Comet, 26th September 1936, p.5.

into a bastard Europeanised way of life. At least in parts of Africa not climatically suitable for European settlement, the African could be left to continue within his traditional culture, subject to subordination to ultimate white authority.¹⁰⁸ In his thirties writing about European Imperialism in Africa, Duse Mohamed Ali often expressed the opinion that there was little difference between one brand of Imperialism and another. Perhaps he was not very mistaken in this. He made these views clear in an editorial entitled "Expansionism" in October 1935;

In these days of so-called progress every nation which possesses a surplus population desires to expand. Japan, Germany, Italy, have each voiced the necessity.

Japan with an enormously increasing population seized Manchuria ... Germany bereft of her former colonies is marking time until a favourable opportunity arises to re-possess those colonies or seize a section of that disappearing part of this planet known as "No Man's Land". Not, of course, because it is uninhabited, but because the unfortunate people who are the rightful owners must bow to the exigencies of might over right. The usual recourse being the backwardness

108. See Dream of Empire, pp.160-71. Note especially clauses 5-8 of the Deutscher Kolonial Katechismus, p.161 -

"5. The principle of the separation of the races applies in the German colonies. Aiding the welfare of the natives is one of the primary tasks of all German colonial activity. The separate folkish nature of the natives, their customs and mores and legal institutions, will be honored insofar as they do not offend the German concept of morality.

6. For non-natives German law is principally applicable; for natives, native law. Regular courts have jurisdiction over non-natives, the administration over natives.

7. The natives are protected in their landed property and their other rights. Landed property may be transferred from natives to non-natives only with the permission of the competent authority.

8. The German government strives for the participation of natives in the administration."

Substitute the word "British" for "German" throughout, and there is nothing here that Lugard would have objected to.

of the inhabitants and the undeveloped wealth of the country which civilization "needs". The "need" of the people to be let alone, being of minor importance to the expanders; they proceed to extract such natural wealth as is obtainable and teach the exploited "advanced" methods of "civilization" though (sic) which agency the expanders exchange their cheap manufactures for the mineral wealth ... of a benighted people.

Italy, with an increasing population, being banned emigration to the United States, must find an outlet elsewhere. She must either expand or bust. She needs iron, coal, oil, petroleum, all of which are to be found in Africa. Hence Abyssinia has been marked out as the country most suited to her expansion.

The big League Members have already expanded so greatly that Ethiopia is alone available. Of course there is considerable unoccupied land in the "New" World but Europe is barred by the Monroe Doctrine ... which does not permit European expansion in that section of the planet which has already been ear-marked for "God's own Country" for any expansion that country may deem expedient. ...

Thus the New World being closed to the expansionist, Africa alone is left.¹⁰⁹

A few weeks later he delivered himself of an editorial, tongue in cheek, on the "right" of Italy and Germany to colonial expansion, apparently accepting the arguments in their favour, but concluding with the remark "some day the whole question of the right to possessions in Africa may be contested by those who shall place international morality above material advantage."¹¹⁰

Commenting on Hitler's May Day speech in 1937, which had demanded the return of Germany's former colonies, Duse said;

Let us face facts. Spain, England, France, Germany, Italy have all been appropriating other people's land. These nations were weak and compelled to submit to MIGHT. If possession of these lands were "necessary" to the existence of one of these invading European nations, it was "necessary" to ALL. Germany had no RIGHT to "her Colonies" any more than ... the other powers mentioned. Her Colonies taken away by the Versailles Peace Treaty was a measure of revenge and was Mandated to those countries who assisted to subdue Germany. (sic) What more natural than that Germany should bleat about the restoration of her former Colonies?¹¹¹

109. "About it and About", in The Comet, 5th October 1935, p.6.

110. *ibid*, 2nd November 1935, pp.6 & 22.

111. *ibid*, 8th May 1937, p.7.

It is thus clear that fundamentally he was not hoodwinked by German or Italian claims, but aware that they were as good (or as bad) as those of other colonial powers.

When the Italians invaded Ethiopia in 1935, The Comet spoke in condemnation of this European aggression against an independent African nation. There can be no doubt where Duse Mohamed Ali's heart really was when it came to a concrete example of expansionism - though aware that Italy was only doing what other nations, including Britain, had done before. In the interval between the Walwal incident in December 1934, and the Italian invasion in October 1935, there was a rather confused reaction in The Comet - hardly surprising at a time when the world still could hope that the Ethiopian question might be solved without war.¹¹² Duse Mohamed Ali's first mention of the crisis was as late as 2nd March 1935; he then referred to Abyssinia as, with Liberia, one of the two sick men of Africa. At this stage, he was content to warn Britain that successful Italian aggression in Ethiopia would threaten Britain's position in Egypt.¹¹³ By the summer of 1935, his perceptions were sharpening; on 22nd June he warned of "the adverse opinions which may be created in the breast of the African should Italy be permitted to seize Abyssinia without any intervention on the part of Britain."¹¹⁴

112. For the growing Italo-Ethiopian crisis of 1934-35 and world reactions to it see A.J. Barker, The Civilizing Mission. The Italo-Ethiopian War 1935-6, London 1968, pp.48-128, passim, but esp. "Britain Vacillates", pp.88-105.

113. "Men and Matters", in The Comet, 2nd March 1935, p.5.

114. *ibid*, 22nd June 1935, p.5.

On 6th July 1935, he was attacking the attitude of The League of Nations, never a body for which he had much respect;

Such weak nations as China, Liberia and Abyssinia can be effectively coerced because, having no means of adequate defence against the big members, they must curl up, apologise and hand over any territory the big fellows consider ripe for exploitation. Neither Japan nor Germany could be coerced and both marched out.¹¹⁵

After the Italian invasion in October, there were occasions when Duse Mohamed Ali mistakenly believed that the war would go in favour of Ethiopia - hardly surprising in view of the contradictory, ill-informed and often downright misleading news emanating from the country.¹¹⁶ But increasingly he meditated on the consequences of an Ethiopian defeat. Thus, in April 1936 he wrote;

the non-European world, subject and independent, has been carefully watching recent events in Abyssinia. It has been observed how casually a non-European member of the League has been treated. It has been concluded that had the League been active Italy would not have been allowed troops in East Africa before war had been declared and that Italian cargoes of poison gas would have been barred from passing through the Suez canal.¹¹⁷

By this time, he was no longer prepared to merely editorialise. Indeed, as far back as September 1935 he had been critical of a mass meeting on the Abyssinian question held at the Glover Memorial Hall in Lagos under the chairmanship of Hon. E.J. Moore, which had merely renewed "loyalty to His

115. "About it and About", *ibid*, 6th July 1935, p.8.

116. Despite its undoubted anti-Ethiopian and pro-Italian bias, Evelyn Waugh's eye-witness account of the life of a war correspondent in Addis Ababa during the war, Waugh in Abyssinia, rep. 1937, pp.48-82 & 83-213 *passim*, gives a graphic and probably accurate account of the preposterous nature of much of the so-called news emanating from the Ethiopian capital.

117. The Comet, 18th April 1936, p.5.

Majesty the King Emperor" and expressed "whole-hearted support of any measures that His Majesty's Government might consider necessary to take to restrain Italy from military aggression on Abyssinia."¹¹⁸ On 25th April 1936, in response to an appeal from Dr. Worqneh Martin, Ethiopian Minister in London, he launched The Comet Abyssinian Relief Fund, he and his wife making initial donations of five pounds each. At the same time his friends the Shacklefords began to concern themselves with the same cause.¹¹⁹ In cash terms the Comet Relief Fund was a disappointment to Duse. He wrote on 10th October 1936;

up to this writing ... a sum of £80 sterling (has been sent) to the Ethiopian Ministry in London. Instead of £80 we should have been able to send £8,000. Abyssinia has been allowed to be invaded without the mildest protest from Nigeria because those who should have raised the people to a sense of righteousness and duty were asleep. They did not realise that Africa is one and indivisible; that its ethnic strains are so universally blended that the same blood passes through the veins of all. Meanwhile, the Afro-Americans are reported to have sent volunteers to Abyssinia and supplied a Red Cross unit. These people could have retired behind their American citizenship, but they were proud of their African origin and that pride was an incentive to action. They acted while the indigenes slept. The British Government did not prohibit its subjects from contributing material aid to Ethiopia. The people were asleep and their leaders allowed them to continue their slumbers while Ethiopia bled. They forgot that they shall one day be called upon to render a strict account for their stewardship. When will Africa awaken to a true sense of her responsibilities?¹²⁰

118. "Men and Matters", in The Comet, 28th September 1935, p.5.

119. "About it and About", The Comet, 25th April 1936, p.7. For the Shackleford's interest in collecting funds for the Ethiopian cause, see Mrs. G. Shackleford to Herbert Macaulay, 19th May 1936, undated, and 10th May 1936, in Macaulay Papers, General Correspondence, III, 15, 1936.

120. "Men and Matters", The Comet, 10th October 1936, p.5.

Yet Duse' Mohamed Ali need not have been so pessimistic. Although the immediate fruits of his Comet Relief Fund were small, it played a part, together with his many editorials on Ethiopia in 1935-1936, in awakening a new generation of Nigerians. Chief Enahoro, recollecting his schooldays, has written;

I was fairly well informed about those matters which occupied the attention of the Lagos press of those days ... Our favourite newspaper, The Comet, was a weekly publication by an Egyptian emigré domiciled for many years in Lagos. From it I followed the fortunes of the Italo-Abyssinian War, about which Father and my teachers appeared considerably agitated. Fellow-feeling with other Africans was a newly awakened sentiment, much disappointment was felt about England's failure to go to the aid of the Ethiopians, and collections were taken for a 'Help Abyssinia Fund'. The seeds of nationalism were being sown in me.¹²¹

Chief Obafemi Awolowo likewise recalls the big impact on the Nigerian newspaper reading public of Duse' Mohamed Ali's Italo-Ethiopian War editorials; he believes they helped to create an awareness, hitherto lacking, of events in other parts of Africa.¹²²

The late S.L. Akintola, destined to be Premier of the Western Region and one of Nigeria's most powerful political figures prior to the military coup of January 1966, wrote a worried letter to The Comet on 20th July 1935 asking its editor to enlighten his readers on the situation, taking into account the League of Nations' supposed dedication to collective security.¹²³ Akintola was bluntly told "Mussolini will annex Abyssinia should victory attend the armed invasion of Ethiopia

121. Enahoro, Fugitive Offender, p.45.

122. Information from Chief O. Awolowo, 16th February 1967.

123. Letter from S.L. Akintola on the Abyssinian question, The Comet, 20th July 1935, p.1.

by Italy".¹²⁴ After the Italian invasion, Akintola sent The Comet a further letter, in which he observed that "the war has taught the Ethiopians the unprofitableness of conservatism", and had "given the 'negro' world a full realization of the merits and demerits of European imperialism", though it had also shown that "the partitioning of Africa makes our political and intellectual emancipation remote."¹²⁵ It would be too much to say that Duse' Mohamed Ali's writings about the Italo-Ethiopian conquest inspired Pan-Africanism among such young future Nigerian leaders as Awolowo, Enahoro and Akintola, who were to become nationalists rather than Pan-Africanists. But a new awareness of Europe's growing stranglehold on Africa sowed, as Enahoro has said, "the seeds of nationalism". Duse's reactions to the Ethiopian crisis form part of the world-wide revulsion of black people against European Imperialism triggered off by those events.¹²⁶

The early years of the Second World War were the last part of Duse' Mohamed Ali's life as an active journalist. His initial reaction to the outbreak of war was "Let loyalty and Duty be our watchword in this hour of

124. "Men and Matters", The Comet, 27th July 1935, p.5.

125. Letter from S.L. Akintola on the Italo-Ethiopian War, The Comet, 30th November 1935, pp.1-2.

126. For the reaction of the British West African Press to the Ethiopian Crisis, see Edmunds, op.cit., p.118; for the reaction of black Americans, see John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, p.561 and Angelo Del Boca, The Ethiopian War 1935-1941, Chicago and London 1969, p.92; for Jomo Kenyatta's reaction, see his "Hands off Ethiopia!", Labour Monthly, 17, 9, September 1935, pp.532-36.

trial!"¹²⁷ This was, indeed, the general reaction of the British West African press.¹²⁸ He never wavered from this position of loyalty; but as in the First World War he repeatedly emphasised the African and Asian contribution to the Allied war effort. He had no sympathy for those who wished to take advantage of British defeats - thus he regarded the arrest of Gandhi and other Congress leaders in 1942 as richly deserved, believing that "should Nippon attempt a successful invasion the Mahatma and his Congress would be forced to accept conditions which would cause them to realise that British rule was a mundane heaven to the hell which would be meted out by an acquisitive Japan."¹²⁹ Since he had had his doubts about Japanese Imperialism and militarism since at least 1920,¹³⁰ he may be exonerated from suspicion of merely writing what the censor would have liked to read. But on other occasions he was less accomodating. He noted with disgust British attempts to equivocate about the universal application of the Atlantic Charter, as did many leaders of opinion among Britain's coloured colonial subjects.¹³¹ In particular, he cited the half-hearted recognition

127. The Comet, 9th September 1939, p.5.

128. Edmunds, op.cit., p.219.

129. The Comet, 12th August 1942, p.5.

130. See AOR, May 1920, p.45, which in sharp distinction to Duse's pre-Great War writing about Japan, refused to accept her politically as a non-European power, on the grounds that her "policy in Korea does not inspire confidence in her bona fides in so far as it affects her relations with the coloured peoples of the world."

131. See The Comet, 10th January 1942, p.5, and 25th February 1942, p.5. For Zik on the Atlantic Charter and British West Africa, see note 134 below.

given to Haile Selassie, when restored to his throne, as cause for doubt as to the Atlantic Charter's honest implementation.¹³² Duse also recognised that the Second World War would lead to vast political changes within the British Colonial Empire, though he was not to live to see those changes. Writing in the context of the sweeping Japanese conquests in the Far East, he said; "what has been destroyed will not be rebuilt in its former shape; what still stands will undergo profound and far reaching changes."¹³³ Thus his support for the wartime imprisonment of the Indian Congress leaders did not mean that he believed the preservation of the British colonial system was either possible or desirable. He gave publicity to the political demands - for the end of Crown Colony Government, internal responsible self-government for Nigeria after ten years, with full independence after another five years - drawn up in 1943 by Azikiwe as secretary to the West African Press Delegation to Britain.¹³⁴ And in May 1944, at a date when the Daily

132. The Comet, 2nd January 1943, p.5.

133. The Comet, 9th May 1942, pp.5 & 8.

134. For the 1943 West African Press Delegation, see Sklar, Nigerian Political Parties, p.56. For a summary of this delegation's memorandum and the full text of Azikiwe's introduction to it as the delegation's secretary, see The Comet, 18th September 1943, pp.5, 7 & 16. Note that Azikiwe wrote in this introduction, *ibid*, p.7;

"We have listened attentively to the orations of our leaders on war and peace aims. We have read the declaration of policy contained in the Atlantic Charter. The undersigned, in fact, asked the Prime Minister whether this historic document was applicable to the British Colonial Empire, and he replied that the provisions made therein were not inconsistent with the declared policy of His Majesty's Government.

But it has become clear to us in British West Africa that unless we make known our feelings and aspirations we may be left in the lurch. ... it is the duty of the Africans themselves to get together now and hammer out unceasingly what they want for Africa."

Comet's editorials no longer invariably came from his own pen, the following appeared;

Hitler is as much a European as any other white man, and his contempt for the non-European has also been one of the items of the propaganda to mobilise Coloured peoples to fight against the Axis Powers. The majority of the Coloured races are today with the United Nations, not as mere camp followers of the great battling Powers, but as equal sharers of a common destiny.

Those white men who still dream of establishing a post-war world based on a colour bar, racial discrimination and economic exploitation are undoubtedly living in a fool's paradise.¹³⁵

Surely Duseé Mohamed Ali himself wrote these prophetic words, which were to be fulfilled in so many post-war colonial freedom struggles. Remarks about "camp followers" can be found in his editorials in the old ATOR in 1917-1918;¹³⁶ and they can perhaps be regarded as his last testament on the future of those "darker races" that he had spent nearly forty years of his life fighting for.

Having thus surveyed the old Pan-Africanist's outlook on the world during his Nigerian last years, it remains to attempt some assessment of his place within Nigerian society - indeed, within Lagos, which he seems scarcely to have left, once returned there. In personal terms, his first few years in Lagos may have been among his happiest. Gertrude La Page seems to have associated herself loyally in his various activities, both journalistic and social. She contributed articles mainly on moral topics

135. "Men and Matters", The Comet, 30th May 1944, p.2.

136. For the ATOR's reactions to the Great War, see Chapter IV, part II, pp.308-20.

for The Comet, and even ran a Rosicrucian study centre in Lagos.¹³⁷ Together, they put on a variety of dramatic entertainments for the Lagos public over the years; these were sometimes attended by high officials, and were usually produced by Duse Mohamed Ali himself.¹³⁸ Indeed, he assiduously cultivated an image of being a veteran of the English stage, proudly and at considerable length relating anecdotes of his theatre career in "Leaves From an Active Life".¹³⁹ Nor did he discontinue his penchant for writing fiction, for in addition to "Ere Roosevelt Came", he also serialised a historical romance entitled "A Daughter of the Pharaohs".¹⁴⁰ He also

137. For examples of Gertrude La Page's contributions to The Comet, see "Individual Responsibility", 12th August 1933, pp.10-11; "Retribution of Nations", 7th October 1933, pp.10-11; "Birth Control", 16th December 1933, pp.10-11. In The Comet's earlier years, she had an article in virtually every issue, which must have relieved Duse of some of the pressure of finding copy without paying a staff of reporters. The notice of her departure from Lagos in The Comet, 20th March 1937, p.2, speaks of her bidding farewell to her "sorrowing Rosicrucian students".

138. See The Comet, 2nd December 1933, p.5, for a review of a recent production of Hobson's Choice, produced by Duse himself, and attended by the Governor and his lady. His obituary in the Daily Comet, 27th June 1945, p.4, referred to an early Duse Mohamed Ali production at the Glover Memorial Hall on 3rd October 1932 as setting a standard in Lagos entertainment and introducing real stagecraft.

139. See Chapter II for Duse Mohamed Ali's theatre career.

140. For "A Daughter of the Pharaohs", see The Comet, 29th July 1933, pp.12-17, and subsequent issues to 17th February 1934, pp.12-13.

turned his hand to short stories on occasion, examples being "The Hamlet of Samson Synns" in the first Comet, and "Jonah and the Whale" in its Christmas 1933 number.¹⁴¹ But after a few years, the loneliness of old age must have begun to face him. In March 1937, Gertrude La Page left for the United States, to visit her dangerously ill mother; she never returned, even after the death of her mother in the following September. Apparently she survived Duse' Mohamed Ali's death in 1945.¹⁴² Lagos, not the most discreet of cities, does not seem to recall any particular rift between them. Perhaps she simply grew homesick, and tired of what must have been a semi-penurious and uncomfortable life. After her departure, Duse' lived in a frugal manner but dressing carefully in a Fez and a big floppy black bow tie - a nice amalgam of the Egyptian and the theatrical gentleman. He never owned his own house, which would have marked him off from the wealthy Lagosian bourgeoisie, and on occasion even had to move because of rent difficulties. He was friendly enough to men of a younger generation, especially if they were interested in politics. Thus, Oba Samuel Akisanya, veteran Nigerian Trade Union organiser and then one of the leading lights of the new nationalist movement of the nineteen-thirties, the Nigerian Youth Movement, remembers exchanging visits with the old man.¹⁴³ But as the years went on, men of his own generation who he had known over many years passed

141. For "The Hamlet of Samson Synns", see The Comet, 22nd July 1933, pp.12-18; for "Jonah and the Whale", see The Comet, Christmas 1933, pp.24-27.

142. For Gertrude La Page's departure from Lagos, see The Comet, 20th March 1937, p.2; for her mother's death, see ibid, 9th October 1937, p.3; she was among those who sent wreaths to his funeral - see West African Pilot, 28th June 1945, p.1.

143. Information to the writer from Oba Samuel Akisanya, on Duse' Mohamed Ali's life style and circumstances in Lagos.

away. In May 1939, J.M. Stuart-Young, who had contributed many articles for The Comet over the years, died.¹⁴⁴ Herbert Macaulay survived Duse', and it is clear that they remained close friends. A cryptic note in the Macaulay papers, dating from December 1939, implies that in some way Duse' was then acting as an intermediary in one of Herbert Macaulay's business deals.¹⁴⁵

Duse' Mohamed Ali was not partisanly active in any of Lagos's political movements, although his years there saw an important evolution in Lagosian, and indeed Nigerian politics. In 1934 the Lagos Youth Movement (later known as the Nigerian Youth Movement) was created, initially to fight the Yaba Higher College plan. In 1938, as the N.Y.M., it displaced Herbert Macaulay's Nigerian National Democratic Party, which since its foundation had enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the elected seats in the Lagos municipality and the Nigerian Legislative Council.¹⁴⁶ In 1941 the N.Y.M. was more or less destroyed by an internal crisis, culminating in the secession of Zik and his followers.¹⁴⁷ In 1944, the National Council for Nigeria, the nucleus of the later National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons (N.C.N.C.) was inaugurated.¹⁴⁸ This was a departure of the greatest significance,

144. See "Gone but not Forgotten", in memoriam for J.M. Stuart-Young, Daily Comet, 27th May 1944, p.2.

145. Duse' Mohamed Ali to Herbert Macaulay, 4th December 1939, in Macaulay Papers, General Correspondence, III, 18, 1939.

146. For the foundation of the L.Y.M. and its progress through the nineteen-thirties, see K. Ezeru, Constitutional Developments in Nigeria, p.55 and Sklar, Nigerian Political Parties, pp.48-9 & 52.

147. Ezeru, op.cit., p.56, Sklar, op.cit., pp.52-4, and a lively but partisan account, Awo, pp.142-152.

148. Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism, pp.264-5.

since under Azikiwe's dynamic leadership the N.C.N.C. was to be the first of the mass membership national movements in post-war British Colonial Africa.

The emergence of the L.Y.M. in 1934 created a potentially difficult situation for Duse' Mohamed Ali, as he had personal friendships on both sides of the new Lagos political divide, and this divide was characterised by much personal bitterness and mud-slinging. The leader of the N.N.D.P., Herbert Macaulay, was an old friend of Duse' Mohamed Ali's, but so was Dr. J.C. Vaughan, one of the L.Y.M.'s founder members, and Duse' also became friendly with at least one other of the L.Y.M.'s founders and leaders, Samuel Akisanya.¹⁴⁹ In practice, he negotiated these difficulties with consummate skill; he is remembered by Obafemi Awolowo as politically impartial, above the normal rancorous party strife, and as having helped to raise the general standard of objective reporting in the Nigerian press.¹⁵⁰ Given the tone of Lagos politics in Duse's time, this finely balanced and widely accepted impartiality was a considerable achievement. It was also a necessary achievement; as an outsider, whose circumstances made him particularly dependent on local goodwill, he could not have afforded the luxury of political partisanship. As we have seen, in London days he had had as much talent for political in-fighting as the Nigerian politicians of the thirties and forties.

So far as causes rather than personalities were concerned, he generally

149. For the original leadership of the L.Y.M., see Ezera, op.cit., p.55.

150. Information from Chief O. Awolowo, 16th February 1967.

managed to align himself with the prevailing feeling in Lagos. In the case of Yaba Higher College, his initial enthusiasm for the project and rebuke of "doubters"¹⁵¹ put him in a dangerously exposed position, as for once almost all prominent Lagosians united in opposing the College. As late as 3rd March 1934, Duse was condemning the Yaba critics as "for the most part destructive rather than constructive" and urging that "our confidence must rest upon the Governor".¹⁵² However, after the L.Y.M. protest meeting of 17th March he began to trim, shifting the weight of his disapproval from the protesters to the Education Department. Its secrecy was responsible for "a very natural suspicion", and he conceded that "a second rate educational institution operating under the guise of a College would be of little value to Nigeria"; but he still avoided any criticism of the existing authorities by remarking "while we entertain the highest regard for the sincerity of both Sir Donald Cameron and Mr. Hussey neither of these gentlemen are destined to remain permanently in Nigeria."¹⁵³ His change of direction was enough to mend his fences with the embryo L.Y.M.; it was on his advice that it changed its title to N.Y.M., and until the creation of its own newspaper, the Daily Service, The Comet was "honoured by being accorded the privilege of publishing many of its informative articles."¹⁵⁴ Such generally popular L.Y.M. campaigns as its agitation against increased

151. See The Comet, 3rd February 1934, p.3.

152. *ibid*, 3rd March 1934, pp.3-4.

153. *ibid*, 24th March 1934, p.5.

154. *ibid*, 14th September 1940, p.4.

licence fees for lorries (most of which were owned by Nigerians), were supported by The Comet.¹⁵⁵

But all this was far from becoming a committed partisan of the L.Y.M. During the bitterly fought Lagos Town Council election of 1938, he made his abstention from the heat of battle, and the reasons for it, very clear to his readers;

We are not partisans. We recognise the virility of Youth and its potentialities in the direction of advancement with a due regard for the stabilising influence of well-balanced old-age. Old age, when unbalanced, is termed dottage; Youth, can also be unbalanced by mis-directed enthusiasm. We have refrained from comment because, although an African, the extremely narrow outlook which seems to obtain in this section of the Continent is inclined to be rather parochial in which the "outsider", although African, is apt to be considered an interloper ... And as both parties to the current political issue are very likely to be sensitive to well-intentioned criticism or adverse comment, however constructive such comment may be, we prefer to stick to our own brand of non-intervention while standing at the ring-side to view the contest with such detachment as we have at our command. During the five years of "The Comet's" existence, we have endeavoured to be informative rather than critical. Such criticism as we felt impelled to offer has been, for the most part, perversely misunderstood. Hence, we consider "discretion" to be the "better part of valour", as we find it quite impossible to be "all things to all men".¹⁵⁶

If he had any leaning at all in the N.N.D.P. - N.Y.M. political conflict of 1938, it would seem to have been towards the N.N.D.P. and his old friend Herbert Macaulay. After the heat of the elections was over, he praised Macaulay for accepting N.N.D.P. defeat in the Legislative Council elections

155. See letter from Dr. J.C. Vaughan, President L.Y.M., and Samuel Akisanya, Secretary L.Y.M., attacking the increased road licence fees in The Comet, 3rd August 1935, pp.1 & 23,^{and} editorial support for their position in ibid, p.5.

156. The Comet, 25th June 1938, p.5.

"with supreme dignity wedded to a manly courage which all Nigeria, including his detractors, should unstintingly appreciate."¹⁵⁷ On the other hand, the N.Y.M. were warned; "to play at politics without any political experience is a game fraught with disaster for the players. We take no second place in our sincere desire for the advancement of youth, but it is vitally necessary to "hasten slowly" if we would avoid disaster."¹⁵⁸

The most spectacular political phenomenon during Duse' Mohamed Ali's time in Lagos was undoubtedly the dynamic if controversial figure of Nnamdi Azikiwe. He and Duse' were never close associates, let alone personal friends, but nevertheless Duse' was to play his part in the story of Zik and the N.C.N.C. He was deeply impressed with the Zik phenomenon from his first exposure to it. Zik's welcome home at the Glover Memorial Hall on 10th November 1934 produced an enthusiastic response from Duse' Mohamed Ali in The Comet;

This brilliant young man is a product of the New Africa which is in being and which represents a high order of intelligence and erudition. He very lucidly explained how the African of to-morrow is dependent upon the efforts of the African of to-day and that the unrest which is at present sweeping the world is the direct result of the intellectual bankruptcy of diplomatic and economic Europe and America, which have combined to produce the social revolt resulting in the Mussolinis, the Hitlers and the Roosevelts. Obviously this is the day of the "new deal" for the younger generation, many of whom died for the chimera of a universal democratic revival for which diplomatic ineptitude, to give it no worse name, has caused the substitution of autocratic forms of government, East and West, instead of "Self determination for small nationalities", "making the world safe for democracy": and all the amazing clap-trap with which a credulous world was drugged during, and immediately after, the great war. "Man Know Thyself"

157. The Comet, 29th October 1938, p.5.

158. The Comet, 20th August 1938, p.5.

is an old axiom. This young African has drunk deeply at the fountain of that knowledge which is worth-while, and has thereby fitted himself to show his less informed brethren not only whence they came, by citing the history of the past, but also suggesting the means of recovering that glorious heritage which was Ethiopia's. Mr. Azikiwe was educated in the democratic institutions of America where there is a comparative absence of false values of academic humbug, but a close attention to true values added to a progressive economic development which is a stimulant to those of Mr. Azikiwe's type who are mentally capable of visualising the enormous potentialities of an awakened Africa. Mr. Azikiwe likened the physical structure of Africa to a ... "question mark", we would suggest that it also taken the form of a sleeping Negro, which must ultimately awake to the utter discomfiture of its calumniators and exploiters.¹⁵⁹

A few weeks later Duse Mohamed Ali was praising Zik's first journalistic venture on his return to Africa, the Accra African Morning Post, as having made "a really impressive debut upon journalistic Africa".¹⁶⁰ However, he was not so much under Zik's spell as to be enthusiastic about the N.Y.M. election victories of 1938, in which Zik and the West African Pilot played a prominent part; while the way in which The Comet first suffered from the competition of Zik Press Ltd. and was then taken over by it has already been seen. Possibly Zik's practice of combining successful business with journalism and politics¹⁶¹ appealed to the old Egyptian as a living example of the practicality of what he had spent so much of his life attempting. Zik, on the other hand, felt affectionate respect for the veteran editor. In 1943, on the occasion of his birthday, Zik paid him a handsome birthday tribute, which listed many of the main events of his life.¹⁶²

159. See The Comet, 17th November 1934, p.4.

160. *ibid*, 19th January 1935, p.5.

161. For a discussion of Azikiwe's attitude to his business enterprises, see Jones-Quartey, A Life of Azikiwe, pp.179-80.

162. West African Pilot, 20th November 1943, p.1.

The old man's position as an honest broker and elder statesman within the Nigerian political community was such that when the National Council of Nigeria was inaugurated on August 26th 1944, he chaired its first meeting.¹⁶³ The N.C.N. came into existence as a result of the political steam generated by the King's College Lagos students strike of March 1944, against which the Government had acted harshly, conscripting eight ring-leaders into the army.¹⁶⁴ The Comet had protested in a measured way against these measures, though it had not, as had the Pilot, made them the subject of a prolonged campaign.¹⁶⁵ There is no record of Duse Mohamed Ali performing any great feats of oratory at the inaugural meeting, nor at the one further N.C.N. meeting he chaired, nor did he ever become an N.C.N.C. militant. But his presence in the chair on these occasions was surely both a tribute to his past record as a fighter for Africa, and an acknowledgement of his position in Lagos as a universally respected, acceptable and non-partisan figure. At least one of the future leading functionaries of the N.C.N.C., Fred U. Anyiam, has since acknowledged the old man's influence on him. He has written of attending Duse Mohamed Ali's "class in journalism" in Custom Street, Lagos,¹⁶⁶ and of Duse being, with Ernest Ikoli, one of the two

163. This seems to be one of the few really widely known facts about Duse Mohamed Ali's life, which may have given an undue impression of the extent of his involvement in Nigerian party politics. See Sklar, Nigerian Political Parties, p.57, n.46; N. Azikiwe, The Development of Political Parties in Nigeria, London 1957, pp.9-10; Fred U. Anyiam, Men and Matters in Nigerian Politics 1934-1958, Lagos 1959, p.14.

164. Sklar, Nigerian Political Parties, pp.56-7.

165. See The Comet, 10th June 1964, p.2; for the Pilot's campaign, see Sklar, *op.cit.*, p.56, n.41.

166. F.U. Anyiam, Among Nigerian Celebrities, Yaba, Lagos, 1960, p.6.

newspaper editors whose writing appealed to him in his young days.¹⁶⁷

Anyiam has also paid him the tribute that "I am not an intellectual, but I sat at the feet of intellectuals like Zik, Ikoli, Duse Mohammed Ali (sic), Dr. Henry Carr to appreciate things intellectual and otherwise."¹⁶⁸

Despite contributing to Nigerian politics, it is clear that political activity was only a small part of Duse Mohamed Ali's life in Lagos. A far more continuous preoccupation was the affairs of the Lagos Muslim community. Unfortunately, this community was riven by faction; there were quarrels between Ahmadis and orthodox Sunni Muslims; quarrels between ultra-conservative elderly leaders who wished to shun all contact with western learning, and younger modernisers who wished to see western education embraced by the Muslim community; and personal quarrels of such complexity that outsiders could hardly hope to get to the bottom of them.¹⁶⁹ Within this difficult situation, Duse Mohamed Ali, without hesitation, embraced the cause of the young modernisers. This soon brought him the enmity of some more conservative elements. In November 1932 he addressed the Lagos Young Muslim Society on "The Spirit of Islam", attacking the Lagos Muslims for mere formal piety, and proclaiming that Islam, far from being antagonistic to European learning, had been responsible for its origins. Hope for the Muslim future in Lagos was only to be found in youth.¹⁷⁰

167. Anyiam, Men and Matters in Nigerian Politics, p.7.

168. *ibid*, p.17.

169. See Humphrey J. Fisher, Ahmadiyya, A Study in Contemporary Islam on the West African Coast, Oxford 1963, pp.91-116, and G.O. Gbadamosi, "The Establishment of Western Education among Muslims in Nigeria", Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, IV, 1, 1967, pp.89-115, for the background to the disputes among the Lagos Muslims.

170. Nigerian Daily Times, 26th November 1932, p.9.

Within a few days, this brought violent anonymous accusations that he was encouraging Muslim youth to neglect prayer and fasting, and follow the example of the Christians in drinking, dancing and adultery. However, younger members of the Muslim community came to his defence.¹⁷¹ He continued an ardent supporter of the younger Muslims, among whom he assumed the role of a respected leader. To give an example of this, in July 1941 he chaired a mass-meeting in the Glover Memorial Hall, sponsored by the Young Ansar ud-Din Society, with the object of considering ways of improving Muslim primary and secondary education.¹⁷² Thus he played an honourable part in the struggle to bring Southern Nigeria's Muslims out of obscurantism into the main stream of national life. This was a part he was peculiarly fitted to play, for his religion had always related closely to his outlook on the world he lived in - indeed, in his controversial address on "The Spirit of Islam" in 1932, he had found time to stress the role of great coloured men in world history.

The respect in which he was held by the modernising younger element in the Lagos Muslim community was shown after his death, when at his funeral on 27th June 1945 his hearse was drawn through the streets by members of the Young Ansar ud-Din Society,¹⁷³ of which he had been patron. The

171. See attacks on Duse Mohamed Ali in *ibid*, 30th November 1932, p.4; and defence of Duse in *ibid*, p.9, and *ibid*, 15th December 1932, p.10.

172. The Comet, 5th July 1941, advertisement for meeting of Young Ansar ud-Din Society, n.p.

173. This, and the following details of his funeral, are taken from the account in the West African Pilot, 28th June 1945, p.1.

Jamazat prayer was led by Chief Imam Ligali in the Ansar ud-Din Alakoro School Yard, and a panegyric sermon was preached in English by Barrister L.B. Agosto, who had lodged with Duse twenty-five years before in London, and who was one of the leading proponents of modern ideas in the Lagos Muslim community. Gertrude La Page and the Shacklefords were among those who sent wreaths, whilst among the mourners were many of the leaders of Lagos's social and political life, including Herbert Macaulay, Dr. I. Olorun-Nimbe, Dr. O.H. Omololu, J.T. Nelson-Cole, Rev. J.A. Idowu, S.L. Akintola, Bode Thomas, Anthony Enahoro and Rev. S.A. Pearse. This was more than an occasion of Muslim mourning, but one in which leaders from all sections of the community gathered to pay their last respects. The obituaries were suitably eulogistic - and drew their information on the events of his life largely from Zik's birthday tribute of 1943. Perhaps the most fitting words to conclude the story of Duse Mohamed Ali's life work with are the following from his own Daily Comet:

If Mr. Ali did not die with thousands of pounds stored away idly in the bank, it is certainly not because he could not have made money ... But I like to believe that wealth in itself meant nothing to him, unless as a means of making others happy.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴. "We Lose a Prince of the Pen", Daily Comet, 27th June 1945, p.2.

CONCLUSION

In many ways, Duse Mohamed Ali's life and work is difficult to fit into existing knowledge about Pan-Africanism. To take the most obvious example, it does not accord at all with the picture that emerges from what might be called the traditional school - that exemplified by the writings of W.E.B. Du Bois himself, by the writings of George Padmore, and the summary of the Pan-African phenomenon given in Colin Legum's Pan-Africanism. That world of congresses and Marxist and other left intellectuals was not his, although it would be wrong to conclude a total polarity. He did have connections, such as with the African Progress Union of London, which in turn linked up with the orthodox Du Boisian world of Pan-African Congresses. Also, his somewhat equivocal relations with Garvey show that one cannot offer a simple model of pro and anti Du Bois Pan-African activities.

One must ask, does Duse Mohamed Ali deserve the appellation Pan-African as opposed to pan-African, to use the distinction usefully made by Professor G.A. Shepperson.¹ The writer believes that he does, on two main grounds; though these would modify the original concept without, he hopes, doing undue violence to it. To begin with, the sum of the activities centred on 158 Fleet Street between 1912 and 1921 made it a virtual if informal central secretariat of Negro Pan movements, through which they could fruitfully interleave with various Islamic and Asian movements. This was possible, on one level, because of Duse Mohamed Ali's persistent and

1. G.A. Shepperson, "Pan-Africanism and 'Pan-Africanism': Some Historical Notes", Phylon, 23, 4, 1962, pp.346-58.

unrelenting hard work; on another because at that point in time, when throughout the world African and Asian peoples were growing to a greater consciousness of the roles they desired and the roles that were being imposed on them by European and North American Imperialism, London was a natural focus and meeting point. They were drawn there by its position as the capital of the British Empire - the political entity which then ruled more Afro-Asians than any other contemporary state. It is the writer's contention that to have maintained for nine years a London headquarters, which was not only consciously Pan-African but which linked Pan-Africanism with freedom movements in subjugated or threatened Asia, indicates that this was, in its time, a central not peripheral phenomenon. As a portent of mid-twentieth century concepts of a "third world", non-white and poor, engaged in a struggle for political, social and economic freedom with aggressive, rich, technologically powerful white nations, the 158 Fleet Street H.Q. of 1912-21 can be regarded as of real significance in some central events of modern world history.

Secondly, Duse' Mohamed Ali's growing interest in and practice of "economic" Pan-Africanism, from 1912 to the debacle of his trip to Nigeria in 1931, relates to wider events. Many other significant figures - Garvey, J.E. Bruce, W. Tete-Ansa, John Eldred Taylor, K.F. Tandoh, and even, to a limited degree W.E.B. Du Bois himself, were engaged in, or approved of, "economic" Pan-Africanism. Thus, despite an ultimate failure to produce its looked for results, a characteristic shared, indeed, with political Pan-Africanism, "economic" Pan-Africanism can claim to have been part of the mainstream of Pan-African developments during Duse' Mohamed Ali's time. No individual

did more, either to propagate "economic" Pan-Africanism as a theory or to attempt to put it into practice. There can be little doubt that both Garvey and Tete-Ansa were influenced by Duse' Mohamed Ali in this respect, and indeed his impact may well have been even greater through their indirect agency than through his own immediate efforts.

Thus the central events of Duse' Mohamed Ali's life as a Pan-Africanist add up to something far more than "a group of movements, many very ephemeral",² as Professor Shepperson has characterised pan-Africanism. True, some of the movements centred on 158 Fleet Street, and all of Duse' Mohamed Ali's business schemes, were ephemeral. But this must not be allowed to obscure the continuity given by the 158 Fleet Street circle, especially Duse' himself, by the magazines published there, and by the continuing effort over nearly two decades to proclaim and practise "economic" Pan-Africanism.

Finally, Duse' Mohamed Ali's career is a fine illustration of the vigour and tenacity of the Pan-African idea, diffuse though it may be. The first half of his life is a classic example of circumstances producing consciousness, and no doubt the same is true of other early Pan-Africanists whose formative years are as yet wreathed in obscurity. Duse' Mohamed Ali did not just happen to become a Pan-Africanist; late nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain relentlessly if unconsciously forced him in that direction, leaving as an alternative option only passive acceptance of imposed inferiority.

Problems remain in relation to this man. Little, really, is known about his private life. Though in his own way a man of action, for whom

2. *ibid*, p.346.

words were intended as the prelude to deeds, too often he has to be judged by his words alone. Like any other journalist, much of his vast production was highly ephemeral; nor, even when not ephemeral, can his writings usually lay claim to profound originality. This, however, makes them all the more serviceable as a reflector of much that was being thought and done in the world of Pan-Africanism during his lifetime. Less than a great man, he was something even more significant for the student of history: an embodiment of some of the forces of change developing within human society in his era.

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- " " " /41149 - Cutting of "Utopia Unlimited" by "Maganin Karia" from ATOR October 1913.
- " " " " - St. Barbe, Sladen & Wing, for Sir W. Geary, to Harcourt, 28th November 1913.
- " " " " - H.J. Read to St. Barbe, Sladen & Wing, 5th December 1913.
- " " " /43686 - St. Barbe, Sladen & Wing to C.O. 19th December 1913.
- " " " " - C.O. to St. Barbe, Sladen & Wing, 30th December 1913.
- C.O. 554/10/37806 - Daily Citizen 21st November 1912, attack on Harcourt.

- C.O. 554/23/36403
- Duse Mohamed to Harcourt, 22nd September 1914.
 - " " " " - C.O. to Alder Dempster, 26th September 1914.
 - " " " " - Harcourt, Confidential, to Governors Gambia, Sierra Leone & Gold Coast, & Governor-General Nigeria, 2nd October 1914.
 - " " " " - Minute 1, suspicions of Duse Mohamed.
- C.O. 554/40/11271
- Duse Mohamed Ali to Bonar Law, 5th March 1918.
 - " " " " - African Association to Duse Mohamed Ali, 6th March 1918.
 - " " " " - Colonial Bank to Duse Mohamed Ali, 7th March 1918.
 - " " " " - Duse Mohamed Ali to Long, 8th March 1918.
 - " " " " - Bank of British West Africa to Duse Mohamed Ali, 11th March 1918.
 - " " " " - Minute 1, 13th March 1918, rejection Duse Mohamed Ali's offer concerning West African War Loan.
 - " " " " - Duse Mohamed Ali to Long, 16th March 1918.
 - " " " " - C.O. to Duse Mohamed Ali, 20th March 1918.
 - " " " " - C.O. to Bank of British West Africa, 20th March 1918.
- C.O. 554/40/21897
- Duse Mohamed Ali to Long, 3rd May 1918.
 - " " " " - Minute 2, 6th May 1918 & Minute 3, 7th May 1918, concerning Duse Mohamed Ali's wish to visit British West Africa.
 - " " " " - Long to Duse Mohamed Ali, 11th May 1918.
 - " " " " - Details of Duse Mohamed Ali's identity book.
 - " " " " - Jules Karpeles & Co. to Duse Mohamed Ali, 21st December 1918.
 - " " " " - Aubrey Herbert M.P. to Sir William Bull, 16th May 1918.
- C.O. 583/8/23740
- Miss S.E. Marples to Harcourt, 23rd April 1912.
 - " " " " - Travers Buxton & John Harris, for Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, to Harcourt, 8th July 1913.

- C.O. 583/27/3080 - Lever Bros. to Under S. of S., 24th January 1914.
 " " " " - Sir G. Fiddes account of meeting with Lever Bros. representative Mr. Greenhalgh, 29th January 1914.
 C.O. 660/24-35 - Nigerian press statistics, Nigerian Blue Books, 1933-1944.

C. Foreign Office Papers

1. Activities of Ottoman Committee and Anglo-Ottoman Society.

- F.O. 371/2127/3721 - Anglo-Ottoman Society to Grey, 24th August 1914.
 " " " /6859 - Sir L. Mallet, Pera, to Grey, 10th February 1914.
 " " " /8751 - Major-General Claud Hawker, Trebizonde, to Grey, 18th February 1914.
 " " /2128/8171 - Anglo-Ottoman Society to Grey, 20th February 1914.
 " " /2127/6859 - Sir L. Mallet, Pera, to Sir A. Nicolson, 23rd February 1914.
 " " " /10316 - Sir L. Mallet, Pera, to Grey, 3rd March 1914.
 " " /2135/274678 - A. Hirtzel, India Office, to G.R. Clerk, F.O., Confidential, 17th June 1914, with Govt. of India, Home Dept., Simla, to India Office, 28th May 1914, enclosed.
 " " " /27468 - Minute, G.R. Clerk, 23rd June 1914, approved by Grey.
 " " /2482/9577 - Anglo-Ottoman Society Circular, January 1915.
 " " " " - Henri Leon to Grey, 23rd January 1915.
 " " /2488/50954 - S. Wheeler, Home Dept., Govt. of India, to Secretary, Judicial & Public Dept., India Office, 12th March 1915, enclosed in S. of S. India, to Under S. of S., F.O., 27th April 1915.
 " " /2127/147160 - Anglo-Ottoman Society to Minister of Foreign Affairs, Provisional Russian Govt., Petrograd, 5th July 1919, enclosed in Anglo-Ottoman Society to S. of S., 24th July 1919.
 " " /4219/105630 - Anglo-Ottoman Society to S. of S., 21st July 1919.
 " " /5140/E 139 - Anglo-Ottoman Society to Curzon, 13th February 1920.

ii. Duse Mohamed Ali's nationality, background and origins.

- F.O. 371/3728/114805 - Duse Mohamed Ali to Balfour, 9th August 1919.
- " 372/1274/132591 - H.C. Mossop, for Duse Mohamed Ali, to Under S. of S., 22nd September 1919.
- " " " " - F.O. to H.C. Mossop, 27th September 1919.
- " " " /135061 - Account of conversation between Aubrey Herbert M.P. and W. Stewart, at F.O., 27th September 1919.
- " " " " - W. Stewart to Aubrey Herbert M.P., 29th September 1919.
- " 371/3728/143799 - M. Cheetham, British Residency, Ramleh, to Curzon, 9th October 1919.

iii. Police and Military Intelligence Reports.

- F.O. 371/2355/15047 - P. Nathan, M.I.5(g), War Office, to G. Clarke, F.O., 7th February 1915, with M.I.5(g) confidential report on Duse Mohamed enclosed.
- " " /3717/78495 - Report by Sgt. J. O'Sullivan, New Scotland Yard, 17th May 1919, "With reference to the activities of Egyptian Nationalists in the United Kingdom."
- " " /3728/114805 - Col. J.F. Carter, Director of Intelligence's Office, Scotland House, to C. Loder, F.O., 13th August 1919, with report on Duse Mohamed by Supt. P. Quinn, Special Branch, New Scotland Yard, 27th March 1916.
- " " " /1316 - J. Loder, F.O., to Col. J.F. Carter, Director of Intelligence's Office, Scotland House, 13th August 1919.
- " " " " - Carter to Loder, 15th August 1919.

iv. The Indian Muslim Soldier's Widows and Orphans War Fund

- F.O. 371/2489/5541 - M. Paul Cambon, French Embassy London, to Grey, 5th May 1915.
- " " " " - Grey to Cambon, 14th May 1915.
- " " " /62276 - F. Ponsonby, Privy Purse Office, to Sir A. Nicolson, F.O., 17th May 1915.
- " " " /5541 - Sir A. Nicolson, F.O., to Lord Stamfordham, Privy Purse Office, 17th May 1915.

v. The ATOR's War Correspondent, 1917.

- F.O. 395/130/186216/58 - Duse Mohamed Ali to Aubrey Herbert M.P.,
14th September 1917.
- " " " " " - James Baird, F.O., to Lt. Col. Raymond Greene,
War Office, 18th September 1917.
- " " " " " - Col. J.L. Fisher, M.I.7.c., War Office, to
James Baird, F.O., 21st September 1917.
- " " " " " - James Baird F.O., to Col. J.L. Fisher, M.I.7.c.
War Office, ? September 1917.
- " " " " " - S.A. Gillon, Department of Information, F.O.,
to Duse Mohamed Ali, 24th September 1917.
- " " " " " - Duse Mohamed Ali to S.A. Gillow (sic), F.O.,
4th October 1917.
- " " " " " - James Baird, F.O., to O.S. Ashcroft, Wellington
House, 6th October 1917.
- " " " " " - James Baird, F.O., to Duse Mohamed Ali,
6th October 1917.
- " " " " " - O.S. Ashcroft, Wellington House, to James Baird,
F.O., 8th October 1917.

vi. Activities of W. Tete-Ansa in the United States.

- F.O. 371/12831/699 - File on activities of W. Tete-Ansa and West
African Co-operative Producers Ltd. in the
United States.
- " " " /A 8426 - H.G. Armstrong, Consulate General, New York, to
Sir J. Joyce Broderick, Commercial Counsellor,
British Embassy, Washington.

D. High Court of Justice Papers.

- J. 20/14838334 - Judgement in favour of Page and Thomas Ltd. v.
African Times and Orient Review Ltd., King's
Bench Division, High Court of Justice, 9th
December 1912.
- J. 13/6470/No. 00403
of 1913 - Petition of Page and Thomas Ltd. v. African
Times and Orient Review Ltd. in High Court of
Justice, Companies winding up.
- J. 13/6470/224 B 51 - Court Order by Mr. Justice Astbury, 20th January
No. 00403 of 1913 1914, for winding up of African Times and Orient
Review Ltd.

E. Home Office Papers

- H.O. 45/274031/1a - Draft, amended by F.O., of circular to Police on application of Aliens Registration Order to Turkish subjects.
- H.O. " " /128 - Treatment of Ottoman Subjects in the United Kingdom.

II. Papers from the Ghana National Archives, Accra.

- Original Correspondence, ADM 1/531 - Despatch G.C. 372, Clifford to Harcourt, 13th June 1913.
- " " " 1/532 - Despatch G.C. 451, Clifford to Harcourt, 8th July 1913.
- " " " 1/536 - Despatch G.C. 927, Clifford to Harcourt, 19th December 1913.
- " " " 1/239 - S. of S. Long to Gov. G.C., despatch 609, 29th October 1917, the Colonial Bank and Gold Coast Cocoa export licences.
- " " " 1/569 - Despatch G.C. 590 (continued), Clifford to Long, 25th October 1918, enclosure 2, Difficulties of Gold Coast Cocoa shippers (Native) 1918.

III. Papers From the Nigerian Federal Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Registry of Companies, Lagos.File 526, The Comet Press Ltd.

Declaration of formation of the company, 5th June 1941.

Return of Share Allotments, 26th March - 5th June 1942.

Agreement of Sale between Duse Mohamed Ali and the Comet Press Ltd., 29th July 1942.

Alteration of directors, 8th September 1942.

" " " 8th October 1942.

Allotment of shares, 1st August - 21st August 1942.

Change of Directors, 8th December 1945.

IV. Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society Papers, Rhodes House, Oxford.

MSS British Empire S 22/G 127, Distressed Natives - repatriation of Marcus Carvey;

Aborigines Protection Society to C.O., 28th May 1914.

C.O. to Aborigines Protection Society, 30th May 1914.

Aborigines Protection Society to C.O., 9th June 1914.

" " " " " 19th June 1914.

" " " " " 18th August 1914.

V. J.E. Bruce Papers, Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library.

MSS 1731 - Duse Mohamed Ali to J.E. Bruce, 5th June 1916.

" ? - Duse Mohamed Ali to J.E. Bruce, 12th September 1919.

" 1922 - William H. Wilkes to J.E. Bruce, no date.

" 1936 - J.E. Bruce to George E. Sherlock, 18th January 1922.

" 1954 - J.E. Bruce to Mrs. Bruce, 22nd June 1922.

" 1994 - Ananda Ira Aldridge to J.E. Bruce, 7th March 1923.

VI. Africana Collection, University of Ibadan Library.

i. Herbert Macaulay Papers.

General Correspondence, III, 5, 1926 - W. Tete-Ansa to H. Isaac Jeffers Esq.,
8th November 1926.

" " " " " - W. Tete-Ansa to Herbert Macaulay,
29th November 1926.

" " " 7, 1928 - Duse Mohamed Ali to Herbert Macaulay,
10th January 1928.

" " " " " - W. Tete-Ansa to Herbert Macaulay,
1st March 1928.

" " " " " - Duse Mohamed Ali to Chief Ali Balogun,
12th January 1928.

" " " " " - Duse Mohamed Ali to Herbert Macaulay,
12th January 1928.

- General Correspondence, III, 7, 1928 - Duse Mohamed Ali to Chief Oluwa, 12th January 1928.
- " " " " " - Chief Amoah III (K.F. Tandoh) to Herbert Macaulay, 28th February 1928.
- " " " 9, 1930 - J.M. Stuart-Young to West African Co-operative Producers Ltd., 11th March 1930.
- " " " 10, 1931 - Duse Mohamed Ali to Herbert Macaulay, 30th September 1931.
- " " " 15, 1936 - Mrs. G. Shackelford to Herbert Macaulay, 19th May 1936.
- " " " 16, 1937 - J.M. Stuart-Young to Duse Mohamed Ali, 8th June 1937.
- " " " 18, 1939 - Duse Mohamed Ali to Herbert Macaulay, 4th December 1939.

ii. Obinisan Diaries.

Entries for - 29th July 1920.

30th July 1920.

2nd August 1920.

3rd August 1920.

VII. Manuscript Papers from the Library of Congress.

i. Booker T. Washington Papers.

Box 465, 1912 - Duse Mohamed to Booker T. Washington, 4th April 1912.

" " " - Duse Mohamed to Booker T. Washington, 1st May 1912.

" " " - J.E. Casely Hayford to Booker T. Washington, 7th August 1912.

" " " - Duse Mohamed to Booker T. Washington, 23rd October 1912.

ii. Carter G. Woodson Papers.

Accession 3579, addition 5 to box 5 - J.E. Bruce to Carter G. Woodson, 25th January 1922.

" " " 1 " " 5 - J.E. Bruce to Carter G. Woodson, 2nd August 1922.

VIII. Correspondence from R.R. Moton Papers, Tuskegee Institute Archives.

- General Correspondence, 1917 - Duse' Mohamed Ali to R.R. Moton, 24th October 1917.
- " " 1922 - R.R. Moton to Duse' Mohamed Ali, 31st March 1922.
- " " " - Duse' Mohamed Ali to R.R. Moton, 4th April 1922.
- " " " - Duse' Mohamed Ali, for Universal Negro Improvement Association, to R.R. Moton, 4th April 1922.
- " " " - Duse' Mohamed Ali, for Universal Negro Improvement Association, to R.R. Moton, 20th June 1922.
- " " " - R.R. Moton's secretary to Duse' Mohamed Ali, 7 June 1922.
- " " 1923 - Duse' Mohamed Ali, for American African Oriental Trading Co. Inc., to R.R. Moton, 19th February 1923.
- " " " - Aims and Objects of the American African Oriental Trading Co. Inc.

IX. Manuscript plays in the Lord Chamberlain's collection, St. James Palace and British Museum Library.

- Licence no.241 of 1st August 1901 - Goldberg, Max, Secrets (of the Orient).
- " " 123 " 30th November 1899 - Herbert, Leonard, On Active Service.
- " " 227 " 22nd November 1883 - Herman, Henry, and Wills, W.C., Claudian.
- " " 184 " 8th November 1909 - Mohamed, Duse', and Trimmingham, Ernest, The Lily of Bermuda.
- " " 285 " 11th August 1902 - Scudamore, Frank A., Because I Love You.

X. Interviews and Correspondence with the writer.

- Alhajji L.B. Augusto - interview, Lagos, 28th March 1967.
- Oba Samuel Akisanya,
Odemo of Ishara - " Afin Ishara,
20th March 1967.
- Chief Obafemi Awolowo - interview, Ibadan, 16th February 1967.
- Mr. A.K. Disu - " Federal Nigerian Ministry of
Information, Lagos, 31st March 1967.

- Chief T.A. Doherty - interview, Lagos, 2nd April 1967.
- Barrister S.Y. Eke - " Ore-Oghene, Benin City, 20th April 1967.
- Chief Anthony Enahoro - " Lagos, 6th April 1967.
- Mrs. Amy Jaques Carvey - letter, 6th December 1965.
- Mr. Oged Macaulay - interview, Lagos, 11th March 1967.
- Mr. Mobolaji Odumewu,
General Manager,
National Press, Apapa - " Apapa, 4th April 1967.
- Mr. Andrew Rothstein - letter, June 1970.

XI. Duse Mohamed Ali's Writings.¹

i. Published Books

In the Land of the Pharaohs. A Short History of Egypt from the Fall of Ismail Pasha to the Assassination of Boutros Pasha. Stanley Paul & Co., London 1911.
D. Appleton & Co., New York 1911.
2nd ed., with introduction by Khalil Mahmud, London 1968.

West African Directory and Year Book 1920-21. ed. by Duse Mohamed Ali and W.F. Hutchison, London 1921.

ii. Autobiographical serials and articles.

"Arabi Pasha", AOR, April 1920, pp.5-7.

"Cecil Chesterton", AOR, August 1920, pp.6-7.

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

"The Editor Abroad", AOR, September 1920, pp.13-15, & December 1920, pp.53-6.

"Dada-Bhay Kaurodji", AOR, September 1920, pp.6-7.

1. This only gives a selection of the most important items in his enormous journalistic output; for important editorials in his various magazines and papers, reference must be made to footnotes in the text.

- "Frank Hugh O'Donnell of O'Donnell", AOR, March 1920, pp.5-7.
- "Hospital Impressions", Nigerian Daily Times, 10th March 1933.
- "King Edward VII", AOR, January 1920, pp.10-11.
- "Leaves From An Active Life", The Comet, 12th June 1937, p.7 to
5th March 1938, p.7.
- "Lord Headley's Conversion", Nigerian Daily Times, 7th April 1933, p.7.
- "Lord Russell of Liverpool", AOR, May 1920, pp.6-8.
- "Mohamed Farid Bay", AOR, February 1920, pp.5-8.
- "Oscar Wilde", AOR, December 1920, pp.26-7.
- "Sir William Conrad Reeves", AOR, June 1920, pp.6-7.

iii. Fictional works (in magazines and in typescript).

- "Abdul", ATOR, Christmas 1912, pp.94-9.
- "A Daughter of the Pharaohs", The Comet, 29th July 1933, pp.12-17 to
17th February 1934, pp.12-13.
- "Ere Roosevelt Came", The Comet, 24th February 1934, pp.10-12 to
13th October 1934, pp.11-12 & 17.
- "The Foiling of the King", (short historical romance), The Hull Lady,
Vol.1, no.7, 1902, pp.24-8.
- "The Hamlet of Samson Synns", The Comet, 22nd July 1933, pp.12-8.
- "Hull's Coronation Ode", The Hull Lady, Coronation no., June 1920, pp.3-5.
- "The Jew's Revenge", unpublished, no known manuscript, summary of plot
in The Stage, 28th July 1904, p.12.
- "Jonah and the Whale", The Comet, Christmas 1933, pp.24-7.
- "Katebet the Priestess", ATOR, Christmas 1912, pp.3-7.
- The Lily of Bermuda, written in conjunction with Ernest Trimmingham,
see under section IX.
- "Twixt King and Honour", (short historical romance), The Hull Lady,
May 1902, pp.38-9.

iv. Selected Journalistic Writings.

- "America and Oriental Trade", Africa, New York, June 1928, pp.18 & 23-4.
- "The Americanisation of England", ATOR, May 1913, p.326.
- "British Museum Types", ATOR, Christmas 1912, pp.39-40.
- "The Chimpanzee Actor", Nigerian Daily Times, 12th October 1933, p.7.
- "The Coloured Man in Art and Letters", T.P.'s Magazine, June 1911, pp.404-7.
- "Egypt and Self-Determination", ATOR, October 1918, pp.37-8.
- "Egypt's Case Stated", T.P.'s Magazine, November 1910, pp.189-94.
- "Egypt's Ruin", review article on Theodore Rothstein's Egypt's Ruin,
The New Age, 22nd December 1910, p.174.
- "Ever Heard of Moshesh", Nigerian Daily Times, 30th December 1932, p.5.
- "Female Slavery", Nigerian Daily Times, 26th February 1932, p.10.
- "France and the Egyptian Nationalists", The New Age, 29th September
1910, pp.509-10.
- "God and Science", Islamic Review, February 1916, pp.90-95.
- "The Good Friday Procession", The New Age, 27th April 1911, p.606.
- "The Hard Time Bogey", Nigerian Daily Times, 13th November 1931.
- "The Indian Muslim War Fund", World's Work, September 1916, pp.349-50.
- "Islam and the African", Islamic Review, April 1916, pp.180-85.
- "Is Thought Original", Islamic Review, January 1916, pp.27-31.
- "The Late Samuel Coleridge-Taylor. The Man and his Music", ATOR, September
1912, pp.81-3.
- "Litvinoff Captures America", Nigerian Daily Times, 15th December 1933, p.7.
- Obituary of Marcus Garvey, The Comet, 17th August 1940, p.4.
- Obituary of Sir Kitoyi Ajasa, The Comet, 5th June 1937, p.5.
- "Open Letter to the Rt. Hon. Lewis Vernon Harcourt" (on the Zaria floggings),
ATOR, July 1912, p.8.
- "Open Letter to Theodore Roosevelt", ATOR, August 1912, p.60.

Plan for black American and West Indian ruled state in ex-German East Africa,
Negro World, 15th July 1922.

"Quo Vadis", The New Age, 23rd February 1911, pp.387-9.

"Rotten Row Conversations. White Women and Coloured Men", ATOR, September 1917, pp.63-5.

"The Situation in Egypt", The New Age, 16th June 1910, pp.148-50.

"Those German Colonies", Nigerian Daily Times, 16th December 1932.

"Turkey and the Muslim World", AOR, April 1920, p.44.

"West Africa and Co-operative Trade", Africa, June 1928, pp.6 & 12.

"Western Civilization Through Eastern Spectacles", The New Age,
4th February 1909, p.301;
18th February 1909, pp.341-2;
4th March 1909, p.381;
25th March 1909, p.443;
22nd April 1909, p.519.

"What Shall I write", Nigerian Daily Times, 24th November 1937, p.7.

"White Women and Coloured Men", The New Age, 21st January 1909, pp.262-3.

v. Magazines and Newspapers edited by Duse Mohamed Ali.

Africa, New York City, June 1928. (One issue only).

Africa and Orient Review, London, monthly, January-December 1920
(October and November missing).

African Times and Orient Review, London, monthly July 1912 - December 1913;
weekly 24th March 1914 - 19th August 1914; monthly, January 1917 -
October 1918. No issues for April -
June 1918; combined numbers for
December 1912 - January 1913 and
February - March 1913.

The Comet, Lagos, Nigeria - weekly from 22nd July 1933
bi-weekly from 12th November 1941

The Daily Comet, Lagos, Nigeria - Duse Mohamed Ali Editor-in-Chief,
daily from 16th May 1944.

XII. Newspapers and Magazines, other than those edited by Duse' Mohamed Ali.²

1. British Newspapers and Magazines.

The Academy and Literature, NLS.

The African Telegraph

The Anglo Russian

The British Congregationalist

Chamber's Journal, NLS.

The Gentlewoman, NLS.

The Graphic, EPL.

The Hull Lady H.

Islamic Review (originally Muslim India and Islamic Review), NLS.

The Manchester Guardian

The Near East

The New Age, NLS.

The New Age Literary Review, NLS.

The Observer

Pall Mall Gazette

Review of Reviews, EPL.

The Scotsman, NLS.

The Spectator

The Stage, NLS.

The Times, EUL.

T.P.'s Magazine, NLS.

T.P.'s Weekly, NLS.

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2. Unless otherwise indicated, from British Museum Newspaper Library, Colindale; NLS = National Library of Scotland; RKM = R.R. Moton Papers, press cuttings, Tuskegee Institute Archives; H = Hull Public Library, Reference Section; EUL = Edinburgh University Library; EPL = Edinburgh Public Library, George IVth Bridge, Edinburgh; NNI = Nigerian National Archives, Ibadan.

For individual items from newspapers and magazines, see section XI, parts ii, iii & iv, and section XIV of bibliography, and footnotes to main text of thesis.

Truth, NLS.

The Westminster Review, NLS.

World's Work, NLS.

ii. United States newspapers and magazines.

The Baltimore Herald, RRM, General Correspondence, 1923.

The Chicago Defender, " " " 1927.

The Crisis, EUL.

The Eagle, Washington D.C., RRM, General Correspondence, 1927.

The Informer, Columbus, S.C., RRM, General Correspondence, 1927.

The Negro World, New York City, RRM, General Correspondence, 1922.

The Reporter, Birmingham Ala., RRM, General Correspondence, 1927.

St. Louis Clarion, RRM, General Correspondence, 1923.

iii. British West African Newspapers.

Gold Coast Independent

Gold Coast Leader, EUL.

Lagos Standard, EUL.

Lagos Weekly Record

Nigerian Daily Times

Sierra Leone Government Gazette

Sierra Leone Weekly News

West African Pilot, NNI.

XIII. Other Published Books.

Abdul Majid, England and the Muslim World. Articles, addresses and essays on eastern subjects, York, 1912.

3. Authors with Muslim names have been listed with their forename first, except where they have clearly adopted another name as a surname.

Abdul Majid, The Psychology of Leadership, London 1915.

The Rubaiyat of Hafiz, London 1910.

Abdul Majid with Sir R. West and J.G. Buehler, A Digest of Hindu Law, London 1919.

Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid, Egypt and Cromer, A Study in Anglo-Egyptian Relations, London 1968.

Amery, Leo, My Political Life, Vol. I, England Before the Storm, London 1953.

Amir Ali, The Spirit of Islam, London 1891.

Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, London 1938.

Anyiam, F.U., Among Nigerian Celebrities, Yaba, 1960.

Men and Matters in Nigerian Politics 1934-1958, Lagos, 1959.

Awolowo, Obafemi, Awo, The Autobiography of Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Cambridge 1960.

Ayandele, E.A., Holy Johnson, London 1970.

Azikiwe, Nnamdi, The Development of Political Parties in Nigeria, London 1957.

Banton, Michael P., The Coloured Quarter, London 1955.

Barker, A.J., The Civilizing Mission, The Italo Ethiopian War 1935-6, London 1968.

Bittle, William E., & Geiss, Gilbert, The Longest Way Home: Chief Alfred C. Sam's Back to Africa Movement, Detroit 1964.

Blunt, Wilfred Scawen, My Diaries, 1 vol. ed., London 1932.

Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt, London 1907.

Blyden, E.W., Africa and the Africans, London 1903.

Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race, 2nd ed., with introduction by Christopher Tyfe, Edinburgh 1967.

West Africa Before Europe, London 1905.

Booth, General William, In Darkest England and the Way Out, London 1890.

Boucicault, Dion., Jessie Brown; or the Relief of Lucknow, John Dickinson, London 1883 ?

The Octoroon, John Dickinson, London 1883 ?

- Bracey, John H.; Meier, August; and Rudwick, Elliott, Black Nationalism in America, New York 1970.
- Broderick, Francis L. W.E.B. Du Bois, Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis, Stanford 1959.
- Brotz, Howard (ed.) Negro Social and Political Thought 1850-1920. Representative Texts, New York and London 1966.
- Brown, C.V., The Nigerian Banking System, London 1966.
- Carlson, Oliver, Brisbane: A Candid Biography, New York 1937.
- Carr, E.H., The Bolshevik Revolution, Vol. I, London 1960.
- Cayton, Horace R. & Drake, St. Clair, Black Metropolis, New York 1945.
- Clark, John Pepper, America, Their America, London 1964.
- Coleman, James S., Nigeria: Background to Nationalism, London 1958.
- Cox-George, N.A., Finance and Development in West Africa. The Sierra Leone Experience, London 1961.
- Cromer, Earl of, Modern Egypt, 2 Vols, London 1903.
- Cronon, E.D., Black Moses. The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association, Madison, Wisconsin, 1955.
- Del Boca, The Ethiopian War 1935-1941, trans P.D. Cummins, Chicago & London 1969.
- Deniga, Adeoye, African Leaders Past and Present, Lagos 1915.
- The Nigerian Who's Who for 1934, Lagos 1934.
- Dickson, Kwamina B., A Historical Geography of Ghana, Cambridge 1969.
- Dilks, David, Curzon in India, 2 Vols., London 1970.
- Driberg, Tom, Beaverbrook. A Study in Power and Frustration, London 1956.
- Du Bois, W.E.B., The Souls of Black Folk, New York 1953.
- Durham, Edith, The Burden of the Balkans, London 1905.
- High Albania, London 1909.
- The Struggle for Scutari, London 1914.
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Who Was Who.