

THE FATE OF ITALIES COLONIES

ERITREA

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE



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I The Country and the People

Eritrea is situated on the west coast of the Red Sea and borders on Ethiopia in the south and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in the west. This territory, which has an area of 50,000 square miles, may be considered as four distinct physical zones. These are:—

(a) A high mountain plateau (7-8,000 ft.) in the south bordering on the Ethiopian province of the Tigrai. This area consists of the Hamasién, Scrae, and Achele Guzai divisions.

(b) The extensive dry plain in the west (1,500-2,500 ft.) extending to the eastern borders of the Sudan in the north and west and to the Ethiopian frontier in the south. This is the Agordat division.

(c) Broken hill country in the north (1,500-5,000 ft.) lying between the plateau and the Agordat division. (The Keren administrative division).¹

(d) A coastal plain in the east (up to 1,000 ft.), mainly the Massawa division.

Situated as it is along the Red Sea coast, Eritrea has been crossed and recrossed by migrant groups from Arabia, Abyssinia, and the Sudan. The aboriginal inhabitants of the territory were Nilotic or Negroid tribes which entered Eritrea and settled on the southern plateau. These tribes were later driven westwards by a series of immigrations. Today, as the result of generations of intermarriage, it is no longer possible to give any group of 'Eritreans' an exact ethnological description.

The student of modern 'Eritrea' may, however, accept language and religion as a practical means of classification. In doing so he must be impressed by the fact that the various

¹ The Keren and Agordat divisions were recently amalgamated as the Western Province.

language and religious groups tend to conform to the physical zones into which the country is divisible, by the fact that these groups are each distinguishable by peculiar racial or cultural characteristics, and by the fact that language and religion are often indicative of the social structure and economy obtaining in each group. There are, of course, exceptions to the general rule, and in each group religious, linguistic, and cultural minorities will be found. These social groups are:—

(a) the Tigrinya speaking peoples, principally of Abyssinian race and culture, who live on the southern plateau and in the administrative divisions of the Hamasien, Achela Guzai, and Serae. These peoples are mostly Coptic Christians (there is a minority of 58,000 Moslems of whom about 35,000 live in Asmara town) and number some 488,000. They are agriculturists and live in permanent village communities. Although the manner in which the plateau villagers manage their affairs is democratic, in that parochial powers are customarily vested in elected councils of elders and not in hereditary chiefs, the passage of time has brought with it a sharp class distinction between those who by virtue of their ancestry are owners of land, and those who, having no connection with the land-owning families, are regarded as tenants. The tenant class, however, seldom suffers under any economic disabilities (a tenant has an equal right of user in the land with any other member of the community) and its inferior social status is limited to its exclusion from any voice in village affairs.

(b) the Tigre¹ speaking peoples, principally of Beja race and culture, who occupy the greater part of the western plains (Agordat division), the northern stretches of the coastal plain, and the broken hill country connecting the southern plateau with the plains of the west (Keren and Massawa divisions excluding the Danakil strip). These people, who number approximately 367,000, are almost all Moslems. (There is a minority of some 31,000 Christians living in the Bogos area). Although certain sections of this social group have become agriculturists during the last fifty

¹ Including minorities of Arabic, Beja, and Belcin speech.

years, the majority may be described as being pastoral nomads. In this society the village, even in the few areas where it does exist, is not recognised as a social or political unit. Social organisation is for the most part tribal, and individuals or families are classified not according to the territorial area in which they live, but according to the tribal or kinship group of which they form a part. By tradition the management of tribal affairs is vested in councils of elders and hereditary chiefs. In most of these tribes there is a sharp class distinction between those who can claim descent from the ruling family groups within the tribe, and those who have become absorbed within it as a result of conquest or accident. The distinction is between a class of feudal aristocrats and that of slaves who have only recently become serfs. The serf class, which forms approximately 90 per cent. of these tribes, is politically without any voice in tribal matters and has been economically subject to the aristocratic class, having had to render it various customary dues and perform various traditional services.¹

(c) the Baza and Baria speaking tribes of Negroid race and culture living in the extreme south west corner of the Agordat administrative division, and numbering approximately 40,000. These are organised as kinship groups within a tribal structure but live in villages. They are agriculturists and mostly Moslem by religion. (There are minorities of some 10,000 pagans and 3,000 Roman Catholics.)

(d) the Danakil and Saho speaking tribes of Afar race and culture living along the southern stretch of the coastal plain in the Mussawa administrative division, and on the edge of the southern plateau in the north eastern part of the Achele Guzai administrative division. This group, which numbers approximately 100,000, is entirely Moslem by religion and is organised tribally according to a kinship unit pattern. Although class distinctions, such as are to be found in some Tigre speaking tribes, formerly existed amongst the Danakil tribes, these have long since died out. These tribes are mostly pastoral nomads, but groups within the Saho speaking tribes have become agriculturists.

¹ The serf class has been freed of these feudal obligations since 1941.

II The Political History of Eritrea

I ERITREA BEFORE THE ITALIAN OCCUPATION

Until its unification under an Italian Government Eritrea had no common history. Different parts of the country were controlled at various times and in varying degrees by Ethiopian, Fung, Turkish, and Egyptian rulers. A small strip of southern coastland was also an integral part of the independent sultanate of Aussa.

ETHIOPIAN RULE

The stretch of country in the southern part of Eritrea which includes the plateau area and the reach of coastland about Zula is the oldest and most important part of the early Ethiopian Empire. For it was through these districts that the early rulers of the Kingdom of Axum (from which the modern Ethiopian Empire was derived) laid the roads which joined Axum with the port of Adulis (or Zula) and the outside world. But with the extension of the Ethiopian Empire to the south and the passing of Axum as an Imperial Capital the political importance of the 'Baharmeder' (Sea Province), as the region was known, diminished, and as it grew less so it enjoyed an increasing degree of autonomy and freedom from Imperial control. By the early nineteenth century the southern plateau while nominally acknowledging the suzerainty of the Ethiopian Emperors, was in fact ruled either by petty tyrants of its own or by those who governed the Ethiopian province of the Tigray. It was probably not until the last petty local tyrant, the self-styled 'Ras' Weldenkiel was deposed by the Emperor John's representative, Ras Alula, in 1880, that this region was again effectively administered as an Ethiopian province. Making the hitherto unknown village of Asmara his capital, Ras Alula secured a firm hold over the Tigrinya speaking communities of the plateau and with the collapse of Egyptian authority in the west (see below) was the first Ethiopian Governor to exercise any effective authority in the areas occupied by the Tigre speaking peoples (although some of these had occasionally paid tribute to Ethiopian rulers in the past). So successful

was Ras Alula that he even extended his influence as far west as Kassala where he inflicted a severe defeat upon the Dervishes in 1885. At that time he obtained a loose control over the whole of modern Eritrea with the exception of the present administrative division of Massawa. By 1885 this had been occupied by the Italians. His final withdrawal from Eritrea was only brought about by Italian pressure in the east, Dervish attacks in the west and internal disturbances in the south.

FUNG RULE

The Fung Kingdom of Sennar (in the Sudan) was founded towards the end of the fifteenth century. The Fung Kings extended their authority over the northern plains of the Agordat administrative division during the sixteenth century and occasionally exacted tribute from the more distant tribes of the Sahel region of Keren administrative division. Later the authority of the rulers at Sennar waned and their control in this region remained nominal. The Egyptian victories in the early nineteenth century finally brought this Kingdom to an end.

TURKISH AND EGYPTIAN RULE

Although the Turks occupied Massawa in 1557 and retained their authority over it until its transfer to the Egyptians in 1865, they made only a few half-hearted and unsuccessful attempts to penetrate westwards into the plateau, and even in the northern areas inhabited by the Tigre speaking tribes, where there was at that time no vestige of Ethiopian authority and only a semblance of Fung control, they were content to exact or receive only the most occasional payment of tribute.

Turkish authority nominally extended to the Samhar peoples, but effective control was only exercised in Massawa and its immediate precincts. Effective Moslem penetration eventually came from the west and not from this eastern settlement on the coast. After Mohammed Ali's occupation

of the Northern Sudan and the founding of Khartoum in 1823 Egyptian authority spread rapidly eastwards through Kassala into the western plains of Eritrea. By 1850 the Egyptians were established at Kosit (near Agordat) and were at that time collecting tribute amongst the Belein speaking hill folk near the town of Keren. In 1872 the Bogos province was occupied and after the Ethiopian victories over the Egyptians at Gundat (1875) and Gura (1876) in the southern plateau, this province remained the effective limit of Egyptian penetration from the west.

Although the Mahdist rebellion brought Egyptian rule to a close in 1884, the Egyptian occupation of the Eritrean lowlands was of some importance. For the first time the peoples of what later became the Agordat, Keren, and Massawa (excluding Dankalia) administrative divisions were effectively ruled. The administration of Munzinger Pasha, the Swiss representative of the Egyptian Khedive, was strong and by contemporary standards efficient. The Egyptians did more than previous rulers, whose interest had only been in the collection of tribute, and it was during their stay in Eritrea that tribal society was reorganised and that strong tribal government was established for the first time.

THE SULTANATE OF AUSSA

The Sultanate of Aussa, comprising the lowlands to the west of the old Somali Kingdom of Adal and to the north east of the Ethiopian plateau, evolved during the sixteenth century. The inhabitants of this Sultanate included the Danakil tribes of modern Eritrea. From the sixteenth century until the arrival of the Italians, the Sultans of Aussa effectively commanded the loyalty of these Eritrean Danakil.

2 ERITREA UNDER ITALIAN RULE

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The collapse of Egyptian authority in 1884 provided the Italians with their long awaited opportunity of acquiring a

colony on the Red Sea coast. They had already established themselves at Assab—an Italian shipping company having obtained a concession in 1869 which the Italian Government took over ten years later—and from there had extended their influence along the Danakil coast. In 1885 the Italian flag was hoisted in Massawa and treaties were concluded with neighbouring tribes in Dankalia, the Samhar, and the Sahel. The Ethiopians, who had hoped to acquire Massawa after the departure of the Egyptians, were infuriated by this Italian coup and a virtual state of war developed between Ras Alula and the Italians in Massawa. After three years of skirmishing the Ethiopians finally withdrew from Eritrea. The pressure of the Mahdists in the west and disturbances in the south made further resistance to the Italians impossible. With Ethiopia's adherence to the Treaty of Ucciali in 1889, Ethiopia formally ceded her rights in Eritrea to Italy.

The Italians had now acquired Eritrea, but to them Eritrea was nothing more than a base from which the whole of Ethiopia would be brought under Italian control. Italians had hoped to extend their influence peacefully, believing that Ethiopia had already accepted the principle of Italian patronage. Subsequent events proved that they had been mistaken. Perplexed by the Italian interpretation of the Treaty of Ucciali, irritated by Italian intrigues in the Tigrai, and suspicious of Italian motives in general, the Emperor Menelik became increasingly hostile and diplomatic relations between Ethiopia and Italy were broken off in 1894. The Italians immediately invaded Ethiopia and occupied important centres in the Tigrai. These successes were short-lived. In 1896 the Italians were decisively defeated by the Ethiopians at Adowa, and forced to retire into Eritrea. The Peace of Addis Abbaba in the same year brought this first Italian attempt to gain control over Ethiopia to a humiliating end.

Although Eritrea and Ethiopia remained at peace for the next 39 years, Italians still dreamed of creating an empire in Ethiopia and of avenging their defeat at Adowa. Dreams were translated into fact with the development of Fascist Italy. In 1935 Italian troops invaded Ethiopia for the second time. Seven months later, in May 1936, the Italian East

African Empire was formally proclaimed; and **Eritrea**, enlarged by the addition of the old Ethiopian province of the Tigray, assumed the status of a province within the new Empire. In 1940 Italy was again at war. After early success against British forces in Somaliland, Kenya, and the Sudan her East African Empire finally collapsed in 1941.

ITALIAN ADMINISTRATION

Administrative Organisation. The Italian Government divided its new Colony into a number of divisions known as 'Commissariati' composed of sub-districts known as 'Residenze' and some smaller units referred to as 'Vice-Residenze'. These administrative units were administered by officials known as 'Commissari', 'Residenti' and 'Vice-Residenti', responsible to the Governor of the Colony, who was responsible in his turn to the Minister for the Colonies. After 1936 the Governor's responsibility was to the Viceroy of the new Italian East African Empire. The powers and functions of these officials more or less corresponded to those of district officers in British Colonies although Fascist legislation later endowed them with certain arbitrary powers of punishment without trial.

The earlier Italian colonial officials were undoubtedly superior to those who were later recruited. These early officials, including such men as Rossini and Pollera, left useful records of their observations and it is evident that they had their work and the welfare of the community at heart. They were, it is true, imbued with the lack of imagination which is often found in the paternal and benevolent type of ruler, but for all that they had the high qualities of honesty and sincerity and won for themselves a wide and lasting affection. These qualities were seldom shared by their successors, who were for the most part young Fascists anxious to make good careers for themselves in their new Empire. The whole quality of their work displays an intense desire for self advancement and a pitiable lack of interest in native affairs. They never learned native languages; seldom travelled in their districts; and knew little of local customs. Being anxious to please, they slurred over facts as they were to suit the impressions which they desired to

create; loath to face difficulties, they were prone to reward sycophancy and punish grumblers; fired with racial prejudice, and self-consciously anxious to preserve Italian prestige, they often made a parody of justice, and thus all too often proved themselves incompetent and at times dishonest administrators.

Native Administration. The most striking characteristic of Italian native policy was its conservatism. Although the social and economic changes within Eritrea during the last fifty years may be described as revolutionary, politically the position remained substantially the same in 1940 as it had been in 1900.

Italian colonial officials are disposed to describe their system as a compromise between the British and French principles of indirect and direct-rule. In so far as Italian policy was based on contradictory and inconsistent British and French principles, this opinion is true enough. Like the French, the Italians created a class of junior native administrative officials and filled the greater number of 'chieftainships' with its members. These chiefs were usually selected from the ranks of ex-Government interpreters, retired sergeant majors, or other persons who could be trusted by the Government.

To the Italians they proved useful, because in most cases they could understand Italian and, more important, they understood what was required of them by their Italian superiors. Unlike the French, however, the Italians had no desire to go the whole hog. They did not wish to extend Italian citizenship to a class of well-educated natives. Ex-sergeant majors were rewarded for their past services with chieftainships, but they were not encouraged to aspire to an officer status. The contradictory quality of this local administration is obvious enough. At the same time as the people were being encouraged to respect their customary laws and usages, they were subjected to native officials, who because of their Europeanised outlook were unrecognised by and unacceptable to native society, and who by their upbringing were themselves divorced from their own people. Many chiefs became nothing more than executive agents

whose duty it was to enforce the orders of the Commissario; and because they lacked the confidence and respect of the communities which they administered, were neither willing nor able to represent the people's views to the Government.

The powers and functions of these 'chiefs' remained unchanged throughout the period of Italian rule. Apart from exercising limited judicial powers with regard to the simpler types of civil disputes and collecting the annual tribute, they did nothing but obey orders and submit reports. No attempt was made to train chiefs in the exercise of greater administrative responsibilities and no additional responsibilities were placed upon them. At the same time, for the supposed purpose of respecting sacrosanct native custom, chiefs were allowed a free rein as regards the exercise of traditional privileges. In the tribes of the west the chiefs and aristocratic classes continued to levy feudal dues from their serfs, and to enjoy many of the privileges which they had enjoyed before the Italian occupation. On the plateau the old customary privileges with which local rulers had been endowed were inherited by their less powerful successors.

The conservative pattern of this native policy had been carefully designed to serve the general ends of Italian colonial policy. The Eritrean was to serve as a subordinate auxiliary; he was not to play the part of a principal. The Colony was to serve Italy's interests and the interests of its Italian population. On no account were Eritreans to acquire ideas above their inferior station or to believe that they could acquire any form of equality with their white rulers. To this end Eritreans were provided with the most frugal educational fare,¹ and were subjected to increasingly severe colour

¹ Native education under Italian rule scarcely existed and where it did it was only in the most elementary form. There were in all 39 primary schools (13 were Mission schools) which catered for a total of 4,000 pupils. With the exception of the seven Swedish evangelical Mission schools (closed by Government order in 1937) which turned out a number of reasonably educated men, these schools provided nothing more than an acquaintance with the three Rs, a capacity to speak ungrammatical Italian, and an ability to repeat Fascist catchwords and slogans. Higher education was not provided.

bar restrictions. Furthermore, aided by the Eritreans' innate conservatism, the Italians took pains to shackle native society with its backward customary concepts, and by so isolating the Eritrean from any progressive influences to ensure the indefinite continuance of Italian rule in Eritrea.

Economic Administration. Eritrea could have presented the first generation of Italian administrators with little hope of economic advantage. The country was naturally poor. A generally mountainous terrain, a scanty rainfall, and the constant threat of the locust offered no promise for large-scale agricultural projects; the rapidly dwindling forests were of no apparent economic value; and the animal stock was of poor quality and ravaged by disease. Although Eritrea and its port at Massawa had been Ethiopia's traditional commercial inlet and outlet, and had on that account attracted the greater part of Ethiopian trade, the later construction of rival ports at Djibouti and Port Sudan and the linking of Djibouti by railway with Addis Abbaba threatened to destroy the one economic asset which Eritrea possessed.

In the face of these disadvantages the Italian achievement was remarkable. Economic development was based on a planned system of communications. These comprised a thorough network of trunk and secondary roads, a mountain railway linking Massawa with the plateau and the western plains, and an extensive telegraphic and postal organisation. Aided by these excellent communications Italian officials and representatives of Italian private enterprise assiduously explored every possible field of economic development. Attempts at any large-scale settlement of European agriculturists were soon abandoned, but an ambitious agricultural project based on an elaborate system of irrigation was initiated on the sparsely populated western frontiers, and creditable efforts to produce coffee were begun on the northern slopes of the plateau. The unimpressive forest lands were made to yield considerable quantities of 'vegetable ivory' (extracted from the 'Dom palm' and used for the manufacture of buttons) and incense. As the result of scientific research and the setting up of a superb Vaccine Institute animal disease was effectively combatted, the dwindling

herds increased, and a reasonable export of hides, skins, and tinned meats was realised. Fisheries and salt works were developed at Massawa and Assab. Gold was mined with varying success on the plateau and in the western plains. And as a result of these various enterprises, which were pursued with particular intensity after 1935, European townships (of which Asmara, Massawa and Decamere were the largest) sprang up in various parts of the territory and within them secondary industries took root.

Within the comparatively short period of their rule the Italians had transformed Eritrea. As the result of their efforts the desert had apparently been made to flourish, and where fifty years earlier there had been nothing but a wild country with no economic possibilities, by 1941 there existed a country of modern cities in which 40,000 Europeans were provided with the normal amenities of European life. But these achievements were superficial and based on shallow foundations. Italian policy had been designed with one purpose—the exploitation of the country and its people in the interests of Italy. Italian interests demand cheap raw materials and a market for its manufactured goods. It was supposed also to demand colonial areas in which to settle its surplus population. Early Italian administrators thought on these lines but did little to put their ideas into practice. Their Fascist successors spared no pains to achieve success. The success which they did achieve was only realised at the cost of gigantic subsidies; and it was only by means of such subsidies that their elaborate and artificial economy was kept alive.

However much the Italians might have stimulated economic activity in Eritrea with injections of subsidies, the actual resources of the country and its native peoples remained unaffected. Healthy and lasting economic development could only have been achieved if the economy of these peoples had been improved. It is true that animal disease was combatted with success, but nothing was done to improve the quality of the herds through selective breeding, and nothing was done to improve native agriculture either by training in improved methods or by combatting soil erosion. Their economy was capable of development, but only on

a modest scale and in terms of its native population. By ignoring native economy and by thinking solely in terms of a European Eritrea, the Fascist planners saddled Eritrea with potential problems of great social and economic importance.

These planners did not intend the native population to play any part in the country's economic system other than as primary producers, labourers, and soldiers. During its infancy, in Eritrea, however, Fascism was not as unacceptable to the average Eritrean as foreign observers might wish to believe. Primary producers found that they were able to market their goods at reasonable prices, the landless classes found adequately paid employment on innumerable state and private projects, and even the thousands of young men who were recruited to fight in Italy's colonial wars did not find a comparatively easy life with good rations and regular pocket money so very disagreeable. Had the Fascist experiment been allowed to continue discontent would have developed. The Eritrean would not have resigned himself to the permanent role of 'under dog', but, as it was, during this short period of Fascist rule he enjoyed a prosperity greater than he has known before or since.

This prosperity was artificially stimulated and it was fashioned to an end which was never to be realised. All the money, materials, technical experts, business firms, and other development enterprises, which entered Eritrea from 1935 onwards and rendered this economic prosperity possible were part of a grand design to settle one or two millions of Italians in Eritrea and Ethiopia. The public buildings and roads upon which Government labourers worked were intended for a European state, and the industries and projects in which native labour was employed, were created to serve the swelling European market. It was for this reason that many thousands of Eritreans were absorbed into an artificial and short-lived economic system, and were at the same time introduced to a money economy and way of life which the natural resources of the country could not continue to maintain. This Italian experiment was something more than an industrial revolution. In effect it uprooted a large and important part of the community from their own social

organisation, accustomed them to forms of work for which their community had no demand, and by so doing rendered them unfit to re-adapt themselves to the way of life and economy obtainable in Eritrea under even the best of normal conditions.

In brief, the results of this experiment were the creation of an increasing mass of urban unemployed and the development of an intense and dangerous land hunger. Statistics reveal that the native population of Asmara rose from 15,000 in 1935 to 90,000 in 1941. The greater part of this population was composed of young Eritreans, who were originally attracted from their villages by easily earned wages and the more comfortable life of the town; and to these there have been added since 1941 thousands of demobilised soldiers, who have been rendered useless for country life by their long years of military service. The population was further increased by the steady arrival of Ethiopians, Arabs, Jews, Greeks, Indians and others. It might have been thought that the drift from country to town would have eased the pressure of population on the land. Such was not the case. The rural population of the southern plateau, which was 123,000 in 1910, is 400,000 in 1948. This apparent paradox has arisen because landless groups, often immigrant from Ethiopia, were sometimes accepted by village communities to make good the loss of man power caused by military conscription and exodus to the towns.

3 ERITREA UNDER BRITISH MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

In April 1941, Eritrea was occupied by British forces and a British Military Administration replaced the former Italian colonial government. This Administration, which was instituted under the authority of the Commander in Chief, Middle East, had an apparently simple task to perform. It was required to govern humanely in terms of the Hague Convention of 1907, maintain law and order, and harness the resources of the country to the Allied war effort. The

B.M.A., being a caretaker administration, was required to function at the minimum of cost and had no mandate to introduce large-scale reforms or innovations, which might incur additional financial expenditure.

In the particular circumstances of the occupation the caretaker had to be something of a reformer, if he wished to preserve law and order without the use of military force. The collapse of the Italian authority revealed the weakness of the Eritrean economic fabric; and the social and economic problems inherent in it began to develop at the same time as other problems developed from the lack of imagination which had characterised Italian native policy. In the towns increasing unemployment set in, while the ranks of the workless were augmented by the bedraggled soldiery of the former colonial army and by immigrant vagabonds from the disturbed Ethiopian province of the Tigray. These unfortunate victims of Fascism readily accepted the lead of an ill-educated intelligentsia, which became increasingly xenophobic as its members' earlier hopes of replacing Italians in better salaried positions remained unrealised. In the rural districts shortages of grain, cloth, and sugar provoked a general economic discontent which expressed itself in intensified conflict between the land hungry plateau communities and between the serf and aristocratic classes of the western tribes.

To tackle these problems B.M.A. was hampered by lack of funds, by a generally inexperienced staff recruited from the Army, by the restrictions of International Law, and by its inability to pursue any long term policy. Nevertheless, within such limits as these factors imposed, B.M.A. introduced a number of creditable reforms. All the old offensive colour bar restrictions were abolished. Eritreans were progressively associated with the Administration by the creation of Advisory Councils, the setting up of Native Courts, the appointment of Eritrean administrative officers, and the admission of Eritreans to the higher ranks of the Police Force. Energetic measures were taken to create an educated class of Eritrean by the opening of fifty-nine primary and one secondary school. Medical facilities were extended to areas where they had not formerly penetrated, and where they had existed they were rendered more available

to the Eritrean than under the Italian régime. In western Eritrea the feudal obligations of the serf class were abolished, and on the plateau attempts were made to settle the differences of the conflicting communities.

These reforms have given widespread satisfaction to the Eritrean community, but it was scarcely to be expected that they would please the Italian population, at the expense of whose privileged social position they were mostly made. Nevertheless all Eritreans have not been satisfied. The urban unemployed (found principally in the towns of the plateau) still remain hungry and workless; the intelligentsia still hanker after positions which its members are unqualified to hold; and the land hunger of the plateau communities continues to grow worse. To these classes British administration has brought some hope and encouragement, but no remedy for their ills.

