The Scramble for Africa

**MAIN IDEA**

**EMPIRE BUILDING** Ignoring the claims of African ethnic groups, kingdoms, and city-states, Europeans established colonies.

**WHY IT MATTERS NOW**

African nations continue to feel the effects of the colonial presence more than 100 years later.

**TERMS & NAMES**

- imperialism
- racism
- Social Darwinism
- Berlin Conference
- Boer
- Boer War

**SETTING THE STAGE**

Industrialization stirred ambitions in many European nations. They wanted more resources to fuel their industrial production. They competed for new markets for their goods. Many nations looked to Africa as a source of raw materials and as a market for industrial products. As a result, colonial powers seized vast areas of Africa during the 19th and early 20th centuries. This seizure of a country or territory by a stronger country is called **imperialism**. As occurred throughout most of Africa, stronger countries dominated the political, economic, and social life of the weaker countries.

**Africa Before European Domination**

In the mid-1800s, on the eve of the European domination of Africa, African peoples were divided into hundreds of ethnic and linguistic groups. Most continued to follow traditional beliefs, while others converted to Islam or Christianity. These groups spoke more than 1,000 different languages. Politically, they ranged from large empires that united many ethnic groups to independent villages.

Europeans had established contacts with sub-Saharan Africans as early as the 1450s. However, powerful African armies were able to keep the Europeans out of most of Africa for 400 years. In fact, as late as 1880, Europeans controlled only 10 percent of the continent’s land, mainly on the coast.

Furthermore, European travel into the interior on a large-scale basis was virtually impossible. Europeans could not navigate African rivers, which had many rapids, cataracts, and changing flows. The introduction of steam-powered riverboats in the early 1800s allowed Europeans to conduct major expeditions into the interior of Africa. Disease also discouraged European exploration.

Finally, Africans controlled their own trade networks and provided the trade items. These networks were specialized. The Chokwe, for example, devoted themselves to collecting ivory and beeswax in the Angolan highlands.

**Nations Compete for Overseas Empires**

Those Europeans who did penetrate the interior of Africa were explorers, missionaries, or humanitarians who opposed the European and American slave trade. Europeans and Americans learned about Africa through travel books and newspapers. These publications competed for readers by hiring reporters to search the globe for stories of adventure, mystery, or excitement.
The Congo Sparks Interest In the late 1860s, David Livingstone, a missionary from Scotland, traveled with a group of Africans deep into central Africa to promote Christianity. When several years passed with no word from him or his party, many people feared he was dead. An American newspaper hired reporter Henry Stanley to find Livingstone. In 1871, he found Dr. Livingstone on the shores of Lake Tanganyika. Stanley’s famous greeting—“Dr. Livingstone, I presume?”—made headlines around the world.

Stanley set out to explore Africa himself and trace the course of the Congo River. His explorations sparked the interest of King Leopold II of Belgium, who commissioned Stanley to help him obtain land in the Congo. Between 1879 and 1882, Stanley signed treaties with local chiefs of the Congo River valley. The treaties gave King Leopold II of Belgium control of these lands.

Leopold claimed that his primary motive in establishing the colony was to abolish the slave trade and promote Christianity. However, he licensed companies that brutally exploited Africans by forcing them to collect sap from rubber plants. At least 10 million Congolese died due to the abuses inflicted during Leopold’s rule. As a result of his cruelty, humanitarians around the world demanded changes. In 1908, the Belgian government took control of the colony away from Leopold. The Belgian Congo, as the colony later became known, was 80 times larger than Belgium. The Belgian government’s seizure of the Congo alarmed France. Earlier, in 1882, the French had approved a treaty that gave France the north bank of the Congo River. Soon Britain, Germany, Italy, Portugal, and Spain were also claiming parts of Africa.

Forces Driving Imperialism

The motives that drove colonization in Africa were also at work in other lands. Similar economic, political, and social forces accelerated the drive to take over land in all parts of the globe. The Industrial Revolution in particular provided European countries with a reason to add lands to their control. As European nations industrialized, they searched for new markets and raw materials to improve their economies.

Belief in European Superiority The race for colonies also grew out of a strong sense of national pride. Europeans viewed an empire as a measure of national greatness. As the competition for colonies intensified, each country was determined to plant its flag on as much of the world as possible.
Many Europeans believed that they were better than other peoples. The belief that one race is superior to others is called **racism**. The attitude was a reflection of **Social Darwinism**, a social theory of the time. In this theory, Charles Darwin’s ideas about evolution and natural selection were applied to human society. Those who were fittest for survival enjoyed wealth and success and were considered superior to others. According to the theory, non-Europeans were considered to be on a lower scale of cultural and physical development because they had not made the scientific and technological progress that Europeans had. Europeans believed that they had the right and the duty to bring the results of their progress to other countries. Cecil Rhodes, a successful businessman and a major supporter of British expansion, clearly stated this position:

**PRIMARY SOURCE**

I contend that we [Britons] are the first race in the world, and the more of the world we inhabit, the better it is for the human race. . . . It is our duty to seize every opportunity of acquiring more territory and we should keep this one idea steadily before our eyes that more territory simply means more of the Anglo-Saxon race, more of the best, the most human, most honourable race the world possesses.

**CECIL RHODES, Confession of Faith, 1877**

The push for expansion also came from missionaries who worked to convert the peoples of Asia, Africa, and the Pacific Islands to Christianity. Many missionaries believed that European rule was the best way to end evil practices such as the slave trade. They also wanted to “civ- ize,” that is, to “Westernize,” the peoples of the foreign land.

**Factors Promoting Imperialism in Africa** Several factors contributed to the Europeans’ conquest of Africa. One overwhelming advantage was the Europeans’ technological superiority. The Maxim gun, invented in 1884, was the world’s first automatic machine gun. European countries quickly acquired the Maxim, while the resisting Africans were forced to rely on outdated weapons.

European countries also had the means to control their empire. The invention of the steam engine allowed Europeans to easily travel on rivers to establish bases of control deep in the African continent. Railroads, cables, and steamships allowed close communications within a colony and between the colony and its controlling nation.

Even with superior arms and steam engines to transport them, another factor might have kept Europeans confined to the coast. They were highly susceptible to malaria, a disease carried by the dense swarms of mosquitoes in Africa’s interior. The perfection of the drug quinine in 1829 eventually protected Europeans from becoming infected with this disease.

Factors within Africa also made the continent easier for Europeans to colonize. Africans’ huge variety of languages and cultures discouraged unity among them. Wars fought between ethnic groups over land, water, and trade rights also prevented a unified stand. Europeans soon learned to play rival groups against each other.

**The Division of Africa**

The scramble for African territory had begun in earnest about 1880. At that time, the French began to expand from the West African coast toward western Sudan. The discoveries of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1886 in South Africa increased European interest in colonizing the continent. No European power wanted to be left out of the race.
Berlin Conference Divides Africa   The competition was so fierce that European countries feared war among themselves. To prevent conflict, 14 European nations met at the Berlin Conference in 1884–85 to lay down rules for the division of Africa. They agreed that any European country could claim land in Africa by notifying other nations of its claims and showing it could control the area. The European nations divided the continent with little thought about how African ethnic or linguistic groups were distributed. No African ruler was invited to attend these meetings, yet the conference sealed Africa’s fate. By 1914, only Liberia and Ethiopia remained free from European control.

Demand for Raw Materials Shapes Colonies  When European countries began colonizing, many believed that Africans would soon be buying European goods in great quantities. They were wrong; few Africans bought European goods. However, European businesses still needed raw materials from Africa. The major source of great wealth in Africa proved to be the continent’s rich mineral resources. The Belgian Congo contained untold wealth in copper and tin. Even these riches seemed small compared with the gold and diamonds in South Africa.

Businesses eventually developed cash-crop plantations to grow peanuts, palm oil, cocoa, and rubber. These products displaced the food crops grown by farmers to feed their families.

Three Groups Clash over South Africa

South Africa demonstrated the impact that Europeans had on African peoples. The history of South Africa is a history of Africans, Dutch, and British clashing over land and resources. Although the African lands seemed empty to the Europeans, various ethnic groups had competing claims over huge areas. The local control of these lands, especially in the east, had been in dispute for about 100 years.

Zulus Fight the British  From the late 1700s to the late 1800s, a series of local wars shook southern Africa. Around 1816, a Zulu chief, Shaka, used highly disciplined warriors and good military organization to create a large centralized state.

Shaka’s successors, however, were unable to keep the kingdom together against the superior arms of the British invaders. In 1879, after Zulu king Cetshwayo refused to dismiss his army and accept British rule, the British invaded the Zulu nation. Although the Zulus used spears and shields against British guns, they nearly defeated the great European army. In July 1879, however, the Zulus lost the Battle of Ulundi and their kingdom. The Zulu nation fell to British control in 1887.

Boers and British Settle in the Cape  The first Europeans to settle in South Africa had been the Dutch. The Dutch came to the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 to establish a way station for their ships sailing between the Dutch East Indies and the Netherlands. Dutch settlers known as Boers (Dutch for “farmers”) gradually took Africans’ land and established large farms. (The Boers are also known as Afrikaners.) When the British took over the Cape Colony permanently in the early 1800s, they and the Boers clashed over British policy regarding land and slaves.
In the 1830s, to escape the British, several thousand Boers began to move north. This movement has become known as the Great Trek. The Boers soon found themselves fighting fiercely with Zulu and other African groups whose land they were taking.

**The Boer War** Diamonds and gold were discovered in southern Africa in the 1860s and 1880s. Suddenly, adventurers from all parts of the world rushed in to make their fortunes. The Boers tried to keep these “outsiders” from gaining political rights. An attempt to start a rebellion against the Boers failed. The Boers blamed the British and, in 1899, took up arms against them.

In many ways, the **Boer War** (also known as the South African War) between the British and the Boers was the first modern “total” war. The Boers launched commando raids and used guerrilla tactics against the British. The British countered by burning Boer farms and imprisoning women and children in disease-ridden concentration camps.

Black South Africans were also involved in the war. Some fought; others served as scouts, guards, drivers, and workers. Many black South Africans were captured by the British and placed in concentration camps, where over 14,000 died.

Britain finally won the war. In 1910, the Boer republics were joined into a self-governing Union of South Africa, which was controlled by the British.

The establishing of colonies signaled a change in the way of life of the Africans. The Europeans made efforts to change the political, social, and economic lives of the peoples they conquered. You will learn about these changes in Section 2.

**SECTION ASSESSMENT**

1. **INTERNET ACTIVITY**
   Use the Internet to find out about the population and status of Afrikaners, or Boers, in South Africa today. Present your findings in an oral report.

**INTERNET KEYWORD**
Afrikaners in South Africa

**TERMS & NAMES**

1. For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.
   - imperialism
   - racism
   - Social Darwinism
   - Berlin Conference
   - Shaka
   - Boer
   - Boer War

**USING YOUR NOTES**

2. How did Europeans use Social Darwinism to justify empire building?

**MAIN IDEAS**

3. Why did the Europeans control such a small portion of Africa in the 1800s?
4. What were some of the internal factors that contributed to imperialism in Africa?
5. Why did the Boers and the British fight over southern Africa?

**CRITICAL THINKING & WRITING**

6. **MAKING INFERENCES**
   What can you infer about the Europeans’ attitude toward Africans from the Berlin Conference?
7. **FORMING OPINIONS**
   Why do you think Africans weren’t interested in buying European products?
8. **DEVELOPING HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**
   What sort of problems might result from combining or splitting groups of people without regard for ethnic or linguistic traditions?
9. **WRITING ACTIVITY**
   Write an expository essay explaining which European motive behind imperialism in Africa was the most powerful.
Imperialism

Case Study: Nigeria

MAIN IDEA

POWER AND AUTHORITY
Europeans embarked on a new phase of empire building that affected both Africa and the rest of the world.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW
Many former colonies have political problems that are the result of colonial rule.

TERMS & NAMES
• paternalism
• assimilation
• Menelik II

SETTING THE STAGE
The Berlin Conference of 1884–85 was a European conference. And, although black South Africans participated in it, the Boer War was largely a European war. Europeans argued and fought among themselves over the lands of Africa. In carving up the continent, the European countries paid little or no attention to historical political divisions or to the many ethnic and language groupings in Africa. Uppermost in the minds of the Europeans was the ability to control Africa’s land, its people, and its resources.

A New Period of Imperialism
The imperialism of the 18th and 19th centuries was conducted differently from the explorations of the 15th and 16th centuries. In the earlier period, imperial powers often did not penetrate far into the conquered areas in Asia and Africa. Nor did they always have a substantial influence on the lives of the people. During this new period of imperialism, the Europeans demanded more influence over the economic, political, and social lives of the people. They were determined to shape the economies of the lands to benefit European economies. They also wanted the people to adopt European customs.

Forms of Control
Each European nation had certain policies and goals for establishing colonies. To establish control of an area, Europeans used different techniques. Over time, four forms of colonial control emerged: colony, protectorate, sphere of influence, and economic imperialism. These terms are defined and discussed in the chart on page 346. In practice, gaining control of an area might involve the use of several of these forms.

Methods of Management
European rulers also developed methods of day-to-day management of the colony. Two basic methods emerged. Britain and other nations—such as the United States in its Pacific Island colonies—preferred indirect control. France and most other European nations wielded more direct control. Later, when colonies gained independence, the management method used had an influence on the type of government chosen in the new nation.

Indirect Control
Indirect control relied on existing political rulers. In some areas, the British asked a local ruler to accept British authority to rule. These local officials handled much of the daily management of the colony. In addition,
each colony had a legislative council that included colonial officials as well as local merchants and professionals nominated by the colonial governor. The assumption was that the councils would train local leaders in the British method of government and that a time would come when the local population would govern itself. This had happened earlier in the British colonies of Australia and Canada. In the 1890s, the United States began to colonize. It chose the indirect method of control for the Philippines.

**Direct Control** The French and other European powers preferred more direct control of their colonies. They viewed the Africans as unable to handle the complex business of running a country. Based on this attitude, the Europeans developed a policy called *paternalism*. Using that policy, Europeans governed people in a parental way by providing for their needs but not giving them rights. To accomplish this, the Europeans brought in their own bureaucrats and did not train local people in European methods of governing.

The French also supported a policy of *assimilation*. That policy was based on the idea that in time, the local populations would adopt French culture and become like the French. To aid in the transition, all local schools, courts, and businesses were patterned after French institutions. In practice, the French abandoned the ideal of assimilation for all but a few places and settled for a policy of “association,” which was similar to indirect control. They recognized African institutions and culture but regarded them as inferior to French culture.

**CASE STUDY: Nigeria**

**A British Colony**

A close look at Britain’s rule of Nigeria illustrates the forms of imperialism used by European powers to gain control of an area. It also shows management methods used to continue the control of the economic and political life of the area.

**Gaining Control** Britain gained control of southern Nigeria through both diplomatic and military means. Some local rulers agreed to sign treaties of protection with Britain and accepted British residents. However, others opposed the foreign intervention and rebelled against it. The British used force to put down and defeat these rebellions.

British conquest of northern Nigeria was accomplished by the Royal Niger Company. The company gained control of the palm-oil trade along the Niger River after the Berlin Conference gave Britain a protectorate over the Niger River delta. In 1914, the British claimed the entire area of Nigeria as a colony.
Managing the Colony  In this new age of imperialism, it was necessary not only to claim a territory but also to govern the people living there. However, managing Nigeria would not prove to be easy. It was one of the most culturally diverse areas in Africa.

About 250 different ethnic groups lived there. The three largest groups were the Hausa-Fulani in the north, the Yoruba in the southwest, and the Igbo in the southeast. These groups were different from one another in many ways, including language, culture, and religion. The Hausa-Fulani people were Muslim and had a strong central government. The Igbo and Yoruba peoples followed traditional religions and relied on local chiefs for control.

Britain did not have enough troops to govern such a complex area. As a result, the British turned to indirect rule of the land. Ruling indirectly through local officials worked well with the Hausa-Fulani. However, this management method did not work as well with the Igbo and Yoruba peoples. Their local chiefs resented having their power limited by the British.

African Resistance

As in Nigeria, Africans across the continent resisted European attempts to colonize their lands. However, the contest between African states and European powers was never equal because of the Europeans’ superior arms. Africans resisted the Europeans with whatever forces they could raise and often surprised the Europeans with their military ability. With the single exception of Ethiopia, though, all these attempts at resistance ultimately failed. Edward Morel, a British journalist who lived for a time in the Congo, made an observation about the Africans’ dilemma:

PRIMARY SOURCE
Nor is violent physical opposition to abuse and injustice henceforth possible for the African in any part of Africa. His chances of effective resistance have been steadily dwindling with the increasing perfectibility in the killing power of modern armament.

Thus the African is really helpless against the material gods of the white man, as embodied in the trinity of imperialism, capitalistic exploitation, and militarism.

EDWARD MOREL, The Black Man’s Burden

Unsuccessful Movements The unsuccessful resistance attempts included active military resistance and resistance through religious movements. Algeria’s almost 50-year resistance to French rule was one outstanding example of active resistance. The resistance movement led by Samori Touré in West Africa against the French is another example. After modernizing his army, Touré fought the French for 16 years.

Africans in German East Africa put their faith in a spiritual defense. African villagers resisted the Germans’ insistence that they plant cotton, a cash crop for export, rather than attend to their own food crops. In 1905, the belief suddenly arose that a magic water (maji-maji) sprinkled on their bodies would turn the Germans’ bullets into water. The uprising became known as the Maji Maji rebellion. Over 20 different ethnic groups united to fight for their freedom. The fighters believed that their war had been ordained by God and that their ancestors would return to life and assist their struggle.
However, when resistance fighters armed with spears and protected by the magic water attacked a German machine-gun post, they were mowed down by the thousands. Officially, Germans recorded 75,000 resisters dead. But more than twice that number perished in the famine that followed. The Germans were shaken by the rebellion and its outcome. As a result, they made some government reforms in an effort to make colonialism more acceptable to the Africans.

**Ethiopia: A Successful Resistance** Ethiopia was the only African nation that successfully resisted the Europeans. Its victory was due to one man—Menelik II. He became emperor of Ethiopia in 1889. He successfully played Italians, French, and British against each other, all of whom were striving to bring Ethiopia into their spheres of influence. In the meantime, he built up a large arsenal of modern weapons purchased from France and Russia. In 1889, shortly after Menelik had signed a treaty with Italy, he discovered differences between the wording of the treaty in the Ethiopian language and in Italian. Menelik believed he was giving up a tiny portion of Ethiopia. However, the Italians claimed all of Ethiopia as a protectorate. Meanwhile, Italian forces were advancing into northern Ethiopia. Menelik declared war. In 1896, in one of the greatest battles in the history of Africa—the Battle of Adowa—Ethiopian forces successfully defeated the Italians and kept their nation independent. After the battle, Menelik continued to stockpile rifles and other modern weapons in case another foreign power challenged Ethiopia’s liberty.
Chapter 11

The Legacy of Colonial Rule

European colonial rule forever altered Africans’ lives. In some cases, the Europeans brought benefits, but for the most part, the effects were negative.

**Negative Effects** On the negative side, Africans lost control of their land and their independence. Many died of new diseases such as smallpox. They also lost thousands of their people in resisting the Europeans. Famines resulted from the change to cash crops in place of subsistence agriculture.

Africans also suffered from a breakdown of their traditional cultures. Traditional authority figures were replaced. Homes and property were transferred with little regard to their importance to the people. Men were forced to leave villages to find ways to support themselves and their families. Contempt for the traditional culture and admiration of European life undermined stable societies and caused identity problems for Africans.

The most harmful political legacy from the colonial period was the division of the African continent. Long-term rival chiefdoms were sometimes united, while at other times, kinship groups were split between colonies. The artificial boundaries combined or unnaturally divided groups, creating problems that plagued African colonies during European occupation. These boundaries continue to create problems for the nations that evolved from the former colonies.

**Positive Effects** On the positive side, colonialism reduced local warfare. Humanitarian efforts in some colonies improved sanitation and provided hospitals and schools. As a result, lifespans increased and literacy rates improved. Also positive was the economic expansion. African products came to be valued on the international market. To aid the economic growth, railroads, dams, and telephone and telegraph lines were built in African colonies. But for the most part, these benefited only European business interests, not Africans’ lives.

The patterns of behavior of imperialist powers were similar, no matter where their colonies were located. Dealing with local traditions and peoples continued to cause problems in other areas of the world dominated by Europeans. Resistance to the European imperialists also continued, as you will see in Section 3.

**TERMS & NAMES**

1. paternalism
2. assimilation
3. Menelik II

**USING YOUR NOTES**

2. Do you think the positive effects of imperialism outweighed the negative impact? Why or why not?

**MAIN IDEAS**

3. What idea is the policy of assimilation based on?
4. Why were African resistance movements usually unsuccessful?
5. How did colonial rule cause a breakdown in traditional African culture?

**CRITICAL THINKING & WRITING**

6. **FORMING OPINIONS** Do you think Europeans could have conquered Africa if the Industrial Revolution had never occurred? Explain your answer.
7. **COMPARING** How was the policy of paternalism like Social Darwinism?
8. **ANALYZING CAUSES** Why would the French and Russians sell arms to Ethiopia?
9. **WRITING ACTIVITY** Write a speech that you might deliver to colonial rulers, expressing your views on European imperialism in Africa.

**CONNECT TO TODAY**

Creating a Poster

After gaining its independence from Portugal in 1975, Angola was plagued by civil war for 27 years. Research to learn what role the legacy of colonialism played in Angola’s conflict. Summarize your findings on a poster using text, pictures, maps, and charts.

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