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Robert G. Gregory
Syracuse University

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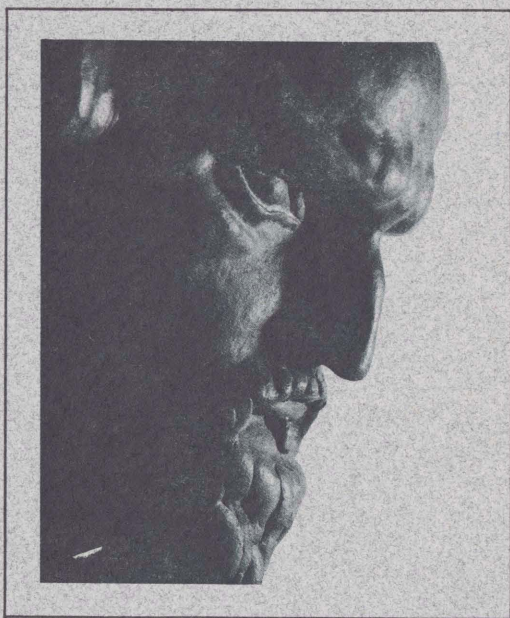
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The Development of the Eastern Africa Collection at Syracuse University

BY ROBERT G. GREGORY

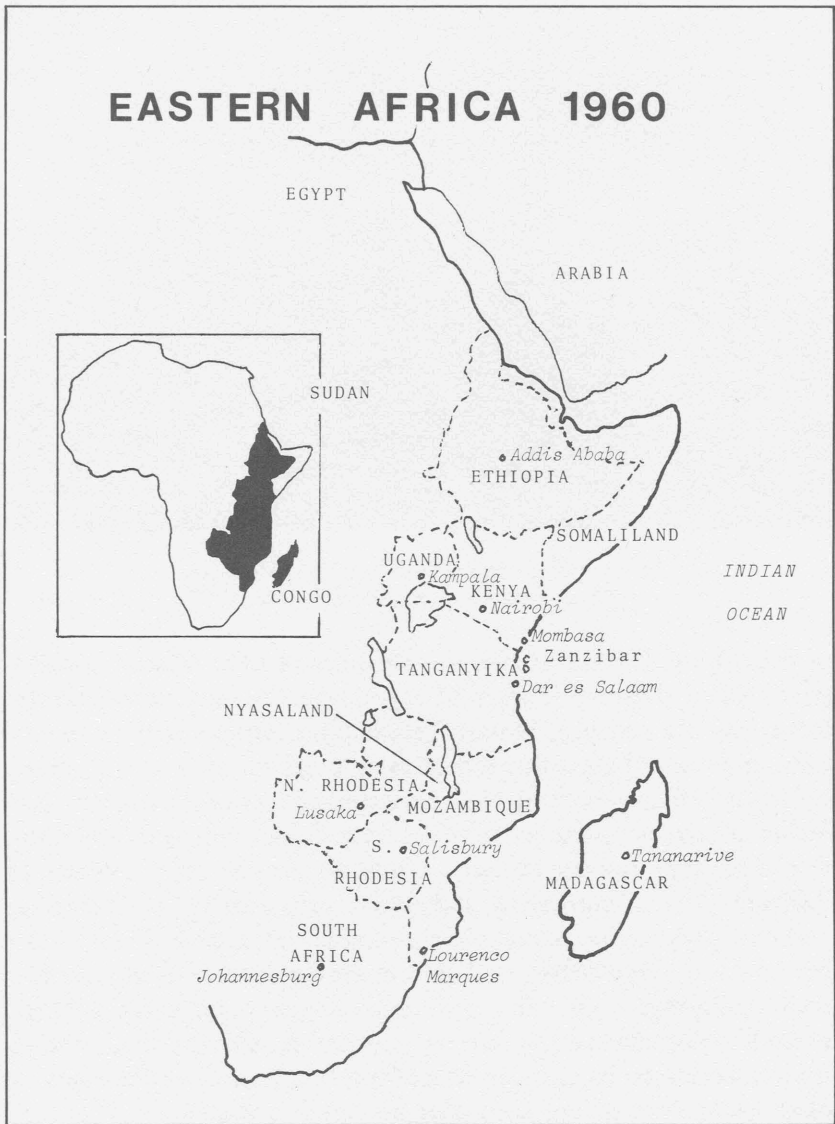
With the inauguration of an African studies program in 1962, Syracuse University began the development of a unique collection of records relating to the eastern side of Africa. The most important part of the collection, the core, is related to Kenya, but there are also valuable records on the other countries of eastern Africa, nine in all, extending from Ethiopia to South Africa. Most of the items in this collection are on microfilm—an extraordinary holding of nearly four thousand reels of official and private records—but there is also much of value in supplementary books, periodicals, and documents in their original form. The acquisition of this collection required an unusual degree of cooperation not only between the faculty and administration at Syracuse, but also between the University, on the one hand, and the government ministers, archival and university personnel, and communal leaders in Africa on the other. Coordination, also, was essential with certain organizations in the United States such as the African Studies Association, the Center for Research Libraries, the National Science Foundation, and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

It was the University's Program of Eastern African Studies that initiated the collection. Formed in 1962 by two remarkable political scientists, Fred G. Burke and Eduardo Mondlane, the program differed from all other African studies centers in its concentration on eastern Africa. The centers that preceded the one at Syracuse—those at Northwestern, Boston University, Indiana, Stanford, and UCLA—professed to embrace Africa as a whole but, for practical reasons, concentrated on West Africa and, to some degree, on South Africa. West Africa was the home of American blacks. It was the area closest to the United States and the first in which independence was achieved. South Africa, too, with its intense racial conflict and rich resources, was of prominent interest. North Africa, which also attracted much attention, was

being claimed as an area study by the new programs of Middle Eastern studies. Syracuse University, to make a serious contribution and achieve excellence with limited resources, decided to concentrate on the fourth area, the neglected eastern side of Africa. The new Program would complement the University's already flourishing South Asian Studies Program, for the eastern side of Africa had a sizeable Indian immigrant population.

Although it had not received the attention of other parts of the continent, eastern Africa was a fertile subject for study. In 1962 British East Africa, comprised of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Zanzibar, was just receiving its independence. British Central Africa was divided into three territories, two of which—Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland—were being groomed for independence like those in East Africa, whereas the third, Southern Rhodesia, was enduring a period of great internal tension. There, the white colonists were staunchly opposing the transfer of power. They threatened to rise in revolt, take over the country themselves, sever ties with Britain, and run the country with a program of white privilege. Ethiopia, which lay to the north of this British complex and was a strategic military base for the United States, suffered from internal dissension because of the increasing popular agitation against the oppressive regime of Haile Selassie. To the south, Portuguese Mozambique was just beginning to stir with ferment as its peoples organized for the first time a drive for independence against a government that was intent on suppressing all dissent. Offshore, on the impoverished island of Madagascar, the French had followed up their successful and bloody suppression (perhaps 80,000 had died) of a widespread revolt with a surprising grant of autonomy within a French community of nations. All these countries, whether by armed rebellion or by peaceful evolution, were proceeding in the span of a few years, in some instances of only a few months, from colonial subservience to independence. For the peoples of eastern Africa and the old empires, it was a time of great change. For scholars of nearly all disciplines, it was a time of unprecedented opportunity to study and help counsel the forces of liberation, the transfer of power, and the development of new nations.

From the outsider's point of view, the most attractive country was Kenya. Though straddling the equator, it has an equitable climate because of its altitude. Its capital, Nairobi, one of Africa's most modern cities, is situated in the center at an altitude of 5,400 feet and is on



the edge of the fertile, green highlands, one of the garden spots of the world. At the high elevation under the equatorial sun, the sky is a deep blue unlike that ever seen in temperate climates, and flowers sparkle with radiant color. Mombasa, the principal port, is a delightful composite of Indian Ocean peoples and cultures. At the opposite end



An Arab dhow in the "old harbour", Mombasa.
(Photographs and map by the author)

of the colony, Kisumu stands on the shore of Lake Victoria, source of the Nile and the world's second largest lake. On the southern border looms the old volcano, Mount Kilimanjaro, Africa's highest mountain, and toward the west, the country is split from north to south by one of Africa's most striking geographical features, the Great Rift Valley. Kenya is a principal home of Africa's big game and, according to the Leakeys, the site of man's origin. Its peoples are a complex of Africans, Asians, Europeans, and Arabs, each with a distinct culture, and each divided into many ethnic communities. Among the Africans are fourteen major tribes, and among the South Asians at least five major groupings, each with a distinctive language and religion. There are in Kenya hunters and gatherers, pastoralists, agriculturists, artisans, traders, seafarers, bankers, industrialists, scholars, and politicians—a plethora of peoples, cultures, customs, and vocations.

In the 1960s when this country was so rapidly transforming, it offered to the historian unusual opportunities for study. It had been annexed as a dependency to the British Empire as late as 1895 and had then proceeded through a program of fast modernization. In 1962 it was just recovering from one of Africa's most terrifying liberation movements, the Mau Mau revolt. In its history, its peoples, its



Thatch-roofed bandas on the Kenya slope of Mount Kilimanjaro.

geography, and its potential for development, Kenya was extraordinary. The fact that it was to retain after independence a relatively free society, invite outside capital, and welcome scholarly investigation was to enhance its attractiveness to Americans.

With a focus on Kenya, the Syracuse University Program of Eastern African Studies became a center of faculty and student activity. East African specialists, employed by the Maxwell School and the College of Arts and Sciences, took up work in political science, economics, history, geography, anthropology, sociology, psychology, linguistics—and not long after, in architecture, education, library science, and other areas within the University. With the new faculty came a wide assortment of new graduate and undergraduate courses and concentrations leading to the bachelor's, master's, and doctorate degrees, as well as to certificates of specialization. The Program's building on College Place hummed with activity as Americans, Africans, foreign students from everywhere, faculty, and administrators gathered to socialize, argue their theories of development, and practise their Swahili. Guest speakers and advisers from other universities and from Washington, Albany, and African capitals were numerous, their presence attracting the in-

terest of Syracusans, whites as well as blacks. Soon the one building proved inadequate, and two more were added.

While Mondlane left Syracuse to found FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) and to participate in the Mozambique liberation struggle, Burke, as director, organized the Program of Eastern African Studies for a variety of activities. In one building he established a library for a special collection of Africana, and seminar and workshop rooms for the Africa-related training of local social studies teachers. In another he set up a printing press for publication of an East Africa series of monographs and bibliographies. He made the Vincent Apartments complex the center of a national program for the training of Peace Corps volunteers. Also, he arranged for a number of development projects in Africa, the foremost of which were the Tanzania village settlement scheme and the Kenya Institute of Public Administration.

Financial support for the program and its many projects came from a variety of sources. The Ford Foundation, the main contributor, provided an essential underlying grant, which through the ensuing decade totaled about five million dollars. The U.S. Agency for International Development supported the Peace Corps training program, the Tanzania village settlement scheme, and the establishment of the Kenya Institute of Public Administration. The U.S. Office of Education funded NDEA (National Defense Education Act) language and area studies fellowships for graduate students. The New York State Department of Education financed the teacher-training projects and summer workshops for African students. The National Science Foundation supported the library acquisitions. While benefiting immensely from these many awards, Syracuse University in turn gave strong support to the Program and its projects by employing the requisite faculty, providing ample facilities, and arranging for sizeable Africana library resources.

The eastern Africa library collection developed in three ways: (1) through regular and special acquisitions by the Syracuse University Libraries; (2) through development by the special library of the Program of Eastern African Studies; and (3) through microfilming projects initiated and directed by Syracuse faculty.

With the inception of the new African studies organization, the Syracuse University Libraries began a significant program of Africana acquisition. One of the first steps was to establish a special budget for an interdisciplinary African area studies collection. Chiefly because the Carnegie Library building (until 1972, the principal repository) was

plagued with a severe shortage of space, a decision was made not to provide there a separate area for the new Africana purchases, but to treat the collection like other acquisitions and to catalogue and disperse them by disciplines. The Libraries' director, Warren Boes, and his assistant director, Donald Petty, were, however, enthusiastic about the new collection. They generously provided money for the annual purchases of Africana books, periodicals, and documents, and in 1963 they appointed an Africana bibliographer, Edward E. Brown, to order, classify, and supervise. They also took advantage of opportunities to acquire unique collections. In 1966-67, when a Dutch bookseller, Cornelis Drijver, advertised the sale of the library of a former Governor of Angola—some seven thousand volumes of rare books of Africana, mostly in Portuguese—Boes and Petty quickly found the requisite \$80,000. In 1967, when Aidan Southall, Syracuse anthropologist on a research leave in Africa, informed them of the possibility of acquiring a private collection of rare French sources on Madagascar, they at once provided the essential \$30,000.¹

The Syracuse University Libraries' Africana collection was supplemented by the acquisitions of a special Program library that had been recently established by the Program of Eastern African Studies. This library began with only a few reference books. In time, faculty and students returning from Africa added valuable collections of more specialized books as well as government records and private papers. To care for the growing collection and initiate a more thorough acquisition of government publications than was being provided by Carnegie Library, the program appointed as its librarian Marion Macdonald, former head of the African Studies Library at Boston University Library and wife of the Syracuse Africanist historian, Roderick Macdonald. Under her able direction, the program's library acquired from 10,000 to 15,000 government records, pamphlets, and books, some of which duplicated the Africana sources in Carnegie, but most of which constituted a valuable addition. In 1972 when the

1. In one instance the attempt to make such a purchase proved abortive. An Asian leader in Nairobi who had been closely associated with the political ascendancy of Jomo Kenyatta confidentially informed the Syracuse University Library of an extraordinary opportunity to obtain Kenyatta's private papers. Boes at once dispatched Brown to conduct the delicate negotiations in person. After a short time, Brown wired back from Kenya that an agreement had been reached and that he needed \$20,000 in cash for the purchase. Boes sent the \$20,000. But Brown and the money disappeared, and the Kenyatta papers were never received.

main library was moved from the Carnegie building to the new and larger E.S. Bird building, nearly all the smaller collections were moved as well and merged. The Program's Africa collection was understandably among the casualties of this consolidation. In Bird Library, its holdings became a part of the Social Science Subject Division. Marion Macdonald was succeeded by David Easterbrook.

In coordination with the acquisition efforts of the University Libraries, the Syracuse faculty continued to acquire important materials that considerably augmented the Africana collection. Burke very correctly realized that one of the requisites for a flourishing African program was an extensive data resource base. In negotiations with the Kenya government, he noticed that the country had not given much attention to the development of an archives. In Jogoo House, Nairobi, the Kenya National Archives, which had been established shortly after independence, was lacking not only in documents, but also in facilities, equipment, and trained personnel. Burke recognized the potential for a joint project between Syracuse University and the Government of Kenya designed both to improve the Archives and to build a scholarly resource at Syracuse. With Tom Mboya, Kenya's Minister for Economic Planning and Development, Burke and Carol Fisher, Syracuse's Africanist sociologist, reached an agreement for a microfilming project.

The cooperative project, which began in 1964 with a grant from the National Science Foundation, benefited both parties. As part of the grant the Archives received a new Kodak 35 mm. microfilming camera, a film processor, related equipment essential for the microfilming of government records, and a new Ford station wagon for the collection of documents from the central ministries and the provincial and district headquarters. Also, it received subsidies for the employment and training of staff for a permanent microfilming unit. In accordance with the arrangements, the Archives would retain not only all the documents, but also the master negatives for all film produced. Syracuse, as its *quid pro quo*, was to obtain a duplicate negative from which it could produce a positive copy for research purposes at Syracuse. Implicit in the agreement was the idea that a duplicate negative at Syracuse would be a safeguard to Kenya against the destruction of the master negative by some disaster. At a time when many valuable records were being taken secretly from Kenya to build the Africana collections of European and American libraries, the project had a special appeal in that

it was designed to collect, preserve, and duplicate Kenya's records rather than remove them.

The project was consummated as planned. During 1965 with the assistance of Fisher, the Archives collected from the various headquarters an assortment of documents, microfilmed them in Nairobi, and then housed them permanently in the Archives building. At the conclusion of the project in 1966, Syracuse received negative film, totaling 156 reels of the following records: Secretariat circulars (5 reels); provincial and district annual reports (66 reels); handing-over reports (14 reels); political record books (16 reels); miscellaneous correspondence (11 reels); intelligence reports (12 reels); and debates of the Legislative Council and the National Assembly (32 reels).

Except for the debates, which were published, these records are a remarkable set of primary sources. The Secretariat circulars are the directives from the central government sent to the provincial and district officers. The annual reports, written by these officers for the Secretariat, explain the progress of events and the problems of administration, area by area, throughout the colony. The handing-over reports are accounts of particular problems that each departing officer compiled for his successor. The political record books, written by these same officers, are detailed explanations of particular subjects for each area, including African social organization, political structure, laws and customs, genealogies, and history, as well as relations among Africans, Asians, Europeans, and Arabs. The miscellaneous correspondence consists of reports and circulars on a wide variety of subjects—from stock diseases and salt licks to Kikuyu private schools and dwarf elephants. The intelligence reports, usually compiled monthly by military and police personnel as well as provincial and district officers, cover subjects presenting problems for the administration, such as cattle raids, locust plagues, prostitution, forest destruction, labor strikes, and subversive organizations. As a whole the records cover the entire period of the British administration from 1895 to 1963. There was nothing like them in the United States, nor surprisingly even in Britain, since these records had been left in Kenya as the British withdrew. To scholars interested in Africa or development in the Third World generally, the collection was invaluable.

In fact the value of the collection soon generated some resentment against Syracuse by scholars at African studies programs at other institutions. Burke had set up the project without consulting the direc-

tors of these programs. The Archives-Libraries Committee of the African Studies Association had not been consulted either, nor had the associated microfilming agency, the Cooperative Africana Microform Project (CAMP) of the Center for Research Libraries in Chicago. These organizations, which held semiannual meetings attended by Africana bibliographers from many American universities, had been founded on the premise that the acquisition of Africana should be undertaken cooperatively and organized to benefit the American scholarly community as a whole. In the case of Kenya microfilms, Syracuse seemed the sole beneficiary. Although it permitted free access to the records by Syracuse or visiting students and faculty, the University had pledged not to reproduce or sell copies. The only way for scholars away from Syracuse to gain access to the records was by interlibrary loan. Although, after receipt of the first film in 1957, Syracuse started out honoring requests to lend, interlibrary loan proved unsatisfactory to both parties and was soon dropped. It was time-consuming and cumbersome for the borrowing scholar, and a nuisance to Syracuse, which not only had its own scholarly potential impaired when the records were away, but also lost the control which it had contracted to exercise over them.

There was at the same time resentment in Africa. The University of Nairobi, which in many ways was a rival to the Kenya National Archives in the collection of records, had not been consulted. Also, some of the Kenya faculty believed that a country's archival records were a natural resource like gold or silver and that a country was weakened to the degree that it lost control of its archives. Syracuse, they charged, was guilty of a neocolonialist exploitation. Other Kenya faculty members, who valued free access to records by the international community of scholars, were disturbed by the fact that whereas Kenya, like Britain and many other countries, prohibited access to records that were not more than thirty years old, Syracuse was imposing no restrictions.

While still not fully aware of this protest in the United States and Africa, Syracuse University, on Fisher's initiative, began a new phase of the microfilming with another grant from the National Science Foundation. During 1967 and 1968 the Kenya National Archives microfilmed the *East African Standard*, Kenya's oldest and most informative newspaper from 1904 to 1968. By then, there was a decision

in Kenya not to duplicate any more negative film, with the result that Syracuse received a positive copy of the 279 reels.²

During 1968-69 the microfilming entered a third phase. In the Program of Eastern African Studies many changes had taken place. Burke had left to assume the direction of international studies at SUNY, Buffalo; and in June 1967 a tragic accident had claimed the lives of both Carol Fisher, the Program's sociologist, and Karen Bouet, who had succeeded Brown as the Program's bibliographer. It was at that point that I came to Syracuse University as a newly-hired Africanist historian who had not been a party to the previous projects. In consultations with the graduate administrator, James Harrison, and the University's Vice-Chancellor, Frank Piskor, it was decided that a microfilming team, consisting of myself and a senior graduate student,³ would spend a year in Kenya. While working half-time on the project and half-time on our own research and writing, we two would supervise continuing work by the Archives and, at the same time, employ our new camera in additional microfilming. The entire expenditure would be borne by the University on the assumption that such a demonstration of interest would lead to further financing by the National Science Foundation. On the basis of previous negotiations with the Archives-Libraries Committee and CAMP, it was arranged that CAMP as well as Syracuse would receive a duplicate copy of all that was microfilmed and distribute it, on request, through interlibrary loan. Syracuse would thus be acting on behalf of the American community of Africanists.

The project was carried out more or less as planned. Spencer and I spent the year 1968-69 in Kenya. While the Archives staff in the microfilming room on the first floor of Jogoo House completed the filming of the *East African Standard*, we set up the University's portable Dietzgen camera in the basement and began to photograph the daily correspondence of the provincial and district officers. These

2. Although it is the only extensive microfilm of this important newspaper and is extremely valuable, the set is flawed in that about half the reels, because of a misconception by the microfilmer, have the alternate pages photographed upside down. It was evident that any future microfilming would need a closer supervision from Syracuse.

3. The student for this year was Leon P. Spencer. Subsequent students who worked on the project in Africa were: Robert Greenstein, David Wilkin, Fred Morton, Ted Thompson, Peter Dalleo, Theodore Natsoulas, and Cyril Hromník. Those who assisted in the compilation of indexes at Syracuse were: Harvey Soff, Robert Maxon, David Leigh, Cynthia Crosby, Kenneth Lohrentz, Alan Solomon, David Easterbrook, Thomas Taylor, and Richard Lewis. Spencer also participated in the indexing.



One of the more exciting moments on the microfilming project:
the Gregory family and an African friend on the run.

records, taken from manila folders in the officers' filing cabinets, consisted of the incoming and outgoing correspondence and the officers' notations. Constituting the information from which the annual and handing-over reports were compiled, they were in effect the "grass roots" of the written sources and hence the most valuable of all. At midyear, because of difficulties,⁴ we were obliged to move the University's camera to a private office in another part of Nairobi where we photographed a variety of non-government records—newspapers, periodicals, rare books, and the papers of private organizations and individuals. Not surprisingly, more than two hundred reels were produced that year by the Syracuse camera alone. Meanwhile, the Archives staff had begun to film the daily correspondence.

A fourth phase of the microfilming began in 1970 with a five-year grant from the National Science Foundation. The plan for the project was to continue in Kenya for another two years and then move to another country in eastern Africa. In Kenya the National Archives

4. A bad moment occurred for us in December when Kenya's Vice-President, Daniel Arap Moi, paid a surprise visit to the Archives. He was astounded to see in the depths of the Archives a floodlit microfilm table, a clicking camera, and two Americans shuffling the government's documents. Nothing could have looked more sinister and, of course, we were soon ordered out.

microfilming facility would complete the extensive task of photographing the daily correspondence. During the two years a Syracuse team, consisting of two doctoral students with special training in microfilming, would assist the Archives in the collection and organization of documents, supervise the Archives' microfilming, and, at the same time, using the University's portable camera, continue the work with private records outside the Archives. Meanwhile, as director of the project, I would investigate the feasibility of undertaking microfilming in another country and would spend the third year in Africa to wind up the work in Kenya and transfer the project to the new theater. A Kodak stationary-type camera would be purchased for use in the second country. As in the preceding phase, the project was to be conducted in consultation with the Archives-Libraries Committee and CAMP. The Kenya National Archives again was to retain all the negatives relating to Kenya and to enjoy an exclusive right to the reproduction and sale of positives; and CAMP, as well as Syracuse, was to receive a positive set of all reels produced. Before proceeding to Africa, all those involved with the photography, including myself, were to undertake a program of special training at the Photoduplication Department in the Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, where most of the original filming for CAMP was completed.

Unlike preceding phases, this five-year project was to include the preparation of indexes. After receipt of the first 152 reels, Syracuse University had been given a special National Science Foundation award for the production of an index, for which there had been no provision within the microfilming projects. The new project provided for the employment each year at Syracuse of two graduate assistants who, under my supervision, would compile indexes to all the remaining official and private records with the exception of newspapers. The indexes were to be published as part of the East African series of occasional bibliographies issued by the Program of Eastern African Studies.

Though modified in some ways, the fourth phase proceeded satisfactorily. For two and one-half years the Kenya National Archives microfilmed the official daily correspondence while the University team concentrated on a variety of private records. During that time the Archives cameras produced nearly one thousand new reels, and the Syracuse camera approximately three hundred. In the summer of 1971, in order to ascertain the most promising location for a new project, I visited five African countries—Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia (formerly

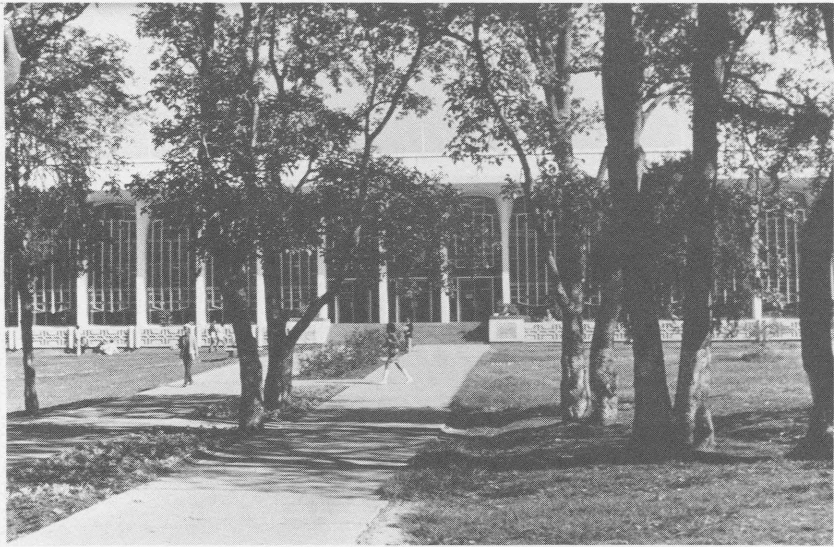
Northern Rhodesia), Malawi (formerly Nyasaland), and Ethiopia—as well as Kenya. In consultation with the Archives-Libraries Committee, CAMP, and the National Science Foundation, it was decided that Uganda had the greatest need and offered the best opportunity. Further negotiation with the Ugandan officials led to a formal invitation from their government to begin a joint microfilming project similar to that in Kenya. In 1972 I flew to Kenya with my family to take charge of the transfer. There, I exchanged the Program's Peugeot 404 for an old Land Rover, which we packed with microfilming equipment. We were about to drive into Uganda when Kenya called a halt to all border exchange in an effort to cut off the multitudes of Ugandan refugees who were fleeing the oppressive regime of Uganda's new President, Idi Amin. Increasing troubles in Uganda soon prompted our search for an alternative microfilming arrangement.

Ethiopia was the logical choice. Like Kenya the country was a composite of different peoples and cultures. It also had a long and interesting history. The ruling dynasty, headed by Haile Selassie, traced its origins through two millennia to Solomon and Sheba; and the Ethiopian Church, which descended directly from the Christian church in ancient Alexandria, had records centuries old. In talks with government and university personnel, I discovered that another American team, representing the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library at St. John's University in Minnesota, was already microfilming the church records. There was a pressing need, however, for the organization and preservation of the government records, as well as newspapers and periodicals. The country had never established a national archives, and the official records were still scattered through the central ministries and the many provincial and district headquarters. An agreement was reached whereby a Syracuse team would join a microfilm unit then being established in the Kennedy Memorial Library of Haile Selassie I University's Institute of Ethiopian Studies.

In early 1973 I closed the operation in Kenya and transferred the equipment, driving six days over the dirt roads, trails, and paths, from Nairobi to Addis Ababa. In Addis the Syracuse Dietzgen camera was placed beside a new Fuji camera which had recently been purchased by the HSIU Library. Two Ethiopian assistants were employed, and the microfilming began. Addis, unlike Nairobi, however, had no microfilm distributor, and HSIU, unlike the Kenya National Archives, had no film processor. Film had to be flown in from Nairobi or Beirut,



A traditional Amhara house, Addis Ababa.



The Kennedy Memorial Library of Haile Selassie I University,
now University of Addis Ababa.

and on one occasion from Syracuse; and the negatives had to be developed in the inadequate facilities of the Natural History Museum. Before HSIU acquired the necessary equipment, the negatives had to be flown to Chicago for the printing of positives by CAMP. All supplies were delayed at customs. Moreover, the Ethiopian government during the time of the project became increasingly sensitive to criticism and reluctant to permit access to its records. Contrary to expectations, the microfilming team had to concentrate exclusively on newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, rare books, and the papers of private organizations. Only a few months after the termination of the project, the coup that overthrew Haile Selassie brought many revolutionary changes—including a temporary closing of HSIU, a sweeping change in university personnel, and the severance of all ties to the United States. Syracuse eventually received only 256 reels of microfilm from Ethiopia, about half of the total produced there under the project. In comparison with the achievements in Kenya and the possibilities that were conceivable in Ethiopia, our new microfilming project proved disappointing.

Despite such difficulties, Syracuse University benefited far more than CAMP under this fourth phase of the microfilming. The Kenya Archives team, during my absence in Ethiopia, had shot much more film than we had expected. Because of the limited funds of the grant, however, we were restricted in the quantity of film we could purchase. Whether to continue to make two positives of all the negatives, one for Syracuse and one for CAMP, or to make only one copy, for either Syracuse or CAMP, and, with the saving of money, purchase a far greater number of records was the question. Syracuse posed this question to the Archives-Libraries Committee and CAMP, and both decided that obtaining a single copy of the largest quantity of records would best serve the scholarly interests of North America. They also generously recommended that the single set of records be housed at Syracuse University. As a result, CAMP received copies of the very valuable Kenya daily correspondence for only Nyanza and Coast Provinces, two of the five provinces covered, and it failed to obtain copies of all the Kenya private records. It acquired none of the Ethiopian microfilms.

The microfilming terminated in 1975 with the conclusion of the fourth phase. The coup in Ethiopia and the ensuing hostility toward the United States have destroyed the hope of any future projects there. In Uganda, Idi Amin's regime and the instability of Milton Obote's succeeding government have imposed too many hazards and uncer-



A hand-pulled ferry preparing to carry a car across the Tana River along Kenya's coastal highway.

tainties for a project similar to that in Kenya. The other countries of eastern Africa have been generally unreceptive to microfilming overtures, and considerable negotiation, involving visitations from Syracuse, would be necessary for any agreement.

In 1978, however, after visits to Goa, a graduate student, Cyril Hromník, and I did succeed in securing a grant of \$150,000 from the National Endowment for the Humanities for a three-year cooperative project in microfilming the Goan records relating to eastern Africa. For two centuries Goa had been the administrative center of Portugal's Indian Ocean empire, and the records of that administration would have made a very valuable supplement to the Portuguese and British records on Africa already held by Syracuse. Unfortunately, as the Syracuse team was preparing to leave for Goa, the Goan Archives withdrew from the project, and the venture had to be abandoned. Since then, efforts at Syracuse have been directed toward the preparation of indexes to the microfilms already collected and to research and writing based on those records.

Among the University's microfilm holdings, the Kenya collection is by far the most outstanding. The four phases of microfilming produced 2,065 reels of extraordinary historical records on this country alone. More than half of these are unpublished documents covering

the entire colonial period from 1888 to 1963. Newspapers and periodicals constitute the second largest category, and the rest are a composite of records relating to political and religious leaders, missionary societies, and political, economic, and educational institutions. Most of the records present the history of Kenya through the eyes of the British officials; but there are also a wealth of Asian sources and some important papers of the European settler community. The views of the African community can also be seen in their letters that appear in the daily correspondence and in the minutes and resolutions of their local authorities (Local Native Councils).

During the library administration of Boes' successor, Donald Anthony, and his associate director, Metod Milač, Syracuse University has augmented this collection with purchases of microfilms of the records of the Imperial British East Africa Company (the William Mackinnon papers), which governed the area of the future Kenya from 1888 to 1895, and of the correspondence for the subsequent period between the Governor and the British Secretary of State for the Colonies. The University has also acquired microfilms of the Kenya government's *Official Gazette* and the annual published reports of the colony as well as the many departments and ministries in the central government. The microfilms of Kenya, totaling approximately three thousand reels, thus present a full picture of the administration of Kenya from the inception of the British rule in 1888 to its termination in 1963, from the highest level of authority at the Colonial Office in London to the lowest in the rural district offices of the colony. When supplemented by at least two thousand books, periodicals, and government reports, the collection presents the most detailed account of a developing country found anywhere in the world.

The magnitude of the information in this collection is evident in the fact that each reel of microfilm includes approximately 1,400 frames; and whereas each frame for the Kodak camera is equivalent to a page of a newspaper or book, the frame for the Dietzgen camera, which photographs its whole table with a fixed focus, can include as many as twelve different documents. On the three thousand reels are photographs of from eight to ten million sheets of paper.

The most valuable component of the Kenya collection apart from the government records consists of 175 microfilm reels of the political, economic, and social records of the Asian community. Throughout



The Hindu Temple, Mombasa.

the colonial period the Indian and Pakistani migrants from South Asia consistently outnumbered the Europeans in Kenya about three to one. While the Europeans were the administrators and planters, representing in the main a landed aristocracy, the Asians were the merchants, artisans, and moneylenders—in short, a middle class of businessmen. They established their own chambers of commerce and industry, political associations, and social organizations and published their own newspapers. A composite of many peoples—principally Hindus, Muslims, Jains, Sikhs, and Goans—they constituted a culture in Kenya far different from that of the Africans, Europeans, and Arabs. Their records present not only the multifaceted history of their own community, but also insights into the other cultures quite unlike those found in the British sources. Fortunately for Syracuse, the Asians, unlike most of the Europeans, readily opened their records for microfilming. During 1972-73 they also subsidized the collection of their oral history by funding three Syracuse graduate students (Martha Honey, Dana Seidenberg, and Charles Bennett) for a year's field research in East Africa and sending me to India to interview in the villages of the Gujarat, from where most of the Indians had emigrated. The Syracuse group held personal, in-depth interviews with nearly three hundred influential Asians in Kenya, Tanzania (including Zanzibar), and western India. These interviews, the recordings of which are in my possession and will be donated to Syracuse, augment the value of the microfilms. Like the government records, these Asian sources as a whole represent a unique and very valuable collection. In revealing an important phase of the South Asian diaspora, they have no equal.

The following list, showing both the administrative and Asian records, indicates the strength of the Kenya collection:

KENYA MICROFILMS

Administrative Records	Reels
East Africa Commission	
<i>Official Gazette</i> , 1957-61	2
<i>Quarterly Economic & Statistical Bulletin</i> , 1948-61	3

Great Britain	
<i>Annual Report on Kenya, 1904-38</i>	1
<i>Joint Select Committee on Closer Union in East Africa, Report, 1931</i>	1
Original correspondence, 1905-38	581
Kenya	
Annual & quarterly reports, provinces & districts	66
<i>Blue Books</i> (annual reports on the colony)	15
Catalogs of records of the central government	3
Catalog of the Kenya National Archives	2
Daily correspondence	
Central Province	71
Coast Province	360
Northeastern Province	46
Nyanza Province	419
Rift Valley Province	61
Dept. of Agriculture, annual reports	8
Handing-over reports	14
Intelligence reports	12
<i>Labour Commission of 1912-13, Report</i>	1
Land Commission of 1933, unpublished papers	15
<i>Legislative Council Debates</i>	33
Local authority records	102
Memoranda on indigenous tribes & customs	2
Miscellaneous correspondence, provinces & districts	11
Political record books	16
Registry of trade unions	3
Secretariat circulars	5
Imperial British East Africa Company	
William Mackinnon papers	16
Asian community (records of organizations)	
Central Chambers of Commerce	6
East Africa Indian National Congress, & Nairobi Indian Association	39
Indian Association	
Kisumu	4

Mombasa	15
Nakuru	6
Indian Merchants' Chamber, Mombasa	3
Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce of Eastern Africa	3
Private records other than Asian	
Capricorn Society, 1952-59	2
East African Swahili Committee, c.1950-70	3
Friends' Africa Industrial Mission, 1902-63	11
Mazeras/Ribe Methodist Mission, 1896-1938	1
Mombasa Social Survey by Gordon Wilson, 1958	1
Rev. H. K. Binns. Journals & photo albums, 1878-1900	2
Newspapers	
<i>Advertiser of East Africa</i> , Nairobi, 1907-09	1
<i>Al-Islah</i> (Swahili & Arabic), Mombasa, 1932-33	1
<i>Baraza</i> (Swahili), Nairobi, 1966-69	2
<i>Comment</i> , Nairobi, 1949-59	14
<i>Daily Chronicle</i> (Gujarati & English), Nairobi, 1952-59	16
<i>East African Standard</i> , Nairobi, 1904-68	279
<i>Globetrotter</i> , Nairobi, 1907	1
<i>Habari</i> (Swahili & English), Nairobi, 1924-31	2
<i>Kenya Daily Mail</i> (Gujarati & English), Mombasa, 1927-64	69
<i>Kenya Observer</i> , Mombasa, 1923	3
<i>Kenya Weekly News</i> , Nakuru, 1928-69	80
<i>Leader of British East Africa</i> , Nairobi, 1908-22	13
<i>Nairobi News</i> , Nairobi, 1905	1
<i>Nyanza Times</i> , Kisumu & Nairobi, 1960-64	1
Periodicals	
<i>Agricultural Journal of East Africa</i> , 1908-13	2
Church Missionary Society. <i>Proceedings . . . for Africa & the East</i> , 1801-1920	40
<i>Review</i> , 1840-1927	38
East Africa Natural History Museum. <i>Journal</i> , 1919-66	6
<i>East African Tatler & Free Lance</i> , 1914	2
<i>Kenya & Uganda Critic</i> , 1922-23	2
<i>Kenya Church Review</i> , 1943-51	3

<i>Outlaw, The</i> , 1922	2
<i>Swahili</i> , 1952-68	3
<i>Taveta Chronicles</i> , 1895-1901	1
<i>Voice of Kenya</i>	2

Rare books and pamphlets in English, French, German (134 items)	26
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The Kenya microfilms at Syracuse are supplemented by similar, though less extensive, microfilm holdings on other countries of eastern Africa which formerly were dependencies within the British Empire. These other records consist primarily of the following:

MICROFILMS ON OTHER BRITISH TERRITORIES

	<i>Reels</i>
Tanganyika (now the main part of Tanzania)	
Amani records, 1903-47	7
<i>Blue Books</i> and departmental reports, 1920-61	78
<i>Laws & Statutes</i> , 1957-63	1
Original correspondence, 1916-38	135
Provincial & district annual reports, 1920-38	27
<i>Tanganyika Gazette</i> , 1921-61	24
Uganda	
<i>Annual Report</i> (London), 1904-38	1
Committees on land settlement, reports, 1914-32	1
Imperial British East Africa Co., correspondence, 1892-99	1
<i>Official Gazette</i> , 1959-61	3
Original correspondence, 1905-33	239
Zanzibar (now part of Tanzania)	
<i>Annual Report</i> (London), 1913-38	1
Nyasaland (now Malawi)	
<i>Annual Report</i> (London), 1904-38	1
<i>Blue Books</i> , 1897-1941	10
Dept. of Agriculture, <i>Annual Report</i> , 1910-58	2
<i>Government Gazette</i> , c.1907-39	16

Original correspondence, 1904-38	226
<i>Sessional Papers & Legislative Council Debates</i> , 1907-39	16
<i>Times</i> (Blantyre), 1911-63	54
Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia)	
<i>Annual Reports</i> (London), 1924-38	1
<i>Government Gazette</i> , 1957-61	5
Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe)	
Dept. of Native Affairs, <i>Annual Report</i> , 1959-63	2
<i>Government Gazette</i> , 1957-60	5
South Africa	
<i>Bechuanaland Annual Report</i> (London), 1889-1938	1
<i>Drum</i> (Johannesburg), 1951-57	14
<i>Indian Opinion</i> (Natal), 1903-16	15
<i>Natal Annual Report</i> (London), 1891-92	1
Native Affairs Commission of 1903-05, <i>Report</i>	3
<i>Post</i> (Johannesburg), 1965-69	14
<i>Report on Administration of South West Africa</i> , 1918-38	2
Royal Society of South Africa, <i>Transactions</i> , 1909-63	9
<i>Swaziland Annual Report</i> (London), 1906-38	1
<i>World</i> (Johannesburg), 1965-67	2
<i>Zululand Annual Report</i> (London), 1890-96	1
Other eastern Africa countries	
Mauritius. <i>Annual Report</i> (London), 1889-1938	1
Seychelles. <i>Annual Report</i> (London), 1894-1937	1
Sudan. <i>Sudan Notes & Records</i> (Khartoum), 1918-68	10

Another set of sources held by Syracuse University is the set for German East Africa. The dependency that was transferred to Britain in 1920 as a mandate of the League of Nations and was renamed Tanganyika had for more than two decades been administered by Germany. Though lacking in official records, the microfilms on German East Africa contain many rare books and pamphlets, as well as long runs of German colonial periodicals such as *Der Ostafrikanische Pflanzler* (1 reel), the *Kolonial Monatsblatter* (8 reels), the *Mittheilungen aus den Deutschen Schützgebieten* (11 reels), and the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (19

reels). They also include seven reels on the Amani Institute, the renowned scientific organization in German East Africa that profoundly influenced the country's medical and agricultural development.

These German- and English-language microfilms on eastern Africa, like those on Kenya, are supplemented in the Syracuse University Libraries by an extensive collection of documents, books, pamphlets, periodicals, and newspapers in their original paper form. The Libraries' current Africana bibliographer, Gurnek Singh, estimates that the collection on eastern Africa, exclusive of microfilms, consists of 25,000-28,000 items in a total Africana holding of 33,000-35,000 items.

Because of the University's microfilm projects, it is Ethiopia rather than a former British territory that ranks second to Kenya in the Bird Library. The 257 reels on Ethiopia, which are not held by any other university or by CAMP, provide Syracuse with the richest source of that country's history outside Ethiopia. Although government records are not included, the collection is exceptionally rich, owing to the large quantity of newspapers, periodicals, and rare books which it contains. It includes sources in twelve languages, from ancient Geez, Latin, and Greek to the modern Amharic, Italian, French, and English. Some of the books were written in the eighteenth century. The microfilms also contain twelve reels of the application papers of all students at Haile Selassie I University from its opening in 1961 to 1973. These student papers have detailed information on Ethiopian social and economic conditions during the critical decade preceding the coup. The depth of the collection is evident in the following sample list:

ETHIOPIA MICROFILMS

	<i>Reels</i>
Student records (c.5,000 items), 1961-73	12
Newspapers & periodicals (27 items)	
<i>Addis Soir</i> (French), 1966-68	5
<i>Addis Zemen</i> (Amharic), 1933-65	44
<i>Colonia Eritrea</i> (Italian), nos. 91-106	4
<i>Hebret</i> (Amharic), 1955-65	7
<i>Il Mattino</i> (Italian), 1965-71	2
<i>L'Ethiopie d'Aujourd'hui</i> (French), 1952-65	6
<i>Voice of Ethiopia</i> (English & Amharic), 1955-62	36

Rare books (335 items), pre-1935	48
Demetrio XII (Patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 231). <i>Marha'Ewur. O Guida del Cieco (Bahra Hasab)</i> . (Rome: Accademia Dei Lincei, 1896)	
Hadis Kidan. <i>The New Testament in Geez</i> . (Asmara: Catholic Mission, 1926)	
Hiruyi Wekide Silase (trans.). <i>Ethiopiana Metema, Yeats'e Yohanis Tariki</i> (Ethiopia & Metema, a Short History of A*tse Yohanis). (Addis Ababa: Ethiopia Printing Press, 1910)	
Ludolf, Iyob. <i>Dawit Zewitu, Mets'lhafé Mezimurat ze-Dawi' Nebit we-Nigusé Israel</i> (Psalms of David in Geez). (Frank- furt: n.p., 1973)	

Miscellaneous

Alessandro Triulzi, Wallaga Field Notes, 1972-73	2
British Eritrean Territorial Authority. District Officer's Book, Massawa, 1942-47	1
Capuchin Mission records, Harar	7
David Hamilton, index cards on Ethiopia's boundary agreements	1
Erlich Haggai, "A Political Biography of Ras Alula, 1875-97", Ph.D. thesis in Amharic	1
Ethiopia bibliography	4
Lazarist Mission records, Addis Ababa	1
Sir Alexander Gibbs & Co., project report on the new cotton wealth of the old Afar Sultanate of Aussa	1

The Syracuse University Libraries are also distinguished by the Portuguese Africa (Drijver) and Madagascar collections, both of which are in the form of bound volumes rather than microfilms and housed in the Social Science Division of the Bird Library building. There are sizeable holdings on the former Portuguese and French dependencies at UCLA, the University of Minnesota, and other American universities, but they do not include all the books in the Drijver collection, particularly not those in the Portuguese language on Mozambique and Angola. Though perhaps not the foremost, Syracuse ranks very high among American universities in its collection on Portuguese Africa. The acquisitions on Madagascar, which consist mainly of periodicals,

are less distinctive, but they too provide Syracuse with a very strong resource for this area of eastern Africa.

Through grants from the National Science Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities, a complete set of indexes for the microfilms obtained through phase four on Kenya and the adjacent British territories is nearing completion. In 1969, while the second phase was in progress, a supplemental grant from the National Science Foundation enabled the preparation of an index to the first 152 reels. The resulting volume was compiled by two graduate students under my supervision.

Gregory, Robert G., Robert M. Mazon, and Leon P. Spencer. *A Guide to the Kenya National Archives: to the Microfilms of the Provincial and District Annual Reports, Record Books, and Handing-Over Reports; Miscellaneous Correspondence; and Intelligence Reports.* (Syracuse: S.U. Program of Eastern African Studies, 1968) 452 pp.

Including detailed annotations, separate indexes for subjects and persons, and a valuable description of the organization of the colonial government in Kenya, it took twelve months to complete.

Under the five-year grant of the fourth phase, the compilation of indexes was an intrinsic part of the project. Indexes were to be provided not only for the microfilms acquired under the new grant, but also for those produced during the second phase. To conserve time and money, these indexes were to be paperbound and include a minimum of annotation. Accordingly, during the project, the following indexes were produced and published by the Program of Eastern African Studies:

Soff, Harvey. *Guide to the Coast Province Microfilm Collection, Kenya National Archives, Kenya Seyidie (Coast) Province, Correspondence and Reports, 1891-1962.* 1971. 191 pp.

Leigh, David, and R. F. Morton. *Microfilms related to Eastern Africa, part II (Kenya, Asian, and Miscellaneous): A Guide to Recent Acquisitions of Syracuse University.* 1973. 142 pp.

Solomon, Alan, and C. A. Crosby. *Guide to Nyanza Province Microfilm Collection, Kenya National Archives, part I: section 10B, Correspondence and Reports, 1925-60.* 1974. 137 pp.

- Soloman, Alan. *Guide to Nyanza Province Microfilm Collection, Kenya National Archives, part II: section 10A, Correspondence and Reports, 1899-1942*. 1974. 56 pp.
- Easterbrook, David, Alan Soloman, and Thomas Taylor. *Microfilms relating to Eastern Africa, part III (Kenya and Miscellaneous): A Guide to Recent Acquisitions of Syracuse University*. 1975. 112 pp.
- Solomon, Alan, and Kenneth P. Lohrentz. *Guide to Nyanza Province Microfilm Collection, Kenya National Archives; part III: section 10, Daily Correspondence and Reports, 1930-63, vol. 1*. 1975. 258 pp.
- Lohrentz, Kenneth P., and Alan Soloman. *Guide to Nyanza Province Microfilm Collection, Kenya National Archives; part III, section 10, Daily Correspondence and Reports, 1930-63, vol. 2*. 1975. 254 pp.

In 1982 a grant was obtained from the National Endowment for the Humanities for indexing two additional collections on Kenya. Because of an oversight the five reels of Secretariat circulars, which had been produced during the first phase, did not reach the University until several years later and were not included in the 1968 guide as intended. Also, after the Syracuse team's move to Ethiopia, the Kenya National Archives produced for Syracuse 331 reels of provincial daily correspondence that had not been contemplated under the five-year project. The following two indexes, issued by the University's Foreign and Comparative Studies Program, complete the indexing of the Kenya microfilms:

- Gregory, Robert G., and Richard E. Lewis. *A Guide to the Secretariat Circulars: Kenya National Archives Microfilm*. 1984. 165 pp.
- Gregory, Robert G., and Richard E. Lewis. *A Guide to Daily Correspondence of the Central, Coast, Rift Valley, and Northeastern Provinces: Kenya National Archives Microfilm*. 1984. 213 pp.

Sensing the need for a more general guide to the University's Africana microfilms as a whole, David Easterbrook, with the assistance of one of the indexers on the project, compiled the following annotated index in 1974. It has been indispensable to research in the microfilms, and there is a pressing need now for it to be brought up to date.



The Tanzania National Archives, Dar es Salaam.

Easterbrook, David L., and Kenneth P. Lohrentz. *Africana Microfilms at the E. S. Bird Library, Syracuse University: An Annotated Guide*. (Syracuse: S.U. Program of Eastern African Studies, 1974) 72 pp.

For various reasons, the University's collection on eastern Africa has not been utilized in proportion to its importance. The indexes have taken time to produce, and there has been little publicity given to the collection as a whole.⁵ Africanists at other universities, and even at Syracuse, are aware of the collection, but still do not realize its extraordinary value. The material, it must be said, is not easily available. By agreement with the Kenya National Archives, Syracuse University is required to obtain a written pledge from everyone permitted access to the microfilms not to publish anything based on them without first obtaining permission from the Kenya government. Syracuse also is required to bar access to any documents less than thirty years old and is prohibited from making copies of the reels. Since the materials no longer circulate through interlibrary loan, a scholar has to come to the Bird Library to use them.

5. For a brief published description of the microfilm collection see: David L. Easterbrook, "Africana at the E. S. Bird Library, Syracuse University", *African Research and Documentation*, No. 13, 1977, pp. 18-21.

Yet the microfilms are being used. They have provided the basis for at least two dozen dissertations by Syracuse graduate students, and perhaps even more at other institutions with African studies programs. Also, they have been the source for many books and articles. They are required reading for research in an undergraduate seminar on Africa (HIS 400), taught regularly by me, and they have been used by a number of undergraduates in independent study. Historians specializing in eastern Africa have come from universities in Africa, Britain, and Canada, as well as the United States to examine the microfilms. Each of three historians from the University of Nairobi remarked, ironically, that it was easier to use sources on Kenya history at Syracuse than it was in their own Archives.

Although there is some sentiment to the contrary, knowledgeable persons in the United States and Africa agree that the microfilming projects have been beneficial to the African countries. The projects tended to deter rather than foster the clandestine migration of original sources outside Africa. Moreover, as the project in Kenya illustrates, they saved a large proportion of the original records from destruction. In some district offices the records were well preserved and maintained, but in many they were sorely neglected—thrown in heaps on floors, exposed to rain, ravaged by insects, and left to turn yellow with humidity. The Syracuse team helped locate and organize these records, provided a car for their collection, donated a camera and other equipment, trained and subsidized a microfilming staff, and supervised the production of microfilm.

The Kenya National Archives and the Library of the University of Addis Ababa (formerly HSIU) acquired at the conclusion of the projects not only all the equipment—cameras, cars, and miscellanea—which was donated as the teams left, but also negative microfilms with which to produce positives for sale and thus augment their meager revenues. The projects thus helped them to build their archives. The indexes compiled at Syracuse were also very valuable to them. Those involved in the projects like to think that the microfilming work and the microfilms themselves have promoted, and will continue to promote, international scholarship as well as much-needed international understanding, especially between the African countries and the United States.

Since the conclusion of the last project, the microfilm collection, despite its value, has experienced a trying decade. The plunge in the

stock market arising from the oil crisis of 1972-73 caused a drastic reduction in the financial support from Ford and other foundations which had heavily endowed Third World studies in American universities. Soon after the withdrawal of Ford support, Syracuse merged the Program of Eastern African Studies with three other area studies to form a new Foreign and Comparative Studies Program housed in a single building. During these years, the University experienced an increasing difficulty in placing graduates in teaching positions in higher education. Also, its libraries have suffered, as have all university libraries, from drastic global inflation.

Lately, however, with the improved financial outlook universities and government are showing a renewed interest in Africa. It seems appropriate that Syracuse University should now take a new pride in its outstanding Africana collection. Fortunately, the Library has made the Africa holdings part of an area studies collection with a budget and staff separate from those of the disciplines. Also, it has been generous in its purchases of supplementary materials and has maintained a membership in CAMP, which confers a scholarly recognition as well as establishes important borrowing principles. With favorable prospects for increased student concentration, new training and development projects, and scholarly studies of the nonwestern world, the University may soon have an opportunity to revitalize its area studies programs. Certainly, its collection on eastern Africa is an important foundation on which to build.