

1927

Kenya

C.O. 533/364/10162/1927

No. 10162

SUBJECT

Land and Labour Policy.

Previous

Gov. 8499/26

Subsequent

18081/27 T.T.

14085/27 G.A.

Sub. file A.

X 10162
1927
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE HISTORY OF AFRICA

KENYA
Rose +

X.10162
1927

From

Date

Land and Labour Policy

Previous paper	(Minutes within)				
<u>Mr. S. S. 116</u>	<u>Mr. Allerton</u>		<u>14/3</u>		
	<u>Mr. Allen</u>		<u>20/3</u>		
	<u>Mr. Colman</u>		<u>24</u>		
	<u>Mr. Dawson</u>		<u>27/3</u>		
	Mr. ...		<u>31/3</u>		
	Mr. ...		<u>31/3</u>		
	Mr. ...				
	Mr. ...				
	Mr. ...				
	Mr. ...				
	Mr. ...				
	Mr. ...				
	Mr. ...				
	Mr. ...				
	Mr. ...				

NOT TO BE TURNED INSIDE OUT

X.10162/27

1/3

1. ——— Ljos. Ljagg ——— 22 Jan, 1927
No. 42

Submits his comments on Sir Donald Cameron's memorandum and states as to divergence of principle between Tanganyika and Kenya.

Sir D.Cameron's Memorandum was received in X.18081/27 Tanganyika, on which I made a few general observations which it is unnecessary to repeat here.

I must confess that this despatch strikes me as somewhat unconvincing, having regard to the strides made by native populations in other parts of Tropical Africa which do not enjoy the benefit of European settlement; and it is surely a mistake when arguing the case ^{for} the European side of the "Dual Policy" to lay undue stress on its altruistic aspect, which (especially in the case of Kenya) will almost certainly be regarded in some quarters as mere humbug.

Although it does not seem necessary to go into details it may

- a) be doubted whether Sir D.Cameron would accept the propositions (a) - (d) on page 3 of the despatch as accurately representing his views
- b) be wondered how other African Territories have managed to advance without the advantages of European Settlement referred to in paragraph 10, if they are so essential as would appear.

Also note the despatch reads self-interest with the case of the native and elect to remain

under the Great Britain, it does not show what follows
other than degeneracy or subjection, is contemplated
for the natives. Also the end of para 2 seeks a permanent
escape from that system.

The practical point of the despatch
is the hope expressed in paragraph 3 that further
discussion may put the policy of the two Terri-
tories in complete accord. Sir D.Cameron
specifically stated in paragraph 15 of his Memo-
randum that the opinions there expressed should be
related to Tanganyika and its own conditions and
not Kenya. On the other hand, Sir E.Grigg's hope
can presumably only be related to a modification
of Tanganyika policy on the lines of policy in
Kenya. That, however, is scarcely his business
and it would seem sufficient to press his views on
Tanganyika against those of the Governor of that
territory, who ~~is~~ has 19 years exper-
ience of native administration in tropical Africa
and longer service even in Tanganyika alone. After
all, Sir E.Grigg has no more than 12 months
practical experience and that in a dependency in
which conditions are certainly not normal.

Subject to the following reservations
the despatch, in the definition of the territory, as defined
in the despatch, and in the statement that the land is
vested in the Governor for the use and common
benefit, direct and indirect, for the natives
to remain undisturbed in ~~every~~ respect, and
in the statement that the Government of Tanganyika does not
intend to alter its policy of native reserves
to which it is opposed,

Sir D.Cameron accepted the Governor's Conference
Recommendation (which he called the Dual Policy) as the
basis of land and labour policy in East Africa:
but there is a wide difference between Sir E.Grigg

and

X 10/16/27

3
4

and himself as to the application of the Dual
Policy, no doubt attributable in part to the very
different environment in which they found themselves.

Effect has been given to the recommenda-
tion of the Conference that Kenya and Tanganyika
should consult before the issue of any special
instructions, and the position now is that both
Governments have produced instructions for their
Administrative Officers which, subject to amendments,
minor in the case of Tanganyika, substantial in the
case of Kenya, have been approved by the Secretary
of State and issued.

I assume that the Secretary of State will
not be prepared to press for an amendment of the
Tanganyika instructions to make them more in accord-
ance with Kenya policy, and Sir E.Grigg can hardly
be contemplating the reverse process. In these
circumstances, any further discussion is scarcely
likely to be of practical value, and I can only
suggest that this paper should be put by. (Sir E.Grigg

W.V. Allen

will no doubt bring this up at the next

23/1/27

I cannot read into Sir D.Cameron's
memo the arguments which Sir E.Grigg sets
up for amendment. Indeed we know that it is
directly contrary to the former policy in that
the settler as a mere invader, in native territory
whose interests are not to be reconciled with
those of the native inhabitants. Certainly part of

W.V. Allen
24.2.27

I regard this merely as a part of the

X. 1016²/₂₇

controversy which unfortunately goes on between the two Governors - They have different problems to face + the Governor's Conference recognized that the lines on which native ~~the~~ questions were dealt with could not be identical -

P. R. H. C.S.
24.2

Mrs. Amosby Jones

your message came to see and I think that the file can be put by.

P. R. H.
2.3.27

S/S

I think you had better see before this is sent to Sir S. Frigg, least stress that he has understood Sir D. Cameron's view & his policy & has the complete confidence of the Government & his knowledge of experience of the development that is possible in side or parallel with the tribal system as exhibited in Uganda, Zululand, Brigona or the Gold Coast, a trust of Sir D. Cameron has undertaken the European side of the dual policy - which I think that he has witness into past & recent sales of land with the works & in Brigona Sir S. Frigg has no conception of the native side of the dual policy, or how to set about changing & adapting the tribal system to progressive & economic ends. The writer a well known publicist from an excellent source.
 10/3/27

X. 1016²/₂₇

5
5

In E.g. offering citizens a written charter the D.C. does not really take up, he has DC has a better written charter by his own body & a written charter the E.g. has been taken up.
 12/2/27

How put by.

P. R. H.
at once

10.3.27.

2 _____ D.C.'s Dep. of Health _____ 8 Feb, 1927.

100 copies of Cir. no. 4 of 20 January issued to all Admin. Officers in connection with Dual Policy.

(a) Mr. Alex. S. C. Stacey

This corresponds in general with the instructions given in an telegram of 8th January on X8449/26 but the following points may be noticed, in comparison with the draft on X8137:-

(a) In para: 2 of the circular as issued, a short para: is added as regards giving effect to the dual policy as defined in the quotation from the Governor's Conference Memorandum which was added on our instructions. This para: in effect, only repeats the first para: of the quotation.

Large copies sent to Sir S. Frigg.
(E.A. Pamphlet no. 125 folio)

A on top copy of the Circular.

X. 10162
27

There is an important verbal
alteration at the beginning of para 5
marked in the draft (X 8137/28)

[Government papers desires that all
copies should understand ... is
abstracted for ... to same time
it must be made clear ...]

In the 4th line of the same para,
the words "able-bodied men" and
in particular the phrase "unmarried"
should use their opportunities
to go out to work and earn
an independent income and
in particular to engage men should
to do so and earn

This situation involves a new
concept of immigration, an
unmarried men: but so not
and reception can be taken to
be possible, but in view of the
explicit instructions in our telegram
of 28 January that no admissions were
to be made to the area beyond those
authorized by this report at least
we referred to the alteration in the
incoming despatch

The Government's speech ...
15th of October was not ...

"B" on top copy
of Circular

by underlining
change

an enclosure to the Circular, but is
referred to in the first para as
having already been circulated.

Unless it is desired to
comment on the point raised at
the above

? Put by
C. H. Cliffe
14/11/27

Sir C. Stacey

The red ink notes will make
the changes clear. I think the
addition of the word "unmarried" in
para 5 is an advantage - we have
recently had Poles directed to this
point as to married men leaving the
reserves. The question of placing these
indios in the Registry of the House
does not arise until all are
"complete" & are still waiting for
Kwanda & K. Rhodesia who have
recently been recruited.

? put by
J. W. Allen

23/8/27
The only alteration of importance is the new para. at the
end of 2. It seems to me unfortunate & unnecessary, as it rather
undermines the historical existence by the Govt. which we did our best to
eliminate from the Circular as submitted in draft. It is not

really a point of great importance, but we know that
critical members of the House of Commons are waiting for
the publication of this circular, which we had hoped would
contain nothing to invite attack. I am afraid this is not
now the case, and in view of the S. of S. Telegram of
18/12 this year, should not have been issued without
authority (unless the Government can show that it is not an
"amendment"!).

The Telegram was based on Mr. Drumby Jones' minute to
the effect that the S. of S. should ensure seeing any further
amendment of the circular was issued. It is
issued, so there is no use in further discussion!

24.3

Sec of State

I don't think there is any use in
discussing further. I send on
to you as the instructions may
eventually lead to questions in the
House. It is a pity perhaps that
the addition has been made to
para 2, but I don't think there is
anything very dreadful in it!

J.H.G.

29.3.27

Mr. Drumby Jones to see on 29/3/27

Mr. Drumby Jones has
seen
at 2/4

DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE

House of Commons

7
30 May, 1927

Printed by Mr Dalton.

Entry proper
in sub-file A.

Mr. G. Copy & V.A. to Sec. Sec. June 1927 m/3 (see sub. file)
(Copy of circular No. 11 (within) to Sec. Sec. 11/28
see also on page 520/26 K.)



KENYA.

No. 8-

2
8
GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
NAIROBI,
KENYA

RECEIVED
FEBRUARY 1927
COL. OFFICE

8th February, 1927.

Sir,

W.S.D.
With reference to correspondence terminating with your telegram of the 8th January, relating to the issue of a Circular to Administrative Officers upon the Dual Policy of Development, I have the honour to transmit for your information, six copies of this Circular, No. 4 of the 20th January last, as issued by the Chief Native Commissioner together with his covering note.

Circular.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient,
humble servant,

W.S.D.
ACTING GOVERNOR.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
LIEUTENANT COLONEL L.C.M.S. AMERY, P.C., M.P.,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES,
DOWNING STREET,
LONDON, S.W.1.

A.L/2/1/40.

NATIVE AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT
NAIROBI.
26th January, 1927.

9

Circular No. 5.

To all Administrative Officers.

DUAL POLICY OF DEVELOPMENT.

The attached Circular is now issued as a clear statement of the Government's dual policy of development, for the guidance of all Administrative and other Officers.

2. The speech to which reference is made in the first paragraph is that delivered by His Excellency the Governor to the Convention of Associations on the 25th October, 1926.

G. V. MAXWELL
CHIEF NATIVE COMMISSIONER.

Mail schedule indicated that No 102 was come from Mombasa this is the only day with train Mombasa & the number has been selected here

KENYA.

Tour (1)

Mohla

On Tour

MOMBASA.

22 January, 1927.

RECEIVED
17 FEB 1927
COL. OFFICE

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the draft circular to Administrative Officers on the Dual Policy submitted to you in my despatch No. (1) 986, dated the 16th November, 1926, has now been issued in accordance with your telegram of the 8th (1) January, 1927.

(1) Gov. 8137/26

(1) Gov. 8449/26

2. As I stated in that despatch, I sent the draft circular to the Governor of Tanganyika for his comments at the same time as I submitted it to you. After receiving your final approval of the draft, I received from him a memorandum upon it which seemed to show so great a divergence of principle between Tanganyika and Kenya that I took the opportunity of discussing it with him informally at our meeting here yesterday. I asked him then whether the memorandum had been issued in Tanganyika or forwarded to you, and he informed me that, while it had not been circulated in Tanganyika, a copy had been sent for information to you. Sir Donald assured me that the memorandum related solely to the conditions of Tanganyika Territory; but, since it deals in part with the Kenya circular and with statements of policy made in this Colony, and since moreover it reveals a very grave misunderstanding of the policy of this Government, I explained to him that I would send you my observations upon it, forwarding them at the same time to him. A copy of this despatch is accordingly being sent to him.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

3. The Kenya circular is intended to make the practical application of the Dual Policy absolutely clear to Administrative Officers. They have suffered much in the past from uncertainty as to the policy of the Government, and any serious divergence in principle between Kenya and Tanganyika would unquestionably tend to renew this uncertainty. If, therefore, I venture to comment on Sir Donald's memorandum, it is in the hope that further discussion may put the policy of the two Territories in complete accord.

4. Sir Donald Cameron is mistaken in supposing that it is in any way, direct or indirect, the policy of this Government to break down tribal organisation or to reduce the native population to the condition of landless workers for alien employers. He is, on the other hand, perfectly right in his assumption that this Government has no belief in the advisability, or even in the possibility, of making the tribal system the sole medium of native progress. European settlers cannot be fitted into a territory which is devoted solely to the development of tribal organisation, even though that development be conducted by fellow-countrymen of their own in the service of Government, nor can they be permanently held subject to a bureaucracy, however enlightened. Quite apart, therefore, from the question of economic development, this Government believes that western ideas of political evolution must be given their opportunity side by side with the tribal system, and that both avenues should be open to the native to follow, according as each serves his interest and his preference.

5. I venture on these premises to make a more detailed analysis of the ideas set out in Sir Donald Cameron's memorandum. He declares himself, in primis, "unable to make any

statement to the natives, with regard to their form of occupation, founded on the proposition that the best school for an African is a good European estate". He states his own belief, that, "if the longest view is taken, the best place for the native, judged mainly by his own interests, is on his own land producing economic crops, guided and taught by administrative, educational and agricultural officers". And he adds that "if his own land is so situated (as it often is in Tanganyika) that he can work part of the week for himself and part of the week for a non-native, the latter will be the gainer thereby". The main propositions which I take to underlie this summary of policy are the following:-

- (a) that a native has nothing to gain by working on a European farm, the farmer who employs him being the only gainer by the labour given;
- (b) that native labour so employed should be limited, as to locality, to farms bordering on native lands, and as to period, to portions of a week;
- (c) that the tribal system offers all natives a sufficient and satisfactory outlet for their energies; and
- (d) that any active advice to the native other than advice in conformity with the three preceding propositions is calculated to destroy all tribal organisation and to reduce the native population as a whole to a state of permanent "servility".

If these propositions are to be the foundation of native policy in Tanganyika, it must, I fear, diverge more and more from the established policy of this Government, which holds that native development cannot with wisdom, fairness or foresight be wholly confined within the tribal system and denied the alternative avenue of progress presented by immediate contact with higher standards of civilisation and industry on European estates.

6. In Kenya any possible realisation of the fourth proposition, that tribal organisation may be destroyed throughout the country by the penetration of European settlement, is precluded by the definite establishment of the Native Reserves. The boundaries of these have been finally fixed; the use of the lands within them is being secured to the native inhabitants under Boards of Trustees, and every effort that finance at present permits is being made to educate the native in developing his inheritance. It will be observed that this is the first point upon which emphasis is laid in the Kenya circular. The progress of the native as a member of the State is provided for by recognition and support of a tribal organisation which puts direct responsibility upon chiefs, elders and headmen, and also by the establishment of Native Councils, which, under the guidance of Administrative Officers, can frame projects and raise levies for the furtherance of tribal interests. By these means one aim of the Dual Policy, that of native production on native lands and of native development under the African tribal system guided by Officers of Government, is given the fullest opportunity and is safeguarded against encroachment or attack.

7. This Government in fact concurs entirely with the view that in areas effectively occupied by and reserved to a native population the maintenance and improvement of the tribal system offer better promise of solid progress than any other method at present practicable. Sir Donald Cameron observes that in the Kenya draft circular "there is no reference to chiefs and tribal organisation". Paragraph 2 of the circular expressly directs that the Dual Policy shall be explained and inculcated at Barazas, which in Kenya consist always of the

local.....

local chiefs, elders, headmen and members of Native Councils. It has long been the aim of this Government to build up the authority of chiefs and headmen in the Reserves, and to make them so far as possible the instruments of progress and uplift in tribal life. The same purpose inspired the creation of Native Councils, which have been effectively established in all the Reserves within the last three years. This policy is so familiar to Administrative Officers and so long established, that it needs no detailed explanation in any circular.

8. It has, however, become clearly apparent that the tribal system alone, however modified and improved, cannot be universally adapted to the needs and conditions of the twentieth century in East Africa. In the first place, as I have already observed, European settlement cannot be established in any area without introducing into that part of the territory an entirely new and un-African organisation. The tribal system itself, moreover, suffers even at its best from notorious defects and objections. Principal amongst these is the barrier which it raises against individual initiative and progress on the part of the younger members of the tribe, who no longer enjoy the main outlet which absorbed their energies in previous generations, namely, war against their neighbours. It is moreover seamed with superstition and subject to reactionary influences which offer a stubborn and often successful resistance to the guidance of even the best administrative, educational and agricultural officers. The problem of reconciling the tribal system with effective opportunity to all members of a tribe to improve themselves and reap the fruits of their own industry is one of the major problems requiring disinterested investigation and research. But while the tribal system remains what it is, and wherever the individual can find

*It has been
very successful
elsewhere.
W.S.*

*While at it they
have allowed to
be...
W.S.*

an alternative to tribal life, many natives will seek that alternative of their own free will, and will thus automatically create a large class of natives living beyond the reach of tribal control. These facts have long been apparent in Kenya from the steady flow of native families leaving the Reserves to settle on European estates, from the even larger numbers of young men who leave their Reserves as labourers for a considerable period every year, and from many signs, (such as the increasing number of native litigants who bring their cases by preference to British Courts) which show that the future of the native as a member of the State cannot be adequately provided for by endeavouring to confine him without alternative to his tribal environment.

The education of the young men is perhaps the greatest of all the problems besetting the tribal system in the Reserves. Picked youths may be taken out by Government and trained as headmen and chiefs; but what of the rest? Their natural outlet, fighting, has gone for good, and with it the main factor making for discipline, physical training and a reasonable standard of temperance. They demean themselves in their own eyes and in those of their women if they abandon the privileges of the warrior-age and descend to any other sort of hard work. In most tribes, women not only bear the sons, but also bear the brunt of providing food, fuel and all else that the tribe requires. Both these considerations drive young unmarried men, now that they cannot win their spurs by fighting, into idleness, degeneracy and excess. If these, the future fathers of the tribe, are to be trained in industry of any sort, they can best be brought to it beyond the reach of tribal tradition and the eyes of their women-folk. The more adventurous go forth without advice; the idle can only gain by receiving, and taking, such advice.

It is

an alternative to tribal life, many natives will seek that alternative of their own free will, and will thus automatically create a large class of natives living beyond the reach of tribal control. These facts have long been apparent in Kenys from the steady flow of native families leaving the Reserves to settle on European estates, from the even larger numbers of young men who leave their Reserves as labourers for a considerable period every year, and from many signs, (such as the increasing number of native litigants who bring their cases by preference to British Courts) which show that the future of the native as a member of the State cannot be adequately provided for by endeavouring to confine him without alternative to his tribal environment.

The education of the young men is perhaps the greatest of all the problems besetting the tribal system in the Reserves. Picked youths may be taken out by Government and trained as headmen and chiefs; but what of the rest? Their natural outlet, fighting, has gone for good, and with it the main factor making for discipline, physical training and a reasonable standard of temperance. They demean themselves in their own eyes and in those of their women if they abandon the privileges of the warrior-age and descend to any other sort of hard work. In most tribes, women not only bear the sons, but also bear the brunt of providing food, fuel and all else that the tribe requires. Both these considerations drive young unmarried men, now that they cannot win their spurs by fighting, into idleness, degeneracy and excess. If these, the future fathers of the tribe, are to be trained in industry of any sort, they can best be brought to it beyond the reach of tribal tradition and the eyes of their women-folk. The more adventurous go forth without advice; the idle can only gain by receiving, and taking, such advice.

It is also manifest that the combined efforts of administrative, educational and agricultural officers in the Reserves often produce less effect upon the native mind than the example of a few natives who have learnt by practical experience on European estates. It is the definite experience of this Colony that those native communities whose men offer for work most readily outside the Reserves are also the most energetic and progressive in putting their own lands under cultivation.

9. The Government of Kenya therefore concurs entirely with the broad statement of policy set out in pages 36 and 37 of the Report of the East Africa Commission:-

"In the long run the native will do what pays him best; if the wages on public works or European farms and the conditions of life thereon give him better opportunities for progress, he will be attracted to labour as the means of improving himself. If, on the other hand, by increasing the cultivation of economic crops on his own land he can earn more than by going out to labour, he will quite reasonably prefer the former. The danger is, of course, lest he do neither. It is inconsistent with the economic progress of the whole country and with the advance in civilisation of the native of Africa that he should be allowed to stagnate in a native reserve leaving all the work to the women, the men doing nothing. He must be taught by every legitimate means open to the Government that as he is no longer required for fighting it is his duty to the community and to himself to work, and that unless he is prepared to do a reasonable amount of work on his own account it is his duty to go out to work either for Government or private employers in industrial employment".

Both sides of the Dual Policy are indeed essential to peaceful and steady progress in East Africa, not on economic grounds alone, but in order to provide both for the native population which prefers life in the Reserves and also for the great and increasing number of natives who either tend to demoralisation within the tribal system or else feel cramped by it and seek for temporary or permanent escape from it.

10. For it is a mistake to suppose that the advantages of "contact" are confined to "squatters" settled on European estates. That is not the case. Thousands of natives in this Colony, whose permanent residence is in the Reserves, return year after year for a shorter or greater period to the same European farms and benefit as much as permanent squatters by the experience and training which they acquire. It is natives of this type who are chiefly responsible for introducing progressive economic ideas into the Reserves. It is true indeed that many labourers returning to their Reserves often do little to improve themselves or their neighbours as a result of their experience; but few suffer in any way by their apprenticeship, while a considerable number help to spread progressive ideas and themselves give the example of industry and improved methods which the Reserves so greatly require. Instances of this are the purchase of labour-saving agricultural machinery for use in the Reserves by natives who have realised their value on farms; the establishment of posho-mills, set up and owned by natives in the Reserves, because they have learnt outside how such mills save labour while giving better flour; and the gradual growth of confidence in cattle inoculation throughout the pastoral Reserves, brought about by the testimony of natives who first saw the results of inoculation on European farms. In many cases the native would not have possessed the means of introducing these improvements but for savings acquired by labour for wages outside the Reserves.

11. It is therefore by no means the European alone who would suffer if Government were to treat the settler as a mere interloper in native territory, whose interests are not to be reconciled with those of the native inhabitants. Land in plenty

has been

has been secured to the native tribes, where the tribal system and purely native industry may be gradually developed and improved under the control of British officers of Government. That side of the Dual Policy is carefully secured by law, and will be prosecuted with the strongest desire to bring about, by guidance based on careful research, such an evolution of the tribal system as will give every individual native a full and untrammelled opportunity of producing on his own land and rising in the scale of his own community as a member of the State.

But on other lands, which also exist in plenty, European settlement is to be encouraged, not only for its own sake, but as offering an alternative opening to individual native industry which can help to spread the civilising influence of higher standards and better methods amongst the native population within as well as without the Reserves. This Government does not consider that Administrative Officers, who come and go over wide areas, are necessarily or in fact more *effective* civilising influences than settlers of the same race and type, who make their homes in a single district and set there the high example of industry and conduct which their civilisation demands.

It is true that there are bad employers, and equally true that even the best have an interest in the results of labour from which the Administrative Officer is free. But that interest is not by any means an interest necessarily antagonistic to those of the natives employed, for native labour cannot be attracted to unpopular employers, even where it is so plentiful that good employers in the same neighbourhood cannot sign on all the natives coming to their farms for work. Nor is their personal interest the sole motive which inspires the majority of good employers. The best of these are wedded for ever to the land, and they take a far-sighted view of its welfare, which includes the fundamental duty of combining native progress and development with their own.

12. These are the grounds on which the practical application of the Dual Policy embodied in the Kenya circular is based. They are in fact the same grounds as those broadly stated by the Governor of Northern Rhodesia in his despatch to you dated the 12th January, 1926:-

you
1423/26
N. Rhod.
(In Circum)

"European settlers develop the country; they set up standards of cultivation and animal husbandry which are valuable object lessons to the native; they provide him with local employment, and generally speaking they are a civilising agency. And I believe that the collective measure of their influence to the native may normally be expected to vary with the degree of the security and permanence of their tenure".

I greatly hope that further discussion may bridge the wide gulf which divides this view of European settlement from that which regards it solely as a material enterprise antagonistic to native welfare and incapable of rendering any true assistance to Government in its civilising task. For my part, I can only repeat the testimony to British settlement, not merely as an economic agency but as a civilising influence, which I expressed in the speech to which Sir Donald refers, a testimony based upon the faith that "what history has shown in other parts of the Empire will be shown here - that there is in our people a prevailing wisdom, fairness and integrity which always tell in the long run and which always pursue the right". I believe those qualities to be as characteristic of the British settler as they are of British officers of Government; and they are qualities which will never allow the native to degenerate, as Sir Donald seems to fear, to the status of a serf.

13. In conclusion, I would protest against the view put forward in some quarters that because in India we may have endeavoured to fit an Asiatic population too thoroughly into our own educational and political moulds, we are now so far to distrust our own civilisation as to endeavour to do nothing in East Africa but improve the barbarous organisation which is

all that its tribes possess. The problem in East Africa differs fundamentally from that in ^{India or} West Africa, where, as Mr. Ormsby-Gore observes in the opening pages of his recent Report, "the European can at best be only a sojourner for a succession of comparatively short periods". In Kenya and Tanganyika the European is definitely settled in suitable areas; he has invested his all in the land, and made his home there. In such areas European ideas of culture and organisation are necessarily established; in such areas they must follow their inevitable development; from such areas their influence must irresistibly spread. Some dual form of organisation is therefore already imposed by the facts, and nothing is to be gained by refusing to recognise it. It cannot be wise for British Governments in such conditions to pursue a policy of discouragement and distrust towards settlers who must in due course largely control and determine the future of their adopted land; none would suffer more in the long run from such a policy than the native population which it sought to protect. It is surely to abandon all faith in ourselves to argue that a primitive and static population has nothing to gain from contact with a settled European community, radiating the atmosphere of an advanced civilisation and embodying the structure necessary to civilised life. On this subject I would whole-heartedly endorse the observations made by the East Africa Commission on page 169 of their Report:-

"We should indeed be taking a pessimistic view of our own race if we assumed that the natives did not profit by association with the white settlers. We must not condemn Englishmen for their belief in their own ideals of civilisation, and in the soundness of the "contact" theory in spreading those ideals".

If the Dual Policy is to be fairly applied, it must be applied with reasonable faith in our own kind. The native must be made and kept secure in sufficient lands of his own, but

21
EWD.

European settlement must also be accepted and encouraged on all alienable land as the powerful and beneficent civilising agency which it unquestionably is. It is my firm belief that, in territory so organised, the problem of reconciling the interests of advanced and backward races within a single political and economic system may be approached with fresh hope upon hitherto untried lines.

I have the honour to be,

S i r,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

Edward Gigg.

G O V E R N O R.