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August 1924

Development of Upan Dependence

Various reports prepared for the...
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also - suggestions for...
members...
Land...
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Previous Paper

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MINUTES

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Part 6

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Subsequent Paper

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PRINCIPLE OF TRUSTEESHIP FOR THE NATIVES.

1. The Kenya White paper laid down definitely that "the interests of the African natives must be paramount", that if their interests conflict with those of an immigrant race the former must prevail, that "His Majesty's Government regard themselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the African population, the object of which may be defined as the protection and advancement of the native races" and that "it is the mission of Great Britain to work continuously for the training and education of the Africans towards a higher intellectual, moral and economic level".
2. First place in this programme should be given to education. To quote the Chief Native Commissioner "It is obvious that the means by which the main native population can hope to attain material prosperity is by producing raw materials, in other words, their future must be regarded as that of an agricultural and pastoral people with an appropriate proportion of officials, clerks, artisans, traders and teachers. For all of these primary education is the first essential". Kenya's achievements in the matter of native education in the past have not been great. The work has been left mainly to the missions and they have been hampered by the inadequacy and uncertainty of the Government grants. An Education Commission was appointed in 1911 to investigate the question and produced an excellent report recommending close cooperation between

Government and missions. That report was adopted and has been followed since so far as Government finances permit. There is, however, a strong section among the European settlers which dislikes natives being given any literary education and would like to confine their education to technical subjects i.e. to educate natives to be good carpenters, plasterers, bricklayers, blacksmiths, etc. The Colonial Office view is that while a purely literary education is often unsuitable, there must be no restriction of native education to purely technical subjects and a strong despatch has recently been sent to the Governor regarding certain alterations in the Government grants to missions which were made in this year's estimates by the European unofficial members of the Legislative Council. In addition to education in schools the Government trains apprentices in its railways public works, and Posts and Telegraphs Department workshops, and encourages European settlers to instruct the natives they employ in better methods of farming, use of machinery etc.

3. Next after education must come the encouragement of native agriculture, for the aim is to develop the great majority of the natives into successful peasant farmers. Here again Kenya's record in the past has not been good, largely owing to the prominence given to European cultivation by the ex-soldier, settlement scheme in 1919. However since 1922 it has definitely been the policy of Government to "induce natives in reserves to increase the production of their exportable commodities." To quote the Chief Native Commissioner again "The

importance of increased native production and its direct benefits to the native producers as well as to its indirect effect through the enhanced prosperity of the country have been impressed upon the chiefs, elders and people by myself and by Administrative Officers. The action taken may be summarized as follows:-

(a) Literature has been distributed to chiefs and headmen showing how native agricultural methods may be improved and how the glue, hides, beeswax and other industries may be initiated and improved.

(b) Improved seed has been distributed to chiefs, headmen and others.

(c) Native agricultural instructors have been at work in the Nyanza province.

(d) Articles have been published in the native newspapers "Habari" giving instruction and advice on agriculture and industry.

(e) Endeavours are being made to assist natives to market their crops and commodities to the best advantage and lists of current prices are periodically distributed to chiefs and headmen."

In addition the Veterinary Department uses every endeavour to improve the native herds of cattle and combat outbreaks of disease. It has been laid down that the primary aim of the Veterinary Department is to look after the native flocks and herds.

4. If the native is to develop into a successful peasant farmer the next most important point, after

education and agricultural instruction, is that he should have security of tenure in his land. The policy adopted in Kenya has been to definitely mark off large areas as natives reserves which are to be kept for native purposes. No land can now be alienated from a native reserve on any pretext whatever without the express sanction of the Secretary of State, and his consent is only given when he is satisfied that the alienation is for the benefit of the natives of the reserve. Unfortunately the final demarcation of all the native reserves is not yet completed, although we have again and again pressed the Kenya Government to expedite the matter. The Chief Native Commissioner reports as follows:

"Owing to retrenchment in the Survey Department it is a matter of great difficulty to make progress with the delimitation of Native Reserves. The only reserves which have been finally gazetted under the Crown Lands Ordinance 1915, are those of the Kikuyu tribe living in Ukamba Province and the Nyika Reserve. All other reserves have been provisionally gazetted only and objections have been invited. Unless unforeseen difficulties arise this work should be completed before long."

As regards individual ownership of land in the reserves at present the ownership is loosely tribal or family, varying from tribe to tribe. There is no doubt that, as native farming advances, individual ownership of land will develop. The aim of the Government is neither to hasten nor hinder that process, but to prevent abuses such as pledging land to money lenders etc.

5. Next in the activities for advancement of the native may perhaps be put the care of his health. Conditions in the native reserves have been described as grossly insanitary and the infant mortality is terrible. A Medical Department report says "It becomes necessary, therefore, to consider what conditions are required for the production and maintenance of a healthy community. Four things would appear to be essential; proper feeding; good housing; cleanliness; and, most essential of all, a degree of culture which renders such things desirable. But none of these things are to be found to any extent in Native reserves". It is regrettable that the economy campaign in 1921 made some reduction of medical work among natives essential, but much good work is being done. It is the declared Government policy that Government medical officers' primary care is the health of the native populations. Most Government medical officers are stationed in native districts. Hospitals and dispensaries are run for native patients.

6. Other Government activities for the advancement of natives include the publication of a native newspaper, a scheme for a native civil service, the reformation of native criminals in reformatories and prisons, the provision of housing accommodation for natives in the towns etc.

7. In addition of direct activities towards native advancement Government has important duties in its functions as trustee in preventing abuses arising from contact of the native with immigrant races. There can be no doubt that the individual native gains from working under an enlightened European employer. The native learns habits of industry, improved methods of agriculture etc, and receives a regular ^{money} wage. The great majority of Europeans

are sufficiently enlightened to see that it is to their interest to encourage the African to come out from his reserves and work voluntarily on their farms, and to that end they look after his health, welfare and training while with them. To prevent abuses Government has abandoned the policy of direct encouragement to the natives to work for private employers and has limited compulsory labour etc for Government itself to very exceptional cases; has passed elaborate Master and Servants Ordinances to secure satisfactory contracts etc., has prohibited female labour except under proper safeguards; has forbidden Government officials to bring pressure to bear on chiefs and headmen to supply labourers for private employers; and has just passed an Ordinance to regulate the position of native families "squatting" on European farms.

More controversial are the alleged evils to the Africans from contact with immigrant Asiatics and the demand that no Asiatic be employed in any post for which an African is available. There can, however, be no doubt that the fact that Indian clerks and artisans have been available has in the past led to slackness in training Africans. The contrast in this respect between the East and West African Colonies is most instructive. It may also be noted that the Kenya European community are now fond of emphasising that the advancement of the African should be on the lines of Western civilisation and culture and to that end he must be protected from the different ideals and cultures of Asia.

8. The security for the advancement of the African is of course intimately bound up with a proper system of Government. To secure that we have ruled out any idea of self government for Kenya or even an unofficial majority

on the Legislative Council as that would give too great influence to the European settlers' point of view. We are placing a missionary on the Legislative Council to represent native interests. The country has been divided for administrative purposes into native and non-native areas. In the native areas the administrative officers are subordinate to the Chief Native Commissioner, the Head of the Department of Native Affairs, which has been specially constituted to secure native interests and advancement. Much attention is devoted to the development of native self government through tribal and district councils and to the problems arising from the decline in influence of the hereditary chiefs and headmen owing to the spread of education among the younger members of the tribes. The Governors have been asked to consult together and formulate definite lines of policy to meet the new conditions.

9. A fair test of the Government work for advancement of the natives is the proportion of Government expenditure devoted to native purposes and the amount of taxation raised. Figures worked out for direct taxation and customs for 1922 show that

2,500,000 natives	contributed	£720,314	or 6/- per head
23,000 Indians	"	£143,090	or £6. per head
10,000 Europeans	"	£385,075	or £38 per head.

It is impossible to work out figures assessing the native benefits received from military, police, local, railway and port services and many other public departments the work of which is mainly for the good of natives. The following figures merely show what may be said to have been actually set aside for improving native conditions, with the exception of the figures for Administration and to a certain

certain extent the Medical Department in which overhead charges have been included. In the figures for Education, Agriculture, Veterinary and Forest Departments no overhead charges have been included. The figures are as follows:-

Administration	£177,497
Medical	54,434
Education	28,310
Agriculture	16,320
Veterinary	10,154
Forests	320
	<u>£281,045</u>

Copy of a memo sent by the S.P.
to the Editor of the Clarion
15.4.24

GOVERNMENT POLICY IN EAST AFRICA

1. The Kenya White paper laid down definitely that "the interests of the African natives must be paramount", that if their interests conflict with those of an immigrant race the former must prevail; that "His Majesty's Government regard themselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the African population, the object of which may be defined as the protection and advancement of the native races" and that "it is the mission of Great Britain to work continuously for the training and education of the Africans towards a higher intellectual, moral and economic level".

the Kenya
Sept.
1924
(Kenya)

2. First place in this programme should be given to education. To quote the ^{Kenya} Chief Native Commissioner "It is obvious that the means by which the main native population can hope to attain material prosperity is by producing raw materials, in other words, their future must be regarded as that of an agricultural and pastoral people with an appropriate proportion of officials, clerks, artisans, traders and teachers. For all of these primary education is the first essential." In Kenya in the past education work has been left mainly to the missions. They have been hampered by the inadequacy and uncertainty of the Government grants, which have been cut down from time to time owing to Government's financial difficulties. An Education Commission was appointed in 1919 to investigate the question and produced an excellent report recommending close co-operation between Government and missions. That report was adopted and has been followed since so far as Kenya Government finances permit. There

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is, however, a party among the European settlers which considers that native education should be primarily on technical lines, i.e. to educate natives to be good, farmers, carpenters, plasterers, bricklayers, blacksmiths, etc. The approved policy is that while a purely literary education is often unsuitable, there must be no restriction of native education to purely technical subjects: that particular attention should be devoted to formation of character and hygiene; that the education of women and child welfare must not be overlooked. In addition to education in schools the Government trains apprentices in its railway, public works, and Posts and Telegraphs Department workshops, and encourages European settlers to instruct the natives they employ in better methods of farming, use of machinery etc. In the practical details importance of giving effect to the education policy methods vary in the different East African Dependencies. Thus in Uganda the work has been left almost entirely to missions assisted by Government grants. In Kenya there has been more direct education work in Government schools as well as Government grants to mission schools. In Tanganyika Territory the Government does not at present make any education grants to missions. It is quite possible these different methods are in each territory the most suitable way of spreading the same ultimate educational ideals, but on that point valuable guidance is affected from the report of the Phelps-Stokes Education Commission which is at present visiting East Africa. Moreover, a special representative Committee has recently been appointed to meet from time to time at the Colonial Office and advise on education policies and methods in the tropical African Colonies.

3. Another implication of trusteeship which is
universally

universally admitted is the necessity for medical and sanitary work among the natives. In all the East African dependencies there is substantial identity in both policy and methods in medical and sanitary work, although in one area chief attention may have to be devoted to sleeping sickness, in another to infant mortality, in a third to town planning etc. The work in all the dependencies is mainly in the hands of Government medical officers, and a general co-ordination of effort is secured through the Colonial Office Medical and Sanitary Advisory Committee, which ensures that the latest advances in medical and sanitary science are brought to the notice of the officers dealing with any special problem in remote African areas.

4. In addition to educational and medical care the principle of trusteeship is in all the East African dependencies taken to imply the encouragement of native agricultural production on his own land. It may be that in Kenya sufficient attention has not in the past been devoted to this, largely owing to the prominence given to European cultivation by the ex-soldier settlement scheme in 1919. But all that has been changed in the last two years. The following is an extract from the 1922 report of the Kenya Chief Native Commissioner:-

"The importance of increased native production and its direct benefits to the native producers as well as to its indirect effect through the enhanced prosperity of the country have been impressed upon the chiefs, elders and people by myself and by Administrative Officers. The action taken may be summarised as follows:-

(a) Literature has been distributed to chiefs and headmen showing how native agricultural methods may be improved

improved and how the ghee, hides, beeswax and other industries may be initiated and improved.

(b) Improved seed has been distributed to chiefs, headmen and others.

(c) Native agricultural instructors have been at work in the Nyansa province.

(d) Articles have been published in the native newspaper "Habari" giving instruction and advice on agriculture and industry.

(e) Endeavours are being made to assist natives to market their crops and commodities to the best advantage and lists of current prices are periodically distributed to chiefs and headmen".

Cotton is a good example of what is aimed at in encouraging native agricultural production. It has been proved to be a very suitable crop for native cultivation in many parts of Eastern Africa and the Government is pushing it as rapidly as possible. It is possible that a native working for regular hours under European supervision might produce more cotton, but the number of natives willing to cultivate a little more of their own land than is required for necessary foodstuffs is far greater than that of the natives who will work for wages. Further the land is available without any question of alienation from native ownership. In such an industry as Uganda cotton-growing, the function of non-native enterprise lies in buying, ginning and marketing the cotton. The function of Government lies in encouraging cotton-growing, in improving and supervising native cultivation, in pointing out mistakes, in preventing as far as may be possible, diseases and pests or in detecting and combating them, in securing and distributing a

good supply of seed and experimenting with different varieties of seed so as to improve or maintain the strain of cotton, and, not least, in providing the means of transport. The native is encouraged, by the use of better implements, to put as much land under cotton as possible and to improve his tillage so as to get a better yield per acre from his labour. It is hoped that in five or six years the output of native grown cotton from Uganda will reach 500,000 bales per annum.

5. A veterinary department has been established in each of the East African dependencies and great importance is attached to its work. It uses every endeavour to improve the native herds of cattle and sheep and combat outbreaks of disease. It has been definitely laid down that the primary aim of the veterinary department is to look after native flocks and herds.

6. It is now universally recognised that the native contribution to cultivation must be mainly on native land and for his own profit and that a European settler or planter must be content to draw upon any surplus of voluntary native labour which may offer itself. On the other hand, most valuable assistance can be rendered by non-native enterprise by the provision, for example, of cotton ginneries etc. while there are certain branches of agriculture, such as sisal cultivation, which require capital, machinery, and skilled superintendence, which the native cannot provide.

7. To enable the native to develop into a successful farmer on his own land, it is most important that he should have security of tenure in his land. The policy adopted in Kenya has been to definitely mark off large areas

areas as natives reserves which are to be kept for native purposes. No land can now be alienated from a native reserve on any pretext whatever without the express sanction of the Secretary of State, and his consent is only given when he is satisfied that the alienation is for the benefit of the natives of the reserve.

As regards individual ownership of land in the reserves at present the ownership is loosely tribal or family, varying from tribe to tribe. There is no doubt that, as native farming advances, individual ownership of land will develop. The aim of the Government is neither to hasten nor hinder that process, but to prevent abuses such as the control of native lands passing to money lenders etc.

8. In Nyasaland there is a somewhat similar division of the land into native and non-native areas. In Tanganyika all land that has not been alienated to individuals is held by the Government for the benefit of the natives, on the lines which have proved so successful in Northern Nigeria. In Uganda the land system is complicated by the existence of, and special treaties with, important native Kingdoms, but the principle of preserving native lands for the use of the natives is adhered to there as elsewhere. It seems clear that owing to the widely differing conditions native land tenure must continue to develop on different lines in Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika, but the obligations involved in the principle of trusteeship will be adhered to in all three dependencies.

9. Other Government activities for the advancement of natives include the encouragement of native newspapers in the vernacular, admission of educated natives to the
civil

civil service, reformation of native criminals in reformatories and prisons, provision of housing accommodation for natives in the towns etc.

10. In addition to direct activities towards native advancement Government has important duties in its functions as trustee in preventing abuses arising from contact of the native with immigrant races. There can be no doubt that the individual native gains much when he voluntarily undertakes work for an enlightened European employer; he learns habits of industry and improved methods of agriculture etc. The great majority of Europeans are sufficiently enlightened to see that it is to their interest to encourage the African to come out from his reserves and work voluntarily on their farms, and to that end they look after his health, welfare and training while with them. To prevent abuses the East African Governments have abandoned the policy of direct encouragement to the natives to work for private employers and have limited compulsory labour etc. for Government itself to very exceptional cases; have passed elaborate Master and Servant Ordinances to secure satisfactory contracts etc., have prohibited female labour except under proper safeguards; and have forbidden Government officials to bring pressure to bear on chiefs and headmen to supply labourers for private employers.

11. The security for the advancement of the African on the lines resulting from the policy of trusteeship is intimately bound up with a proper system of Government. In Kenya where, on a short sighted view of the interests of the European settlers, there is a possibility of conflict it has been definitely laid down in the white paper that any idea of self-government or even a European
unofficial

unofficial majority on the Legislative Council must be ruled out. A missionary is being placed on the Legislative Council to represent native interests. The country has been divided for administrative purposes into native and non-native areas. In the native areas the administrative officers are subordinate to the Chief Native Commissioner, the Head of the Department of Native Affairs, which has been specially constituted to secure native interests and advancement..... In all the East African dependencies much attention is being devoted to the development of native self government through tribal and district councils and to the problems arising from the decline in influence of the hereditary chiefs and headmen owing to the spread of education among the younger members of the tribes. The Governors have been asked to consult together and formulate definite lines of policy to meet the new conditions.

12. The development of means of transport is as important in the interests of native production as in that of the European settlers.

(a) Kenya and Uganda A comprehensive scheme of railway development (supplemented in the case of Uganda by a feeder Road scheme) has recently been approved. This will suffice for the needs of those countries for a considerable time to come, is all that they can afford until they have proved their capacity to bear the debt charges and is all that can be carried out now having regard to the labour supply.

(b) Tanganyika. Heretofore a comprehensive scheme for opening up the cotton areas has been prepared by the local authorities, but full details have not yet reached the Secretary of State. They are now on their way and

when

when they arrive the matter will be actively proceeded with. The question of harbour development at Dar-es-Salaam has not been lost sight of, as it is realised that railway and harbour developments must go hand in hand.

(c) Nyasaland The question of railway extension is under consideration by the Nyasaland Railway Committee. If arrangements can be made for the extension of the present system to the north an important step will have been taken towards linking up Tanganyika with the British possessions to the south. ^{Nyasaland} ~~As regards~~ ^(connection between Tanganyika and) the British possessions to the north, there is already connexion via the steamer service on the Victoria Nyansa and the Voi-Kahe railway. The programmes of railway development now contemplated will be a further step in this direction.

(d) Generally East Africa has now 3 main outlets to the sea, Kilindini, Dar-es-Salaam, Beira. The policy is to develop the railway systems feeding these ports. The provision of a north and south connection is much less urgently required. In each of the individual areas much remains to be done and the whole of a General Manager's energies is required at the present time in coping with the special problems which arise in his particular territory.

13. It is often suggested that Government policy in East Africa would be facilitated by amalgamating or federating the various dependencies. It must be remembered that even if we confine attention to the four territories of Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar and Tanganyika, the area concerned is larger than that of the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Germany, Austria and Switzerland combined; that the railway systems are comparatively speaking

speaking very small; and that the population is in the neighbourhood of 10 millions. It is difficult to see in what way the task of administration would be simplified by any attempt to bring these various territories into close union. Each of them has its own local problems of great difficulty and of a character which, while it may have points in common with corresponding problems in the rest, has to be considered by itself; and it is essential that the Head of each dependency should be a man of ability and experience who can deal with these problems and furnish the Secretary of State with his advice as to how they should be solved. While a High Commissioner or Governor General might be able to take a broader view of questions of general application, he could not, over so large an area be able to give the close personal attention to the various questions which the Governor of a single dependency can give, and his appointment would not dispense with the necessity for officials of first rate ability in charge of the separate dependencies.

On the other hand, much has been done and is being done to co-ordinate the work of various departments of administration in East Africa. The postal and transport (railways and steamers) work of Kenya and Uganda has already been unified and much progress has been made towards customs union, covering these dependencies and the Tanganyika Territory. Apart from unification, there are periodical conferences, particularly on medical and veterinary work, between the Heads of departments in the various territories, and by this means, it is possible to secure that similar problems in different territories are dealt with on similar lines. But such problems are

rarely

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rarely identical, and it is often better to aim at co-
ordination of effort rather than at amalgamation of co-

KENYA, UGANDA AND ZANZIBAR.

	<u>Area</u>	<u>Population</u>
Kenya	248,000 Sq. m.	2,500,000
Uganda	110,300	3,100,000
Zanzibar	1,010	200,000

ECONOMIC POSSIBILITIES.

In spite of repeated efforts, no mineral possibilities have been proved with the exception of the Soda deposits on Lake Magadi. As regards agricultural possibilities a full trial has been made of many crops on the mainland, such as sisal, rubber, coffee, cotton, flax, tobacco and maize.

Rubber has been killed by the slump and is not likely to help us much in the future. Flax, in the same way, was badly hit by the fall in price which followed the war and which ended the experimental flax-growing ^{at home} in this country, and, although there has been some recovery in price, the discouragement then felt has prevented its being taken up to any great extent. ^{in Kenya} Flax has been an essential European crop and the land most suitable to it is in the highlands of Kenya. A small consignment of specially good seed has now been sent out to the Colony and it is hoped that this may be the beginning of the revival of the industry which, on a smaller scale than in 1919, may well take permanent root in Kenya. Tobacco may also be regarded as a crop which has no great economic possibilities in this part of Eastern Africa.

Of the other crops mentioned, Sisal, by reason of the capital required and the skilled supervision which is necessary, is essentially an European plantation crop. It is doing well but its development is and will be limited by the labour market. Coffee is very well established

Kaize is now the principal
crop of Kenya. For ^{the} Europeans it
has taken the place of flour & other
crops, have grown from two
bags up to 300,000 bags (say 20,000
bags) in 1923. The increase under
this year is from 30 to 50%
more than in 1923

established as an European crop in Kenya and high prices are commanded. In Uganda it is both an European and a native crop, and, although not on the same footing as in Kenya, probably the most successful European crop ^{and one} that is satisfactorily grown by natives who are not engaged in cotton-growing. Sugar demands European capital for factory purposes, and the general idea is that the factory ~~center~~ should have a certain area upon the produce of which ~~it~~ can rely, ^{but at the same time} which should be the centre of individual cultivation by farmers who would bring their crop to ^{the factory} market. There have been some European farmers in the semi-lowlands of Kenya-towards Lake Victoria-who have grown sugar for treatment in a central factory, and it is obviously an industry in which native growers can take part on their own account. Some progress is hoped for in Uganda also, but it is questionable whether any substantial export of sugar from these places can be hoped for.

As regards cotton, a separate note has been prepared. It is the mainstay of Uganda and a great advance is possible both there and in the western part (the Kavirondo district) of Kenya. It has not been tried to any extent as an European crop and it is probable that owing to the greater costs which have to be taken out of the business under European management, European grown cotton would not be in as favourable a position as native grown cotton in facing the fall in price which we must expect as a result of intensive ^{European} and power cultivation.

Maize (See also p. 14)

There are in addition the tropical products of which the principal are cloves in Zanzibar and coconuts in Zanzibar and on the coast strip. The clove industry which is the mainstay of

all Zanzibar activities, is not likely to grow in extent and our efforts must be devoted to maintaining it by combating disease and encouraging the Arab owners to take more interest in their property. They are very largely encumbered with debts to Indians which, with the abolition of slavery some 25 years ago, has taken the heart out of them. A local commission has reported on the clove industry and we are now waiting for the views of the new Resident and the new Director of Agriculture on that report.

As regards the cocconut palm, it is probable that our countries will never contribute any very large amount to the world supply of copra. It should however be possible to make more of it than is done at present, first by discouraging the habit of the native in tapping his palms for the purpose of making fermented drink, and, secondly, by improving the processes of preparing the copra.

As regards animal products, our main task is to fight the diseases of stock which now exist and to improve and stimulate the preparation of products for the market. As regards the European settlers there are good hopes of ^{the} development of an export trade in dairy products including butter, cheese, bacon etc., and they will benefit if at some time it is possible to find someone who will take up the export of meat either in the carcass, in the tin, or in the form of extract. We have frequently had contact with various firms over this question but at present it would seem that the supply of flesh is too small in comparison with

with such places as the Argentine, to give much hope of present further development.

As regards the native, it may be hoped that we shall be able to build up large native herds so as to justify the establishment of an export industry such as I have indicated. Short of that, we must depend on an extension of the efforts which are now being made, first, to improve the preparation of hides so as to command a better price, and, secondly, to stimulate the preparation of ghee (the clarified butter which is extensively used in the East). Ghee can be produced and, even if an export industry cannot be cultivated, we should soon come to the end of the time when East Africa will import ghee for consumption there.

3. HOUSING. The housing of Government officials, European, Asiatic and natives, is one of the great difficulties which we are faced with, owing to lack of funds. It has been recognised for at least 15 years as a matter of pressing and vital importance but we are little nearer a solution than we were then. In 1921 Mr. Churchill had to consider the services for which loan funds should be used and he was compelled definitely to rule that communications must be pressed on to the exclusion of housing. Previously, Lord Milner, in discussing with Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer, the allocation of the £1,000,000 ~~Ransom~~ Development Loan to Uganda, was compelled ultimately to reduce the allocation for housing to the lowest possible figure.

It is difficult to say what can be done until

the finances of these countries are better established.

As regards the homes of the natives, all that is possible is to build up their standard of living, so that they will make themselves better huts of the material that is available. When the Phelps-Stokes Commission was in England, we had some conversation with them as to what is being done in the Southern States of America towards improving the position of the Negro, and it appeared that education went hand in hand with training in craftsmanship and in a general improvement of standards, in connection with which the negroes' houses, though not materially different in construction, were more healthy and more comfortable than previously.

It must be remembered that the grass hut has some advantages in that the owner can burn it without hesitation in cases of infection etc. More permanent housing must go hand in hand with the general improvement of health conditions.

4. MEDICAL SERVICE. In these countries the medical care of the natives is the first charge of the Government Medical Department and every year a greater effort is made to combat diseases and to increase the standard of public health. The most notable achievement is the success of the anti-venereal measures in Uganda which in the past have been carried out by a small staff over a necessarily limited area, but with excellent results especially ^(a) in the direction of building up a native subordinate staff able to carry out treatment under the supervision of European doctors and the not less important

important progress has been made in impressing the native with confidence in European medical methods. This system has now been applied to the treatment of native disease throughout Uganda, so that the whole country will have the benefit of the experience gained from the special anti-venereal measures, while at the same time the methods underlying these measures will be applied to other diseases.

Equally important is the work which is being done in Uganda in connection with infant welfare and midwifery, and there is excellent reason to hope that we shall gradually be able to reduce the terrible infant death rate to reasonable proportions. We have in this work the benefit of the efforts of the Church Missionary Society, with whom the Government work in close harmony, and Government attention is being increasingly devoted to this work and many midwifery centres are being opened throughout Uganda.

The attention given to this work is less advanced in Kenya than in Uganda, but every effort is being made to cope with this, as with other aspects of the question of native health.

Even if we had the money, it is not easy to find doctors at present and we shall get the best results (as indicated above) by training natives to do the subordinate work which, as ^{has been proved} ~~experienced~~ in Uganda, over such matters as vaccination and anti-venereal injections, can be skilfully and accurately carried out by trained natives.

*In additional notes on
medical, see sheet attached.*

Tanganyika Territory, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia,
Somaliland.

1. Area and population.

	Area (sq. miles)	Population (natives)
Tanganyika.	360,000	4,100,000
Nyasaland.	40,000	1,200,000
Northern Rhodesia.	291,000	984,000
Somaliland.	68,000	347,000

2. Economic possibilities.

(a) Tanganyika and Nyasaland.

The possibilities are mainly agricultural. Both are regarded as favourable fields for cotton development. Tanganyika grows and exports excellent sisal-hemp and coffee. The quantity of domestic exports (mainly grown by the natives) is steadily increasing, and in certain commodities now exceeds the amount exported under the Germans. Nyasaland tobacco is finding an improving market in this country and tea is also grown with success.

There is an export of mica of very fine quality from Tanganyika, and coal deposits exist in both countries. With the exception of mica there is at present no mineral export of commercial importance.

(b) Northern Rhodesia.

This Protectorate (which was only transferred from the British South Africa Company on the 1st of April)

possesses

possesses very important mineral deposits which are being actively developed. The principal minerals produced are lead and copper. In North Eastern Rhodesia there is a considerable settlement of British farmers, and some 3,500 acres are planted with tobacco.

(c) Somaliland.

This very wild little Protectorate is held mainly for strategic reasons. It supplies Aden with fresh meat, and there is a fairly large export of hides and skins, used for the finer kinds of boot-leather. A geological survey is in progress, and there are hopes that valuable minerals may be proved to exist on a scale sufficient to justify their exploitation.

3. Housing.

There is no "housing problem" (as exists in Europe) in any of these countries, except that Governors find it difficult to accommodate their officers in some stations, especially since the adoption of the policy of encouraging them to bring out their wives. Wherever there is a "township" efforts are now made, by the enforcement of building regulations, to prevent overcrowding and consequent insanitary conditions.

4. Medical Services.

As there is a single medical and sanitary staff for all the East African Dependencies (including Somaliland) it is probably unnecessary to add much to what has been said under this head in respect of Kenya and Uganda, as the duties of the staff are the same, and

the tropical diseases which confront them are the same; at any rate in the very large territory of Tanganyika. Malaria is common in most districts of Tanganyika and Nyasaland. Plague and sleeping sickness have not lately given serious trouble, but there are always the possibilities of an epidemic. The campaign against venereal disease is (as elsewhere) attended by special difficulties. Natives willingly attend hospitals only during the acute stages. It is satisfactory to learn from Tanganyika that the more progressive chiefs and tribal courts are aware of the dangers of this disease and are actively co-operating in the efforts made to combat it.

(The above remarks do not apply to Northern Rhodesia, as to which we have at present not very much information. The medical and sanitary organisation which was in existence under the Chartered Company has been retained, and we will no doubt receive in due course any suggestions which the new Governor may have to make in this connection.)

Somaliland, though subject to extreme heat, is comparatively free from the ordinary tropical diseases, the conditions there being rather like those in the Soudan.

Appointment of Committee or Commission

1. If there is to be a Committee or Commission its terms of reference should direct enquiry into the application of the principle of trusteeship for the natives. The main lines of the enquiry should be indicated, and for that purpose ^(first three) the terms of reference of the South African Native Affairs Commission 1903-1905 might be taken as a starting point, viz:-

(1) The status and condition of the Natives: the lines on which their natural advancement should proceed: their education, industrial training and labour.

(2) The tenure of land by Natives and the obligations to the State which it entails.

(3) Native law and administration.

~~(4) The prohibition of the sale of liquor to~~

~~Natives.~~

~~(5) Native marriages.~~

~~(6) The extent and effect of polygamy.~~

2. In East Africa at the present time it would be practically impossible to exclude consideration of the influence on the natives of contact with immigrant races, and that is one argument for post-poning enquiry until the Indian question is settled. Another argument in the same direction is that one of the most important aspects of trusteeship is educational aims and methods for the natives, and on that we expect to receive useful guidance from the report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission.

3. The Commission should not enquire into wider questions of policy such as Federation, Railways, Customs, etc. Such questions of policy must be determined directly by the Secretary of State in

consultation

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consultation with the local Governments. No grounds have been advanced to suggest that a general enquiry into the whole system of government in our East African dependencies is necessary. In the absence of such grounds the Secretary of State will probably be averse from any general enquiry which would certainly be interpreted as reflecting on the competence of the local Governments, and in particular would arouse opposition from the Europeans in Kenya.

4. The justification for an enquiry as to the best lines to give practical effect to the principle of trusteeship is that that principle has recently been emphasised by His Majesty's Government and that many persons of different interests in this country are anxious that the practical bearings of the principle should be defined. It follows that the expenses of the enquiry should fall on imperial funds and that the Treasury should be consulted before any promise is made that a Commission will be appointed.

Unity of Native Policy

5. The principle of trusteeship for the natives has been accepted in all our East African Dependencies, but the practical steps to carry it out in each particular sphere must be adapted to local conditions. Thus it is universally agreed that the promotion of native education is one of the most important duties implied in trusteeship; that the aim must be to fit the great bulk of the natives in East Africa to be skilled farmers on their own lands, with an appropriate proportion of officials, clerks, artisans, traders and teachers; that for that purpose the education should be both literary and technical.

particular

particular attention being devoted to hygiene and formation of character; that the education of women and child welfare must not be overlooked. But in the practical details of carrying out that policy methods vary. In Uganda the work has been left almost entirely to missions assisted by Government grants. In Kenya there has been more direct education work in Government schools as well as Government grants to mission schools. In Tanganyika Territory the Government does not at present make any education grants to missions. It is quite possible these different methods are in each territory the most suitable way of spreading the same ultimate educational ideals, but on that point I expect to receive valuable guidance from the report of the Phelps-Stokes Education Commission which is at present visiting East Africa.

Moreover, a special representative Committee has recently been appointed to meet from time to time at the Colonial Office and advise on education policies and methods in the tropical African Colonies.

6. Another implication of trusteeship which is universally admitted is the necessity for medical and sanitary work among the natives. In all the East African dependencies there is substantial identity in both policy and methods in medical and sanitary work, although in one area chief attention may have to be devoted to sleeping sickness, in another to infant mortality, in a third to town planning etc. The work in all the dependencies is mainly in the hands

of

of Government medical officers, and a general co-ordination of effort is secured through the Colonial Office Medical and Sanitary Advisory Committee, which ensures that the latest advances in medical and sanitary science are brought to the notice of the officers dealing with any special problem in remote African areas.

7. In addition to educational and medical care the principle of trusteeship is in all the East African dependencies taken to imply the encouragement of native agricultural production on his own land. It may be that in Kenya sufficient attention has not in the past been devoted to this, largely owing to the prominence given to European cultivation by the ex-soldier settlement scheme in 1919. But all that has been changed in the last two years and I may quote the following from the 1922 report of the Kenya Chief Native

Commissioner

Commissioner.

"The importance of increased native production and its direct benefits to the native producers as well as to its indirect effect through the enhanced prosperity of the country have been impressed upon the chiefs, elders and people by myself and by Administrative Officers. The action taken may be summarized as follows:-

(a) Literature has been distributed to chiefs and headmen showing how native agricultural methods may be improved and how the ghee, hides, beeswax and other industries may be initiated and improved.

(b) Improved seed has been distributed to chiefs, headmen and others.

(c) Native agricultural instructors have been at work in the Nyanza province.

(d) Articles have been published in the native newspaper "Habari" giving instruction and advice on agriculture and industry.

(e) Endeavours are being made to assist natives to market their crops and commodities to the best advantage and lists of current prices are periodically distributed to chiefs and headmen".

8. In addition in all the East African Dependencies the Veterinary Department uses every endeavour to improve the native herds of cattle and combat outbreaks of disease. It has been laid down that the primary aim of the Veterinary Department is to look after the native flocks and herds.

9. It is now universally recognised that the

native

native contribution to cultivation must be mainly on native land and for his own profit and that a European settler or planter must be content to draw upon any surplus of voluntary native labour which may offer itself. On the other hand, most valuable assistance can be rendered by non-native enterprise by the provision, for example, of cotton ginneries etc. while there are certain branches of agriculture, such as sisal cultivation, which require capital, machinery, and skilled superintendence, which the native cannot provide.

10. If the native is to develop into a successful farmer on his own land, a most important point is that he should have security of tenure in his land. The policy adopted in Kenya has been to definitely mark off large areas as natives reserves which are to be kept for native purposes. No land can now be alienated from a native reserve on any pretext whatever without the express sanction of the Secretary of State, and his consent is only given when he is satisfied that the alienation is for the benefit of the natives of the reserve.

As regards individual ownership of land in the reserves at present the ownership is loosely tribal or family, varying from tribe to tribe. There is no doubt that, as native farming advances, individual ownership of land will develop. The aim of the Government is neither to hasten nor hinder that process, but to prevent abuses such as pledging land to money lenders etc.

11. In Nyasaland there is a somewhat similar division of the land into native and non-native areas. In Tanganyika all land that has not been alienated to individuals is held by the Government for the benefit of the natives, on the lines which have proved so successful in Northern Nigeria. In Uganda the land system is complicated by the existence of, and special treaties with, important native Kingdoms, but the principle of preserving native lands for the use of the natives is adhered to there as elsewhere. It seems clear that owing to the widely differing conditions native land tenure must continue to develop on different lines in Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika, but the obligations involved in the principle of trusteeship will be adhered to in all three dependencies.

12. In addition to direct activities towards native advancement Government has important duties in its functions as trustee in preventing abuses arising from contact of the native with immigrant races. There can be no doubt that the individual native gains much when he voluntarily undertakes work for an enlightened European employer; he learns habits of industry and improved methods of agriculture etc. The great majority of Europeans are sufficiently enlightened to see that it is to their interest to encourage the African to come out from his reserves and work voluntarily on their farms, and to that end they look after his health, welfare and training while with them. To prevent abuses the East African

Governments have abandoned the policy of direct encouragement to the natives to work for private employers and have limited compulsory labour etc for Government itself to very exceptional cases; have passed elaborate Master and Servants Ordinances to secure satisfactory contracts etc., have prohibited female labour except under proper safeguards; and have forbidden Government officials to bring pressure to bear on chiefs and headmen to supply labourers for private employers.

13. The security for the advancement of the African on the lines resulting from the policy of trusteeship is of course intimately bound up with a proper system of Government. In Kenya where, on a short sighted view of the interests of the European settlers there is a possibility of conflict, it has been definitely laid down in the white paper that any idea of self-government or even a European unofficial majority on the Legislative Council must be ruled out. A missionary is being placed on the Legislative Council to represent native interests. The country has been divided for administrative purposes into native and non-native areas. In the native areas the administrative officers are subordinate to the Chief Native Commissioner, the head of the Department of Native Affairs, which has been specially constituted to secure native interests and advancement.....

In

In all the East African Dependencies much attention is being devoted to the development of native self government through tribal and district councils and to the problems arising from the decline in influence of the hereditary chiefs and headmen owing to the spread of education among the younger members of the tribes. The Governors have been asked to consult together and formulate definite lines of policy to meet the new conditions.

Federation see separate memorandum.

Transport.

1. Kenya and Uganda. A comprehensive scheme of railway development (supplemented in the case of Uganda by a feeder Road scheme) has recently been approved. This will suffice for the needs of those countries for a considerable time to come, is all that they can afford until they have proved their capacity to bear the debt charges and ~~be~~ all that can be carried out now having regard to the labour supply.

2. Tanganyika. Heretoo a comprehensive scheme for opening up the cotton areas has been prepared by the local authorities, but full details have not yet reached the Secretary of State. They are now on their way and when they arrive the matter will be actively proceeded with. The question of harbour development at Dar-es-Salaam has not been lost sight of, as it is realised that railway and harbour developments must go hand in hand.

3. Nyasaland.

3. Nyasaland. The question of railway extension is under consideration by the Nyasaland Railway Committee. If arrangements can be made for the extension of the present system to the north an important step will have been taken towards linking up Tanganyika with the British possessions to the south. As regards the British possessions to the north, there is already connexion via the steamer service on the Victoria Nyanza and the Voi-Kahe railway. The programmes of railway development now contemplated will be a further step in this direction.

4. East Africa. has now 3 main outlets ^{to} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Sea~~ Kilindini, Dar-es-Salaam, Beira. Our policy is to develop the railway systems feeding these ports. The provision of a north and south connection is much less urgently required. In each of the individual areas much remains to be done and the whole of a General Managers' energies is required at the present time in coping with the special problems which arise in this particular territory

AFRICAN LAND PROBLEMS.

The question of the land in relation to the natives in British Colonial Africa constitutes, of course, a very big problem, and it does not strictly come within the terms of Sir Sidney Henn's Motion on East African Colonies and Protectorates, because (1) that Motion is mainly concerned with unity of policy and (2) the Motion is confined to East African Colonies and Protectorates. It is true that in the speeches of last Friday, when you were asked to set up an East African Committee, some reference was made to trusteeship and native rights in regard to land, but a full inquiry into African land problems must necessarily take a long time. Such an investigation cannot be at all properly undertaken by the proposed East African Committee. I, therefore, suggest that in addition to the Committee which may be set up following Friday's deputation, another committee should be constituted to deal with the whole question of the land. Definite principles should be laid down for the guidance of the Government in dealing with the land problems throughout the whole of British Colonial Africa. It is urged that no sufficiently well-defined and comprehensive principles have ever been laid down, and that unless this is done, there is a danger of the land question in some, at any rate, of the Colonies being settled in the wrong way. Some of the questions to be considered by such a committee would be the following:-

- (1) The amount of native reserves which are necessary for the native population.
- (2) Whether land should be made available for natives outside reserves.
- (3) If and when land is alienated what should be the

terms.

- (4) If, after land has been alienated, it proves that the natives have not been left sufficient land, ~~there~~ ^{there} should be some means of re-entry for the natives on to portions of alienated land.
- (5) Whether individual tenure should be authorised for natives as well as communal ownership.
- (6) - If cotton is to be cultivated by individual natives, how is the land to be secured to them?
- (7) All minerals should be kept in the hands of the Government.

The Committee's labours would probably be mainly concerned with the various territories of East Africa and of Northern Rhodesia. Speaking broadly, the land system in our West African territories has given satisfaction. It is generally agreed that the best land system to be found in our African Colonial Empire is that of Nigeria, where practically all the land is in the possession of natives. The Nigerian system is commonly known as one of "communal ownership", the theory of which is - to quote from Mr. E.D. Morel's book "The Black Man's Burden" - "that in the community as a whole is vested the ownership of the land, and that consequently, the individual member of the community cannot permanently alienate the land he occupies and uses. Further, every individual in the community has the right to share in the bounties of the land, provided he carries out the social and political obligations to the community of which he forms a part." This ^{land} system is adjudged by many people to be an infinitely better one than that which the British people have in our own country.

An African Chief summed up the views of Africans about the land under their system of communal ownership, in the following words:- "I conceive that the land belongs to a vast family of which many are dead, few are living, and countless numbers are yet unborn."

It is clear that the right settlement of the land system of half a continent is a question which calls for the highest statesmanship. No committee has ever been set up to survey the whole problem and, obviously, for the reasons before given, such an investigation would be beyond the scope of the proposed East African Committee. I suggest for your consideration that in your speech tomorrow night you might say that the whole question of land in Africa is receiving your close attention, and that, although you have not yet decided, you may perhaps later on set up another committee to deal with it. Before such a Committee is set up, I would propose that a questionnaire be drawn up somewhat on the lines of the foregoing seven points, but more comprehensive, and that this be submitted for the views of four or five recognised authorities on these problems. After receipt of their replies and opinions, you could decide whether or not to set up a committee, (and what kind of a committee.)

a.
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Cotton has been proved to be a very suitable crop for native cultivation in many parts of Eastern Africa, and we mean to push it as actively as possible. In Uganda and Kenya European planters and settlers have so far not taken up cotton to any great extent, although plantations have been established, unsuccessfully at the coast and with better results in the valley of the Juba River.

There are parts of Africa where the native is not disposed to cultivate for himself, but will take up unskilled labour for a European, and in such places European cultivation has good prospects, but it is not so successful in a country like Uganda, where the native prefers to cultivate for himself.

Probably a native working for regular hours under European supervision might produce more cotton, but the number of natives willing to cultivate a little more land than is required for necessary foodstuffs is far greater than that of the natives who will work for wages. Further, the land is available without any question of alienation from native ownership.

In such an industry as Uganda cotton-growing, the function of non-native enterprise lies in ^{buying} ~~buying~~ ginning, and marketing, the cotton. The function of the Government lies in encouraging cotton growing, in improving and supervising native cultivation, in pointing out mistakes, in preventing, as far as may be possible, diseases and pests or in detecting and combating them, in securing and distributing a good supply of seed and experimenting with different varieties of seed so as to improve or maintain the strain of cotton, and, not least, in providing the means of transport.

In Uganda we have an extensive road system and shall soon have a better, and the new assisted loan will provide a line of new communications which cannot fail to increase both the economic radius of cotton growing and the return to the grower within the existing area. We have an excellent strain of cotton, but work is continually being carried on by the Department of Agriculture in seed experiments, the results of which from time to time find their way into general cultivation. Every year the seed distributed to the grower is that from the best cotton of the previous season.

The Government staff which is concerned with supervising native cultivation is being largely increased. (Note that we hope to get, in addition, four men from the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation. They are to consider the matter at a meeting to be held later on Tuesday and of course we cannot make any announcement).

What we have to aim at in Uganda - and it is a type of the work elsewhere - is to assist the native, by the use of better implements, to put as much land under cotton as possible and to improve his tillage so as to get a better yield per acre from his labour. Competition among ginners secures him the highest economic price for his cotton, and there is no reason why Uganda should not in a few years give a substantial contribution to the world's supply of cotton and at the same time have a staple crop which, so far as can be foreseen, will ensure the prosperity of its people in the face of any probable fall in the world price of cotton.

Destination of East African Cotton. It has been suggested that we ought to ensure that cotton developed as a result of British capital should be available for use in Lancashire. That is impossible in East Africa, the whole of which is within the great zone in which there is absolute freedom of trade under international agreements. But apart from that it would not be desirable to limit in any way the native's market for the cotton which he grows. Further, if Lancashire's competitors do not get Uganda cotton, they will get cotton of a similar grade from elsewhere; if they get Uganda cotton, there will be the more of other cotton for Lancashire to draw upon.

In the course of the Debate in the House of Commons on the 3rd March you made the following statement :-

"I do not know whether it would be wise to appoint a small Committee to look into the whole question, but at the moment I am favourably disposed towards that course. I do not want to commit myself as to the form of the Committee, but that side of the question will not be lost sight of."

Later on in the Debate Mr. Morel seems to have given a ~~more~~ liberal interpretation to this statement, for he observed -

"That is why I venture to think that his idea of having a Committee, which will represent all shades of opinion in this House and the best experience that can be brought to bear on it, is an excellent suggestion."

In any case it seems clear that if a Committee is to be appointed, it is to be a Committee in this country.

With regard to Kenya, you are expecting despatches from the Governor which will assist you in the matter, ~~which will be the basis of the Committee's report~~
~~particular attention will be given to the~~
~~question of the~~, particularly as regards the question of the inviolability of the native Reserves, to which special attention was drawn in the course of the Debate.

As regards ^{all} the five Dependencies to which Mr. Harris refers, we have of course a great deal of scattered information on most of the

Kenya
Tanganyika
Nyasaland
N. Rhodesia

the points which Mr. Harris mentions in paragraph 5 of his memorandum, but this is not in a concise and convenient form for use by a Committee. It is therefore a question whether it would not be wise ~~in the first instance for~~ the Colonial Office ~~to~~ draw up, in consultation with Mr. Harris (who would presumably keep in touch with other ^{Members of Parliament} interested in the matter) a questionnaire setting out under suitable heads various points on which information was desired. Copies of this questionnaire could then be sent out to the local Governments in order that they might obtain the necessary information from the officers specially responsible in the various Dependencies for the interests of the natives.

One reason for not rushing this question at the present time is that you will probably be ~~much~~ ^{too} occupied for some ~~time~~ ^{time} to come with the Indian question, and it seems desirable that that should be got out of the way before you open up this big and complicated question of native policy.

Another point is this - that if real progress is to be made with this native question, it is most essential that any Committee which may be appointed should have an opportunity of personal discussion with the Governors of the territories concerned when they are on leave in this country. In order that these discussions may be fruitful it is very desirable that before they leave Africa the Governors should have full information as to the points on which they will be questioned by the Committee, so that they may come home fully prepared for their interviews.

H. J. R. 22/11/24

20th March, 1924

Dear Mr. Harris,

Mr. Thomas asks me to thank you for your letter of yesterday and for the memorandum. He would be glad to see you in his room at the House of Commons at 5.30 on Monday.

Yours truly,

John A. Harris, Esq., M.P.

20th March, 1924.

To:-

The Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P.,
His Majesty's Principal Secretary
of State for the Colonies,
Colonial Office,
Whitehall, S.W.1.

My dear Mr. Thomas,

I have now got in order a short memorandum which has been agreed by all parties interested in this, as a general statement of what we should like to put before you in the event of your being willing to receive an influential deputation in support of the document, but I think, before taking any further step in the matter, I ought to have a little talk with you as to who, and what interests, should comprise the deputation. In the hope that you may be able to do this, I attach hereto a list of engagements I have at present, - or, if more convenient to you, could we have lunch or dinner together in the House? In any case, please feel that I am in your hands.

I am,

Yours sincerely,

John H. Thomas

Monday, March 24th.	Engaged 10-30 to 11-30 and 7 to 10 p.m.,
Tuesday, 25th.	" 6 to 10 p.m.,
Wednesday, 26th	" 2 to 10 p.m.,
Thursday, 27th	" 7 to 10 p.m.,

Week beginning March 31st., Free.

(1) The necessity of cotton production within the Empire is generally recognised. The fact that the growing consumption of America is overtaking her shrinking production may imperil within ten years the very existence of the Lancashire industries.

(2) It is natural that the thoughts of those interested in the production of cotton should turn to the potential cotton-producing areas of Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.

(3) His Majesty's Government last summer reaffirmed the principle of Trusteeship, and declared it to be as unassailable in the Uganda Protectorate and in Kenya Colony as in the mandated territory of Tanganyika. It was further pointed out that in the considered opinion of His Majesty's Government the interests of the African natives in these territories must be paramount. No necessary antagonism exists between the carrying out of the policy of His Majesty's Government and the development of cotton production within these areas. On the contrary, there are good reasons for believing that a well organised native industry, which would lead to native production of cotton, would be the economic backbone of stable native progress.

(4) The safeguarding of the principle of Trusteeship, in view of the important industrial developments which are in prospect, has, however, given rise to anxiety which found expression in the recent Debate on Supplementary Estimates. The Secretary of State expressed himself as favourably disposed to the appointment of a small committee to look into the whole question, and in reply to an enquiry, stated that "the exact problem which he had in mind was how we shall

give effect to the under-lying principles laid down in the White Paper".

(5) It is submitted that the questions which the proposed committee should enquire into should include the following:-

(i) Existing native rights in regard to land and the means of safeguarding them in the future, and of exercising effective control over the alienation of land.

(ii) Existing sources of revenue, including taxation of the natives and the amount expended directly for their benefit in education, etc.

(iii) The present and prospective capacities of the natives for participating in a policy of industrial development.

(iv) The means of assisting the natives to become effective producers, through education, scientific advice and assistance, and of safeguarding them against dangers to communal and individual life which may follow in the train of industrial development.

(6) No enquiry has been made into native affairs in the Crown Colonies since the Select Committee of 1835, comparable to that of the Native Affairs Commission (1903-5) in South Africa, which furnished such valuable guidance in regard to native affairs in the Union. It is suggested that, in view of the important developments which must inevitably take place, a thorough study of the whole native question is essential for the double purpose of ensuring that the principle of Trusteeship adopted by His Majesty's Government is faithfully carried out, and of obtaining at the same time the best results in production for the benefit of the British Commonwealth.

Much has been done and can be done to co-ordinate the work of various departments of administration in Eastern Africa. The postal and transport work of Kenya and Uganda has already been unified and much progress has been made towards customs union, covering those Dependencies and the Tanganyika Territory. Apart from unification, there are periodical conferences, particularly on medical and veterinary work, between the Heads of Departments in the various territories, and by this means it is possible to secure that similar problems in different territories are dealt with on similar lines.

But such problems are rarely identical, and it is often better to aim at co-ordination of effort rather than at amalgamation of control. In such matters the chief advantage of amalgamation of the services would lie in the simplification of emergency measures, and it would undoubtedly be useful, for example, if on the outbreak of an epidemic of human or animal disease, a flying squad could be organised which could be spared from the combined staff, but which the limited resources of one Dependency might not be able to produce. But such a joint effort in what is after all a common object should not be impossible even in present circumstances.

When we have such isolated possibilities of joint control or joint action, we are confronted by the very dissimilar character of the problems existing in each of the Dependencies, and it is this dissimilarity which makes it doubtful whether any

any real advantage can be gained by an extensive system of amalgamation or federation.

The question attracted Mr. Churchill's notice in 1921, and by his direction it was examined by a departmental Committee. That Committee, while seeing difficulties in the way of union, recommended that, if the matter was to be taken up at all, the first stage would be to appoint a Governor over Kenya and Uganda, which would retain their separate existence and their separate Councils, with the intention that the Governor should enquire into and report to the Secretary of State as to the possibility of a closer measure of union, the amalgamation of various Departments, and the possibility of including the Tanganyika Territory in the scope of the federation. It was clear that no economy in expenditure would be gained by such a federation, but that, on the contrary, additional expenditure would be unavoidable.

It is difficult to see in what way the task of administration will be simplified by any attempt to bring the various territories into close union. Each of them has its own local problems of great difficulty and of a character which, while it may have points in common with corresponding problems in the rest, has to be considered by itself; and it is essential that the Head of each Dependency should be a man of ability and experience who can deal with these problems and furnish the Secretary of State with his

his advice as to how they should be solved. While a High Commissioner or Governor-General might be able to take a broader view of questions of general application, he could not, over so large an area, give the close personal attention to the various questions which the Governor of a single Dependency can give, and his appointment would not dispense with the necessity for officials of first-rate ability in charge of the separate Dependencies.

If, then, the Governor-General is to be a supervising and co-ordinating head over the whole group, he would in effect be a deputy Secretary of State for the Colonies, with the advantage over the Secretary of State that he would be on the spot, but with the disadvantage that he would not have available the experience of Colonial administration generally which ^{is} of continually recurring value in the examination of administrative questions in the Colonial Office.

But anything in the nature of a deputy Secretary of State, with authority over a number of Colonies or Protectorates is unknown to the constitution, and it would in fact be essential, in view of the Secretary of State's responsibility to Parliament, and (on certain matters) to the Treasury, that every question which the local Governor or Lieutenant Governor found it necessary to refer to the Governor General would have to be referred by him to the Secretary of State. The appointment would be no gain to the Secretary of State because whatever weight could

could be attached to the advice of a Governor-General as compared with that of a Governor, would be counterbalanced by the knowledge that the Governor-General's acquaintance with the problem was necessarily less intimate than that of a Governor.

It must be remembered that, even if we confine attention to the four territories of Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar and Tanganyika, the area concerned is larger than that of the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Germany, Austria and Switzerland combined, while the population is in the neighbourhood of 10 millions.

It is perhaps unnecessary to go further in order to show that, until more progress has been made with the solution of the graver problems which arise in Eastern Africa, the appointment of a Governor-General does not furnish an "open sesame" for our difficulties. It would certainly create difficulties. When it became known on the previous occasion that amalgamation or federation was in the air, there was an outburst of protest in Uganda from the native Government, the Planters' Association and the Chamber of Commerce, and in Zanzibar from the Indian National Association. Press reports from East Africa on the revival of the project show that Uganda is opposed to amalgamation owing to fear of Kenya domination, while Zanzibar is unfavourable to the project and Kenya is described as being frankly sceptical, whatever that may imply. It must be admitted

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admitted that differences of point of view, and even jealousies, are so acute in East Africa that a scheme of federation would be regarded with suspicion in many quarters. The idea of being subjected to the influence of the European community in Kenya, or even to the administration of a high official whose duties would necessarily oblige him to bear in mind the special needs and aspiration of that community, and whose seat of Government would probably be at Nairobi, would undoubtedly, however safeguarded, be treated by the native races of Uganda as something approaching a betrayal of our trust with regard to them; while the European of Kenya, who already talks about the Africanisation of Kenya, would probably not welcome an arrangement by which his numerical, and it must be admitted, his productive, importance, would be materially lessened in comparison with the native races.

6-03

at 1934

The Cadder

600/2

*Sps saw these this morning
interview went off well - Dec 16/4*

Major Crowdy telephoned to me about this: European feeling was slipping back into the acutely nervous state of 15 months ago, and it would be a good thing if Lord Francis Scott could take back with him a reassuring message - "especially about the Highlands".

As to Federation. I do not think the Secretary of State will be called upon to say anything, but the views they express may be interesting. I should imagine that they will oppose, but it is conceivable that they may support the Lugard proposal for a distinctively European administrative unit in the Highlands. If they do, they can be asked how they propose to get over the fact that nearly half the Indian population is in the Highlands.

Generally, I presume the Secretary of State will wish to indicate that so far as the Labour Government are concerned the Europeans are crying out before they are hurt. It was not the present Government who are responsible for the White Paper, with its definite pronouncements that the interests of the native must be paramount, and that His Majesty's Government retained and would not share the trusteeship for the natives; nor was it Mr. Thomas who agreed to receive a Committee representing the Government of India and hear what they had to say about Kenya. It is true that he has agreed to form a Committee to report to him on native and other questions in East Africa, but that is not a new proposal and it is pressed by all sections of the House of Commons.

In inheriting the White Paper Mr. Thomas inherited the pledge that, subject to native interests being

being paramount, the legitimate claims of other communities must be safeguarded. As regards land in the Highlands, pledges have repeatedly been given, and it is difficult to see how they could be upset now, unless as a result of a change of view ^{on} the part of the Europeans themselves. Such a change of view might come about in two ways. (1) There have always been Europeans who would welcome the freedom to dispose of their land to Asiatics, and their number might increase; (2) there is much to be said from the farmers' point of view in favour of having a nucleus of labour permanently resident on the land, and recognised "squatting" by natives may well grow into some definite form of land tenure by the individual native. At any rate, a change of policy in respect of the Highlands is not in the picture now.

As regards the Franchise and Immigration, the Secretary of State, as they will recognise, cannot make a statement at a time when the conversations with the Indian Committee have barely begun. But he considers at all events, that the ^{present} Franchise system must have a fair trial. Immigration is especially difficult. Control is only justifiable on the ground laid down in the White Paper--that of economic competition with the natives, and while it is not difficult to show that Indians now do much that the Africans ought to be doing, and that if Indian immigration continues in any volume there will not be enough skilled employment for ^{new immigrants,} them, the Indians already there, and the Africans, it is not so easy to show that fresh immigration cannot be discouraged by purely economic process - not by a boycott of Indians, but by employers giving preference to those (African or Indian) now in the country.

country.

As regards Indian traders, the deputation can be invited to help the Secretary of State by saying candidly whether they think the country could afford to restrict their entry. They are now the chief agencies for buying from and selling to the natives. native production and consequent purchasing power are rapidly increasing, and unless there are more traders there may be inadequate competition and consequent loss to the natives.

The Secretary of State can hardly avoid referring to the Imperial aspect of the question. The phrase ^{implies} 'to the average European settler, the efforts of Australia and South Africa to keep out the coloured immigrant, but to any Government in Office here it means the real danger of disaster in India. Short of that, the feeling in favour of retaliation cannot be kept permanently in check, and, although the real interests of the natives of Kenya must and will prevail, it will have to be made clear that no Indian will be excluded on frivolous grounds, or because he is an Indian.

Leaving politics, the European settler's main trouble is his labour supply. There can be no question of any ~~in~~ Government here agreeing to the policy, introduced for a time in Kenya after the war, of directly influencing natives to work for Europeans, and they must be content with the surplus voluntarily available. Such a surplus now exists, to the extent of 80,000 or so, and it will increase. ^{at present} Now there are three kinds of natives, those who work in the Reserves, those who prefer to work for Europeans, and those who do not work at all. It is surely,

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to be expected that if we can get rid of the third class the numbers of both the others will go up.

Probably there are many Europeans who do not have labour troubles and many others who by more attention to the needs of their men could end their labour troubles. It must not be thought that any one in the Colonial Office believes in any widespread neglect or hard treatment of natives, but it must be borne in mind that every case of hard treatment that comes to light tells against the European in every phase of the discussions on outstanding points.

Mr. March

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You agreed by telephone to our suggestion
for a discussion with Mr. G. before
Tuesday debate. Tuesday morning was
suggested, but the Indians will come at
11.30. Possibly Thurs. afternoon or
Friday will be more suitable.

As to points:-

- (1) My memo: on federation is better.
- (2) My notes for yesterday's discussion are with
Mr. G.
- (3) Mr. Calder's notes for 2^o are below.
- (4) Yesterday's shorthand notes will be available?
- (5) See ahead for Thursday Mr. Calder & I considered
something this morning.
- (6) I may be able to add a note on western.

W.C.S. 25.4.24.

DRAFT.

MINUTE.

Mr.

Mr.

Mr.

Sir C. Davis.

Sir G. Grindle.

Sir H. Hood.