

DOMESTIC

EAST AFR PROT

43150

N^o. 43150

REC 6 DEC 1905

Individual

with Israel

1905

Nov 5

Working Paper

(Subject)

Jewish Settlement

Submits scheme for consideration

(Remarks)

Mr. Reed

It is not stated what the
Prof. said to Mr. Z. but
presumably he discouraged the
project on the basis of the
memorandum. Mr. Z. will probably
return to the charge. Letter is
so the letter of so other. Ad.
is printed. But I don't
think any further action is
required. W. H. P. 11/12

Approved?

W. H. P.

W. H. P.

The proposal is to hand over ^{the} East Africa
as a whole to this Organisation, to become
a self governing colony of Jews under the
British Government.

The project - if desirable - is not a human possibility.
No British Minister or Government could carry it
through.

Not is it desirable. It is contrary to our traditions
and policy to ~~hand over any particular area for one~~
~~and one religion~~ to hand over the control
of a particular area to the control of a particular race
or particular religion.

We want to welcome the Jews into our Empire, where
they will have every advantage which any other British
subject has, but we do not want to isolate them
so as to form an Empire within an Empire. It will
create a false difficulty - if it could be carried
out at present, which it cannot.

The Marmora in the world would be a parallel
to some of the ordinary tide of population in the

U.S. reached a certain point, the
People - (with no doubt in this case
objectionable customs) want the
of Peculiar Peoples.

I would not hold out any hope to Mr.
Zangwill of obtaining such a scheme

~~I would suggest that he should send~~
~~to various selected parts of the Empire~~
~~for the purpose of ascertaining~~

and I would agree that it is not to the advantage
of the Jews themselves

But I think we should do all we can to try and
get them within the Empire

I would challenge Mr. Z. as to what parts of
the Empire he would contemplate sending them to
to become ordinary citizens in villages or communities
of their own - if this were especially where
any parts of the Empire would suit
It is possible - though only a possibility

Kind an experiment of a kind might be made
of the British Honduras or British Guiana;
and I think we might - if any moderate
proposals were put forward or if Jewish Com-
missions were sent out to enquire ^{formally} about
this organization, go some way to ^{formally} commencing
them to the government's sympathy

I mean I think the British government
should show every wish to have the Jews as
their citizens in the colonies, but ^{should expect} not to
create a great Jewish Bazaar, to be ^{from}
the beginning a source of difficulty and possibly
trouble

I should also like to write & consult
Sir M. Nathan

A. A. A.

you will please A. just sent
reference

information regarding S. Africa is not
to date is he altogether undetermined the
extent to which European settlement has
taken root in the Protectorate. The country
is developing to an most extraordinary extent
present conditions - I should think that it
be out of the question to hand it over as paper

H. J. R.

1/12

As circumstances have changed
to work in East Africa since the
offer was made to the Zionists that
it would have been hardly possible to
force efforts to that effect and finally
impracticable to hand over the
whole territory as now proposed.

1/12

Clearly Parliament could never be asked
to relinquish British territory - favour of
kind of emancipation and we cannot dis-
miss the responsibility for its state

1/12
65 400000 H.H.

1/12

JEWISH TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION

15, Essex Street, Strand, W.C.

5th November, 1905

Dear Mr. Lyttelton,

I beg to send you a pamphlet containing your valued
letter. Since I wrote to you our Organization has advanced
leaps and bounds till it bids fair to unite all the
philanthropic forces of the Jews of the world, (not excluding
the Jewish Colonization Association founded by the late Baron
Hirsch). Indeed, the leading Jewish organ, which has
long opposed Zionism, says this week: "The Jewish
territorial Organization has had the growing merit of
extending itself to the generality of our people."

The ghastly Russo-Jewish massacres that are raging
write sanguine heralds the need of the land of refuge
we aspire to establish under British protection in
the most or thinly populated region of His Majesty's
Empire.

Trusting that I shall be permitted to see you
after your return to town as is convenient to you,

Yours sincerely,

Israel Zangwill

NOITANIHARQ LAIBOTSEHT NEMIRU

10 Essex Street, Strand, W.C.
5th November, 1905

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C.O.
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REC'D
DEC 6 DEC 1905

JEWISH TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION

15, Essex Street, Strand, W.C.

16th November, 1905

Bernard Holland Esq. C.B.
Colonial Office.

Dear Sir,

I have been so busy organising a mass meeting of
against the Russo-Jewish massacre - a meeting by the way
which some 1,000 London Jews endorsed the programme of the
Organisation - that I have had no time to acknowledge your
kind letter of the 8th November. Naturally I have not
to intrude upon Mr. Spilston's attention when it is so fully
occupied with other matters, and I shall be glad to call
the 4th December, which is most curiously and appositely
200th anniversary of the first sitting of the Whitehall
preparations over by Cromwell to consider the admission of
Jews into England.

I will endeavour before that date, if possible
reduce a project to writing, but I rather desire
in my last letter to guard myself by a preliminary

1.

Yours sincerely

from formally making any proposition that the Government might consider impracticable.

Please thank Mr. Lyttelton for so kindly receiving me.

Yours faithfully,

Harold Zangwill

540
JEWISH TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION

15, ESSEX STREET,
STRAND.

LONDON . 28th November, 1908

C. O.
43150

REC'D
NOV 28 1908

Dear Mr. Lyttelton,

Will you kindly let me know the hour of the appointment you have kindly given me on December 3rd. You may be interested to learn though it will strike you as medieval, that in our East End and in many parts of Russia and Galicia, services have been arranged in the Synagogues for that day, praying for the success of the project and for England's protection. The distress and trouble of our people are indeed appalling, and the demand for relief is being accordingly great.

I have drawn out a lengthy territorial project which shall send you a couple of days before I have the privilege of my interview.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

Israel Zangwill

The Rt. Hon. Alfred Lyttelton, K.C., M.P.
Colonial Office.

JEWISH DEBITORIAL ORGANIZATION

16, Essex Street, Strand

LONDON 30th November, 1905

C.C.
43150
REC'D DEC 6 1905

Dear Mr Lyttelton,

I will not apologise for the length of the enclosed letter as it is packed with details which you would probably demand, but if you will kindly read pages 12-20 you will become acquainted with the gist of my proposal. The rest is mainly occupied with the proofs of the capital and labour we can pour upon the given territory. I have also inserted a roughly outlined explanation of the scheme, while our appendix gives a letter from Russia showing the strength of the demand of a land.

I shall call at 5 p.m. on Sat. Dec. 3rd.

I expect my letter has a great interest to you.

Yours very truly,

Israel Zangwill

The Rt. Hon. Alfred Lyttelton, F.R.S.

JEWISH TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION

CENTRAL LONDON BRANCH.

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HON. SEC. & TREASURER

CLEMENT I. SALAMAN.

2, WYNDHAM PLACE,

BRYANSTON SQUARE, W.

October, 1905.

Dear Sir,

The ever recurring reports of atrocities perpetrated on the Jewish people with the connivance of the Russian Government must have brought home to every one the necessity of finding a solution to the great Jewish Question.

From time to time attempts have been made to grapple with this subject with very little success (if any). Hitherto this political matter has always been approached by appeals to the philanthropic instincts of the Eastern Jews. This year, however, marks the determination to deal with this political subject, by political methods.

To effect this purpose the Jewish Territorial Organization was established. Its object is to provide an autonomous Land of Refuge, preferably under British suzerainty, for those Jews who are hostile or unwilling to remain in the lands in which they at present live. During the first few years it will be necessary, of course, to select from this body of emigrants only those who are fitted for agricultural and pioneer labour, and who will prepare the land for a large and industrial population. The British Government has declared its willingness to consider any reasonable proposal for such a colony, under British suzerainty.

An International Council has been constituted comprising some of the most eminent men in the Jewish communities of England, America, Germany, Russia, &c., &c., while some of the leading philanthropic organisations have already signified their readiness to co-operate in the political work.

For the furtherance of the objects of the Jewish Territorial Organisation, local branches have been and are being formed throughout the whole civilised World; one of these is THE CENTRAL LONDON BRANCH, of which Mr. Lucien Wolf has accepted the presidency, and among its members are the following:— Messrs. B. L. Abrahams, F.R.C.S., S. L. Bensusan, David Cohen, B.A., M. D. Eder, B.Sc., Philip Hartog, B.Sc., Albert Kinross, A. L. Langdon, K.C., R. M. Sebag Montefiore, M. S. Nathan, LL.D., Samuel Phillips, Will Rothenstein, Clement Salaman, Horace S. Samuel, Samuel Samuel, Mortimer H. Solomon, Solomon J. Solomon, A.R.A., Marion H. Spielman, F.S.A., Alfred Sutro, Major-General Sir Alfred E. Turner, K.C.B., Lucien Wolf, Israel Sangwill, Mrs. Herbert Cohen, Miss Carmel Goldamid, Mrs. S. Joshua, Mrs. Myer Salaman, Mrs. Redcliffe Salaman, Lady Carolina Wynford, Mrs. Israel Sangwill.

Large sums of money have been given or promised by many sympathisers and well wishers who desire for the present to remain anonymous.

All Jews who have the welfare of the Hebrew People at heart are earnestly invited to join this Society.

Membership, however, is by no means restricted to persons of the Hebrew Race, all lovers of freedom and humanity, all who rejoice in the emancipation of a long persecuted and oppressed people, will give this organization their sympathy and support.

The annual subscription has been fixed at a minimum of £2, so as to be within the capacity of all classes, but a larger annual subscription and special donations will be thankfully received.

For further information relating to the Organization and its supporters, I refer you to the pamphlet herewith.

Hoping to receive back the enclosed Form of Receipt, duly filled up.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

CLEMENT I. SALAMAN.

JEWISH TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION

CENTRAL LONDON BRANCH

Form of Membership.

To the Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

I desire you to enrol me a Member of the Central London Branch of the Jewish Territorial Organisation, and herewith enclose £ . . . being my Annual Subscription.

NAME

(If a Lady state whether Mrs. or Miss).

ADDRESS

* The minimum Annual Subscription is £2.

If a donation is given in addition to, or in lieu of, the Annual Subscription, kindly fill in the following:

To the Hon. Sec. and Treasurer of the Central London Branch of the Jewish Territorial Organisation.

I have pleasure in enclosing you a cheque for £ . . . as a contribution towards the Central Funds of the Jewish Territorial Organisation.

Cheques should be made payable to Clement I. Salaman, Hon. Sec. and Treasurer, and crossed London and Westminster Bank, Bloomsbury, Central London Branch, J. T. O.

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CENTRAL LONDON BRANCH.

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(If a lady state whether Mrs. or Miss)

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JEWISH TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION.

545

LONDON

November 30th

1905



11, FLEET STREET, STRAND. TELEPHONE, 5379 CERRARS. THE ADDRESS "IRELAND, LONDON."

The Rt. Hon. Alfred Lyttelton, K.C., M.P., His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Dear Mr. Lyttelton,

I have the honour, in accordance with your kind wish, to place before you a territorial project prior to my seeing you on December 4th. In drawing it up I have borne in mind that His Majesty's Government, though it must proceed largely by routine, is yet - as was proved by the offer to the Zionist Congress - capable of new and vivifying ideas. More especially may I rely upon a sympathetic hearing at a period when the need for a great Jewish land of refuge has been accentuated by the most appalling massacres ever in the long-drawn Jewish tragedy of eighteen centuries. I append a typical letter written from the heart of one of the shambles, less for its own sake than for its proof that a vast exodus from Russia is upon us. Already by a sure instinct the Jewish masses had been leaving Russia, to the tune of a million in a quarter of a century, and if the new massacres about to ensue drive now three of a

342-15

virgin land, instead of congesting the slums of great cities, it is because we have been politically educating them to the new conception. No alone can divert the mighty stream. Even an Aliens' Bill is confessedly powerless against the refugees from massacre and mutilation. Who could refuse entry for example to the Jewess of Tschernigoff who wrote in a private letter "The whole town is a perfect pain. My young brother perished in the conflagration. My sister Esther was subjected to unspeakable violence and then cut to pieces by ferocious Cossacks. My old father lies near to upon the ground and groans. His eyes have been put out with a red-hot iron. We have since then said"

"The Dream People", that faithfully observed Russian Jewish legends, written by a Russian Christian, an old man dreams a dream of ineffable happiness. The essence of this dream is merely that he was in a town in which the politicians were Jewish!

This is indeed the new dream of the Russo-Jewish masses, and this is the dream the Jewish Territorial Organization - the ITO - seeks to realize for them - the dream of Jewish self-

government

In negotiating for a territory on which this dream may come true, I am first approaching the British Government, not merely

because of the part it has played towards the Zionists, nor because I was myself born in the capital of the British Empire, but because I know that the Jew's heart from all the world over turns to England as to the old mother of freedom.

THE QUESTION OF CAPITAL

But you will naturally ask, who will be behind such a scheme? From the experience of the brief months during which the Jewish Territorial Organization has been in existence, I feel justified in replying "the whole Jewish people!" Zionists and Anti-Zionists alike are joining us at an unprecedented rate. And this when our programme is merely theoretical and shadowy. Once it is linked with a definite territory, and sanctioned by the British Government, it will take overwhelming hold of our people. But already - to mention only the capital cities - we have branches in London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Antwerp, St. Petersburg, Sofia, Warsaw, Lemberg, Bucharest, Budapest, Bern, Cape Town, Johannesburg, New York, and Jerusalem. We have nearly a hundred branch branches. We have some twenty four British branches including many leading Jews, as well as a number of distinguished Christians, soldiers, churchmen, and members of the aristocracy.

Our Council in London includes the Right Hon. Arthur Cohen, K.C., Sir Isidore Spielmann, Major General Sir Alfred Turner, K.C.B., Mr. Lucien Wolf, Mr. Ad. Lazarus Langdon K.C., and nearly every English Jew eminent in art or letters.

We have the advice and assistance of Mr. Hermann Kison G.S.I. late Director General of the Post Office of India, and Acting Financial Secretary to the Government of Bengal; Mr. Daniel De Pass, one of the pioneers of Basutoland, whose family has led the sealing, whaling, and fishing industries in Cape Town; Sir Israel Hart, four times Mayor of Leicester, Mr. Albert Reitlinger, an Australian financier, Mr. Paul Hirsch, J.P., a wealthy merchant of Leeds, and many of the most influential Jews in Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham. With the Rothschilds I have no personal relations, but as Lord Rothschild sent a telegram of congratulation to Dr. Herzl when the original Government offer was announced, and told a friend of mine that he would not let East Africa drop if the Zionists refused it, I assume they will not stand outside a movement so hopeful for their people.

In Germany through the medium of the Grand Lodge and the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden we have practically every Jew with us, from Herr James Simon, the millionaire decorated by the Emperor, to Herr Lillenthal, the Synagogue of the Berlin Community.

Dr. Paul Nathan, whom Lord Rothschild and the leading Jews of the world have just sent on a mission to Russia, has given public opinion a strong lead on our behalf. Our German organizer, Dr. Klee, himself a man of considerable wealth, writes to me that the financial classes are all favourably disposed and that the British Government has only to grant us a territory for us to be enthusiastically subsidized. A financier in Frankfurt told me the same thing.

From America, too, with its stock of Jewish millionaires, we draw great hope, especially as we have been promised the co-operation of a wealthy Lodge. The Hon. Oscar S. Straus, who has been appointed Chairman of the Committee for collecting the Relief Funds in connection with the massacres, is a member of our Council. He enjoys the highest regard of President Roosevelt who described him to me as "a white soul", and he was twice United States Minister Plenipotentiary to Turkey. With him are associated on the Council the Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, the intellectual head of American Jewry who during the recent Presidential elections was recruited to his judgeship by a large majority from the Republicans, in fact the largest majority in the whole history of Pennsylvania. A third member of the Council is Mr. Daniel Guggenheim, head of a firm of

silver mines, with mines throughout Colorado and Mexico, and another is Mr. Cyrus Sulzberger, President of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society and Trustee of the United Hebrew Charities. The Council is completed by the Hon. A. S. Solomons of Washington, who is Honorary Trustee and General Agent of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, and Treasurer of the Alliance Israelite for the States. The united influence of these men upon the rich Jews of America should be enormous.

Then there is South Africa, that other hive of Jewish wealth. Mr. Max Langermann, whom you saw and to whom Mr. Chamberlain addressed an encouraging letter is calling out to organize the movement there. But already many branches have been formed, and promises of large pecuniary assistance have been sent to me. Mr. Langermann himself is a tower of strength.

There remains Russia, where the vast majority of our branches have sprung up, and where the eminent advocate Jassinowski, who directs the movement, has only been restrained by me from launching a joint-stock company with ten million shares which he declares will be universally taken up.

Finally there is the vast fund bequeathed by the late Baron de Hirsch for this very purpose; the directors of which are now

unprepared to assist a sound territorial project. As much was admitted to me privately on the Continent by several of the leading members of the Jewish Colonization Association, and here in England Mr. Claude Montefiore has made a public statement to the same effect.

Thus then I think I may soberly say that it is in the power of the IZ to direct upon any given territory a great stream of capital.

THE QUESTION OF LABOUR

That we can also pour upon any given territory a great stream of labour goes without saying. You will ask "But what kind of labour? is it agricultural labour, pioneer labour?" I reply that the Russo-Jewish population from which mainly, though far from exclusively, our first settlers will be carefully selected, is a population larger than that of Norway and Denmark combined, and holds workers of every kind. Despite the legislative difficulties that divorce the Jew from the soil, over 100,000 are engaged in agriculture, fruit and dairy-farming. The late Councillor Bloch, in his monumental work on Russia, proves by elaborate statistics that when Jews are allowed on

the land they do excellently. The model viticulture of the Jews of Bessarabia has received the praises of the Russian Minister of Agriculture. Several hundred thousand Russian Jews have been toughened by military service, and myriads are just returning from the frosty camps of Manchuria. Of a batch of refugees that arrived in London last year, all of whom are now at work on the Canadian Pacific Railway, Major General Moody said "A finer body of men I have never seen". I have myself seen the Jewish agriculturists of Palestine, stalwart sun-browned horsemen. In the Argentine, though from lack of Jewish autonomy, it has not attracted the Jewish masses, there are several flourishing agricultural colonies, fast approaching ten thousand souls, and the younger generation is at ease in the saddle. In Hungary Jews form a very large part of the tillers of the soil.

In the United States Mr. Hizer, the Vice President, of the United Hebrew Charities, has calculated that there are many thousand prosperous Jewish farmers and the latest instance of a small farm colony in Wisconsin is so peculiarly instructive that I make considerable quotation from an American paper. Jewish Colony, Arden, Wood County, Wis. Oct. 6th, 1908:-

"Beginning in the dead of winter, less than one year ago, the refugee Russian and Roumanian Jews in the Arvin settlement seem to have achieved wonders. In December last these families of persecuted people, fleeing from oppression in their native lands, came gladly to the proposed colony here and began with praise and thanksgiving to new for themselves and their families homes and fortunes in the thick timber lands, purchased at this place for them by the Milwaukee Agricultural Association. It was in mid-winter that these hopeful refugees waded through deep snow and began cutting timber on the farms which they know will in time be theirs. To-day satisfactory results are apparent and the colonists are happy and sincere in their work.....

There are at present ten of these families in the Arvin settlement, with a total of thirty four children; three of the latter have been born here. With little or no knowledge of farm work as it is conducted in America, knowing scarcely a word of the language of this country, and depending wholly upon their health and strength, these poor people have begun in the forests of central Wisconsin to become good farmers, and the American residents here informed the "Evening Wisconsin" representative that these people are above all good American citizens, desirable neighbours; that they are sober, industrious, inoffensive and sincere, and that they are anxious to please and determined to learn and assimilate our ways. The practical farmer at the head of the settlement, H. F. Rochelle, states that with very few exceptions the men and boys learn the art of farming quickly, and that they are apt and appreciative students. At the present time more than one half of them are doing the greater part of the work on their farms, including that of clearing.....

While the men and older boys work every day upon their farms, clearing, cutting cordwood and preparing for crops, the women take cleanly care of their little homes, and the younger children attend the public school in the village. Their teacher Miss Carrie Evans informed the correspondent that the children learn rapidly, that they are easily pleased, bright and anxious to learn. Many of these children with their parents have clear olive skin, dark brown lustrous eyes, and brown or light hair are as handsome as any to be seen in the State. They are clean, neatly dressed, in perfect health and evidently happy.....

With an actual effort of but eight months, and a beginning in the dead of winter, these refugees have now in stock

55

nearly 200 cords of wood, and will, for the present, besides supplying their own needs, have a considerable surplus to be used; they have raised sufficient quantities for their own use, including potatoes, cabbage, beets, pumpkins, beans, onions, some corn, etc. jointly they have cleared something about ten acres on each farm and made it ready for a crop, and by spring, it is believed, they will have ten acres entirely cleared on forty, thus insuring a heavy crop, under favourable weather conditions, the coming year."

The Zionist Commissioners who went out to the East Africa Protectorate found a small number of Jewish farmers already established there. Even as I write I have an application from an experienced Jewish farmer and cattle-rearer in Bechait who desires to migrate to a Jewish territory, and there are hundreds of Jews of this type who would sooner or later join him. We have also a source of supply in the agricultural schools founded in Europe and America by the Jewish Colonization Association, young men from which have already enthusiastically announced their intention of coming out to us.

The late Colonel Goldsmit, the well known organizer of Baron de Hirsch's colonies, in the Argentine, in relating his experiences says:

"It was sought in establishing the Jewish Colonization Association to give the outcasts of Eastern Europe a home in a free land with healthy occupations likely to improve their physique and morals.

Notwithstanding the difficulties inherent in starting such a scheme, difficulties accentuated by the fact that

a comparatively small percentage of families originally sent out had the slightest knowledge of agriculture, the result has already afforded abundant proof of the capability of the town bred Jew to adapt himself under proper surroundings to Agricultural pursuits. Shoemakers, tailors, pedlars, tradesmen and others, who when commencing to learn their work knew not which end of the plough would be fastened to the oxen, developed a very fair knowledge of farming in a few months. In many cases not only did the boys, but even the wives and girls take to ploughing and assisting the men.

As regards town bred Jews when treated with fairness and sympathy a large proportion buckled to and, in some cases the result was little short of marvellous.

Small communities and individuals attempted to colonize on their own account before the Jewish Colonization Association was formed. In some cases Jews of good standing in Russia, lawyers, doctors, professors established themselves as farmers and Englishmen travelling in out of the way districts have expressed their natural astonishment at coming across Jews of high culture, with accomplished sons and daughters, ploughing their lands with the help of their families like ordinary colonists.

The two experiments in Palestine and Argentina have proved beyond a doubt the capability of the town bred Jew developing into an Agriculturist, and its favourable effects on his physical and moral development cannot be doubted.

But here I must beg to remind you that we are seeking a country, not a great farm-colony. Our population is unfortunately largely urban, and though we should encourage to the utmost the return to the soil, we must also provide channels for our urban and industrial elements.

Our project does not belong to the same category as General Booth's. There is little question of a submerged tenth of unskilled labour. We have to deal mainly with a potent population skilled in many crafts, desiring to express its

a comparatively small percentage of families originally sent out had the slightest knowledge of agriculture, the result has already afforded abundant proof of the capability of the town-bred Jew to adapt himself under proper encouragement to Agricultural pursuits. Shoemakers, tailors, pedlars, small tradesmen and others, men who when commencing to learn their work knew not which end of the plough would be fastened to the oxen, developed a very fair knowledge of farming in a few months. In many cases not only did the boys, but even the wives and girls take to ploughing and assisting the men.

As regards town-bred Jews when treated with firmness and sympathy a large proportion buckled to and, in some cases the result was little short of marvellous.

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specific activities according to its natural genius. You know the character of our masses. They have just been described in a Sermon at St. Paul's Cathedral by Archbishop Sinclair, a member of the ITO - "For the most part they are fine, well-built, healthy people, domestic, devoted to their children, industrious, thrifty, frugal, law-abiding, filled with immeasurable gratitude to the land for her protection and her freedom They have added greatly to the wealth of every nation that has received them."

The Daily News of November 27th, says: "The first party of Jewish refugees to escape from Vienna after the recent massacre arrived in London last night and were seen by a representative of 'The Daily News'. The men were on the whole sturdy, well-built fellows, citizens of whom any country might be proud. The women and-faced but good-looking; the children bright and intelligent though thin."

A number of our settlers will belong to the proprietors and the professional classes, ready to pour their capital and their labors into the Jewish territory. And they will come not only from persecuted Jews, a minority will come from the free Jewries of the world to help their brethren and for the sake of the new political status.

SITE OF THE TERRITORY

For such a territory the remote pastoral plateau in the East Africa Protectorate is obviously inadequate. Even the Zionists who needed a territory outside Palestine mainly for its moral value could do nothing with it. And as Sir Charles Wilson truly remarks, the settlement of a few hundred cattle raisers could in no way solve the Jewish problem. It amounted to placing Jews in a reserve like some savage tribe. Nevertheless even this small concession was locally denounced as a crime against the Anglo-Saxon settlers of the future. This was partly due to the mistaken idea that we should dump down a sort of pauper alien population, whereas what we offer is a carefully selected population that would largely increase the value of the holdings of the present occupiers. But as similar dog-in-the-manger criticisms will be levelled at any project whatever, I may venture to recall that throughout the British Empire, territories the size of our countries are constantly handed to mere profit-hunting syndicates that sometimes even lack them. In Canada, which is nearly of the same area as the whole of Europe, there are less people than in our London four-mile radius, and though she is our most attractive and nearest colony, all her elaborate advertising does not draw a satisfactory

number of British emigrants. There remains moreover for Britain to feed from her comparatively small population, the continent of Australia, with Tasmania and New Zealand and the vast stretches of South Africa, not to mention places like British Honduras, British Guiana, the West Indies, parts of which latter are being deserted by the white races, while the average British emigrant prefers the United States to them all. In fact over her twelve or thirteen million square miles of territory outside these islands, our Empire has only a white population of twelve millions, or about one white man per square mile. The accession therefore to the Empire of an efficient white population can scarcely be regarded as a loss to the Empire.

Canada, Australia and South Africa undoubtedly contain enormous comparatively empty regions, in which a Jewish land might arise under Colonial auspices. But these colonies are old enough to have taken on their political mould. The British East Africa Protectorate is yet in the plastic stage, politically unborn. Twenty years ago, say, fifteen years ago, it was not British. And it came into British hands not for political but for religious and humane reasons connected with the slave trade. Up to the Zionist Congress of 1903 it was unknown, save as the theatre

of a costly enterprise, the Uganda Railway. There were scarcely any applications for land. In the latest issue of the "Statesman's Year Book", its white population is given at only 500, and these so far from being peculiarly Anglo-Saxon are described as European and Eurasian. The Zionist Congress advertised the country and there was a rush of applications which I understand found the local authorities quite unprepared, as the land had not been properly surveyed. Possibly the white population, British or non-British, has now doubled, but in any case it is a negligible or possibly rising quantity. As the latest edition of the "Uganda Handbook" remarks: "It has naturally not been possible to organise so young a territory on permanent lines within the brief period of its existence."

Two-thirds of the Protectorate are black man's country, the rest, the highland portion, of about the size of England and Wales, is said to be fertile healthy white man's territory, though some of the four million blacks are at present in possession of parts of it. Of these tribes the Mandi have been giving trouble to England, and they attacked even the Zionist caravan, while the Somalis are regarded as possibly a formidable problem. The country itself is at present a pathless wilderness, save where the Uganda Railway cuts a

narrow line through the Jungle. The whole northern interior, upon which by the way the Abyssinians seem steadily encroaching, is very imperfectly known, and much of the land is unmapped, unsurveyed and practically unadministered. For 200 continuous miles the Uganda Railway runs through a region of thick scrub inhabited only by lions. It is a land of fierce winds and violent rains, of chills and fevers, and the sleeping sickness is said to be spreading from Uganda. Locusts and caterpillars endanger the crops. The battle with Nature has not begun. The native tribes show little capacities for development, and for the building of the railway, coal had to be imported and returned to India. There are no general prospects. The land has neither gold nor coal and in the opinion of Prof. Gregory, the geologist and explorer, it has been over-boomed. In spite, therefore, of the excellent possibilities of the highlands, the development of the Protectorate must be slow indeed. Tanganyika is even passing through a period of decadence. Regarded as a field for the British emigrant, the Protectorate is handicapped by its distance - the steamer fare is about £17.10/- and by the fact that a capital is recommended whose minimum is variously placed at £300 and £500. The British Government, it is universally conceded, is unable to encourage emigration because

of the great expenses of administration. The annual deficit is about £286,000. Six millions have been spent on the Uganda railway, the capital cost of which is regarded as not likely to be regained, while two or three hundred thousand pounds have been added in grants.

Sir Cass. Wilson writes in his recent work: "The Protectorate has a very scanty population and offers hardly any market. It is therefore not likely to prove profitable or remunerative unless it is helped by active intervention and European immigration etc. The latest official report (for 1903-04) endorses the opinion that there is no prospect of the Protectorate paying for itself or being anything but a financial burden on the Home Territory unless it is developed by white settlers". We add that German East Africa, a land of the same general character, has done all in its power to attract emigrants with very poor results. The Germans in Kenya "are making a great effort to secure commercial preponderance on the East African coast. The number of German compared with British firms in Mombasa, Kisumu, Entebbe and Lamu is remarkable Though we can draw upon a population with greater aptitudes for colonial settlement, German merchants and planters have been quite as much to the fore in British

East Africa as our own people."

You have already divined my proposition. If the Protectorate is to be for generations largely black and German, it may as well be white and Jewish. "Active intervention!" "European immigration!" "White settlers!" These, the missing factors for East Africa development, are exactly what our Organization can supply. Let this costly British possession be given in trust to the Jewish people to be worked up into a model British colony. For nearly three years the Jewish mind all over the world has been turned in this direction, and the areas of emigration would therefore more readily flow thither than to some new territory that might now be sprung upon it. All the same it is obvious that while pressing the claims of this particular project, I do so because you have asked me to put something hastily on paper before leaving you, and I put it forward without prejudice to other projects that may be suggested either by the British Government or by my Organization.

"In future" writes Sir Chas. Wilson "the volume of the East African import trade is likely to depend mainly on the increase of the European population."

It is curious how invariably Sir Chas. Wilson guards himself from predicting an English future for the territory

it is always a European future. We are - five-sixths of us - a European people, and at any rate a people whose literature has moulded the European character. Moreover among our settlers would be a number of British subjects from England and South Africa. Grave as are the drawbacks of the Protectorate, if a desperate people, taking it for better or worse, threw itself upon the land in the hope of making for itself the home it has lacked for nineteen centuries, if every philanthropic nerve and sinew was strained to join the pioneers in the struggle with Nature, a rapid development of all the potentialities of the territory, agricultural, industrial, and commercial might be confidently expected. An artificial colonization in reverse, experience has proved unsuited to the Jewish genius, but the overflashing of a territory by a potent people that has helped to build up many of the lands of the earth is another proposition. And this territory would be held with the most absolute devotion and loyalty to the British Crown, whose military burdens it would aspire to share. All that the Jew needs is the assurance of a public-ly, legally recognised home, in which he will have full freedom for his religious and social development and in which he will never, when the colony has grown to prosperity, be scouted as an alien and an interloper.

Nor will it be necessary to interfere with the land concessions already granted; our Organization, which welcomes to its membership persons of any race or creed, is a pledge of the absolute toleration of our political conceptions. All we ask is that in a land where anti-Semitism has already lifted up its voice, and where crises of Arab blood may have taught the lesson of despising us, our political status shall be made clear by a charter. For the moment and in order that some of the wealthy participants in the present ~~land~~ ~~land~~ should be induced to colonize here without delay, it might be sufficient to indicate Britain's intentions by a mere change of nomenclature such as New Sinai, British Judea, British Palestine, New Palestine, or Judea, or any other name that might seem attractive and significant. An appropriate name with corresponding official symbols would attract and permanently retain some of the most desirable classes. ~~As a~~ Jewish Governor you have no doubt several possibilities in the Colonial service, and there is at least one with African experience.

The kind of charter need not be defined in this tentative letter. We should naturally trust in the good faith of the British Government to advance us along the recognized stages that lead to Colonial autonomy.

26

DEVELOPMENT OF THE JEWISH TERRITORY.

A great deal of work lies awaiting to be done in the new territory and although some of it lies in districts regarded as too tropical for white labour, it may be that the Jewish race which, as Mr. James Bryce M. P. reminds me in an encouraging letter, "has shown itself capable of adaptation to very different climates" and which indeed has already succeeded in tropical and sub-tropical regions, may develop a variety suited to the new habitat.

It may be mentioned that among the most successful colonies of the early part of the 17th century was Brazil, which was colonised by Jews and converts from Portugal. The Jews introduced the planting of sugar and coffee. In British East Africa they might grow the cotton (which England and the world are crying out: A great Jewish agricultural expert has written to me in point out that the special conditions of cotton-growing are in peculiar consonance with the Jewish psychology, as they allow leisure for study. At any rate whether by Jewish capital or Jewish labour, there are enormous developments to be achieved. Solid houses must be built as the climate demands, roads and bridges must be constructed to everywhere. The Uganda Railway does not touch

some of the best bits of the country and could be advantageously extended to Uganda itself. New Railways are needed to connect the forests with the ports. A railway is badly needed between Kumbasa and Malindi, and Malindi would become an important port if it only had a pier. Kumbasa itself is hampered by a defective water-supply, and there is no one to spend \$100,000 in constructing the water-works to bring water from a neighbouring stream. The timber must be exported from the coast, and the goods from the deposits in Lake Nyanza, thus incidentally making the present railway pay. The Russian reservists would also immediately help to police and defend the territory.

With as many enterprises which might be legitimately undertaken by a co-operative joint capital, the Finnish colony could not but grow apace. The ITC would to this end proceed in a manner that may be roughly sketched as follows: It would create:-

PLAN OF THE ITC.

I. - A financial body (with numerous branches), the duties of which will be:-

- (a) to advance or otherwise provide funds for emigration.
- (b) to provide funds so long as they are needed for the

administration of the new territory, for the maintenance of immigrants, and for the development of the territory.

(c) to guard and realize the business interests (in the countries quitted) of emigrants to the new territory.

II. An emigration organization (with numerous branches) to select and dispatch emigrants, in accordance with the demands of the local administration as approved by the Executive of the ITO.

III. An administrative body in the new territory under the direction of the British Government.

Immediately on the acquisition of the territory a full survey will be undertaken. Lands will be reserved to the State for forests, roads, railways, canals, etc., and all mining rights will be reserved to the State.

There will be game reserves. Sites which appear to be suitable for towns will be reserved. Immigration operations will not be deferred until the completion of the survey. They will begin as soon as the survey is sufficiently advanced.

Immigrants will be of two classes:-

(1) those of any creed or race who arrive independently of the emigration organization and are considered desirable immigrants.

(2) those Jews who are selected and despatched by the emigration organization.

Class (1) will have to negotiate with the administration or with private owners of land for their settlement. If they fail to maintain themselves and require support from the Administration they will come under the Poor Law rules of the State. These rules will include stringent labour tests for all who are able to work.

Class (2) will comprise two sub-classes:-

(a) those who can pay for their passages and do not require maintenance on arrival.

(b) those who require aid for their passages or for maintenance on arrival.

Emigrants of class (2), (a) will be informed beforehand by the emigration organization of the occupation of land which the administration will assign to them. Large tracts of land may in this way be assigned to groups of persons under class (2), (a) who contrive to buy or rent the land.

Emigrants of class (2), (b) will be informed beforehand of the work which will be required of them and the conditions under which they will be carried and maintained, and their acceptance of the terms will form a contract which

2-4

can be locally enforced. Generally, the main condition will be that the emigrants shall work a certain number of hours a day without payment other than maintenance until they have repaid their debt. Credit for the work done will be given against the debt. Outside the prescribed hours these immigrants will be at liberty to work for their own profit subject to any local labour laws.

The employment provided by the Administration for immigrants of class (2), (b) will be:-

- (1) work directly under the Administration or
 - (2) work under Companies or individuals with whom the administration may arrange for the employment of labour.
- Under (1) will come buildings to be erected by the administration for its own use and the use of its Officers, buildings to be afterwards let or sold to labourers, cultivators, and other persons, the clearance of forests not required to be preserved as such, public roads, state railways, and canals. But this list is not exhaustive: e.g. it will include school buildings. Under (2) may be works of any character which companies or individuals may undertake. There would be a labour

department to receive and deal with applications for any classes of labour, and this department would be in close and constant communication with the migration organization.

CONCLUSION

Although I have dwelt on the financial aspects of the scheme as one by which Great Britain cannot possibly lose while she stands to gain a great deal, yet it is not because I think that a Great Empire will determine its policy by such a consideration. It is the magnanimity of the British people on which I rely and I am only anxious to answer in advance the anti-Semitic minority that will accuse us of robbing the Anglo-Saxon of his heritage. To these I would further commend the fact that our British Treasury has on a more technical ground absorbed a million or so out of the billions lost by Baron de Hirsch for the solution of this very question in this very way, and that there is therefore a certain moral obligation to help us.

But to the bulk of the people of these islands such considerations are superfluous. The sympathetic attitude of a large section of the British press, of British men of letters who have written to me their opinion of our movement, and of politicians of all shades, are an Assurance that the scheme will have the cordial support of the nation at large. In 1833 the British people paid twenty millions to free the West Indian slaves. We ask no such thing: only the right to labour in the wilderness till it blossoms as the rose, only

the right to rule ourselves, like so many other British colonies, in the land which our labour shall have created.

If England grants us this, she will add to her many glories the glory of putting one of the most terrible problems of the whole Christian Era on the right road to solution.

Believe me, Dear Sir, I remain,

Yours very truly,

Amiel J. F. J. J.

APPENDIX

LETTER FROM RUSSIA WRITTEN DURING THE MASSACRE.

(Translated from the Hebrew.)

Moloch,

Kassilowskaja 74.

1st Nov. Old style 1908.

To our Great Leader, President of the ITO, the author
of genius and crown of Israel, Mr. J. Longwell.

Not with ink but with blood and tears do we indite this
letter. The hand is trembling, and the eye weeping, thoughts
are confused and quite incapable of proper order. Whis-
tles are heard in the streets of Tiflis, soldiers, Cossacks,
police and intelligents are slaughtering our brethren and no one
defends us. The "self defence organisations" are beaten
down, and cannot face the soldiers who are better armed and
disciplined. In every street lamentation, in every house
wailing, in every cellar and hole cries of distress. The
screams of infants and children, the cries of fainting women,
the groans of the wounded, the shrieking dead on the pavement
of the bodies of old men who are thrown from the high buildings

fill the air of Kieff. The murderers dash out the brains of little children, throw their mangled bodies to the dogs, disembowel pregnant women, hack off the limbs of healthy men and tear their flesh with iron hooks.

If the Heavens are not rent by our cries they must be of steel. If the earth is not convulsed by the cries of our anguish, it is a land of blind, it is a land filled with the fire of Hell. Alas, the Jews here are raised. The damage amounts to 50,000,000 roubles. All the apprentices and shopkeepers are literally naked. We and our wives and little ones are dying of hunger. Thousands of men are dying for bread, and the children are dying for want of nourishment. The Relief Committee distributes daily bread and herring. They clamour around the distributors ~~and~~ like locusts crying "give us bread, give us bread." They struggle and fight for a crust like hungry wolves. A terrible tragedy is being enacted in Kieff, a tragedy unparalleled in history. The theatres and public places are packed with wounded and mangled men, women, and children, groaning in anguish, of whom many die every day in horrible agony.

In each theatre and assembly hall 700 families are herded, lying on the bare hard floor without either mattress or covering. And the fear of death hovers like a cloud over them. No one's life is secure. No language has sufficient words to describe

the tragedy that is being enacted in Russia. Trains arrive filled with the slaughtered bodies of Jews whose throats have been slit, violated girls and dismembered children. One's hair stood on end when one saw these crowds of hoodlums armed with swords, axes, and sabres killing and hacking mercilessly. One's blood boils at the sound of the savage cries of joy of the beasts at the sight of Jewish blood flowing like water. It is a peculiar joy to the soldiery and police to hear a Jew cry "gotai". They laugh when they hear "also, wal" and mock at it.

With my employees I have a police inspector who wanted to give his young son the treat of hearing these Jewish cries of anguish. Order his son to find a Jewish family and beat them, their cries were piteous enough to shake heaven, but only aroused laughter and abuse from them.

The flight from Kiev and neighbourhood is so great that in four days only, the Governor of Kiev had to issue 8,000 foreign passports (this means 8,000 families.) And you can imagine that the number who pass the frontier without passport is seven times as great.

Trains are packed like barrels of herrings, and the tickets for all classes are sold out a week ahead.

People are so panic stricken that an emigration has begun

that is without parallel in history. Thousands of men besiege Mandelstam begging him to demand a territory. They say not only will we go to Uganda, but even to Hell itself, it would not be worse than hers. It matters not if we live all our lives on only bread and water and are clothed in rags, if we but breathe the air of a Jewish land.

The object of this letter is dear President and Green of Israel, to publish this in the English press. We pray and beg that our English Jewish leaders with you at their head will go to the King of England and ask for Uganda to be given to us immediately. The whole Jewish nation wants Uganda, and if the Zionists declined it, they did so on their own behalf without the authorization of the nation. If it would be necessary to get a 100,000 signatures from the Jews who live in Kiev and the surrounding districts, we can get them, if you want a few signatures, we can get them from Odessa, Warsaw, Elizabethgrad, etc. etc. We want the whole of Uganda, our lives are not safe, and we wish to leave this blood-stained land.

I pray to all your great men of Israel in England and I beg Mr. Greenberg and Mr. Cowen to come back to Territorialism. The sword hangs over our heads, we have been declared outlawed and free for any man to slay. It may be that we who write this letter may be murdered tomorrow.

An immense emigration is on foot and we must have a land.
Present yourselves to the Government, and ask for Uganda, only
the offer should be increased. Let them but give the word
and the whole emigration would flock to that spot.

In the name of thousands of families,

(Signed) M. ROSE MATH.

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East African Protectorate 1906

Expenditure

	8	Office in charge of Land Office
	8	Customs facilities at Kileleshwa
	8	Salute of late J. F. Baguall
	8	Survey
	8	Improvements of Campsites
	8	Leasing of large areas
10	10	Goalposts
11	10	Leaves of Indian officials
12	11	Order 1
13	11	Gen. Holt
15	12	White troops at Nairobi
21	13	Superior officers A. F. Lyons
	13	Magistrate
16	13	See list of Appeal Court
17	15	Capt of Lt. Thomson - Inve
18	15	Grants for erection of "Stone-out Hill"
22	17	Dist. of East. District
	17	Outbreak of African Coast Fever
	17	Pls roll for sheet
22	17	Kenya operations
24	18	Death of J. M. S. S. S. S.
25	18	Houses for Insp. Gen. Dep. Insp. Gen. officials
27	19	Kenya cashed
28	19	Dist. of Land Office
31	22	Flags at Nairobi
	22	Contingent of ...
	22	Salute of late J. F. Baguall
31	22	Gifts to ...
32	23	Commission of ...

Date	Subject
33	23 Jan. <i>John Batten K.R.A. B.C.A. claim for expenses</i>
35	24 " <i>Bill drawn on P.M.G. for 1/4 7/2</i>
36	26 " <i>Uganda Rly. Arab. Engineers</i>
boof	27 " <i>Musea, Jolly, Paggala</i>
37	25 " <i>Land leases, Kungu Forest to C. A. Devol Lynd</i>
38	25 " <i>Actg. allow. for Mr. Gable</i>
41	29 " <i>Payment for S.S. Clement Hill</i>
41	29 " <i>Plague</i>
42	29 " <i>Seine Order '06</i>
43	29 " <i>Uganda Rly. Capital '06</i>
44	30 " <i>Surveyor, title of J. N. Calbraith</i>
45	30 " <i>Land leases, Kungu Forest to C. A. Devol Lynd</i>
46	31 " <i>Actg. allow. for Mr. Gable</i>
47	31 " <i>Notice at Harrobi, notice to Govt.</i>
48	31 " <i>Agos. & Forest Dept. Staff</i>
49	31 " <i>Capt. Salchell's Appl.</i>
Tel.	1 Feb. <i>Reallocation of 2200 from Public Works Vote.</i>
50	1 " <i>Timber & Forest produce fees</i>
51	1 " <i>Robbery of bank money from automobile pool</i>
52	1 " <i>Rly. Sch. at Harrobi - issue of European children</i>
Tel.	2 " <i>Capt. Salchell</i>
	2 " <i>Fugitive offenders dep.</i>
54	2 " <i>Compassionate gratuity to widow of J. E. C. Bennington</i>
55	2 " <i>Security furnished by officers</i>
56	2 " <i>Customs officer removed from Harrobi office</i>
57	3 " <i>Leave to Agos. Dept. Staff</i>
Tel.	5 " <i>Harrobi operations</i>
	5 " <i>Plague at Harrobi</i>
	5 " <i>Police Force</i>
	5 " <i>Case of encroachment to be laid down to C. A. Lynd</i>

boof no	Date	Subject
boof	7 Feb.	<i>Assist. Brown Advocate</i>
66	8 "	<i>Mrs. Kniff's Biological Mission</i>
67	8 "	<i>Fibre concession to Mr. Neubner</i>
68	8 "	
boof	8 "	<i>Dr. Nassau's appln. for transport</i>
69	9 "	<i>R. Chamberlain's hand grant</i>
71	12 "	<i>Plague</i>
	12 "	
	14 "	<i>Kilindini Landing facilities</i>
73	16 "	<i>Uganda Rly. Act.</i>
74	17 "	<i>Appln. for employt.</i>
76	19 "	<i>Mr. Barth. Date of drawing pay as Judge</i>
Tel.	20 "	<i>J. Boyle</i>
	21 "	<i>Landing facilities at Kilindini</i>
	22 "	<i>Kundi Tribe</i>
77	23 "	<i>Pay of Magistrate</i>
78	23 "	<i>Appln. of Mr. James for employt.</i>
81	23 "	<i>Distinction of coffee trees</i>
boof	22 "	<i>J. T. Gibson</i>
	23 "	<i>Lawy Dept. of Department City</i>
	23 "	<i>Business relations for Abulillah</i>