

1936

38232/4

C0533/474

38232/4

KENYA

White Settlement

Report by Major W.D. Cawthorn on settlement of  
ex-Indian Army Officers:

Comment regarding

Previous		The General	18/7
See 38232/1/36		Mr. ...	16/7
		Mr. ...	15/7
		Mr. ...	14/7
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		Mr. ...	3/7
		Mr. ...	2/7
		Mr. ...	1/7
		Mr. ...	30/6
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		Mr. ...	2/1
		Mr. ...	1/1

C.I.  
Lent (White Settlement)

Two local press extracts regarding Major Cawthorn's Report: Comments thereon which that representative has made to Govt. of India.

2. Extracts from the "EAST AFRICAN STANDARD" of the 16th March, 1936. (Registered as directed on 38051/36).

This paper has been circulating to and fro with the correspondence about the settlement of Indian Army officers and has only now become available. Sir Joseph Byrne has taken the opportunity presented by the recent opening of Legislative Council to attack the settlement the Government was adopting. He says that Major Cawthorn never consulted him or any responsible official and that if he had he would have been disabused of the idea that Kenya does not wish to welcome suitable settlers. It is fortunate that we have agreed to Scheme B for the settlement because that represents about as much as Kenya could possibly be expected to do with her non-existent financial resources, and probably we shall have heard the last of this particular attack on Kenya, which I have no doubt was inspired by the politically-minded settlers.

But we have a great case for going for the Government of India and the India Office. When one remembers the <sup>abject</sup> intolerable ~~unpleasantness~~ <sup>conduct</sup> with which the Government of India habitually conducts itself towards Colonies and towards the Colonial Office, and how the Government of India is continually supported by the India Office; when one reflects upon the demands for observers to go and assist Indians in presenting cases, and the demand that nothing shall be done or published which

in any way affects an Indian without reference to the Government of India, it is somewhat amazing to see that the Government of India allows a report to be printed commenting upon several Colonial Governments without any reference whatever in advance to those Governments or even to the Colonial Office, and that the India Office not only sees nothing unusual about this but is extremely shy in letting us have copies. The one with these papers is the only one we have got. I think then that we can get some of our own back and point out to the I.O. that the action of the Government of India in permitting this document to be published without reference to the Colonial Office, or the Governments of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, has led to no little embarrassment, and further, that as regards the attitude of the Kenya Government the report is definitely mistaken. Draft herewith.

J. S. 26

20.5.36.

Sir J. Knaggs

(This has been with Sir J. Knaggs)

I agree with draft. It might have been stronger.

W. S. 9.6.36

(S. S. think that Sir J. Knaggs should sign this letter)

Edwards 11/6/36

W. S. 11.6.36

11/6/36

AIR MAIL

18/6/36

DEPT. OF STATE

To Sir J. Knaggs (S. S. 3) - 18 JUN 1936

From Sir J. Knaggs  
of the acting taken on

of file - L. S. 11/6/36

18/6/36

5. C. F. Knaggs (E. N. J. 10) s/o 2.7.36  
Encl. draft letter to Army High Com. India regarding an amdt. to Cawthorn's Report and enquire whether it should be altered in any way.

Sir J. Knaggs

The individual has used a meeting slip to Cawthorn's report. Col. Knaggs got a copy from the meeting slip. The meeting slip was the only one that would be checked including the Solo. Col. Knaggs had heard this was not correct and came over to verify.

To Sir J. Knaggs (S. S. 3)

6 JUL 1936

DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE

DEPT. OFFICE

9.7.36

Reports the circumstances in which the Report was published. Conveys apology for any embarrassment caused and states that the attention of the Government of India will be drawn to the matter but would like definite information as to the inaccuracy of statements referred to in No. 3.

6. Col. Knaggs, s/o. 13.7.36.

Forwards copy of the amendment to the Report referred to in No. 5.

I suggest that the explanation in No. 7 in no way excuses the Military Authorities in India from publishing Major Cawthorn's Report without affording

the

the Kenya Government an opportunity of seeing the draft.

As regards the last paragraph of No. 7, the statements in the Report most strongly objected to, are to be found in the Chapter "The Political Situation" pages 130-133. The Governor commented on this in his speech to the Legislative Council on the 18th of May (See pages 11 and 12 of Hansard herewith).  
*The criticism of paragraph 77 (p. 133) was an indication being the kind of it.* In reply to No. 7 we might note that

Lord Zetland is drawing the attention of the Government of India to the matter as desired, and as regards the last paragraph, I enclose a copy of the Governor's speech of the 18th of May.

No. 8. This is registered for record and may be put by (Of Nos. 5 and 6).

*C. J. Byrom*  
16/7/36

It is not easy to specify the statements which are inaccurate, since Major Cawthron was careful throughout to say that he was merely reporting statements & views expressed by others, & only very occasionally ventured to say that he considered that they were justified (e.g. para 77, p. 125).

This is only really personal criticism, that I have been able to find is the one in the middle sentence of para 98 (p. 132), which was dealt with in Sir J. Byrom's speech in Leg. Co. on 18/5. As to this, it may be said that Major Cawthron & the Govt. of Kenya had different ideas as to the end of assistance

to be expected to receive from them in Kenya. In para 1 (p. 95) he says tribute to the arrangements made for his tour & the facilities offered to him for meeting both officials & unofficials. I cannot see that he had any reason to expect that the Govt. of Kenya would have prepared for him a suit & fitted bilian for the settlement of Indian Army Officers.

*The Govt. of India is not ready to accept the views of the Govt. of Kenya that the Govt. of Kenya should be held responsible for the settlement of Indian Army Officers.*

I submit it for  
*J. Byrom*  
18/7

I have tried another  
11.10.36  
207.

Sir J. Maffey.

Mr. Flood's letter to the Director is clear and well, but the correspondence is between the Secretaries and I am not sure that you will be willing to sign the letter as it stands.  
Sent 20.7.36.

Public Record Office  
Reference  
CO 533 / 474  
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11. Col. Knaggs. -----s/o----- 26.8.36.  
Ref. No. 5; transmits copy of 2nd. amendment made to the  
Report.

For!

? Kirby

A. P. Smith

287826

1.2.4. 7.2.2

The whole office seems to be agreed  
and they consider the whole best.  
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and opinion. It is a copy from the  
one way to office. Description  
of the whole account and  
I appear to be correct for  
the whole of the whole.

287826

2077

Secretary

29.7.36  
113.27

To D.O. (7 hand)

4 AUG 1936

To Sir J. Byrnes (100. (7)) (9/2) (9)

12 AUG 1936

See mail  
13/5/36

DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE



REC 1110  
 31 AUG 1936  
 C. O. REC 1

His Majesty's Eastern African Dependencies

COMMISSIONER FOR  
 KENYA,  
 NORTHERN RHODESIA,  
 NYASALAND, TANGANYIKA,  
 UGANDA, ZANZIBAR

TELEPHONE: WHITEHALL 8901/2/3  
 CABLES: KENYA/AFRICA LONDON  
 TELEGRAMS: L1441/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9/10/11/12/13/14/15/16/17/18/19/20/21/22/23/24/25/26/27/28/29/30/31/32/33/34/35/36/37/38/39/40/41/42/43/44/45/46/47/48/49/50/51/52/53/54/55/56/57/58/59/60/61/62/63/64/65/66/67/68/69/70/71/72/73/74/75/76/77/78/79/80/81/82/83/84/85/86/87/88/89/90/91/92/93/94/95/96/97/98/99/100

MH

TRADE & INFORMATION OFFICE

*Grand Buildings*  
*Trafalgar Square*  
 (ENTRANCE IN THE STRAND)  
*London, W.C.2*

ALSO OFFICES OF  
 KENYA AGENT,  
 LONDON REPRESENTATIVE  
 KENYA & UGANDA RAILWAYS  
 AND HARBOUR

ANY COMMUNICATION RECEIVED BY THIS  
 LETTER BOOK IS ADDRESSED TO THE  
 DEPT CONCERNED AND NOT  
 TO INDIVIDUALS BY NAME.

26 August 1936

Dear Flood,

(5)

In continuation of my letter  
 to you of the 2nd July, in connection with  
 the correction of Paragraph 113 of the  
 Amendment to Major Cawthorn's Report on Kenya,  
 I am sending you herewith the second Amendment,  
 sent to me by the Information Bureau, Army  
 Headquarters, India.

Yours sincerely,

*C. H. King*

Kenya Agent.

J. E. W. Flood, Esq., C.M.G.  
 The Colonial Office  
 Whitehall  
 London, S.W.1.

CO 383 4/1 PUBLIC RECORDS

A Report on Southern Rhodesia, Northern  
Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Kenya.

Amendment No. 2 of 1936.

Reference para. 113 of the report on Kenya, as amended  
by Amendment No. 1 of 1936.

Intimation has been received from the Kenya Agent, His  
Majesty's Eastern African Dependencies, Trafalgar Square, London,  
W.C.3, that it has been decided by the Kenya Government to charge  
no stand premium for the "township" blocks or small holdings.

In view of this decision the concluding words of  
para. 113 should not be deleted.

This is a considerable concession for War Block or other  
officers who may contemplate settling in Kenya with the object of  
leasing Crown Land for residential purposes.

Kandy, Ceylon.  
24th July 1936.

W. J. CANTHORN, Major,  
4th Bn. (Bhopal) 16th Punjab Regiment.

C.D  
23 JUN  
D 30

C. D.

Mr. Flood 20.7

Mr.

Mr.

Sir C. Parkinson.

Sir G. Tomlinson.

Sir C. Bottomley 20.7

Sir J. Shuckburgh

Downing Street,  
-4 AUG 1936

July, 1936

+ Permt. U.S. of S. 20.7  
Partly U.S. of S. 20.7  
Secretary of State 1/17

Sir,

I am etc. to acknowledge

the receipt of your letter of the 9th

No. H. 4457/36 and to request

to inform the Marquis of Zetland

of the reception of criticism taken

*(by the Marquis)*

in the following passages in Major

Cawthorn's report on various

territories in East Africa:

(a) Paragraph II, appearing

on page 98 of the printed report, in

which criticisms are put forward of

the Colonial Office and the local

Administration of Kenya in regard to

white settlement. Further, *Mrs.*

Huxley's book is described as "on the

whole, impartial", which is not the

case.

(b)

**DRAFT**

UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE,  
INDIA OFFICE.

**FURTHER ACTION.**



(b) In paragraph 50 on page 114, the statement is made that mistaken ideas have pervaded home administrative and political circles.

(c) In paragraph 81 utterance is given to the opinions of the European settlers and other remarks as the Admin...

(d) Parag... on page 25 confines itself to... the extreme unofficial community against Govt. that fact is not a strong... of the... This is a matter of opinion which should have no place in an official report. In the same paragraph Major Cawthorn, while restating the arguments of the Unofficials, says that he thinks there is some justification in them, without apparently having taken the trouble to ascertain the facts.

(e) In paragraphs 95 to 99/utterance is given to the unofficial opinion and especially in paragraph 98 the statement is made that the official

*and was... put... as... the... are... by...*

C. O.

- Mr.
- Mr.
- Mr.
- Sir C. Parkinson.
- Sir G. Tomlinson.
- Sir C. Bollenley.
- Sir J. Shuckburgh.
- Permt. U.S. of S.
- Permt. U.S. of S.
- Secretary of State.

**DRAFT**

**FURTHER ACTION.**

official attitude towards further white settlement is not one of definite encouragement.

In his recent address to the Legislative Council of Kenya the Governor stated that Major Cawthorn

had been invited by the Government of Kenya to visit the Colony partly as a result of personal correspondence between himself and Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, and stated that although the invitation, on the face of it, could

have had no other object than the furtherance of white settlement, Major Cawthorn has recorded the impression

that basically the official attitude towards further white settlement is not one of definite encouragement.

"I do not know from what source he derived this impression: I do not think that it could have been from

from officers of this Govt. .... I know that the Commissioner for Local Government, Lands and Settlement and the Kenya Association did their best to help him. He himself, on the eve of his departure, appeared to be satisfied with what this Govt. had done for him for he wrote as follows to the Acting Colonial Secretary on the 28th of August:

"I would like to thank you personally for the interest and trouble taken in connection with my tour and I am sure the Officers of the Indian Army affected by the War Block Scheme will be very grateful for the helpful attitude taken by Kenya in the matter of their possible settlement."

The Governor goes on to state that he ascertained that while in Kenya Major Cawthorn made no mention of his impressions to anyone in authority: Had he done so he could have been referred to definite assurances given from time to time by Govt. in regard to its policy on the subject of white settlement.

Major Cawthorn has, of course, the right to his own opinion and to express it as

he

C. O.

- Mr.
- Mr.
- Mr.
- Sir C. Palfinson
- Sir G. Tomkinson
- Sir C. Ballantley
- Sir J. Shuckburgh
- Permt. U.S. of S.
- Part II S of
- Secretary of State.

FURTHER ACTION.

he chooses. It is also open to him to state the views attributed to the unofficial population, and no blame can be attached to him for that. What is unfortunate is that a document of this nature, containing the irresponsible views of a section of the community in Kenya without the veil of refutation, should have been disseminated by the Govt. of Kenya and issued to the press in Kenya without prior reference to the Govt. of the Colony or to this Department. The statement that the views expressed were entirely those of the writer, though no doubt accurate, cannot be taken as relieving the Govt. of India from their responsibility for their action in allowing such a document to be issued. If the report was in fact intended for a limited circle it should have been kept to that limited circle and copies should not have been supplied to the press.

8



# His Majesty's Eastern African Dependencies

COMMISSIONER FOR  
KENYA  
NORTHERN RHODESIA  
NYASALAND, TANGANYIKA,  
UGANDA, ZANZIBAR.

TELEPHONE: WHITEHALL STICIFF  
CABLES: EAST AFRICA LONDON  
AGENTS: CAMMELL & BARN LONDON

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LONDON, W.C. 2.*

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LONDON REPRESENTATIVE  
KENYA & UGANDA RAILWAYS  
AND HARDDUR

ANY CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING THIS  
LETTER SHOULD BE REFERRED TO THE  
OFFICE CONCERNED AND NOT  
TO INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE

1011

23 JUL 1955

Dear Flood,

I am sending you a copy of the Amendment  
to the Gauthorn Report for which you asked.  
I am sorry for the delay in sending it  
but my secretary has been on leave and I have  
been very busy.

Yours sincerely,

*[Handwritten Signature]*

12

# A Report on Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Kenya.

## Amendment No. 1 of 1938.

The Government of Kenya, though prepared to give every facility to War Block officers to acquire land in the ordinary way should they want to do so, regrets that it is not in a position to afford special facilities to such officers.

It is therefore requested that the present paragraphs 100—110 be cancelled and the following amendment substituted.

100. Efforts to obtain a measure of Government assistance and support in the form of a settlement scheme on the lines of that formulated in Southern Rhodesia failed. War Block officers settling in Kenya will therefore have to rely at the outset on their own resources, with the possibility of Land Bank facilities referred to in paragraph 110 below.

110. Those who contemplate visiting Kenya with a view to settlement or who have decided to settle there, are advised to get in touch as early as possible with the Kenya Association (1932). This Association was formed with two main objects—to obtain the right sort of publicity for the Colony and to assist visitors and settlers on their arrival. If an officer desires, the Association will place him in touch with the Commissions for Lands, Settlement and Government and Settlement, and with the Department for Agriculture.

111. It is recommended that, before deciding whether to settle, to do an officer, and, if possible, his wife, should visit all the centres of European settlement. Arrangements have been made whereby the Kenya Association will place officers in touch with members of the Association who are not interested in the sale of land, in the district, who will accommodate them as paying guests at reasonable rates. They can explore the possibilities of settlement on the land. Accommodation can be obtained at £5 to 10 per day and 20 to 25 per month according to the size of the farm and the amenities attached. In some cases prospective settlers can be accommodated free of charge on farms. It is suggested that the officer should make himself self-contained as regards transport. Similarly, the officer should make himself self-contained as regards food. Suitable farmers under whom if required, the officers can obtain the best methods, etc., can be got. The usual charge for this is £5 or £6 per month. The pupil generally lives as one of the family but has his own bedroom or room.

112. A certain amount of Crown land is available for mixed farming on a small scale in all available and open up on a small scale under the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915. The conditions are as follows:

- (a) Term of lease is 999 years from date of grant.
- (b) Rent is charged at the rate of 20 cent (20%) per acre per annum up to the year 1945, when the rent will be raised to 1 per cent of the unimproved value of the land. Subsequent revisions will take place every thirty years. At each such revision, rent will be increased by 1 per cent of the unimproved value of the land, until it reaches 3 per cent thereof, at which rate it will be stabilised for the rest of the lease.

Any further communication on this subject should be addressed to—

The Under Secretary of State for India,  
Military Department,  
India Office,  
London, S.W. 1.

and the following reference quoted:—

M. 4457/36

Telephone—  
Whitehall 4140 10 Ext. No. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telegrams—  
Retaxandum, London.



INDIA OFFICE,

WHITEHALL,

LONDON, S.W. 1.

RECEIVED  
11 JUL 1936  
C. O. REGY

9<sup>th</sup> July, 1936

Sir,

3

I am directed by the Secretary of State for India to refer to your letter No. 38232/4/36, dated the 12th June 1936, and to say that the Marquess of Zetland greatly regrets to find that the publication in the press of certain extracts from Major Cawthorn's report has caused embarrassment to the Government of Kenya and, apart from this to be informed that statements in the report are considered by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to be open to the criticism made in paragraph 2 of your letter. With reference to paragraph 4 of your letter, Lord Zetland would like in the first place to recall the circumstances in which this was prepared and printed. Major Cawthorn's visit to East Africa arose out of a suggestion from the Government of Southern Rhodesia that an officer of the Indian Army should visit that country and endeavour to assess personally the prospects of settlement there as they would affect officers who were being picked on an unemployed list as one of the measures designed to remove the War Block in the officer cadre of the Indian Army. The Commander-in-Chief agreed to the suggestion because he considered that the personal impressions of a selected War Block officer, based on such a visit, would carry great weight with his fellows and would do more than any Government notification or non-official advertisement could by itself do to persuade them of the suitability of any particular country for settlement.

The visit to Southern Rhodesia was followed by invitations to Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Kenya, and the military

authorities/

The Under Secretary of State,  
Colonial Office,  
S.W.1.

*Copy to Sir J. Regy*

14  
authorities in India were only able to print up and send to the Administrations concerned the sections dealing with Southern and Northern Rhodesia before officers began to be transferred to the unemployed list and it became urgently necessary to give out to them the information collected by Major Canthorn. They therefore printed up all his reports together as soon as they were complete and issued them to all such officers for their information. It was no doubt for the reason that the report was intended only for a particular class of person that no copy was sent to the Colonial Office, or, as would appear, to the Colonial Government, at the time.

There must always be the risk in the case of any document, even though issued privately, that the press will obtain possession of a copy and print it for their own ends. It will be noted, however, that a certain care was done to make clear that the opinions expressed in Major Canthorn's report had no official support by inserting in the preface the sentence: "Although these reports are published by Army Headquarters, the reader is asked to bear in mind the fact that any views, opinions, criticisms expressed by the writer are entirely his own."

The Marquess of Zetland feels sure that Mr. Ormsby Gore will agree with him that Major Canthorn would have been failing in his duty to his brother officers, if he had glossed over in his report the divergence of outlook which he found to exist between the Administration and the settlers in Kenya. It is a matter on which officers who were considering taking up their residence in Kenya would naturally wish to be informed. It was no doubt for this reason that the military authorities decided to let the report be issued without modification within the limited circle for which it was intended.

In the circumstances Lord Zetland trusts that Mr. Ormsby Gore will agree that the explanation of the action taken in India appears from the facts stated in the foregoing paragraphs. He

will/

will, however, draw the attention of the Government of India to the matter as desired, and has no doubt that they will share his regret for any embarrassment or inconvenience caused to the Colonial Government.

Lord Zetland would be glad in communicating with the Government of India, to be able to inform them more particularly as to the statements referred to in your letter as being contrary to the truth of the facts.

Your obedient Servant,

S. J. Stuart

will, however, draw the attention of the Government of India to the matter as desired, and has no doubt that they will share his regret for any embarrassment or inconvenience caused to the Colonial Government.

Lord Zetland will be glad in communicating with the Government of India, and is able to inform them more particularly as the statements referred to in your letter as being contrary to the truth or incorrect.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

S. J. Sturges





RECEIVED  
13 JUL 1936  
O. O. RECY

# His Majesty's Eastern African Dependencies

COMMISSIONER FOR  
KENYA,  
NORTHERN RHODESIA,  
Nyasaland, Tanganyika,  
UGANDA, ZANZIBAR.

TELEPHONE: WHITEHALL 270/271  
CABLES: EASTERN AFRICA  
TELEGRAMS: EASTAFRICA, LONDON

## TRADE & INFORMATION OFFICE

*Grand Buildings  
Nagasaki Square,  
(ENTRANCE IN THE STRAND)  
London, W.C.2*

ALSO OFFICES OF  
KENYA AGENT,  
LONDON-REPRESENTATIVE  
KENYA & UGANDA RAILWAYS  
AND HARBOUR

ANY COMMUNICATION RESPECTING THIS  
LETTER SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO THE  
CLERK, CONCERNED AND NOT  
TO INDIVIDUALS BY NAME.

2 July 1936

Dear Flood,

You were kind enough to say that you would  
reply to my letter to Airy Headquarters in  
with the arrangement to be made in regard to

I enclose the draft herewith and should  
be very grateful if you would let me know if you  
think it in all right as it stands, or if you have  
any suggestions to make.

Yours sincerely,

J. E. W. Flood, Esq., C.M.G.  
Colonial Office  
Whitehall  
S.W.1.

*Handwritten note:*  
J. E. W. Flood

BY AIR MAIL

TELEPHONE: WHITEHALL, 8701/2  
CABLES: EMATTERS, LONDON  
TELEGRAMS:  
EMATTERS, LONDON

17

# His Majesty's Eastern African Dependencies

TRADE & INFORMATION OFFICE  
GRAND BUILDINGS, TRAFALGAR SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.2

3 July 1936.

COPY.

Sir,

In continuation of your letter, No. 08610/22/10.I.B. of the 10th June, enclosing copies of an amendment to Major Gawthorn's Report on East Africa, I have the honour to inform you as follows.

With reference to Paragraph 113 in the amendment it has now been decided by the Kenya Government to charge no stand premium for the "stagnant" blocks or "stagnant" areas.

As this is an important concession I should be glad if you would have it brought to the notice of officers being retired under the War Block.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Kenya Agent.

Major M. Henry  
The Information Bureau  
Military Secretary's Branch  
Army Headquarters  
Simla, India.

BY AIR MAIL

TELEPHONE: WHITEHALL 87-118  
CABLES: KEMATERS, LONDON  
TELEGRAMS:  
KEMATERS, LONDON

# His Majesty's Eastern African Dependencies

TRADE & INFORMATION OFFICE  
GRAND BUILDINGS, TRAFALGAR SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.2

3 July 1936.

COPY.

Sir,

In continuation of your letter,  
No. 08610/22/10.I.Br of the 10th June, enclosing  
copies of an amendment to Major Cawthorn's Report  
on East Africa, I have the honour to inform you as  
follows.

With reference to Paragraph 113 in the  
amendment it has now been decided by the Kenya  
Government to charge no stamp duty on the  
"township blocks of small holdings."

As this is an important concession I  
should be glad if you would bring it to  
the notice of officers being retired under the  
War Block.

I have the honour

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Kenya Agent.

Major M. Henry  
The Information Bureau  
Military Secretary's Branch  
Army Headquarters  
Simla, India.

Ans. 1 *Per mail*  
15<sup>th</sup>

C. O.

Mr. Flood. 16-6

Mr.

For Sir Cecil Bottomley's signature.

Mr.

Sir C. Parkinson.

Sir G. Tomlinson.

X Sir C. Bottomley. *16/6*

Sir J. Shuckburgh.

Permt. U.S. of S.

Parly. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State

Downing Street,

18 June, 1936.

*My dear Payne*

I have delayed some-time in

replying to your letter of the 22nd of

March about the Government's report

DRAFT

SIR JOSEPH ... G.C.M.G., K.B.E., G.B.

partly because the ... had been

flying backwards and ...

... the Government's ...

... the Indian Army

... which has been ... ended

with the Secretary of State's despatch

of the 6th of June. We had the

greatest difficulty in extracting

from the India Office copies of the

... report and eventually did

get one.

We quite agree with you

that the report needs a good deal of

explanation and accordingly an official

letter

FURTHER ACTION.

Major H. Henry  
The Information Bureau  
Military Secretary's Branch  
Army Headquarters  
Cairo, Egypt

His Majesty's Eastern African Dependencies

BY AIR MAIL

NO. 100

In continuation of your letter

No. 98810/32/10. B. of the 10th June, explaining

copies of an agreement to Major General's Report

on that subject, I have the honour to inform you

that

with reference to the ...

... it has not been decided by the ...

... Government's ...

... which ...

As this is a ...

... it is ...

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letter has been sent to the India Office,  
a copy of which I attach. We could have  
made it a good deal more violent with perfect  
justification but we thought it perhaps as  
well to begin quietly. Of course, the India  
Office will have to consult the Govt. of India  
but their own reputation is also involved since  
they never sent us a copy of it until

late and then only grudgingly. As far as we  
know the Govt. of India never sent copies to  
the India Office but we in for the same Govt.  
to explain as not. I think they will have  
some difficulty in doing it.  
I quite agree with you that the  
publication of a report in such terms and its  
issue to the press, could only have the very  
worst effect on public opinion in Kenya and  
its publication in its present form is most  
unfortunate. You will see that we have  
made an official letter of it and in the  
circumstances I do not think that a formal  
despatch from you is required.

C. O.

Mr. Flood. 30 5.36.

32232/4/36. Kenya.

Mr.

Mr.

Sir C. Parkinson.

Sir G. Temlinson.

Sir C. Bottomley.

Sir J. Shuckburgh.

+ Permt. U.S. of S.

Permt. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State.

and 7

Downing Street.

June, 1936.

Sir,

DRIFT

DEPT. UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

INDIA OFFICE

(4)  
(15)  
By the way

I am etc. to request you  
to inform the Marquess of Zetland  
that his attention had been drawn  
by the Governor of Kenya to certain  
statements contained in Major W. J.  
Cawthorn's report on Southern  
Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia,  
Nyasaland and Kenya, made with a view  
to assessing the suitability of  
those territories for the settlement  
of retired officers of the Indian  
Army. This report has been  
published by the Government of  
India and one copy has been made  
available for the use of the Colonial  
Office. In the report there are  
many

FURTHER ACTION.

many criticisms of the Government of

Kenya and of the attitude of that

Government and of the Colonial Office

towards white settlement in Kenya. <sup>the Colony</sup> - It

does not appear, however, that any

opportunity was afforded to the Governor

to see the report in draft, or to make

any comment upon it before publication, and certainly, <sup>as my wife</sup> was

When <sup>the Governor</sup> here visited Kenya at the

request of the Governor it was understood

that he would confine his activities to

reporting on the possibilities of

settlement and that he would refrain from

giving expression to views on questions of

local politics which might embarrass the

Colonial Government and have, in fact,

done so. Sir Joseph Byrne points out that

the first indication he had of the statements

contained in Major Cawthorn's report <sup>was</sup> were

extracts from the local Kenya Press.

Mr. Ormsby-Gore wishes to point out that

the action of the Govt of India in allowing the report to be

issued without reference to the Govt of Kenya and to

the Colonial Office appears to call for some explanation.

*These statements were  
are contrary to the truth, but*

*committed to this office.*

*and he thinks that the best attack  
of the Govt of India may be done to the matter  
and to the serious inconvenience which has been  
caused by the publication of inaccurate statements  
and opinions of them in an official document  
of the Govt. J. L. MAFFEY.*

P4.

many criticisms of the Government of

Kenya and of the attitude of that

Government and of the Colonial Office

towards white settlement in <sup>the Colony</sup> Kenya. <sup>it</sup>

*The former statements were  
are contrary to the truth, but*

does not appear, however, that any

opportunity was afforded to the Governor

to see the report in draft or to make

any comment upon its publication, and <sup>only</sup> a copy was

P3. When Major Gore's report was at the

Colonial Office, it was understood

that Major Gore would confine his activities

reporting on the possibilities of

settlement and that he would refrain from

giving expression to views on questions of

local politics which might embarrass the

Colonial Government and have, in fact,

done so. Sir Joseph Byrne points out that

the first indication he had of the statements

contained in Major Cawthorn's report <sup>was</sup> were

expressed in the local Kenya Press.

P4. <sup>by</sup> Mr. Ormsby-Gore wishes to point out that

the action of the Govt. of India in allowing the report to be  
such conduct on the part of an officer

issued without reference to the Govt. of Kenya and to  
the Colonial Office appears to call for some explanation

*and he thinks that the best attack  
of the Govt. of India may be done to the letter  
and to the various memoranda which have been  
issued by the publication of memoranda, although  
and referring to them in an official statement  
of the Govt. J. L. GAFFEY.*

# Major Cawthorn's Settlement Report

## FRANK CRITICISM OF THE KENYA GOVERNMENT

### "No Enthusiasm; No Initiative"

#### ITS ATTITUDE TO SETTLEMENT: "NOT ONE OF DEFINITE ENCOURAGEMENT"

Major W. J. Cawthorn, who visited Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Kenya to assess the suitability of the conditions for settlement of Indian Army Officers has reported.

Major Cawthorn records that it was only with the greatest difficulty that he obtained from the Kenya Government any views on encouraging settlement. Its policy appeared to be "negative and without initiative." Nothing was prepared for him, though the object of his visit had been known for four months.

"I cannot help feeling," he adds, "that basically the official attitude towards further white settlement is not one of definite encouragement."

However, a limited scheme of settlement with grants of Crown land for farming and cheap plots for residential settlement was eventually proposed by the Government and is included in the Report.

### A Proposed Scheme

The report made by Major W. J. Cawthorn, 4th Battalion (Bhopal) 16th Punjab Regiment, on the tours made by him through Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Kenya last year has now been published. Major Cawthorn's visit was made with the object of assessing the suitability of these territories for settlement by retired officers of the Indian Army particularly those affected by the War Block Scheme.

The report was printed by The Government Press at Simla and there is a foreword by Major General Twiss, the Military Secretary, who explained that although the report is published by Army Headquarters, views, opinions or criticisms are entirely those of Major Cawthorn, who was instructed to record his impressions of the countries exactly as they appeared to him, as a War Block officer. No amendments or deletions have been made in the report by Army Headquarters.

Major Cawthorn records that the opinion has been expressed that the days of profitable agriculture on a small scale in any part of the world were now over. If by "profitable" the making of large sums, or even an income sufficient for the complete maintenance of a family, was implied then he was inclined to agree. If, however, one was content, at least for a start, merely to augment an existing income by say £150 to £200 per annum he thinks the statement requires qualification in the case of all the countries he visited.

#### Advantages

He makes the following points in favour of settlement:

(a) Land values, prices of stock, implements, labour, building materials all lower than ever before. Calculations made for him in Southern Rhodesia show that a capital expenditure of £1,500 to

£2,000 would enable a War Block officer in all respects to live comfortably on the map with a certain amount of capital but no income.

"Viewed from the aspects set forth above," he continues, "the prospect would seem to be almost an ideal one in which to enter the agricultural industry in any of these countries."

#### Capital and Land

Experience in all four countries confirms that for the small farmer, some form of mixed farming is best. In regard to capital required, Major Cawthorn says that it is an indication of the basic similarity between all these countries that opinion everywhere agreed regarding the acreage and capital required to enable a new settler to augment his fixed income. A farm of between 200 and 700 acres (depending on locality, soil, wood and water, type of crops to be grown, etc.) with capital expenditure of £1,500 to £2,000 over the first two years was considered to meet requirements. These figures took into account the possession of an income sufficient for living expenses and interest charges for the first two or three years. It was agreed that in normal cases the rates of unemployed pay of those War Block officers would suffice for this provided early steps were taken to produce as much of one's food requirements as possible and that expenditure on non-essentials was reasonably restricted.

#### Mining

Major Cawthorn formed the opinion that the only definite openings were agriculture and mining. In regard to the latter, the Gov-

ernment for Lands. From all sections of the community Major Cawthorn gathered that settlers from the Indian Army would be welcome. "As far as the Administration is concerned," he gathered that settlers from the Indian Army would be especially welcome because it is hoped that from their training and experience they will be of a type likely to aid in the solution on right lines of the problem of the relations (economic, social and political) between the white and native communities."

#### -And Nyasaland

Nyasaland was included in the itinerary at the suggestion of the Nyasaland Publicity Committee and Major Cawthorn gathered that the Administration was fully prepared to welcome new settlers of the right type and to give them all assistance possible. "I have no doubt that any officers who may decide to settle in Nyasaland will be welcomed and helped by the official and non-official residents." Later he records: "Most of the officials and the Administration are of the opinion that the Administration would be glad to see more settlers from the Indian Army. It is in the limits of the finance and the policy of the Government more could be done to attract more settlers under present conditions."

#### Difficulties

Coming to Kenya, Major Cawthorn records that from the interest and hospitality displayed by the settler community he has no doubt that they would heartily welcome any official of the Indian Army and that in every way they would be ready to help on the maximum of help and assistance wherever it goes. Major Cawthorn explains that his visit to the Colony was due to the initiative of the Indian Association. The Secretary accompanied him on his tour.

There is a great deal of space given in the Kenya section of the political problem of the Colony and the unsatisfactory race relations, particularly so far as the Indian is concerned, as well as to the grievances which exist on the part of the settler community against the Government of the Colony.

#### Public Policy

After summarising these Major Cawthorn says: "The basic factor in the situation and one which intimately concerns the prospective settler is uncertainty as to the Kenya Government and Colonial Office policy regarding white settlement in general. There is no doubt that in practice, whether theory has changed or not, the attitude is very different now from what it was ten to fifteen years ago when to quote Sir Edward Trigg, 'more settlers were pumped in by the Imperial Government'." Major Cawthorn considers that the system of consultation between Government and the Elected Members under what was known as "Government by Agreement" seems to be "the logical way of conducting Government in a Colony like Kenya..... this policy continued until 1930..... Since then 'Government by Agreement' has been abandoned and for all practical purposes





Certain development conditions would be imposed within the capacity of a settler with a fixed income.

The most important point in the scheme is that no stand premium would be charged, but in view of that fact the land could not be disposed of subsequently without the sanction of Government. In order to prevent exploitation, this sanction, however, would not be refused if reasons were adequate.

Provision was made under the scheme for advances for capital development and improvement from the Land Bank up to a total of £1,000 per settler, under the control of the bank. The advances would be repaid in equal half-yearly instalments of capital and interest within thirty years.

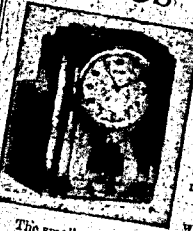
Officers who purchased private land for agricultural purposes would be eligible for the normal facilities of the Land Bank.

For officers who wished to acquire Crown land in small lots of 20 acres or less (the larger scheme applies to agricultural land between 20 and 100 acres) a substantial reduction in the price of land would be granted on the condition that the land should be disposed of to the Government within a specified period.

Such land would be granted on long lease and would be so managed that it would be suitable for settlement.

It is stated that the Government probably not exceed £20 and considerably more for land of this type is available than in any other part of the island.

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"ATMOS" REPRESENTATIVE  
Government Road, P. O. Box 1114  
Phone 2285.

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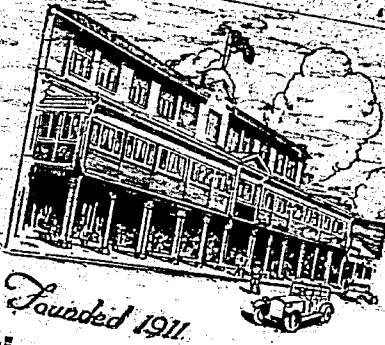
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Founded 1911

**Final Reductions in Wines and Spirits**

WHISKIES		
King George, Special	per Bot.	per Case.
Grants Liqueur	11-75	138-00
Fergusons "555"	11-75	139-00
Gilby's Spier Royal, 10 Years Old	10-50	125-00
Johnnie Walker, Red Label	12-00	142-00
Whiskies Pints and Flasks—All kinds	12-00	144-00
Martell's X X X	14-00	144-00
Hennessey X X X	14-00	
Hennessey X X X, pints	14-50	
Castillon French	11-00	
GINS		
Boord's Old Tom and Dry	10-00	119-00
Cray's Crystal Star	10-00	118-00
Findlay's Dry	10-00	
Gilby's Dry	10-00	
Holland Geneva, Square	10-25	
Boord's Old Tom and Dry, Pints	10-25	122-00
VERMOUTH		
French Nöilly Prät	11-00	
Italian Cinzano	5-50	
French Fostano	5-25	

could not be made available for general use. Considerably more ground and of this type is available than for agricultural purposes, according to Government.

**MOSKOW, THOMSON & Co., Ltd.**  
 F. B. DUNN, Receiver.  
 Government Road, NAIROBI.

**Service  
Stores**



**Winding-up  
SALE**

*Founded 1911*

**Final Reductions**

**in  
Wines  
and  
Spirits**

	per Doz.	per Case
<b>WHISKIES.—</b>		
King George, Special	117s	139-00
Grant's Liqueur	117s	139-00
Forgoona's "55"	10-50	125-00
Gilby's Spot Royal, 10 Years Old	12-00	137-00
Johnnie Walker, Red Label	12-00	137-00
Johnnie Walker, Green	12-00	144-00
Whiskies, Blended and Special, All kinds		
<b>BRANDIES.—</b>		
Jartelle X N X	14-00	
Hennessey X N X	14-00	
Hennessey X N X, Pints	7-50	
Cavillon French	11-45	
<b>GIN.—</b>		
Boards Old Tom and Dry	10-00	119-00
Craig's Crystal	10-00	119-00
Findlators Dry	10-25	122-00
Gilby's Dry	10-25	
Holland Geneva, Special	11-00	
Boards Old Tom and Dry, Extra	11-50	
<b>VERMOUTH.—</b>		
French Nolly Prot.	5-25	64-00
Italian-Cinzano	5-25	64-00
French Fozzaco	4-60	57-00
<b>SHERRIES.—</b>		
Findlators, Pale No. 2	5-50	40-00
Findlators Old Fashioned Brown	6-00	68-00
Findlators Xmas-Coral	6-00	68-00
Findlators, Winter-Pale	6-00	68-00
Gilby's Spanish	4-75	
<b>PORTS.—</b>		
Findlators Palace	5-50	35-50
Findlators, 9 Diamonds	7-00	80-00
Gilby's Red	4-75	
Gilby's Invalid	5-50	
<b>WINES (RED).—</b>		
Beaune French Vintage (1927)	5-00	57-00
Pommard French Vintage (1927)	5-00	57-00
Choret St. Julian (1927)	4-50	45-00
Chianti Italian Bardoli	4-50	
Karawan Red (S.A.)	4-00	45-00
Wines in Pints — from 2-50 to	3-00	
Winearius Tonic	7-25	
<b>WINES (WHITE).—</b>		
Graves French (1927)	4-00	47-00
Sauternes Haut (1927)	4-50	52-00
St. Emilion	4-00	45-00
Chablis (1927)	5-50	60-00
Hock "Budesheim" (1927)	5-50	63-00
Karawan White	4-00	45-00
White Wines, Pints, —	2-50 to 3-00	
<b>CHAMPAGNE.—</b>		
Heidsieck Dry Monopole	13-50	160-00
Heidsieck Dry Monopole, pints	7-25	168-00
Sparkling Moselle	9-00	105-00
<b>LIQUEURS.—</b>		
Curacon Heerings	13-50	
Cherry Brandy Heerings	13-50	
Maraschino	13-00	
Maraschino, Pints	7-00	
Akavit Taffel	13-50	
Rum Old Jamaica	11-00	
Bitters Orange, Pints	6-50	
<b>CORDIALS.—</b>		
Lime Juice and Squashes, imported	2-75	
Lemon and Orange Squash, local	1-50	
<b>TOBACCOS.—</b>		
Granger Rough Cut, 1-lb. tin	4-50	
<b>CIGARS.—</b>		
Dutch Vandertaals, box 25	11-00	
Scotts Cheroots, 100s	21-00	
STOUT—Carlsberg, pints	0-90	

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THE CAWTHORN REPORT

A Lost Opportunity

There are some people in this country who complain that the people and their leaders are always talking politics and attacking Government, to the detriment of sound progress, peace, good understanding and the country's reputation for common sense. The real trouble is how to avoid talking "politics." Both the Government and the people of Kenya seem fated to be kept in the heat of the maelstrom, whirling round with increasing speed in a sea of trouble, drawing nearer to the vortex into which there is grave danger that we shall all plunge unless we are rescued from the perilous position. Nobody can say with any truth that level-headed, common-sense people in this country look for trouble. Leaders of public opinion appointed to positions which are weighed down with heavy responsibilities must be assumed to be sincerely interested in peace and friendliness as everybody else, and that applies to leaders of both sides of the political arena in the country. Why is it that whatever may be the good resolutions we frame to live and let live, to forget our differences, to bury still more hostilities and start afresh, nothing comes of it? Surely, it is because, as the Secretary of State has recognised, Kenya is a country which is involved in more difficult problems than almost any other part of the world and certainly more complicated issues than any other part of the British Empire. These problems are here because we ourselves are here. They were inevitable. Nothing we could have done in history could have prevented their emergence for solution unless we had all swallowed our instinctive pride of race, discarded our traditions, closed our eyes to our own history as a people and remained content to allow anything to happen not merely without protest but without thinking about it at all. That did not take place in the early stages of colonisation and because it did not happen we today are heirs to trouble and our children, too, will inherit a legacy of problems. It is, unhappily, impossible to avoid that conviction. Whatever we may do, something is bound to occur which adds fuel to a fire that nothing we can do will quench. All that is left open to us is to continue to strive for the atmosphere of goodwill, friendliness and understanding of all points of view which will give us as a community at least a chance of getting something. Take the Cawthorn Report for instance. It has been thrown into the arena of other challenges to principles

pride. We could not avoid it. An Indian officer, sent to assess the suitability of various African Territories for settlement, visited Kenya and he has recorded his impressions. Some people may ask why he thought it necessary to go to a lot of trouble analysing and stating our domestic difficulties and our unhappy relations when all he was really interested in was whether the conditions in Kenya were suitable for men of his own type. Others may want to know why a serving officer thought it part of his duty to criticise a Colonial Government that is not in a position to deal with his criticisms. That, however, would be a mistaken view because there is nothing to prevent the Government of Kenya taking the Cawthorn Report paragraph by paragraph and answering it. Indeed we hope that in its own interests and for the sake of Kenya the Government will not hesitate to do so. But one thing is for certain upon our attention. Major Cawthorn went to Southern and Northern Rhodesia and to Nyasaland before he came here. He found that the Government and the people were anxious to do everything within their power to help him to encourage Indian officers to settle in these countries. They were less interested in the economic value of these settlers than in the opportunity of attracting in high quality and high quality who would, by their character, integrity, traditions and experience, help the Government and the white community to deal with the Uganda problem of the African. We, too, in Kenya, realise that we, too, have a Native problem and we have always believed that we could discharge no greater service to the African people than to encourage the best type of Briton to come amongst us and help by example to keep our standards high. What was the result? Major Cawthorn came here. The Government was apparently not too anxious to see him. There was no scheme prepared. He found much to his surprise that the Government policy in regard to white settlement was "negative" and lacking in initiative. He found in fact, though he could not understand why, that the policy appeared to be one of giving no definite encouragement to further settlement. He went away and he wrote an honest account of his impressions which cannot possibly do either the Government or the people of this Colony any good. It will be difficult to overtake his criticisms. He found that there was a time, not so very long ago, when we managed things better by a system which we called "Government by agreement." He found, too, that within the last few years things have unaccountably changed and that the representatives of the settlers are now regarded, as he saw the position, as opponents and not as partners. And yet he was able to say that in many respects Kenya was a good country for settlement and that its people were loyal to the King, its children were healthy, its institutions were advanced and its women folk found pleasure in public work. Still, he felt that he and

body would stop them coming but if they did not come the Government of the country would not be sorry. Surely that is a terribly serious position? Surely we should be so and what are the reasons why the Government of this Colony and the Government at Home should encourage in Kenya the desire for high quality white settlers who will be so welcome in Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It is true that, having faced the position, Major Cawthorn came away with definite proposals. His suggestion of settlement in Uganda eventually failed, showing that there was the land available and that, however reluctant the Government was, prepared to undertake the task, the Government could not establish approved settlers on that land. But the first African Standard always to say that regarding all information available while the scheme was still-born. It was tentative and then it was killed. It has been buried down and we do not know why. All that we have got from a very promising opportunity to interest outside people in the country is more bad publicity and a frank analysis of our domestic difficulties for the enlightenment of the larger world. The impression will remain that the Imperial authorities, and certainly the Government of Kenya, do not really want Settlers. Every man who has made his home here is entitled to know why. If we are to be reserved for an Indian Colony and if this country is ultimately to be governed by the India Office and Delhi, let us know. If further settlement is discouraged because the authorities do not think the present settlers have succeeded, then tell us. If it is thought that further alienation of land will jeopardise the position of the African in the future, then say so. But do not let this challenge, this denunciation, of a fair land remain unexplained. A serious charge has been made once more against the Kenya Government and we have all a right to know the facts since we have so often been assured that the Government is keenly desirous of encouraging and strengthening settlement in the country. Nobody can blame Major Cawthorn. He was sent to report and he has told the truth as he saw it. And a very unpleasant story it is.

PRIVATE AND PERSONAL.

AIR MAIL.

Recd. 30/3/54  
24  
RECEIVED  
19 JUN 1936  
C. O. REG  
GOVERNMENT HOUSE,  
KENYA,  
EAST AFRICA.  
22nd March, 1936.

My dear Bottomley,

I fear there is no end to the worries

I thrust upon you.

I feel very strongly about the following matter and if the Secretary of State approves I should like representations to be made to the Government of India. If representations are to be made you would prefer a formal despatch: this I could send you.

My complaint relates to a visit to Kenya of Major W.J. Cawthorn, sent from India to investigate the possibility of War Excess Officers settling here. My personal sympathy with these Officers is expressed in a letter I sent to the Commander-in-Chief in December, 1934 (copy enclosed) and our confidential despatches No. 567 of the 15th November, 1935, and No. 21 of the 29th February last. Cawthorn arrived during the time I was on leave but Wade and all our officers gave him every assistance and this Government paid his expenses.

We....

Government House,  
Nairobi.  
Kenya Colony.  
3rd December, 1954.

Dear Field Marshal,

Thank you for your letter of the 7th November.

We were already aware of the scheme for the compulsory retirement of a large number of Officers belonging to the Indian Army and we have been doing our utmost to persuade a number of them to come and reside in Kenya. The climate here is excellent and a man with a small income can, in my opinion get far greater value for his money than he would at home. Excellent sport such as polo, fishing and shooting can be obtained at reasonable cost and the social life is a pleasant one, for the bulk of our settlers come from the same class as your officers. In addition there are good schools, both Government and private, where European children can be educated. With the object of encouraging such settlement we have in the Colony an organisation called the "Kenya Association" and we have in London, attached to our office there, an officer specially detailed for a like purpose. This officer, Colonel Knaggs, left the Indian Army, was a short time ago sent by us on tour through India in order to visit Messes and Clubs and advertise the attractions of Kenya.

I have now sent a copy of your letter both to the Kenya Association and to Colonel Knaggs who I know will welcome its contents. If you would be kind enough to direct the officer in charge of your Information Bureau to get in touch without delay with our London Office, Trafalgar Square, and with the Secretary of the Kenya Association, Nairobi, it would be an advantage. In the meantime I will arrange for all pamphlets, etc, containing the desired information to be sent to the Bureau at New Delhi.

In conclusion I can assure you that both my Government and I will assist in every way we possibly can.

Yours sincerely,

(SGD) J.A. BYRNE.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL.  
GOVERNOR, KENYA COLONY.

HIS EXCELLENCY  
FIELD MARSHALL SIR PHILIP CHETWODE. G.C.B., ETC.  
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN INDIA.  
NEW DELHI.  
INDIA.

Government House.  
 Nairobi,  
 Kenya Colony.  
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BRIGADIER-GENERAL,  
 GOVERNOR, KENYA COLONY.

HIS EXCELLENCY  
 FIELD MARSHALL SIR PHILIP CHRISTWODE, G.C.B., ETC.  
 COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN INDIA.  
 NEW DELHI.  
 INDIA.

## An Indian Army Officer Reports!

That retired British officers in the service of the Indian Government who have settled in Kenya have made no contribution towards Indian settlement in this country, but have, on the contrary, added to its political difficulties is not a new charge. The number of such settlers is not large, but there is not one single instance of any of these settled officers sympathising with Indian aspirations or affecting as a policy in bridging about an amicable atmosphere between the main immigrant races of the Colony. The latest instance is that of an Army Officer, a Major Cawthorn, who visited East Africa and has published a most damaging report with the knowledge and concurrence of the Army High Commanders in India. We deal with this report so that the Indian Government may be forced in the Assembly to call the Indian Press to call the way in its service to order, so that serving officers of the Government do not spend time and state funds for the purpose of describing in the "Cricket" members of people in whose service they are and from whom they derive their salaries and pensions. The visit of Major Cawthorn seems to have been undertaken under instructions from official quarters and were originally intended to an inquiry into the request of settlers in Southern Rhodesia. Kenya was included in the itinerary at the request of the Kenya Association and report made by the Major fits in well with the views on Indian settlement always held by the white settlers. Perhaps the most significant fact connected with the report is that it is published in this country at a time when representatives of white settlers have accused Sir Joseph's government of antagonism to white settlement, and Major Cawthorn makes much of his "failure to find in Kenya anything approaching enthusiasm on the part of the Administration for

settlers from the Indian Army that he found in other territories". The attitude of Government, according to him, was "negative and without initiative. He deplored abandonment by the present Governor of the policy of "Government by agreement" which has brought the country to the verge of bankruptcy and which it has taken the present Governor five years to liquidate. There is no denying the fact that the report is the result of a biased and prejudiced mind and well reflects the temper and the hatred which Army Officers in India have towards Indians everywhere. The cold slaughter which the Major has had from the government is one of the several redeeming features. It is a pity that to the extent that the report is under which Indian lives in this Colony are sacrificed. His Excellency Sir Joseph Byrne for discouraging the infusion in this Colony of a lot of people who in the most valuable contribute to the difficulties of the administration and aggravate the already tense relations which exists between the two races. They can never be made settlers in the true sense of the word and their fate cannot be anything but the one which overtook the retired army officers for whom state assistance was given some years ago. We are not so much concerned with the Major's unwanted and insulting references to Indian settlement in Kenya. He has yet to live here to know that Indian contribution to the development of this country would never be excelled by his own retirement to this country and of his fellow-officers. His malicious insinuation that the Indian is the competitor of the African in many walks of life and that Indian settlement will be doomed no sooner the African replaces him in his present occupation denotes a mentality as ignorant of actual facts as it is saturated with hatred towards





The East African Standard

THE CAWTHORN REPORT

A Lost Opportunity

There are some people in this country who complain that the people and their leaders are always talking politics and attacking Government, to the detriment of sound progress, peace, good understanding and the country's reputation for common-sense. The real trouble is how to avoid talking politics. Both the Government and the people of Kenya seem fated to be kept in the front of the unending, swirling round with increasing speed in seas of treachery nearer to the very danger that we shall all be lost in. It is our perilous position that is the only reason that leads to the common people in this country look for trouble. Leaders of this nation, appointed to positions with heavy responsibilities, must be as alert to be as greatly interested in peace and business as everybody else—and that applies to leaders on both sides of the political divide in the country. Why is it that whatever we do the racial relations we frame to live and let live, we forget our differences, to bury still more hatreds, to fight almost, nothing, is it all? Surely it is because, as the Secretary of State has recognised, Kenya is a country which is involved in more-difficult problems than almost any other part of the world and certainly more-complicated issues than any other part of the British Empire. These problems are here because we ourselves are here. They were inevitable. Nothing we could have done in history could have prevented their emergence for solution unless we had all swallowed our insidious pride of race, discarded our traditions, closed our eyes to our own history as a people and remained content to allow anything to happen but without protest but without thinking about it at all. That did not take place in the early stages of colonisation, and because it did not happen we today are heirs to trouble and our children, too, will inherit a legacy of problems. It is, unhappily, impossible to avoid that

conviction. Whatever we may do, something is bound to occur which adds fuel to a fire that nothing we can do will quench. All that is left open to us is to continue to strive for the atmosphere of goodwill, friendliness and understanding of all points of view which will give us as a community at least a chance of solving something. Take the Cawthorn Report for instance. It has been thrown into the arena, another challenge to principles and policies and to our racial pride. We could not avoid it. An Indian officer, sent to assess the suitability of various African Territories for settlement, visited Kenya and he has recorded his impressions. Some people may ask why he thought it necessary to go to a lot of trouble, analysing and stating our domestic difficulties and our racial relations when all he was called upon to do was whether the conditions of Kenya were suitable for men of his own type. Officers do not want to know what a serving officer has to say of his duty to the Colonial Government that is not in connection to deal with his criticisms. They would be a mistaken view be- lieved there is nothing to prevent the Government of Kenya taking the Cawthorn report as a basis for paragon and as a guide. We had we hope said in its own interest and for the sake of Kenya the Government should not hesitate to do so. But one thing I would urge upon our attention. Major Cawthorn went to Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and to Nyasaland before he came here. He found that the Governments and the people were anxious to do everything within their power to help him to encourage Indian officers to settle in these countries. They were less interested in the economic value of these settlers than in the opportunity of attracting to Rhodesia and Nyasaland men of high quality who would, by their character, integrity, traditions and experience, help the Governments and the white community to deal with the fundamental problem of the African. We, too, in Kenya feel like that. We, too, have a Native problem and we have always believed that we could discharge no greater service to the African people than to encourage the best type of Briton to come amongst us and help by example to keep our standards high. What was the result? Major Cawthorn came here. The Government was apparently not too anxious to see him. There was no scheme prepared. He found, much to his

surprise that the Government policy in regard to white settlement was "negative" and lacking in initiative. He found in fact, though he could not understand why, that the policy appeared to be one of giving no definite encouragement to further settlement. He went away and he wrote an honest account of his impressions which cannot possibly go either to the Government or the people of this Colony any good. It will be difficult to overtake his criticisms. He found that there was a time, not so very long ago, when we managed things better by a system which we called "Government by agreement." He found, too, that within the last few years things have unaccountably changed and that the representatives of the settlers are now regarded, as he saw the position, as opponents and not as partners. He did not see any reason why in many respects Kenya was a good country for settlement and that its people were loyal to the King, its children were healthy, its institutions were advanced and its women had found a place in public life. But he felt that he said his kind were not wanted. Nobody would stop them coming, but if they did not come the Government of the country would not be sorry. Surely that is a terribly serious thing. Surely we must try to find out just why it should be so and what are the reasons why the Government of this Colony and the Government at Home hesitate to encourage in Kenya the desire for immigration of high quality who will be so welcome in Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It is true that, having forced the position, Major Cawthorn went away with definite proposals. A skeleton State Settlement Scheme was eventually conceived, showing that there was the land available and that, however reluctantly, Government was prepared to advocate the finding of the money to help establish approved settlers on that land. But the East African Standard grieves to say that according to all information available the scheme was still-born. It was sent home and there it was killed. It has been turned down and nobody knows why. All that we have got from a very promising opportunity to interest outside people in the country is more bad publicity and a frank analysis of our domestic difficulties for the enlightenment of the larger world. The impression will remain that the Imperial authorities, and certainly the Government of

Kenya, do not really want settlers. Every man who has his home here is entitled to know why it is to be reserved for an Indian Colony. The country is ultimately to be governed by the Indian people and Delhi. Let us know. If further settlement is discouraged because the natives do not think the present settlers have earned their right to it, it is possible that under alienation of land will jeopardize the position of the African in the future, then any further settlement for this challenge, this denunciation, of a fair and open interpretation. A serious charge has been made once more against the Kenya Government and we have a right to know the facts since we have often been assured that the Government is keenly desirous of bridging and strengthening partnership in the country. Nobody can blame Major Cawthorn. He was sent to report and he has told the truth as he saw it. And a very unpleasant story it is.

# Major Cawthorn's Judgment of Kenya

## FINE TRIBUTES TO THE COLONY AND ITS CHILDREN

### Suitable for Settlement

### FRANK CRITICISMS OF RACE RELATIONS AND GOVERNMENT POLICY

To give the colony a more complete view of the Cawthorn Report than was possible in the first extracts, conclusions on a wide variety of local problems and controversies are published below.

Major Cawthorn's judgment that notwithstanding its racial misapprehensions, its Indian problem, financial situation, bad publicity, etc., Kenya is a good place for the right kind of man who, with an income, wants to and can afford to spend about two hundred pounds a year to it for small-scale agriculture.

Kenya's white children were the best he saw in his African tour, but the adults, though physically very fit, had a "fine drawn tautness about their appearance," which might have been due to politics or the depression.

### "If People Lived on Scenery..."

In addition to the proposals for a new settlement scheme and the criticisms of the attitude of the Kenya Government, Major W. J. Cawthorn included in his recently published Report many interesting observations on the conditions and problems of Kenya and the following extracts from the document some of its more interesting comments and conclusions.

Dealing with the many varieties of country in the Highlands, Major Cawthorn remarks: "In a few miles one passes from typical Australian sheep country to typical dairying and mixed farming country. If a man could live on scenery alone, existence in the Kenya Highlands would be assured."

#### Colonial Office Policy

After reviewing the land question, the still undecided position of the White Highlands, and Indian claims, Major Cawthorn states: "The net result of the past sixteen years' events is that each community is suspicious of and completely out of sympathy with the other.

The white community in addition seems to be convinced that Indian influence is exerted through the India Office on the Colonial Office to the prejudice of their interests and that this explains the alleged tendency of the Colonial Office and the local administration to make no efforts to encourage white settlement and even to discourage it. Whatever the true position may be, a study of the reports of the various Commissions on East Africa and of the White Papers, etc., that have been issued periodically since the war... can hardly encourage the white settler in Kenya to place undue reliance on the permanency of Colonial Office policy or give him complete confidence in the present form of administration.... When it is realised that the Indian population is double that of the European, the hopes of the one and the fears of the other community that a common electoral roll will eventually, can be appreciated. The European community always re-

member that in June 1930, H.M.'s Government stated that they regarded this as an object to be aimed at and attained.

Referring to the proposed abolition of District Councils, which was an issue at the time of his visit, Major Cawthorn notes the objections of the settlers and observes: "At the same time if they (District Councils) do not improve local rates but merely spend Government grants, their continued retention may be difficult to justify."

#### The Indians

In a chapter on the racial question and the position held by Indians in the economic and political life of Kenya, the Report has this to say: "There is no doubt that Indian vested interests in certain occupations... have the opportunity for the increase in the number of Africans who are fitted to take their place. That Indians were not 'intentionally' indispensable is shown by Northern and Southern Rhodesia where, right from the start, natives have done most of the work that is done by Indians in Kenya." He records the general message of competition between Africans and Indians in labour and commerce and his view that "the last thing the Indian in Kenya really wants is to become an agriculturist" and believes it is safe to conclude "that economic forces are already operating as a check on Indian immigration and are likely to operate still more strongly in the future." And again: "While there is no doubt that many of the settler community fail to appreciate that there are two sides to every question and that, in considering the Indian problem, broader Imperial interests cannot be ignored, it must be admitted that there is very considerable force in the main argument they put forward for restrictions on Indian immigration and on the withholding from them of equal political responsibility in Africa."

#### Social Contacts

Major Cawthorn explains that he has gone into this question in considerable detail because he feels it is, one of which the intending settler should be aware. He does not wish to create the impression that personal relations between European and Indian are strained but there is

a quite definite antagonism between them as communities which finds expression in Legislative Council and in the Reports of Committees on which Europeans and Indians sit. "Almost invariably a minority report is included in which racial bias is very evident and in fact some times the only apparent reason for the difference of opinion. On the other hand the European community as a whole exercises no discrimination in its social treatment of Indians and aggravates the position by more or less socially boycotting Indians who have reached the public positions and Indian are boycotting the country. This failure to appreciate that there are Indians and Indians arises so I was told from the fear that if the social advances made less desirable they will take advantage of it.

### The African

In a reference to the African natives the author writes: "The natives are of very high physique they are anything but a healthy community. I formed the impression that the natives have not advanced so far as the less civilized races of Africa in administration than those in the other Colonies I visited. The contact between the two races (European and African) has not been so general and widespread. There is also considerable contention in the settlements that the overhead costs of administration have left the little surplus revenue for native development. The settlers as a community obviously take a pride in treating the native fairly and in housing and feeding him well. As far as I could see there is no foundation for the accusation constantly heard, and made as recently as September, 1935 in the House of Commons, that the settlers are unfairly exploiting the native. Actually many settlers complained and I think justly that the present taxation imposed on the native by Government is too high. I formed the impression that although the bulk of the natives are more backward there is a bigger sprinkling of "politically minded" natives in Kenya than elsewhere, and a less docile type of native in general. Consequently I think there is somewhat more of a native "problem" both actual and potential. That does not however mean that it is in any way a serious problem."

### Health

Discussing climate and health. Major Cawthorn describes the climate of Kenya as "rather akin to a good English summer." He found the question of health one difficult to deal with in the absence of vital statistics and machinery for collecting them. Certain figures available for European officials were of doubtful value in attempting to assess the health of the European community as a whole as the officials are not permanent residents and enjoy liberal furlough facilities. "There is no indication in the annual reports of the Medical Department of views on the health of the European population or as to the suitability of local conditions for Europeans. That for over 17 years no practical steps seem to have been taken to make progress with investigations of a question that vitally affects white colonial health is a matter of regret. It is to be hoped that the altitudinal Colonial Administration of late years forwards such settlement to the best of the available faire

### The Children

It is a good word to say for the Colony's European children, having seen a good number of all ages during his tour. I was much impressed with the physique and general appearance of those I saw, including the boys in the "Senior of White School," the "Irish." They compare favourably with the children I saw in Southern Rhodesia. He records that doctors differed regarding the wisdom of children spending their years of adolescence in Kenya but the young doctor Major Cawthorn saw bore out the opinion that from a point of view of health they did not suffer by remaining in the country. "With regard to adults," he continues, "I hardly met any who did not seem physically fit and none who complained that the climate and health conditions did not suit them. I must say, however, as a result of close observation specially made all through my tour in East Africa, that in general the adults showed more signs of what for want of a better word I can only describe as nervous tension than elsewhere. One noticed a sort of fine drawn tautness about their appearance and attitude that it is difficult to define. But he did not know whether to put it down to climate, altitude, the depression or politics. He was unable to get any definite medical view on the altitude question except that the Director of

Medical Services said that it had not yet been proved that the conditions were not suitable for Europeans." He was very favourably impressed with the educational facilities.

### Social Life

So far as social conditions are concerned, he says that Kenya strikes him as being even more highly organized than the social and recreational point of view than the other parts of Africa he visited. The Colony has had bad publicity as a result of having strong its people in 1918 who did not need to take life or colonisation seriously, but in his view Kenya is no different from any of the other parts of Africa in the capacity for work and the normality of life as far as the latter community. He does think there is some lack of proportion among certain of the older established settlers and a tendency to see only the local and financial part of the political and municipal affairs. This tendency is reflected somewhat in the letters to the Press from time to time to make the country appear ridiculous and he says politicians who boast that they have not been one of the babies for twenty years as an argument for the soundness of their views are no better than politicians who talk of the iniquities of Kenya without first hand knowledge. "Newcomers are very much content on the basis of their wealth, social origin, but rather on their personal characteristics. Incidentally he thinks the cost of recreation and sport is low if not lower than anywhere in the world. "With regard to the aspect of life in Kenya for women, there seems to be more in the form of interests outside the actual home than in some of the other countries I visited." In earlier chapters on other Territories he recorded in some of them a dull life for the wives of settlers.

### Taxation Trend

He has also something to say about taxation. It did not appear to him to be altogether true that the settler was heavily taxed but he thinks there is room for relief to the primary producer. "With regard to the trend of taxation," he continues, "I gathered that the policy is to replace the temporary Non-Native Poll Tax with an income tax." And again: "In Kenya as elsewhere it appeared that expenditure on petrol and drinks is the factor that really determines the individual cost of living."

The general opinion was that on an allotment outside the town the cost of living for a married couple should be about £250 per annum. He found married people living simply but quite well on £150 a year. The cost of building houses struck him as incredibly high, with endless scope for extravagance in building up a home. One could indulge in Kenya, he said, in a rich taste for less than it could be done in England.

Major Cawthron devotes considerable space to the financial position and records the exasperation of the settlers against the failure of Government to take effective action. Over the pension he said it was his opinion that the European community and the Government are completely out of sympathy. It is not a strong point in the Government's hands. The Government is not I think with some justification, of ignoring recommendations which prima facie would well cause a big improvement.

**Cost of Living**

Everywhere in Kenya people assured him that a married man could live easily and well on an income of £150 to £200 a year, but when such things as insurance, education, holiday costs, etc. were taken into consideration Major Cawthron thought the margin too narrow for security. Somewhat in the neighbourhood of £750 or £800 with facilities for growing one's own produce seemed to him the minimum for safety.

The Director of Education was very helpful in suggesting that there might be openings in his department and so was the Acting Commissioner of Mines who offered to put officers in touch with companies.

**On the Land**

With regard to agricultural opportunities, Major Cawthron came to the general conclusion that it should be possible in Kenya for a new settler with some natural aptitude eventually to augment an existing income in the direction of growing with dairying as a basis. He said that 200 to 300 acres requiring £1,000 to £2,000 investment. The alternative would be 100 to 50 acres for a lower price. A settler could be expected to support himself and his wife on 200 acres of private land, and to land his surplus. The fact that most of the suitable land is in the hands of private owners, many of whom are merely speculators, is a serious objection. A Government spokesman declared that "some of the settlers themselves were the biggest obstacle to white settlement as they had locked up huge areas of land which either would not be or would be refused any but prohibitive price." He added "a fair criticism" of the Government. This was followed up (as many settlers thought they should and has been done in many other countries) by imposing a land tax on undeveloped land. The Report also advises intending settlers to seek independent advice and records that officers of the Agricultural Department will be only too pleased to give advice on their personal capacity, particularly the Senior Plant Breeder. The visitor found it difficult to differentiate between the districts. "They are all delightful places with excellent people," is his final judgment.

# Major Cawthorn's Settlement Report

## FRANK CRITICISM OF THE KENYA GOVERNMENT

### "No Enthusiasm: No Initiative"

#### ITS ATTITUDE TO SETTLEMENT: "NOT ONE OF DEFINITE ENCOURAGEMENT"

Major Cawthorn, who visited Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Kenya to assess the suitability of the conditions for settlement of Indian Army Officers has reported:

Major Cawthorn records that it was only with the greatest difficulty that he obtained from the Kenya Government any views on the proposed settlement. Its policy appeared to be negative and without initiative. Nothing was prepared for him, though the object of his visit had been known for four months.

His chief feeling, he adds, "that basically the officials of the Government towards white settlement is not one of definite encouragement."

However, a limited scheme of assisted settlement with grants of Crown land for farming and cheap plots for residential settlement was eventually proposed by Government and is included in the Report.

### A Proposed Scheme

The report made by Major W. S. Cawthorn, 4th Batta (Rifles), 16th Punjab Regiment, on the tours made by him through Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Kenya last year has now been published. Major Cawthorn's visit was made with the object of assessing the suitability of these territories for settlement by retired officers of the Indian Army particularly those affected by the War Block Scheme.

The report was printed by the Government Press at Simba and there is a foreword by Major General Twiss, the Military Secretary, who explained that although the report is published by Army Headquarters, views, opinions or criticisms are entirely those of Major Cawthorn, who was instructed to record his impressions of the countries exactly as they appeared to him, as a War Block officer. No amendments or deletions have been made in the report by Army Headquarters.

Major Cawthorn records that the opinion has been expressed that the days of profitable agriculture on a small scale in any part of the world were now over. If by "profitable" the making of large sums, or even an income sufficient for the complete maintenance of a family, was implied then he was inclined to agree. If, however, one was content, at least for a start, merely to augment an existing income by say £150 to £300 per annum he thinks the statement requires qualification in the case of all the countries he visited.

#### Advantages

He makes the following points in favour of settlement:

(a) Land values, prices of stock, implements, labour, building materials, all lower than ever before. Calculations made for him in Southern Rhodesia show that a capital expenditure of £1,000 to day would go as far as £3,800 seven years ago and the proportion seemed to be much the same elsewhere.

(b) As many settlers had failed to survive the economic depression it was possible to purchase land on a long or even developed terms at a great potential value at prices that are low, the capital already expended on them and as many cases even below their true present comparative worth.

(c) Big costs had taken place in the cost of production.

(d) The depression had led to a generalisation in certain countries East Africa with close co-operation and financial assistance to meet changed conditions.

(e) Farming has been very largely neglected and the new owner has a unique opportunity to profit by other peoples' experience and mistakes.

(f) Large tracts of land offered for sale at prices well below the market value than many farmers are having to accept for their own private farms.

(g) Agricultural research has made great progress.

(h) Labour is becoming increasingly experienced and reliable, but as it is far below wages far below the comparative economic value of the work it is an asset the importance of which can hardly be over-estimated.

(i) Natural conditions of climate, soil, fertility and a very wide range of products to be grown. Many of these products are high grade ones of which even a small increase will bring a large return.

Major Cawthorn remarks, on the other side, lack of experience, lack of capital and the risks inseparable from agriculture. He does not consider these risks to be exceptional and points out that the prospects for the new owner are not so poor as might be inferred from the present state of many of the farmers. The War Block officer in all respects is in a better position than the man with a certain amount of capital but no income.

"Viewed from the aspects set forth above," he continues, "the present world seem to be almost an ideal time in which to enter the agricultural industry in any of these countries."

#### Capital and Land

Experience in all four countries confirms that for the small farmer some form of mixed farming is best. In regard to capital required, Major Cawthorn says that it is an indication of the basic similarity between all these countries that opinion everywhere agreed regarding the acreage and

capital required to enable a new settler to augment his fixed income. A farm of between 200 and 700 acres (depending on locality, soil, wood and water, type of crops to be grown, etc.) with capital expenditure of £1,500 to £2,000 over the first two years was considered to meet requirements. These figures took into account the possession of an income sufficient for living expenses and interest charges for the first two or three years. It was agreed that in normal cases the rates of unemployment pay of these War Block officers would suffice for this provided early steps were taken to produce as much of one's food requirements as possible and that expenditure on non-essentials was reasonably restricted.

**Mining**

Cawthorn formed the opinion that the only definite opportunity for mining and mining in regard to Southern Rhodesia is to attract the right Government of Southern Rhodesia to be sought in the mining field as the mining field is prepared to assist them financially. In this connection the Southern Rhodesia came from 1900 to 1910 and a monthly yield of two ounces. "Agriculture especially offers an opportunity with the same regard of a low cost and a long life should rather than a acute in value as time goes on."

**Rhodesian Welcome**

The report amounts to 150 pages and it is perhaps significant of the importance of Kenya that one-third of the document is devoted to the Kenya white Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are dealt with in less than 100 pages.

The tour apparently originated with the United Settlers League of Southern Rhodesia. Major Cawthorn records: "The members of the Government (of Southern Rhodesia) and all sections of the community appeared to be most ready to welcome the settlers as many officers of the Indian Army as wished to come to the country. On all sides I have heard the view expressed that in its present stage of development the country has urgent need of men of this type with sufficient means, education and training and with characteristics that will fit them to take some part in the public life of the country. It is primarily on these grounds and not on the aspects of spending power or of increase in population that their presence appears to be desired."

In regard to Northern Rhodesia the visit to the territory was made at the request of His Excellency

the Governor. He was accompanied on his tour by the Commissioner for Lands. From all sections of the community Major Cawthorn gathered that settlers from the Indian Army would be welcome. "As far as the Administration is concerned I gathered that settlers from the Indian Army would be especially welcome because it is hoped that from their training and experience they will be of a type likely to aid in the solution of the right lines of the problem of the relations (economic, social and political) between the white and native communities."

**And Nyasaland**

Nyasaland was included in the itinerary at the suggestion of the Nyasaland Publicity Committee and Major Cawthorn gathered that the Administration are fully prepared to welcome new settlers of the right type to give them all that is possible. "I doubt that any one would decide to settle in Nyasaland will be welcomed and helped in the official and non-official residents of Nyasaland. The example of the Indian Army is a good one. European immigrants are particularly well treated with the land freely financed and Colonial unemployment which more could reasonably be done under present conditions."

**Kenya Difficulties**

Major Cawthorn's report records that from the interest and hospitality afforded to the settler community he has no doubt that the Government would welcome any officers of the Indian Army and that in every district the next officer count on the maximum of help and assistance wherever he goes. Major Cawthorn explains that the visit to the Colony was due to the initiative of the Kenya Association whose Secretary accompanied him on his tour.

There is a great deal of space given in the Kenya section to the political problem of the Colony and the unsatisfactory race relations, particularly so far as the Indian is concerned, as well as to the grievances which exist on the part of the settler community against the Government of the Colony.

**Public Policy**

After summarising these Major Cawthorn says: "The basic factor in the situation and one which intimately concerns the prospective settler is uncertainty as to the Kenya Government and Colonial Office policy regarding white settlement in general. There is no doubt that in practice, whether theory has changed or not the attitude is very dif-

ferent now from what it was 10 to fifteen years ago when I quote Sir Edward Grigg, 'most settlers were pumped in by the Imperial Government'. Major Cawthorn considers that the system of consultation between Government and the Elected Members under what was known as 'Government by Agreement' seems to be 'the logical way of conducting Government in a Colony like Kenya'. This policy continued until 1930. Since then Government by Agreement has been abrogated and for all practical purposes the Elected Members seem to have been treated as 'puppets' instead of partners in the country's business. One has to balance through the joint effort of Government and the Elected Members to see the development of the present position which has resulted in the Elected Members being treated as 'puppets' in the settlers' eyes. This has led to a situation where the settlers have had only a few cases which characterise the Government's policy. The variable omission in the Government's policy in the case of the Civil Servants in the Council seem to have revealed the attitude of the 'Silent Service' which however proper under a representative Government occupies a place in the Government where the Elected Members are Government spokesmen and with the Elected Members the legislators as well as administrators."

**No Enthusiasm**

In a later paragraph Major Cawthorn writes: "Personally I regret to say that I failed to find in Kenya anything approaching the enthusiasm on the part of the Administration for settlers from the Indian Army. I do not mean by this that the attitude was obstructive in any way. It struck me as being negative and without initiative. I had to force the issue to ascertain what the views of Government were and what steps, if any, they were prepared to take to facilitate settlement. Although the Government had known for four months the object of my tour and on my first arrival I made it clear that I necessarily desired something concrete in



include in my report, I found three weeks later the same nebulous stage. It was only by last minute effort, aided by the President of the Kenya Association, that I was able to get to the stage indicated later in this report. I cannot help feeling that basically the official attitude towards further white settlement is not one of definite encouragement. What the reasons are I cannot profess to know. It may be that they feel that the country is not suitable or that, as many people in Kenya think, the British Office policy is over-cautious. The Indian Office policy, which is said in principle to support the view of the British Indians both in Kenya and India, that Kenya should become a colony of India.

Immediately following my departure is another one, recording that a committee in Kenya expressed the view that no useful purpose would be served by Major Cawthron's War Block district officers not retired, but were merely on the inactive list. They would be no use as settlers as they would not be able to take part in the inevitable struggle against the African National Congress. Major Cawthron was not prepared to hazard an opinion as to how much of it is underground, but he says: "Kenya is undoubtedly a spirit and independence European population animated by an absolute loyalty to the King, but equally intensely exercised with His Majesty's Ministers."

#### A Draft Scheme

Concluding his report on Kenya he outlines a scheme which was ultimately drafted before he left the Colony, with two members of the Government at a final discussion. He sincerely hopes that the proposals will materialize into a definite offer of assistance by the Kenya Government as a practical solution of the impression he gained.

It is first of all recommended that before deciding where to settle or what to do, an officer and his wife should visit all centres of settlement. The Kenya Government, the report records, has under consideration a scheme of assisted settlement for War Block officers who wish to try some form of agriculture to augment their incomes. The numbers are limited by the small quantity of suitable Crown land available, but the Lands Department is stated in the report to be undertaking an immediate examination of Crown land so that details of the final scheme might be available for early distribution in India.

The main provisions are that before applying for land and financial assistance, the applicant must have spent at least a year on a farm acquiring experience and be able to satisfy the Commissioner for Local Government that he is capable and knowledgeable. The land selected must approximate to the farm on which experience was gained.

#### The Conditions

The actual terms of the scheme were 999 years lease, the sole obligation to be a rental of 20 per cent per annum up to 1945, when it would be revised to one per cent of the unimproved value of the land. Subsequent rent reviews would take place every 30 years, increasing by one per cent to a maximum of three per cent of the unimproved value, which it would be stabilized.

Certain improvements would be made within the first five years, the settler with a fixed income.

The most important point in the scheme is that no stand programme is to be made, but in view of that fact the land would be disposed of subsequently without the sanction of Government in order to prevent speculation. This sanction, however, would not be refused if reasons were adequate.

Provision was made under the scheme for the development of the improvement from the Land Bank up to a total of £1,000 per settler, under the control of the bank. The advances would be repaid in half-yearly instalments of capital and interest within thirty years.

Officers who purchased private land for agricultural purposes would be eligible for the normal facilities of the Land Bank.

For officers who wished to acquire Crown land in small holdings of 20 acres or less (the larger scheme applies to agricultural land between 200 and 700 acres) Government agreed to consider a substantial reduction of the normal price on condition that the lessee agreed not to dispose of the lease without Government sanction. Such plots would be granted on long lease and would have to be built upon within reasonable period. They would be very suitable for what is known as residential settlement near towns and would probably not exceed £20 an acre. Considerably more Crown land of this type is available than for agricultural purposes, according to Government.

# "Kenya Weekly News."

Edited by F. J. Coulter

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NAKURU, FRIDAY 20TH MARCH, 1936.

## NOTES OF THE WEEK.

It is to be hoped that Major Cawthorn's report of his tour of Northern Rhodesia will soon be made available here. It is written primarily for the use of officers in India affected by the War Block scheme, it is in fact the most interesting study on conditions in the Colony which we have for many years. Major Cawthorn's Australian birth and the fact of his having been in a Colonial atmosphere, having served the Australian Army at that age and afterwards transferred to the Indian Army, will not be forgotten, but when the question of the retirement of the war block of officers was raised, he was selected by the War Office to visit the Colonies. It is to be hoped that he will not be forgotten, but when the question of the retirement of the war block of officers was raised, he was selected by the War Office to visit the Colonies. It is to be hoped that he will not be forgotten, but when the question of the retirement of the war block of officers was raised, he was selected by the War Office to visit the Colonies.

Of course in Southern Rhodesia which is a self governing colony, the Government are doing all they possibly can to attract settlement. Major Cawthorn's usual words are: "The members of the Government and all sections of the community appear to be most

ready to welcome as settlers as many officers of the Indian Army as wish to come to the country." He says very much the same of the administration of Northern Rhodesia, although Northern Rhodesia is a Crown colony where, to quote Major Cawthorn, "Settlers and others express a good deal of dissatisfaction with the form of government," and as is well known, the Settler community is trying to press for union with Southern Rhodesia. On this particular subject, Major Cawthorn does not appear to think that there is much prospect of this union coming off, but he adds that "in spite of the differences between official and unofficial views, official relations between settlers and officials individually seemed to be excellent and to be based on mutual good will and respect," you will see later that he does not say that about Kenya. His actual summing up of the attitude of the Government of Northern Rhodesia to White Settlement, is expressed thus, "as far as the Administration is concerned, I gather that the Government of the Indian Army would be especially welcome because it is hoped that from their training and experience they will be of a type likely to aid in the solution of the right part of the problem—settlements (economic and political) between the white and native communities. The Government therefore is in principle to do what they can to facilitate settlement." So much for Northern Rhodesia, now for Nyassaland. This is what the Major says of the Imperial Government's attitude to White Settlement, "I am glad to say that the administration are fully prepared to welcome new settlers of the right type and give them all assistance possible. I have no doubt that they will decide to settle in Nyassaland will be helped and welcomed both by the official and unofficial agents."

Now turn to the impression which the same officer, Member of the attitude of the Kenya Government towards further settlement, again I refer you to the extracts from his official printed statement, but the following conclusions may be summarised in the position.

Personally I regret that I failed to find in Kenya anything approaching the enthusiasm on the part of the administration for settlers from the Indian Army that I found in the other territories. It does not mean by this that the attitude was obstructive in any way. It struck me as being negative and without initiative. I had to force the issue to ascertain what the views of the Government were and what steps, if any, they were prepared to take to facilitate settlement."

And again, "I cannot help feeling that basically the official attitude towards further White Settlement is not one of definite encouragement. What the reasons are I cannot profess to know. It may be that they feel that the country is not suitable, or that as many people in Kenya think, Colonial Office policy is overshadowed by India Office policy, which is said in principle to support the view of certain Indians, both in Kenya and in India, that Kenya should become a colony of India."

These are the views of an entirely unprejudiced and impartial observer, especially entrusted by a large number of potential settlers to visit three Crown Colonies and one self governing Colony and especially instructed to record his impressions. I submit that they reveal such a serious state of affairs that the position cannot be left at that, and the question arises "What has the Imperial Government and the local Government to say in reply?" That question is discussed in the next article."

Before discussing any question of the Government attitude to White Settlement, it is perhaps as well to enquire whether the depression which has hit the European Settlers in this Colony harder than it has the Settlers in Nyassaland and Northern Rhodesia. On the face of it, it definitely has not. Major Cawthorn points out that since the depression started, the European population in Nyassaland has declined, whilst in Kenya it has actually increased, if only slightly, whilst in Northern Rhodesia, except for the mining industry his description of the settler community is far more dismal than anything he says of us. It would therefore not appear that the officials have any better case for discouraging further settlement of the white European agriculturists, has proved an economic failure, that had the officials of Nyassaland or Northern Rhodesia. On the contrary, they had less reason, and the Official indifference cannot be traced to economic reasons, unless indeed the Kenya Officials are much more pessimistic about the world outlook than are their confreres in the other Colonies. One is thus forced to the conclusion that Major Cawthorn is right in regarding the official attitude to political reasons, and immediately the question must arise are these political reasons held (and unfortunately based upon) on instructions from the Imperial Government, or are they merely the political ideas of the temporarily holding officials in our local Government. I believe that this is the biggest question incomparably the biggest question before the Colony today, and it is a question which we should strive every effort to get answered. Personally I cannot and do not believe that the Imperial Government would openly prohibit a dual policy for this Colony and then secretly instruct the officials here to render that policy null and void by legislation to assist the expansion of the white race—that is the European side. Nor do I believe in the possibility suggested to the Major that this Colony is being reserved for a Colony for India.

On the contrary, I see a good deal of evidence to support the fact that the Imperial Government are prepared to assist White Settlement here. The terms for the Land Loans, the Imperial Government's acceptance in principle of the Morris Carter report, the assistance given to the Kenya Association and the appointment of Colonel Knaggs in London, all confirm this. However in justice to the Officials here (or rather to two or three officials) this matter ought to be cleared up once and for all.

The fact that the Secretary of State has turned down the proposal for assisting immigration does rather support the idea that the Imperial Government is not keen on the settlement of those officers in Kenya, but let us presume the indifference displayed to the potential immigration is not due to instructions from the Imperial Government, then it can only be due to the political convictions of the officers of the local government and I maintain that if this is so, it reveals a very serious state of affairs, which has got to be remedied. It is against the principles of British justice to judge a man or men on the evidence of one report alone, however impartial and excellent the reporter may be, but Major Cawthorn's summing up coincides so uniquely with the generally accepted view of the local Government's attitude, that it would be very difficult to persuade any Settler that it was not an accurate one. Until, however, the officials responsible have been given an

READ WHAT

# SIR MALCOLM CAMPBELL

(HOLDER OF THE WORLD'S LAND SPEED RECORD)

(MOTORING EDITOR OF THE FIELD)

SAYS ABOUT HIS LATEST FORD V-8

(SEE "THE FIELD OF 20th FEBRUARY, 1936)

## "A HIGH PERFORMANCE CAR AT LOW PRICE"

RECENTLY I have taken delivery of a new V-8 Ford and as I changed my 1934 model for a new one in 1935, I can claim by now to have acquired a "considerable" road experience with this particular make.

The lines of the wheel end radiator have been changed in the new model, which greatly enhances the general appearance of the car. The two horns are now enclosed in a protective grille either side of the radiator in the extension of the mid-guard farrings, and the new head lamp arrangement, which is a mechanical one, is a great improvement over the old type. The three main mechanical bearings are now of the roller type, and wheels instead of wire ones, quite as strong as the old type, but are oil lubricated, thus making a saving of 20lb. unsprung weight, which is a very important point, as it does not only improve the road holding but also increase the riding comfort as well. Incidentally, the steel wheels are much easier to change, which fact should appeal to the owner who does not make a point of washing down his own car.

Silent transmission of all gears, including the reverse in the second feature. This has been effected through employing helical gears in the 1st and 2nd gears, and straight in addition to the helical constant mesh and intermediate gear pinions which have been in the past. The gear lever now has a much shorter travel than formerly, the object being to facilitate gear changing.

Thirdly, the steering has been considerably modified and is now geared lower. Originally it had a ratio of 15 to 1, but for 1936 it is 17 to 1. The object of this alteration is to increase the leverage with a corresponding diminution in effort on the part of the driver, thus the steering is now lighter than it was before. Personally, I am sorry to see this change, as I prefer a high geared steering, as it makes for better control of the car.

The size of the engine still remains the same, namely, eight cylinders having a bore and stroke of 77.79mm. by 95.25mm. The two banks of cylinders are set at 30 degrees to one another. The R.A.O. rating is 30.01 h.p., and the annual tax £22 10s.; however, the motor develops

over 88 h.p. at 3,700 r.p.m. Actually, the engine will run at a higher speed than this, and, as the power curve does not drop immediately, all these motors are capable of pulling off over 90 h.p. The compression ratio is 0.32 to 1, and the motor compressed at three points in the cylinder. The cylinder bores are offset to enable the connecting rods to be mounted side by side on the crank pins, and consequently a factor of the cylinder (cylinder) contact, which allows the maximum cylinder length to be maintained. Both the crank shaft and the camshaft are fitted with roller bearings, the latter being driven by gears and gear teeth.

The carburettor is situated at the front of the V, while the petrol tank is situated at the rear, holds 114 gallons. The

by a single belt, while a water temperature gauge is also fitted on the instrument panel. Ignition is by a six-volt battery and coil, and the advance spark is automatically controlled. Lubrication is pressure and splash feed and the dip stick is now situated in a very accessible position. The crank holds four quarts of oil while the crankcase is fitted with a special ventilator facing forwards, which can be easily removed to facilitate the re-ventilating of the oil supply.

A single dry plate clutch is fitted, and the gearbox has three forward speeds and reverse. There is a synchronous gear change on second and third gears. Top speed has a rate of 111.59 m.p.h. and low 11.59 to 1.

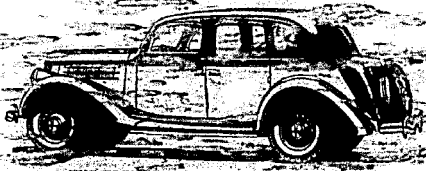
The transverse suspension has not changed, the front spring being mounted in front of the front axle and the rear spring behind the back axle; hydraulic shock absorbers are a standard fitting. The four wheel brake is mechanically operated, the emergency brake actuating on the rear wheels only.

The capacity of the cooling system has been increased to 10 gallons, enabling the car to meet the most arduous conditions in tropical countries.

The latest model is undoubtedly better than its predecessor, and although its price is in excess of the 1935 model, it has a road performance which would be hard for a car to excite, even though its price be far in excess of the 1935 model.

Prices have been slightly increased for 1936, the four-door saloon now being £250 instead of £245, but this slight rise in cost is more than compensated by the improved equipment which is available.

The new V-8 Ford is certainly a fine car, and without any question represents very good value for the money. The engine is a much sweeter running unit than formerly, and the modifications to which I have referred all go to enhance its sterling value. The only slight criticism which I could possibly make is in regard to the now somewhat low geared steering, but presumably 99 per cent. of the motoring public would prefer this.



THE FORD V-8 TOURING SALOON DE LUXE

"The latest model is undoubtedly better than its predecessor, and although its price is in excess of the 1935 model, it has a road performance which would be hard for a car to excite, even though its price be far in excess of the 1935 model."

fuel is fed to the carburettor by means of a mechanical diaphragm type of pump driven from the rear end of the camshaft. There is also an air filter and booster pump to equalise the feed during acceleration periods, and an electric fuel indicator is fitted on the instrument board.

Made of silicon chromium steel, both inlet and exhaust valves of the side by side variety are situated on the inside of the cylinder blocks; consequently the exhaust gases have to pass through a water-cooled manifold before reaching the silencer.

Cooling is effected on the thermosyphon principle, which is aided by a pump in each cylinder head. Both pumps as well as the fan are driven from the fore end of the crankshaft

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opportunity to reply to the Major's generalizations (which from our point of view amount to charges) it is perhaps wiser to suspend judgement, but for the sake of everyone in the Colony, let us have a statement soon.

There is no doubt at all that at this moment there is a feeling of unrest amongst the European inhabitants of this Colony to an extent which is without parallel, anyhow in the Colonies. I have been here, I am not referring to the resentment which by recent political events, I am referring to something worse than that, I mean the state of uneasiness for the future which is evident in the people who are not the direct beneficiaries in Kenya, it is the first time I have known the Government which is doing the country harm, and great harm. Whether this is a result of the Government's policy, or whether it is a result of the Government's action (as Mr. O'Shea refers in a letter published elsewhere) we are just as much to blame as the Government, in beside the point, the fact is that this unrest exists and every effort must be made to clear it. Actually I agree with that part of Mr. O'Shea's letter which points out that the trend of Government policy are all tending to assist us in Kenya, moreover I believe also that recently, that is in the last few months, our Government have done more to assist the Settlers than they had done in the previous four years, and in support of that I point to the maize subsidy, the railway reductions, and the money for implementing the suggestions of the Agricultural Indebtedness Committee, but despite this, one cannot shut one's eyes to the fact that people are frightened of the bona fides of the Government, and I agree with Mr. O'Shea that one of the most essential things

to realize confidence in the Government's pledge for the future of the Colony is to let the Europeans in Kenya.

It is possible that the Council about the Government's policy, to doing that, by going the whole way, and in the feeling of disquiet about the members of the local Government, presumably caused them to look to the Major for a statement.