

Notes

PREFACE

1. Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, p. 458.
2. In the First World War deaths of UK service personnel were 722 785, and civilians' 1414. Whereas in the Second World War deaths of UK service personnel were (including merchant navy) 336 642 while civilian deaths were 60 284. Thorpe, *Britain in the Era of the Two World Wars*, pp. 49–50.
3. Cited in Fussell, *Wartime*, p. 131.
4. Fussell, *Wartime*, p. 140.
5. Malinowski, 'A Plea for an Effective Colour Bar', *Spectator*, 27 June 1931.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1. Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism*, p. 1.
2. Malik, *The Meaning of Race*, p. 124.
3. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics*, p. 149.
4. 'On 2 July 1949, for example, the *Picture Post* enquired "Is there a BRITISH COLOUR BAR?" and found to their evident surprise that indeed there was.' CCCS, *The Empire Strikes Back*, pp. 68–9.
5. Condit and Lucaites, *Crafting Equality*, p. 173.
6. King, *Separate and Unequal*, p. 113.
7. Rex and Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City*, p. 38.
8. Lauren, *Power and Prejudice*, p. 35.
9. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics*, p. 149.
10. Condit and Lucaites, *Crafting Equality*, p. 171.
11. King, *Separate and Unequal*, p. 114.
12. Rose, *The Negro in America*, pp. 320–1.
13. 'The intense phase of racial prejudice in the British Empire did not last very long. By the 1930s, as Dr. Perham has pointed out, the interest of the British in continuing to occupy the former German colonies caused them to emphasize the difference between their own racial attitudes and those of Hitler's Germany.' Symonds, *The British and Their Successors*, p. 237.
14. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics*, p. 9.
15. Rich records government estimates in July 1950 as stating there were 30 000 black people in Britain (Merseyside 10 000, London 5000, Cardiff 5000 and Tyneside 2000). Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics*, p. 167.
16. Lord Listowel to Edwards, 5 June 1948, LAB 20/218, cited in Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics*, p. 164.
17. Jeffries, *Partners for Progress*, p. 197.
18. The first investigations by the Colonial Office on the 'colour bar' suggested that a colour bar either did not exist or was a problem of bad-mannered Africans. For example, J. E. W. Hood, Crown Agent for the Colonies, wrote to C. G. Eastwood, Colonial Office, on 1 February 1939 to say of his representative (in CO 323/1613/7):

he has never in his experience heard of any case of difficulty owing to colour. In fact, the impression he had got is that these students are exceptionally well looked after on board ship, and are treated with great kindness both by the crew and the passengers. He thinks, as I do, that any trouble that there is does not arise from the actions or possible actions of the ship's company, but from unmannerly passengers, and no amount of representations from the SoS to the shipping companies could have much effect thereon. Another thing is that when a coloured gentleman complains of being despised, it is very frequently his own fault for making himself aggressive, but that is not a matter over which official action could have any effect.

But some of the younger officials in the Colonial Office realized that colonial students chose not to travel on British ships because of discrimination and the students were often told that flights were unavailable. For example, Pedler, working in the personnel department, prepared a memorandum on Employment of Africans in the Higher Ranks of Service (Memorandum by Pedler, 16 December 1939, CO 850/137/10):

When Africans wish to travel from East Africa to the UK they usually come by French or Italian boats because of the difficulty of securing suitable accommodation and treatment on the British lines. In 1936 it was discovered that Imperial Airways booking agents had instructions to turn away inquiries from Africans on the excuse that all seats were booked, but representations by Lord De La Warr to the London Office immediately secured accommodation for the African member of the Makerere Commission. Restrictions are sometimes imposed on educated Africans travelling by rail.

19. Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism*, p. 29.
20. Recent newspaper revelations have indicated that Winston Churchill was in favour of enforced sterilization of the mentally insane and thirty American States sterilized mental patients without their consent or knowledge in the 1920 and 1930s. As late as 1972, Alberta, Canada, continued the practice started with the Sexual Sterilisation Act, 1928. Buchanan, *The Guardian*, 25 February 1997.
21. See Richardson and Spears (eds), *Race, Culture and Intelligence*; Jones, *Social Darwinism and English Thought*; Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science*; Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*; Rose et al., *Not in Our Genes*; Jones, *In the Blood*.
22. As Anthony Kirk-Greene has commented: 'At the end of the day it may be that the most revealing way of analysing colonial administration and race relations is to interpret them through the prism of class, that amalgam of professional, bourgeois, middle-to-upper-class family, friends, values, ethos and duty in which the average British District Officer had, at least to 1945, been brought up.' Kirk-Greene, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol.9, no.3, July 1986, p. 280.
23. Macaulay, (House of Commons, 10 July 1833), cited in Symonds, *Oxford and Empire*, p. 294.
24. Said, *Orientalism*, p. 152.
25. Macaulay, (House of Commons, 10 July 1833), cited in Symonds, *The British and Their Successors*, p. 18.

26. Strachey, *India*, London 1888, p. 359 cited in Symonds, *The British and Their Successors*, p. 36.
27. Cited in Symonds, *The British and Their Successors*, p. 125.
28. Orwell, *Inside the Whale and Other Essays*, pp. 96–7.
29. Lee, *Colonial Development and Good Government*, p. 1.
30. ‘Between April 1939 and December 1942 the number of administrative class officers on the “geographical” side was reduced from 73 to 53, and in personnel from 83 to 53, while those in the “subject” departments increased from 66 to 170.’ Lee, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol.6, no.1, October 1977, p. 66.
31. Colonial Office mail rose from 93053 items in 1909 to 300841 items in 1939 according to Parkinson, *The Colonial Office from Within*, p. 53.
32. Parkinson, *The Colonial Office from Within*, p. 56. Also Lee notes that: ‘the office housed an increasing number of advisers who were appointed by the secretary of state in various technical fields.... Twenty-five advisers and assistant advisers were listed in the 1946 office directory ...’ Lee, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol.6, no.1, October 1977, p. 66. Moreover, from 1909 to 1937, 17 new advisory committees were set up to add specialist knowledge to the Colonial Office’s work, such as the Imperial Bureau of Mycology, the Imperial Forestry Institute, and the Colonial Advisory Council of Agricultural and Animal Health. For full list and dates see Constantine, *The Making of British Colonial Development Policy*, p. 282.
33. Cell, *Hailey*, p. xi.
34. Cell, *Hailey*, p. 3.
35. Cell, *Hailey*, p. 4.
36. Hailey referred to his work as ‘complex social graduations properly adjusted’, India Office Library, Hailey MSS. Eur. E/220/6c, p. 342.
37. ‘As a press communiqué of 1914 put it, selecting colonists from the landless would lower the quantity and raise the price of agricultural labor, it being obviously inappropriate for the government to “upset the existing social and economic order.” The Chenab colony reflected the Punjab tradition, which it was intended to reinforce.’ Cell, *Hailey*, p. 18.
38. Letter to Hailey from Sir James Crerar, Home Member of the Council, in Simla, 3 July 1929, India Office Library, Hailey MSS Eur E/22015B (emphasis added).
39. Letter from Hailey to Sir Michael O’Dwyer, London, 11 July 1929, India Office Library, Hailey MSS Eur E/220/15B.
40. Undated letter, India Office Library, Hailey MSS Eur E/220/1B, p. 299.
41. Letter from Hailey to Sir John Simon, 29 August 1931, India Office Library, Hailey MSS Eur E/220/21B, p. 467.
42. Articles from the *Times of India*, 1911, India Office Library, Hailey MSS. Eur. E/220/1B, see also cartoon by W. Wicloth of Hailey and Lutyens as Tweedledum and Tweedledee, India Office Library, Hailey MSS. Eur. E/220/1A, p. 336.
43. Note on Amritsar written by Hailey, India Office Library, Hailey MSS. Eur. E/220/57, p. 1.
44. Hailey’s Report on the Punjab Disturbances (Confidential), April 1919, India Office Library, Hailey Mss Eur. E/220/57, p. 40. The massacre

- happened on 13 April 1919 and the Hunter Commission was appointed on 14 October 1919. Despite being the author of the official report, Hailey was not called to give evidence to the Hunter Commission.
45. Meerut was also the place where the Indian Mutiny had begun on 10 May 1857.
 46. Letter from Hailey to Sir Arthur Hirtzel, India Office, London, 18 July 1929. Hailey also wrote to Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, the Governor of the Punjab, on the same theme on 12 July 1929: 'I see that you have begun your Saunders trial. I suppose it was necessary to give it so wide a range, but it looks to me as if it is bound to drag on a very long time, like the trial at Meerut. I am a little disturbed about the latter; but it seems to me that the prosecution is concentrating on propaganda rather than on conviction, and for publicity purposes their stuff will become horribly stale before they are finished, with the result that it will lose entirely its value as propaganda.' India Office Library, Hailey MSS. Eur. E/220/15B.
 47. Memorandum on Indian loyalty for the Viceroy Viscount Chelmsford by Hailey, India Office Library, Hailey MSS. Eur. E/220/1B, p. 298.
 48. The Carnegie Foundation agreed to fund \$75 000 for the survey.
 49. 'Next to Lugard the most influential administrator who joined the debate about African colonial policies was Lord Hailey' Hetherington, *British Paternalism and Africa*, p. 17.
 50. Sir Frederick Sykes, Chairman of the Royal Empire Society, reported in *United Empire*, New Series, vol.30, 1939, p. xi.
 51. Cell (ed.), *By Kenya Possessed*, p. 50.
 52. Gregory, *India and East Africa*, p. 496, p. 246 and p. 495 respectively.
 53. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics*, p. 31.
 54. Notes of informal discussions on Survey, 15–16 July 1933, CO 847/2/4204 cited in Cell, *African Affairs*, vol.88, no.353, 1989, p. 491.
 55. Cell, *Hailey*, p. 231.
 56. Cell, *African Affairs*, vol.88, no.353, 1989, p. 481.
 57. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics*, p. 148.
 58. Louis confirms this point, noting that: 'there developed an ideological split of the first magnitude. Cranborne wanted to keep Far Eastern questions separate from those of Africa. By opening the international door in Asia he did not intend to welcome the Americans into Africa. "Conditions varied widely in the different colonies," Cranborne stated, "especially in regard to their capacity for self-government."' Louis, *Imperialism at Bay*, p. 192.
 59. For example: 'the African servants are a very, very long way behind those in India.' Also: 'The African intellectuals cannot at present compete with the Indian, and may never do so. But the ordinary peasant is equalitarian [*sic*]; he is as good as his neighbour, and likes to show it; he can keep his independence and respect in the face of authority. If his practical ability and sense of business were anything like his deliberative capacity, he would do well.' Hailey, Diary, 13 and 19 February 1940, Hailey Papers, Rhodes House, MSS Brit. Emp s.342 correspondence, §7, p. 6 and p. 11.
 60. Cell, *Hailey*, p. xiii.
 61. Hailey, *Native Administration and Political Development in British Tropical Africa*.

62. Lee, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol.6, no.1, October 1977, p. 68.
63. Hailey, *A Survey of Native Affairs in South West Africa*.
64. Hailey, *Native Administration in the British African Territories*.
65. Parkinson, *The Colonial Office from Within*, p. 121.
66. Jeffries (ed.), *A Review of Colonial Research*, Appendix 1. See also Rampersad, *Colonial Economic Development and Social Welfare*, pp. 225–6.
67. 'I am sending you this now to say how glad I am that you are willing to be Chairman of a Departmental Committee here to advise on post-war reconstruction in the Colonies. There is no one whose help I should value more, and I am indeed most grateful to you.' Letter from Lord Moyne to Hailey, 19 March 1941, CO 323/1858/12.
68. CO 323/1858/12.
69. Letter to Hailey from Governor Knollup, Bermuda, 28 April 1942, CO 323/1858/13.
70. Letter to Hailey from Governor Barton, Zomba, Nyasaland, 22 July 1942, CO 323/1858/13.
71. Suggestions for study, category B, CO 323/1858/13.
72. Suggestions for study, category B, CO 323/1858/13.
73. Letter from the Colonial Office to Eric Hazelton, Anglo-American Caribbean Commission (British Section), 9 February 1943, CO 323/1858/13.
74. 'Finally, in September 1944, on specific instructions from the Colonial Office, Poynton told an American that Hailey was a private individual who spoke only for himself.... The last two years of the war can therefore be treated rather briefly, summarizing his attitudes on specific issues instead of connecting them to a narrative of events in which, after all, he was playing little part.' Cell, *Hailey*, p. 274 citing evidence from Louis, *Imperialism at Bay*, pp. 384–5. I am not convinced by this point. First, it was standard Colonial Office procedure to disown statements, unless made by a secretary of state, which they did, for example, after General Smuts's speech in America for which he had, in fact, been briefed beforehand. Noel Sabine minuted, after briefing the BBC, that 'the general line we shall take with the Press in case of enquiries will be designed to avoid any impression that we are unduly concerned about the content of the article. If they ask whether the article was written with the approval or authority of HMG, we shall tell them that General Smuts does not need anyone's approval to express his opinions and that in any case this would not apply to a newspaper article.' 24 December 1942 and later a note confirms that Smuts's talk with Lord Cranborne should not be discussed with the press, 26 December 1942, CO 323/1858/22. Second, and more importantly, it seems from the Colonial Office files and the Hailey Papers that Hailey did continue to play a useful advisory role, albeit that his increasing age must have caused certain restrictions.
75. See correspondence in Hailey Papers, Rhodes House, MSS. Amer. s.5.
76. 'I am likely [in Parliamentary Question time] to be pressed for a further definition of the international co-operation in the Colonial field, to which you referred in your Parliamentary Answer on the 17th March last. Various people, including Field Marshal Smuts and Lord Hailey, have

made statements on this subject, going rather beyond what we actually have in mind, and I think it would be all to the good if the matter could be put in proper perspective. I do not intend to raise the subject myself, but if I am pressed on it, I should like with your permission to deal with it on the lines agreed by the War Cabinet in the discussion upon a possible Anglo-American declaration.' This is the full text of the letter that Cell (p. 274) uses to justify the argument that Stanley effectively dismissed Hailey from his position as adviser. Letter from Stanley to Churchill, first drafted 2 July 1943, sent 9 July 1943, CO 323/1858/23.

77. Porter, *Journal of African History*, vol.35, no.1, 1994, p. 165.
78. Cell, *Hailey*, p. 213.
79. Hailey, 'America's Colour Problem: review of Myrdal's American Dilemma', *Times*, 25 July 1944, p. 5. The quote is from a speech by Wendell Willkie to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in July 1942, cited in Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, p. 1009.
80. Lee, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol.6, no.1, Oct 1977, p. 66.
81. Robinson, *The Dilemmas of Trusteeship*, p. 52.
82. Palmer, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol.14, no.3, May 1986, p. 206.
83. *The Times* cited in Constantine, *The Making of British Colonial Development Policy*, p. 231.
84. Butler, *Industrialisation and the British Colonial State*, p. 19.
85. Macmillan, *Warning from the West Indies*, p. 88.
86. Lee, *Colonial Development and Good Government*, p. 44.
87. Hailey, 'Some Problems Dealt with in the African Survey', *International Affairs*, vol.18, 1939, p. 201.
88. Constantine, *The Making of British Colonial Development Policy*, p. 258.
89. Johnson, *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, vol.15, no.1, March 1977, p. 65 (reference Cmd 6175, 1940, p. 5).
90. Constantine, *The Making of British Colonial Development Policy*, p. 179 and p. 204.
91. Robinson notes that 'When he introduced the 1940 Act, the secretary of state, Malcolm MacDonald, claimed that the primary purpose of the earlier [1929] Act was "not to help colonial development ... but ... to solve our own unemployment problem".' Robinson, *The Dilemmas of Trusteeship*, p. 56.
92. Butler, *Industrialisation and the British Colonial State*, p. 21.
93. Watt argues that the whole of Europe felt, during the 1930s, 'a dissolution of the normal social and political processes in civil disorder or civil strife.' Watt, *Too Serious a Business*, p. 15.
94. Rampersad, *Colonial Economic Development and Social Welfare*, p. 170, citing Dawe, 12 January 1940, p. 199.
95. Nordman, *Prelude to Decolonisation in West Africa*, p. 2.
96. Johnson, *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, vol.15, no.1, March 1977, p. 56.
97. Cell, *African Affairs*, vol.88, no.353, 1989, p. 505.
98. 'Although it was passed only six weeks after the battle of Dunkirk, it [the 1940 Act] represented not war-time expediency but a change of opinion in

- official circles which had taken place during the preceding five years.' Lee, *Colonial Development and Good Government*, p. 6.
99. Butler, *Industrialisation and the British Colonial State*, p. 21.
 100. Lee, *Colonial Development and Good Government*, p. 41.
 101. Minute by MacDonald, 14 January 1940, CO 859/19/7475 cited in Lee and Petter, *The Colonial Office, War, and Development Policy*, p. 45.
 102. Correspondence between CO and Treasury in September and October 1939, cited in Constantine, *The Making of British Colonial Development Policy*, pp. 248–50.
 103. Havinden and Meredith, *Colonialism and Development*, p. 204.
 104. Paskin minuted, in a review of the Act's impact, 4 March 1941: "The "blitzkrieg" circular telegram of the 5 June 1940, included the following passage in relation to the Colonial Development Bill which had just received its Second Reading: "it is clear that at present it will not be possible to make any substantial progress under the new policy ... Many Colonial Governments will not at present be in a position to prepare development programmes, though I am anxious that where this can be done without detriment to the war effort, the preparation plans for the future should be continued." Then again in our circular despatch of the 10th Sept. 1940 ... the following passage appeared: "So large a part of the energies of Colonial government has now been diverted, to a greater or less degree, to work directly related to the prosecution of the war, that it will have little or no opportunity to prepare long term programmes of development".' CO 859/80/3.
 105. Butler, *Industrialisation and the British Colonial State*, pp. 58–9.
 106. Butler, *Industrialisation and the British Colonial State*, pp. 141–2.
 107. "The new Colonial Development and Welfare Act was passed early in 1945. In place of the fixed maximum of £5 millions for development and welfare and £500,000 for research in any one financial year under the old Act, it made available a total of £120 millions over a period of ten years ending on 31 March 1956. These funds could be drawn upon at any time but were not to exceed £17.5 millions for development and welfare and £1 million for research in any one year. Allocations would be made to individual colonies to enable them to plan for the future.' Rampersad, *Colonial Economic Development and Social Welfare*, p. 358.
 108. Stanley (in CAB 65/44) cited in Havinden and Meredith, *Colonialism and Development*, p. 226.
 109. "The earliest official statement on India's eventual status was the declaration of Edwin Montagu (Secretary of State, 1917–22) on 20 August 1917 that Britain's policy was "the progressive realization of responsible government". It was incorporated in the Preamble to the India Act of 1919, with the condition that Parliament was to decide the time and nature of each successive advance.' Moore, *Endgames of Empire*, p. 10.
 110. Hailey's memorandum, 27 October 1928, India Office Library, Hailey MSS. Eur. E/220/30.
 111. Moore, *Endgames of Empire*, p. 11.
 112. Robinson, *The Dilemmas of Trusteeship*, pp. 9–10 citing S. R. Mehrotra, 'Imperial Federation and India 1868–1917', *Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies*, vol.1, 1961, p. 34.

113. Moore, *Endgames of Empire*, pp. 10–11 and see Hailey's memorandum, 27 October 1928, India Office Library, Hailey MSS. Eur. E/220/30.
114. Moore, *The Crisis of Indian Unity*, pp. 68–9.
115. Irwin, 4 October 1929, cited in Moore, *The Crisis of Indian Unity*, p. 70.
116. *Daily Mail* and Birkenhead (House of Commons, 7 November 1929) cited in Moore, *The Crisis of Indian Unity*, pp. 80–1 and p. 94 respectively.
117. Moore, *The Crisis of Indian Unity*, p. 94.
118. Moore, *The Crisis of Indian Unity*, p. 174.
119. Moore, *Endgames of Empire*, p. 15.
120. Moore, *Endgames of Empire*, p. 105.
121. Churchill, reported in *The Times*, 11 November 1942.
122. 'Unfortunately', Indianization had come 'very late in the day' according to Hailey and, Indians of the 'right class', if it had been earlier, 'could possibly though by no means certainly, have prevented the rise of a large class of agitators and politicians whose sole program was opposition to an alien government.' Letter from Hailey to Colonel W. Palin, 13 July 1927, India Office Library, Hailey MSS. Eur. E/220/15B, pp. 1–2.
123. Moore, *The Crisis of Indian Unity*, p. 148.
124. Watt, *Personalities and Policies*, p. 29.
125. Cited in May, *Imperial Democracy*, p. 221.
126. *New York Sun*, 5 February 1899, according to Hitchens, *Blood, Class, and Nostalgia*, p. 67.
127. Watt, *Personalities and Policies*, pp. 41–2. The term 'Uncle Shylock' referred to the US demand to have Britain pay war debts from the First World War which Britain and France felt should be written off as 'what the US had provided in gold, they had given in blood'. Reynolds, *The Creation of the Anglo-American Alliance*, p. 15.
128. General Board of the US Navy, memorandum 24 January 1918, GB 414-3, serial 780, cited in Watt, *Royal United Service Institutional Journal*, vol.108, no.631, August 1963, p. 224.
129. Cited in Watt, *Succeeding John Bull*, p. 82, citing Blum, *From the Morgenthau Diaries*, vol.1, p. 308.
130. Dimpleby and Reynolds, *An Ocean Apart*, pp. 122–3.
131. Reynolds, *The Creation of the Anglo-American Alliance*, p. 43.
132. Cited in Watt, *Succeeding John Bull*, p. 85.
133. Dulles, *America in the Pacific*, p. 264.
134. Dulles, *America's Rise to World Power*, p. 135.
135. Niebuhr, *Atlantic Monthly*, vol.145, May 1930, p. 670 cited in Dulles, *America's Rise to World Power*, p. 143.
136. '... even if a tariff cut were to double Britain's imports – a most implausible outcome – the US gain would be insignificantly small.' Drummond and Hillmer, *Negotiating Freer Trade*, p. 153.
137. Drummond and Hillmer, *Negotiating Freer Trade*, p. 158.
138. Roosevelt to Churchill, 11 September 1939, cited in Hitchens, *Blood, Class, and Nostalgia*, p. 205.
139. Watt, *Succeeding John Bull*, p. 89.
140. Cited in Dimpleby and Reynolds, *An Ocean Apart*, p. 125.
141. See Reynolds, *The Creation of the Anglo-American Alliance*, pp. 287–8.
142. Letter from Hubert Young, Governor of Trinidad, to Hailey, Postwar

Problems Committee, 4 February 1942, CO 323/1858/13.

143. Report by Sir George Gater on visit to Washington, October/November 1942, Appendix 1: note of interview with the President on 27 October 1942, CO 318/455/8 (71318).
144. Louis, *Imperialism at Bay*, p. vii. Further examples include: 'To ask the key question for the present work, how important was the economic element in trusteeship, especially in relation to the ethical factor?'; 'Such are the dialectics that have to be borne in mind in attempting to get at the economic element in trusteeship.'; 'As they debated "trusteeship" and the ethics of empire, British officials readily acknowledged the economic basis of British Imperialism.'; 'Particular attention will again be paid to the economic element in trusteeship as viewed by the wartime protagonists.' Louis, *Imperialism at Bay*, p. 23, pp. 24–5, p. 31 and p. 48 respectively.
145. Cavendish Bentinck, 22 December 1943, FO 371/35921 cited in Louis, *Imperialism at Bay*, p. 39.
146. Grigg, 'British Policy and Organization in the Middle East', 2 September 1945, CO 732/88/79338 cited in Louis, *Imperialism at Bay*, p. 51.
147. Louis, *Imperialism at Bay*, p. 51.
148. Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, p. 7.
149. Hailey, Diary, 3 February 1940, Hailey Papers, Rhodes House, MSS Brit. Emp. s.342 correspondence, §7, p. 4.
150. Pijl, *The Making of an Atlantic Ruling Class*, pp. 50–9.
151. Harris describes how the Civil Service Commission, responsible for appointments, marked down black candidates or rejected them at interview stage, in order to avoid recruiting black people to the Civil Service without having to specify discrimination in the rules. Clive Harris, *Race & Class*, vol.33, no.1, 1991, pp. 1–30.

CHAPTER 2 THE LOSS OF WHITE PRESTIGE

1. Winston Churchill (secretary of state for the colonies 14 February 1921 – 24 October 1922), speech at Kenya Colony and Uganda dinner, Hotel Victoria, 27 January 1922, CO 323/1858/27.
2. Churchill, Hotel Victoria, 27 January 1922, CO 323/1858/27.
3. Lugard, 'The Problem of Colour in Relation to the Idea of Equality', *Journal of Philosophical Studies*, vol.1, no.2, April 1926, p. 213.
4. Although Huxley was generally known for his liberalism and concern for 'native welfare', he wrote: 'I am bound to confess that this first experience of mine of being in a small minority among human beings of another colour ... gave me an emotional jolt; and I began ... to understand why white men living in such circumstances generally took to carrying revolvers and developed a race-complex.' Huxley, *Africa View*, p. 378.
5. Huxley, *Africa View*, p. 407.
6. Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism*, p. 216.
7. 'The text of the mandates adopted in 1920 and 1922, whereby the Council determined the rights and obligations of the mandatory Powers, were somewhat more specific in this respect. Thus, the "C" mandates lay down that: "The Mandatory shall promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory." This

text is repeated in a slightly different form in the “B” Mandates: “The Mandatory shall be responsible for the peace, order and good government of the territory, and for the promotion to the utmost of the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants.” On the other hand, the “A” Mandates contain no explicit clause of this kind. In view of the special character of these mandates, the idea was rather, in principle, to leave the inhabitants of these territories – of course with the protection and advice of the Mandatory – to provide for their own well-being and development.’ League of Nations, *The Mandates System*, p. 52.

8. Nordman, *Prelude to Decolonisation in West Africa*, p. 25.
9. Huxley, *Africa View*, p. 105.
10. Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, p. 201.
11. Nordman, *Prelude to Decolonisation in West Africa*, p. 32.
12. Hailey was concerned that the administrative system should: ‘seek to moderate the pace of change, and allow full scope for the innate characteristics of the people to assert themselves in the conflict of forces that must ensue’, Hailey, *An African Survey*, p. 1281.
13. Pearce, *The Turning Point in Africa*, p. 8.
14. Cell, *Hailey*, p. 19.
15. Hailey, ‘Nationalism in Africa’, *Journal of the Royal African Society*, vol.36, no.143, April 1937, p. 145.
16. Hailey, *The Position of Colonies in a British Commonwealth of Nations*, p. 28 and p. 34.
17. Hetherington, *British Paternalism and Africa* (particularly chapters 3 and 8).
18. Macmillan, *Africa Emergent*, p. 298.
19. Cameron cited in Hetherington, *British Paternalism and Africa*, p. 143.
20. For example: ‘It would at the same time be contrary to our own tradition if we were to resort to the system of “parallel” rule favoured in the philosophy of the Union of South Africa.’ Hailey, *Britain and her Dependencies*, p. 44.
21. Cell, *Hailey*, p. 221.
22. Note on Amritsar (written by Hailey in 1965), India Office Library, Hailey MSS Eur. E/220/57, p. 1.
23. Hailey, ‘Nationalism in Africa’, *Journal of the Royal African Society*, vol.36, no.143, April 1937, p. 137.
24. Hailey, *Journal of the Royal African Society*, vol.36, no.143, April 1937, p. 146.
25. Watt, *Too Serious a Business*, p. 86.
26. Hemingway cited in Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, p. 21.
27. Ginsberg, ‘The Problem of Colour in Relation to the Idea of Equality’, *Journal of Philosophical Studies*, vol.1, no.2, April 1926, p. 220.
28. Huxley, *Africa View*, p. 438.
29. Hobson (1858–1940) famous for his book, *Imperialism*, London, 1902, which blamed capitalism for recession and international conflict.
30. Grigg cited in Pearce, *The Turning Point in Africa*, p. 12.
31. Macmillan, *Africa Emergent*, p. 14.
32. Hailey, *Native Administration and Political Development in British Tropical Africa*, p. 10.
33. Hailey, *Native Administration and Political Development in British Tropical Africa*, p. 10.

34. *The Times*, 4 March 1896.
35. Hailey refers to this convention occurring in 1935 (p. 139) and in 1936 (p. 143). The convention itself originated, according to Hailey, from the All-Bantu Union (which was formed in 1919 to send a delegation from South Africa to the Paris Peace Conference) coming together with the African National Congress (ANC) and the Industrial and Commercial workers Union (ICU) to campaign for legal rights in South Africa. Hailey, *Journal of the Royal African Society*, vol.36, no.143, April 1937, pp. 134–47.
36. Du Bois, 'Inter-racial Implications of the Ethiopian Crisis', *Foreign Affairs*, vol.14, no.1, 1935, p. 89.
37. Arthur Calder-Marshall cited in Palmer, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol.14, no.3, May 1986, pp. 207–8.
38. Hailey, *Native Administration and Political Development in British Tropical Africa*, p. 10.
39. According to Pakenham, it was pointed out to Her Majesty Queen Victoria that she was gaining 'three new protectorates (Zanzibar, Uganda and Equatoria) covering at least 100,000 square miles of Africa, in exchange for three square miles of Europe'. Furthermore, in August 1890, Britain signed an agreement with the French 'giving them a "sphere of influence" covering nearly a quarter of the continent, including several million square miles of the Sahara – "what agriculturists would call very 'light' land", as he [Lord Salisbury] described in the Lords when asked why he had been so generous.' Pakenham, *The Scramble for Africa*, p. 357.
40. Churchill cited in Lugard, 'The Basis of the Claim for Colonies', *International Affairs*, vol.15, 1936, pp. 3–17.
41. Cited in Wright (ed.), *Population and Peace*, p. 126, and p. 127. Virginio Gayda wrote for the newspaper *Giornale d'Italia* and had been cited in *The Times*, 1 August 1938.
42. Arnold cited in Wright (ed.), *Population and Peace*, pp. 127–8. Sydney Arnold (1878–1945) had been a Liberal MP from 1912 to 1921. He then resigned his seat due to ill health and in 1922 joined the Labour Party. In 1924, with the new Labour government, he was made a peer (Baron Arnold of Hale) and became the under-secretary of state for the colonies. In 1938 he left the Labour Party citing disagreement with its foreign policy.
43. Tinker, *Race, Conflict and the International Order*, p. 9.
44. Lauren, *Power and Prejudice*, p. 93 and p. 97 (his emphasis).
45. Beloff, *Britain's Liberal Empire*, p. 345.
46. A selection of the books published in Britain and America between 1905 and 1945 include: Richard J. Anderson, *The Fate of the White Race*, 1910; Alexander G. Bell, *How to Improve the Race*, 1914; Viscount James Bryce, *Race Sentiment as a Factor in History*, 1915; Clinton Burr, *America's Racial Heritage*, 1922; James H. Curle, *To-day and To-morrow: the testing period of the white race*, 1926; Hannibal G. Duncan, *Race and Population Problems*, 1929; Henry H. Ellis, *The Problem of Race-Regeneration*, 1911; Ralph Gabriel, *The Lure of the Frontier: a story of race conflict*, 1929; Mary H. Gayer, *The Heritage of the Anglo-Saxon Race*, 1928; John E. Gorst, *Education and Race-Regeneration*, 1913; Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race or the Racial Basis of European History*, 1917; Dr Isaac Harris, *Race and Civilisation*,

1939; John O. Hartes, *The People of Destiny or the Goodly Heritage of the British Race*, 1924; Charles E. Hect (ed.), *Rearing an Imperial Race*, 1913; Friedrich O. Hertz, *Race and Civilisation*, 1928; Robert F. Horton, *National Ideals and Race-Regeneration*, 1912; James W. Johnson, *The Race Problem and Peace*, 1924; Charles C. Josey, *Race and National Solidarity*, 1923; George F. MacCleary, *Race Suicide?*, 1945; David MacConnel, *Race Making*, 1927; William M. P. MacFee, *Race*, 1924; Basil J. Mathews, *The Clash of Colour*, 1924 and *The Race of Heroes*, 1924; John M. Mecklin, *Democracy and Race Friction*, 1914; Frederick B. Meyer, *Religion and Race-Regeneration*, 1912; Dora B. Montefiore, *Race Motherhood*, 1920; Earl Edward Muntz, *Race Contact*, 1927; Lawrence W. Neff, *Race Relations at Close Range*, 1931; John Oakesmith, *Race and Nationality*, 1919; Baroness Emmuska Orczy, *Pride of Race*, 1942; Edward B. Reuter (ed.), *Race and Culture Contacts*, 1934 and *Race Mixture*, 1931; Thurman B. Rice, *Racial Hygiene*, 1929; William S. Sadler, *Race Decadence*, 1922; Caleb W. Saleeby, *The Methods of Race-Regeneration*, 1911; James D. Sayers, *Can the White Race Survive?*, 1929; Mary D. Scharlieb, *Womanhood and Race-Regeneration*, 1912; Edward J. Smith, *Race Regeneration*, 1918; George Whitehead FRS, *Birth Control and Race Culture*, 1925; Harris H. Wilder, *The Pedigree of the Human Race*, 1926; Charles Williams, *The Coming End of the Age: its imminent nearness and what it means for our race*, 1916; A. F. Wilson, *Our Predestined British Empire*, 1916; Arthur C. Wire, *The Genius of the British Race*, 1917; and Baron John Wrottesley, *The English Race*, 1939.

47. Tinker, *Race, Conflict and the International Order*, p. 7.

48. Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, p. 3 and p. 4.

49. Cited in Dower, *War Without Mercy*, p. 99 and p. 84.

50. Examples, Hailey's diary, Rhodes House, MSS Brit. Emp. s.342 Correspondence:

Lagos 6 Feb 1940: 'There is something very engaging about the breadth of his [the African's] smile. But he *does* get most powerfully hot in a ceremonial dinner of this kind!'

Lagos 13 Feb 1940: 'I am sorry to say that I did not need to resort to the services of sight and sound to realise that I was sitting next to an African; that is a feature of the country which I have not yet learnt to bear with equanimity.'

Lagos 13 Feb 1940: 'The African servants are a very, very long way behind those in India. The whole life indeed in Africa is very crude and uncivilised compared to India, even in a place so civilised as Lagos.'

Enugu 19 Feb 1940: 'The African intellectuals cannot at present compete with the Indian, and may never do so.'

Accra 25 Feb 1940: on the famous school at Achimota: 'It had always struck me as a very idealistic effort, which could with difficulty justify the three quarters of a million it had cost.'

Cape Coast 26 Feb 1940: 'We were accompanied by our temporary servant, Paul, a melancholy long face creature with a mouth like a mud-fish, and upper lip of portentous size and gravity.'

Sierra Leone 7 March 1940: 'The Judge looked like the man of whom it was said that God started to make a gorilla, but changed His mind before He had quite finished', and 'One was struck all the more with amazement

when three of their bandy legged Mandingos walked smartly forward, saluted with military precision, and proceeded to croon in English the words of the Lambeth Walk! Honestly, I do not think that this is the right way to treat a decent and self respecting set of cannibals.’
Bo, Nigeria 11 March 1940: ‘Two of the chiefs I saw were quite unexpectedly intelligent.’

51. Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, p. 5 and p. 6.
52. Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, p. 7.
53. ‘Correspondents report to us that no foreign troops had ever been allowed in Malaya, while local Chinese newspapers have been “discouraged” ... when they suggested that troops of the regular Chinese army should be invited to Malaya to join the Allied defence. The British authorities thought that the Chinese Army would be bad for British “prestige” amongst the coloured people.’ *New Statesman and Nation*, ‘A London Diary’, 17 January 1942, vol.23, p. 37.
54. Churchill to Wavell, 10 February 1942, cited in Hitchens, *Blood, Class and Nostalgia*, p. 213.
55. Paper F 1345, FO 371/31754.
56. Cited in Dower, *War without Mercy*, p. 111.
57. Pimlott, *Atlas of World War II*, p. 90.
58. Lippmann, *Washington Post*, 21 Feb 1942, cited in CO 875/18/10. Rudyard Kipling’s ‘The White Man’s Burden’ was published in the *New York Sun* on 5 February 1899, the day before the US Senate agreed to make the Philippines an American protectorate after winning the Spanish-American war. Hitchens, *Blood, Class, and Nostalgia*, p. 67.
59. Welles, reprinted in Holborn, *War and Peace Aims of the United Nations*, p. 90 (Welles was the only man Roosevelt trusted according to Sir Isaiah Berlin (stationed in Washington from 1942 to report on American opinion of Britain). Interview with author, 3 November 1994).
60. Berlin, 14 May 1942, FO 371/30652.
61. Berlin, FO 371/30652, 30 April 1942. Berlin’s report was noted by both M. Butler and F. E. Evans, who briefed the delegates to the IPR conference (see Chapter 4).
62. Walter White cited in FO 371/30656.
63. FO 371/31770, Japanese propaganda in the Far East, 15 November 1941, p. 12.
64. R. H. Scott, Ministry of Information, Singapore to London, 31 December 1941, FO 37131754, paper F 1345.
65. FO 371/31770, Japanese propaganda in the Far East, 15 November 1941 p. 29 (emphasis in original).
66. The IO report ‘issues warning against risk of unintentionally helping Japanese racial propaganda by repetition of such stories as that of severe treatment of Europeans in Manila, on the other hand stories of Japanese brutality towards Asiatics would furnish excellent British propaganda.’ ‘Japanese propaganda in the Far East’ Report from India Office, 17 January 1942, FO 371/31770/560.
67. For example, the Consul-General was recorded as saying that ‘pictures of horrors should be avoided as they only terrify and paralyse the natives’. Japanese propaganda in the Far East, 15 November 1941, FO 371/31770, p. 29.

68. Berlin, 20 March 1942 in Nicholas (ed.), *Washington Despatches*, p. 27.
69. 'The influential Phelps-Stokes Committee has been stimulated to prepare a report on the future of Africa, which will shortly appear as part of campaign to arouse favourable interest in Negro problem among general public. Findings of this Committee are said to be critical of British administration in Africa.' Berlin, 20 June 1942, in Nicholas (ed.), *Washington Despatches*, pp. 47–8. Whereas Perham thought favourably of the Phelps-Stokes report on Africa: 'a very well informed and appreciative analysis of our African Administration has recently appeared entitled *The Atlantic Charter and Africa from an American standpoint*.' Perham, *Colonial Sequence*, p. 238.
70. Berlin reported that they were: 'a distinguished and influential committee of forty Americans, under the chairmanship of Dr Anson Phelps-Stokes, President of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, an American foundation which has shown an active interest in African affairs for more than a quarter of a century.' CO 875/18/10. According to Berman: 'From its incorporation in 1911 until 1945 the Phelps-Stokes Fund based its actions on several premises: (1) that the experience of the Negro South was directly relevant to black Africa; (2) that neither the African nor the American Negro would be self-governing, or even have a large say in his welfare, in the foreseeable future; and (3) that a narrowly defined vocational education could be used to train American Negroes and Africans to become productive, docile, and permanent underclasses in their respective societies.' Edward Berman, 'Educational Colonialism in Africa: The Role of American Foundations, 1910–1945' in Arnove (ed.), *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism*, pp. 194–5.
71. McLean to Jones, 29 October 1942, CO 323/1858/22.
72. Thornley, 14 May 1942, Memorandum, CO 323/1858/25.
73. Cranborne, House of Lords, 20 May 1942: 'So far as Malaya is concerned ... I do not think there is any evidence at present that the population as a whole was either secretly hostile or indifferent. On the contrary it remained perfectly friendly throughout.' cited in CO 323/1858/22.
74. R. H. Scott, Far Eastern Bureau to MoI, London, 31 December 1941, Paper F 1345, FO 371/31754.
75. J. B. Sabine, confidential report, CO 875/18/10.
76. Dower, *War Without Mercy*, pp. 108–12.
77. Sabine, 26 February 1942, CO 875/18/10.
78. Hailey, 'The Colonial Problem', *Spectator*, 27 March 1942, p. 298.
79. Hailey, *Britain and Her Dependencies*, p. 35.
80. Hailey, *Britain and Her Dependencies*, p. 37.
81. Hailey, *Spectator*, 27 March 1942, p. 298.
82. Carlton Hotel minutes, 6 October 1939, CO 847/17/11 (extracts in CO 850/137/10).
83. Carlton Hotel minutes, p. 12, CO 847/17/11.
84. 'He had never seen any attempt to square native administration as we see it now with the development of Parliamentary institutions. Any investigation of this question must assume that the ultimate object is self-government. But must we assume that the form of self-government should be Parliamentary?' Carlton Hotel minutes, pp. 5–6, CO 847/17/11.

85. Carlton Hotel minutes, p. 5, CO 847/17/11.
86. 'Great Britain, in fostering the system of indirect rule, is promoting a wide-spread agency of local self-government for which a place will eventually have to be found in the political organization of the colonies ... there is much that is difficult to foresee in the future of indirect rule; but possibly the most difficult problem of all, is to envisage the feasibility of integrating the system with the normal type of Parliamentary institutions.' Hailey, *An African Survey*, p. 252.
87. Carlton Hotel minutes, p. 10, CO 847/17/11.
88. Carlton Hotel minutes, p. 11, CO 847/17/11.
89. Butler, warden of Nuffield College, Oxford, (later stationed in Washington) comment on Carlton Hotel minutes, 7 November 1939, CO 847/17/11.
90. Arthur Wright, comment on Carlton Hotel minutes, 2 November 1939, CO 847/17/11.
91. Pearce, *The Turning Point in Africa*, p. 46 and p. 48.
92. 'The peoples of Africa are believed to have been derived from three principal stocks – Bushman, Negro and Hamite ... there are few parts of the continent in which adequate surveys of the physical characters of the inhabitants have been made, and it is therefore impossible to classify the different tribes accurately on a such a basis. Thus it is inevitable that language and culture traits should be used as a basis for ethnic classification, however unsatisfactory this may be from a scientific point of view.' Hailey, *An African Survey*, p. 18.
93. Native administration and African employment had been linked in F. J. Pedler's memorandum on the 'Employment of Africans in the Higher Ranks of the Service', paragraph 27: 'Native authorities cannot hope to keep up with the times unless they secure the services of highly educated Africans; if the Government services absorbed all the available African diplomats and graduates the native authorities would be left as curious survivals of tribal ignorance. It ought therefore to be one of the objectives of native policy to ensure that the native authorities and the educated African class consist of the same people, so that no conflict can arise.' 16 December 1939, CO 850/137/10.
94. J. L. Keith, head of the welfare department, expressed the political expediency of employing Africans: 'Unless Africans can be brought into the services of the central Government in large numbers and feel that they have a growing interest therein and that all posts are open to them when they are qualified to take them, they will look upon the central Government as an alien institution and give vent to their feelings in political agitation.' Memo on Africans in Government Services, 22 January 1940, CO 850/137/10.
95. Extract of Carlton Hotel minutes, 6 October 1939, CO 850/137/10.
96. Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism*, pp. 224–32.
97. C. H. Thornley, 14 May 1942, CO 323/1858/25.
98. 'It was to a large extent this organization of society that caused the Bolshevik Revolution.' G. L. M. Clauson, CO 850/153/10.
99. A. J. Roysten, 4 August 1939, CO 850/153/10.
100. F. J. Pedler, 7 August 1939, and Gerald Creasy commented 'I don't think it

- will necessarily be only the “exceptional” African’, 8 August 1939 CO 850/153/10.
101. Eastwood, 29 September 1939, CO 850/153/10 and supported by G. Creasy, 7 February 1940, CO 850/137/10.
 102. Lord Passfield, secretary of state for the colonies, had introduced the idea of ‘unification’ of the colonial services in 1930. Services were unified around a particular function, starting with the Colonial Administrative Service in 1932 and ending with the Colonial Civil Aviation Service after 1945. Jeffries, *Partners for Progress*, p. 42.
 103. Seel, spring 1940, CO 850/137/10.
 104. ‘He [Mr Small, colonial secretary, Straits, Malaya] said that if we at this end sent out a man who showed a trace of colour to fill a post normally filled by pure Europeans, i.e. a post for which no local man of colour would be recruited, there might be considerable discontent among people of the latter class, who might not unreasonably complain that a post for which they would not be considered eligible should not be given to a man showing obvious traces of colour. Mr Small’s reasoning seemed to me to be sound, and I hope it will give you a sufficiently clear line in dealing with such cases in the future.’ 11 February 1938, CO 850/134/15.
 105. ‘I have always, myself, pictured the United Services as a diminishing factor as and when the various members of the Colonial Empire begin “to stand on their own feet”.’ Seel, spring 1940, CO 850/137/10.
 106. T. I. K. Lloyd, 3 January 1940, CO 850/137/10.
 107. Pedler, ‘Employment of Africans in the Higher Ranks of the Service’, paragraph 25, 16 December 1939 and TIK Lloyd, 3 January 1940, CO 850/137/10.
 108. Lloyd, 3 January 1940, CO 850/137/10.
 109. ‘... if it became the practice to treat the Colonial Empire as a unit so far as the appointment of non-Europeans are concerned, there would surely be the risk of starting a cross current working against the general policy of trusteeship? It is one thing to maintain a gradually diminishing European Service in a territory until the inhabitants can run it themselves: it is very different to open the door to an increasing stream of non-European officials from other territories or belonging to other races.’ R. D. Furse, 15 May 1951, CO 850/193/2.
 110. Pedler, ‘Employment of Africans in the Higher Ranks of the Service’, paragraph 27, 16 December 1939, CO 850/137/10.
 111. Hailey, *Native Administration and Political Development in British Tropical Africa*, p. 19.
 112. Sir Alan Burns, 21 February 1940: ‘While I fully appreciate the importance of the economic question, I am convinced that the real problem is colour prejudice. ... Governors should make it clear to heads of departments and others that they will not tolerate colour prejudice in the Service and should endeavour to encourage those who are trying to overcome it. I received scant encouragement when I started the Inter-racial Dining Club in Lagos, referred to in paragraph 40 of Mr Pedler’s memorandum, it has, however, done a lot of good and believe it is still flourishing.’ CO 850/137/10.
 113. Pedler, ‘Employment of Africans in the Higher Ranks of the Service’, paragraph 38, 16 December 1939, CO 850/137/10.

114. J. B. Sidebotham, 20 April 1940, and A. C. Talbot Edwards, 26 June 1940, CO 850/137/10.
115. Lord Dufferin, the former chairman, was no longer the parliamentary under-secretary of state for the colonies. J. B. Sidebotham, 20 April 1940, and Gerald Creasy, assistant secretary, 20 May 1940, CO 850/137/10.
116. Letter to Lord Lloyd from Accra, Gold Coast, 16 November 1940 and note, Luke, 16 December 1940, in CO 850/192/10.
117. Sir John E. Shuckburgh, 13 April 1940, CO 323/1801/13.
118. Although according to Sir Arthur Dawe, assistant under-secretary of state, 26 February 1941, Hailey thought that 'Africans in the public service should only look for advancement in the colony to which they belong', CO 850/192/10.
119. *New Statesman*, 5 March 1941, Copy in CO 850/193/2.
120. C. J. Jeffries, 7 April 1941, CO 850/193/2.
121. Moyne, 10 April 1941, CO 850/193/2.
122. See CO 850/192/10 and CO 850/193/2.
123. O. G. R. Williams, 1 July 1941, CO 850/192/10, who in one file remarked: 'No doubt the Creole type is inclined to be insolent,' 7 October 1940, CO 850/179/13, and in another: 'As for educating public opinion (including my own prejudices) into a more tolerant attitude, I am all for it, but how is it to be done?', 29 August 1941, CO 859/70/7.
124. Hailey, *Native Administration and Political Development in British Tropical Africa*, p. 47.
125. Hailey, *Native Administration and Political Development in British Tropical Africa*, p. 8.
126. C. J. Jeffries, 16 May 1941, CO 850/193/2.
127. *New Statesman and Nation*, 16 August 1941, copy in CO 850/193/2.
128. J. J. Paskin, 26 September 1941, CO 859/80/13.
129. Paskin, 26 September 1941, CO 859/80/13 and Sir George Gater, 20 August 1942, CO 859/80/13.
130. Berlin, CO 875/18/10.
131. C. J. Jeffries, 25 November 1942, CO 850/192/10.
132. Scott, Far Eastern Bureau, British Ministry of Information, Singapore, 31 December 1941, Paper F 1345, FO 371/31754.
133. C. H. Thornley, 14 May 1942, CO 323/1858/25.
134. Cranborne, 27 August 1942, CO 859/80/13.
135. R. A. Whittle, 4 August 1943, CO 850/193/3.
136. Jeffries, 'Relationship of European and African Salaries in West Africa', 12 June 1944, CO 850/217/8.
137. Telegram 7 March 1944, CO 850/193/3.
138. Hailey, *Britain and Her Dependencies*, p. 37.
139. See discussion February 1942, CO 875/18/10.
140. Hailey, *Britain and Her Dependencies*, p. 36 and p. 7 respectively.
141. Nordman, *Prelude to Decolonisation in West Africa*, p. 115.
142. Nordman, *Prelude to Decolonisation in West Africa*, p. 118.
143. Dawe, 13 May 1942, CO 554/131/4.
144. 'Lord Hailey feels that if we make the concession now it may only encourage agitation for further concessions: and it will be difficult for us to know what more to concede. He argues that it is a great mistake to move in

- advance of agitation and that it is best to keep concessions in reserve so that when the agitation arises there will, if necessary, be something to give.' Dawe reporting on meeting with Hailey, 13 May 1942, CO 554/131/4.
145. 'We ought to avoid bringing in Africans at the centre too early and thus endeavour not to repeat the mistakes made in India. If Africans are to come in at the centre, then they should not be brought on the Executive Councils but onto the Legislative Councils, the representative basis of which can be altered gradually and naturally to meet the pressure.' Dawe reporting on meeting with Hailey, 13 May 1942, CO 554/131/4.
 146. Letter from Hailey to Sir Findlater Stewart (permanent under-secretary of State for India 1930–42), 1 August 1930, India Office, Hailey MSS Eur. E/220/19A, pp. 76–7.
 147. Burns to Cranborne (his emphasis), 30 June 1942, CO 554/131/33702 cited in Nordman, *Prelude to Decolonisation in West Africa*, p. 123.
 148. 'I believe that the rising tide of Negro resentment of the British government, and the disturbances which in recent years have been symptoms of this resentment, are due to the policy of deferring constitutional concessions until it's too late for them to be appreciated by the people. The Negro peoples, both in the West Indies and in West Africa, are learning that the colonial administrations take no notice of popular feelings until this feeling is manifested in disturbances. This is one of the principle reasons why the people of these colonies choose as their leaders, not the moderate and reasonable men, but those irresponsible agitators who stimulate racial feelings against the whites and political movements against the government.' Burns to Cranborne cited in Nordman, *Prelude to Decolonisation in West Africa*, p. 123.
 149. Nordman, *Prelude to Decolonisation in West Africa*, p. 127. According to Nordman, Africans were also admitted to the Executive Council in Sierra Leone and Nigeria, p. 130.
 150. 'But they [native authorities] have a second and certainly not less important function, in providing an avenue by which native opinion can be expressed and to a certain extent "canalised".' Hailey, *Native Administration and Political Development in British Tropical Africa*, p. 11.
 151. 'But the prospect which it [the native authority] opens to the more highly educated and politically minded African of the towns, and even to the middle class African in rural areas, is not one with which we can expect him to remain content. Their dissatisfaction might take the form of an active campaign to rouse a popular feeling against the native authorities which would gravely impair their value as administrative agencies, and as the means of introducing social reforms.' Hailey, *Native Administration and Political Development in British Tropical Africa*, p. 45.
 152. 'The general atmosphere of acquiescence which our rule now enjoys owes much to the opportunities provided by the native authority system for the expression of native opinion.' Hailey, *Native Administration and Political Development in British Tropical Africa*, p. 11.
 153. 'There are some territories in which this process has already gone further than is usually believed. In Ceylon, for instance, there has been for some years practically no recruitment from Europe for the State services. In the

West Indies, the services are predominantly of local origin. Even in Africa, where circumstances have hitherto provided a much more limited field for local recruitment for the more responsible posts, we have in the Gold Coast and Nigeria between thirty and forty Africans holding medical and judicial appointments of a class normally filled by Europeans, and Africans have recently been admitted to the superior administrative service.’ Hailey, *Britain and Her Dependencies*, p. 37.

154. Hailey, *Britain and Her Dependencies*, p. 37.
155. J. L. Keith, 7 November 1940 to Ministry of Information, for guidance for Joint Broadcasting Committee, CO 859/40/4.
156. Arthur Dawe, assistant under-secretary of state, May 1940, CO 859/39/14.
157. Telegram from Gold Coast, 14 January 1941, to O. G. R. Williams after use on 10 December 1940. BBC sent apology, 6 March 1941, CO 875/18/5.
158. O. G. R. Williams, 19 March 1941, CO 859/40/4.
159. N. J. B. Sabine, Head of Publicity department, 24 March 1941, CO 859/40/4. The Americans decided to do the same on 5 December 1942 according to Louis, *Imperialism at Bay*, p. 185.
160. Miss Audrey Richards, 17 September 1941, CO 859/80/13.
161. A. Creech Jones, secretary of state, Memorandum on Legislation involving Colour Discrimination, 8 January 1947, CO 323/1879/5.
162. Hailey, 20 May 1942 cited in Louis, *Imperialism at Bay*, p. 140.
163. Reported in the *Manchester Guardian*, 29 October 1941, copy CO 323/1858/27.
164. Hailey, *Great Britain, India, and the Colonial Dependencies in the Post-War World*, p. 29.
165. ‘In none of our dependencies are there conditions such as those which are characteristic of the Union of South Africa, where the doctrine of “segregation” or “parallel rule” finds its practical expression in the refusal to allow to the native any share in the political institutions of government, and in the passing of “colour bar” legislation to regulate his position in industry.’ Hailey, *Britain and Her Dependencies*, p. 36.
166. ‘If we need to express ourselves in a formula at all, let our relations be those of senior and junior partners in the same enterprise, and let it be said that our contract of partnership involves the progressive increase of the share which the junior partners have in the conduct of the undertaking.’ House of Lords, *Hansard*, 20 May 1942, cols 1095–6, and see Hailey’s Opening Statement, *War and Peace in the Pacific*, pp. 11–12.
167. Hailey, *A Colonial Charter*, p. 3.
168. Hailey, ‘British Colonial Policy’, in *Colonial Administration by European Powers*, p. 96.
169. Pearce, *The Turning Point in Africa*, p. 156.
170. Hailey, *The Future of Colonial Peoples*, p. 53.
171. Pearce, *The Turning Point in Africa*, p. 205.
172. Hailey, *Britain and Her Dependencies*, p. 12.

CHAPTER 3 THE QUESTION OF EQUAL TREATMENT

1. Hailey, *The Future of Colonial Peoples*, p. 57 (author’s emphasis).
2. Hailey, *The Future of Colonial Peoples*, p. 56 (author’s emphasis).

3. King, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, vol.6, no.2, 1993, p. 125.
4. 'From its [Carnegie's] founding in 1911, the foundation had shown, as one analyst put it, a "benign but fluctuating interest in the Negro".' Southern, *Gunnar Myrdal and Black-White Relations*, p. 2. See also Lagemann, *The Politics of Philanthropy*.
5. Carnegie Commission, *The Poor White Problem in South Africa*, Stellenbosch, 1932 – see Miller, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol.19, no.4, December 1993.
6. Myrdal, *Population*.
7. Hailey reviewed Myrdal's book saying: 'In order that it should be as objective a basis as possible, its direction was entrusted to Dr Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish sociologist of high international reputation. It is now possible to draw from its massive material a factual picture of the position actually occupied by the American Negro today.' *The Times*, 25 July 1944, p. 5.
8. Southern, *Gunnar Myrdal and Black-White Relations*, p. 8 and p. 6 respectively.
9. According to Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, p. 9.
10. Myrdal, *The American Dilemma*, p. 756 (his italics).
11. Myrdal, *The American Dilemma*, p. 1007.
12. King, *Separate and Unequal*, p. 31.
13. Southern, *Gunnar Myrdal and Black-White Relations*, p. 8.
14. Myrdal, *The American Dilemma*, p. 1006.
15. 'In fact the Court had issued rulings with anti-segregation implications: in *Buchanan v. Warley*, decided in 1917, the Court ruled that Black Americans had the right to occupy housing in any part of a city and disallowed the municipal practice of 'racial zoning', dividing residence into White and Black sections. In practice, contra this ruling, until 1948 residential segregation was accentuated by including restrictive covenants (specifying that a property could not be sold subsequently to a Black American buyer) in property ownership. Such covenants were outlawed by the Supreme Court in 1948, but those existing prior to the ruling limited Black buyers' choices and the Court ruling in 1917 outlawing racial zoning had actually encouraged a greater use of covenants.' King, *Separate and Unequal*, p. 19.
16. Cited in Buchanan, *Black Americans in World War II*, p. 18.
17. The MOWM finally dissolved in late 1947. See James et al., *Fighting Racism in World War II*, p. 21.
18. Buchanan, *Black Americans in World War II*, p. 16.
19. Condit and Lucaites, *Crafting Equality*, p. 172.
20. The Office of War Information was established by executive order on 13 June 1942. Foreign propaganda activities were at first divided between the Office of Strategic Services and the OWI – the OSS dealt with secret activities and the OWI was limited to 'open' work. After 9 March 1943 OWI conducted all propaganda abroad. The OWI was closed down on 15 September 1945 and its files were transferred, after a short interim, to the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs (State Department).
21. OWI reports, 24 October 1942, on Negroes in the media, paper 10131, FO 371/30689: 'The period since Sept 1 has brought to the fore a number of issues which have tested newspaper attitudes toward Negro relations. Most

notable has been the struggle of the poll tax, first in connection with the vote for soldiers, and second in connection with the Congressional fight to ban this tax in national elections. Concurrently there has been the Talmadge defeat in Georgia, the friction between colored and white soldiers in Great Britain, the arrest of 81 members of the Ethiopian Peace League in Chicago, and more recently the three lynchings in Mississippi and the attempted lynching in Tennessee. In addition to these events there have been less dramatic ones, such as the DAR's [Daughter's of the American Revolution] invitation to Marion Anderson, naming of the *Booker T Washington*, and the appointment of a Negro as this ship's captain. In view of the evidence of growing tension, a survey has been made of the treatment of these topics between Sept 1 and Oct 20 ... It shows that a narrow majority [of newspapers] are supporting various phases of the demand for improved status for Negroes ... (on the friction between colored and white soldiers in Great Britain no comment was noted) ... The papers are still doing little for the positive contribution of Negroes to American Society. This fact is brought out clearly in the chart on page four. Despite the continued growth of Negro participation in the war, manifested in such events as the effective organization of civilian defense in Harlem, the increased participation of Negro women in voluntary nursing, the widespread entrances of Negroes into Industry, and the greatly augmented representation of Negroes in the navy, news stories signalling such developments are extremely rare.'

22. See James et al., *Fighting Racism in World War II*, p. 53.
23. Buchanan, *Black Americans in World War II*, p. 25.
24. Myrdal, *The American Dilemma*, p. 1006.
25. The Phelps-Stokes report on Africa was, according to Berlin, a 'call to America to prepare herself for an increasing share in a constructive attack on African poverty and backwardness' CO 875/18/10.
26. King, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, vol.6, no.2, June 1993, p. 139. See also chapter 4 in King, *Separate and Unequal*.
27. 'In the correspondence of the war department officials, for example, often-times the word Negro was written with a small n. Although I cannot prove it, the use of the small n probably indicated contempt for blacks in and out of uniform.' McGuire, *He, Too, Spoke for Democracy*, p. xvi. I, too, have found that a small n was largely used until 1942. Only after this date, when black demands were increasingly recognized do official reports start to use a capital N for Negro. Furthermore, when Myrdal started on his research, 'One of his first acts as director was to order all personnel connected with the Carnegie project to capitalize the word "Negro".' Southern, *Gunnar Myrdal and Black-White Relations*, p. 20.
28. Weekly report from Berlin, FO 371/30652, 17 April 1942.
29. Myrdal, *The American Dilemma*, p. 1007.
30. Cited in Thorne, *Proceedings of the British Council*, vol.80, 1986, p. 354.
31. Berlin, 20 March 1942, FO 371/30652.
32. Dower, *War without Mercy*, p. 79 and Tinker, *Race, Conflict and the International Order*, pp. 44–5.
33. King, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, vol.6, no.2, 1993, p. 144.
34. King, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, vol.6, no.2, 1993, p. 140.

35. Buchanan, *Black Americans in World War II*, p. 78.
36. 'The heroism of black soldiers in America's wars is attested by the records of the highest decorations awarded to American fighting men. Twenty black soldiers won the Congressional Medal of Honor during the Civil War. Twenty black soldiers won the medal during the Indian campaign from 1866 to 1890. Eight won the Congressional Medal during the Spanish–American War of 1898. No black soldier was awarded the medal during World Wars I and II; however, sixteen won it in the Korean and Viet Nam wars.' Motley (ed.), *The Invisible Soldier*, p. 17.
37. Buchanan, *Black Americans in World War II*, p. 59.
38. McGuire, *He, Too, Spoke for Democracy*, p. 39.
39. Motley (ed.), *The Invisible Soldier*, p. 16.
40. Sitkoff, *Journal of American History*, vol.58, 1971, p. 666 and p. 669.
41. Buchanan, *Black Americans in World War II*, p. 92.
42. Stillman, *Integration of the Negro in the US Armed Forces*, p. 25.
43. Buchanan, *Black Americans in World War II*, p. 98.
44. Stillman, *Integration of the Negro in the US Armed Forces*, p. 29.
45. Buchanan, *Black Americans in World War II*, pp. 84–5.
46. James et al., *Fighting Racism in World War II*, p. 147.
47. Condit and Lucaites, *Crafting Equality*, p. 171.
48. Cited in Southern, *Gunnar Myrdal and Black–White Relations*, p. 49.
49. Statement of Committee on Status of Negro Americans in War Industries as adopted 29 March 1941, 'National Defense and Negro Americans', Phelps-Stokes Fund Records, Box 38 Folder 1, Committee on the American Negro in Defense Industries 1941–1944, minutes 1941, Papers in the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.
50. Condit and Lucaites, *Crafting Equality*, p. 171.
51. Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa*, 1928.
52. Buell, 'An American Proposal', *Fortune*, May 1942: cited in FO 371/30656.
53. Walter Lippmann, 'The Post-Singapore War in the East', *Washington Post*, 21 February 1942, CO 875/18/10.
54. As F. Darvall, Ministry of Information working in America, wrote to the Foreign Office, 13 June 1942: 'We also had very much in mind of the danger that the US might go imperialist after the war and accept collaboration with Britain only on terms of superiority. For this reason it was expressly stated in our list of aims that we should seek to create a popular basis in both countries for collaboration between the UK and the US during and after the war on *terms of equality*.' FO 371/30669 paper 5722 (author's emphasis).
55. '... *New York Daily News*, the white paper with largest Negro circulation of any, has not been slow to exploit alleged inconsistency between our treatment of Congress Party demands and the Four Freedoms.' Berlin, 22 August 1942 in Nicholas (ed.), *Washington Despatches*, p. 73.
56. Walter Lippmann, 'The Post-Singapore War in the East', *Washington Post*, 21 February 1942, CO 875/18/10.
57. Joint Intelligence Committee, Paper on 'China's relation to the United Nations in the war against Japan', JIC 154/2, Adopted by Committee 31 December 1943, p. 9, National Archives, Joint Chief of Staff Geographical Files, RG 218, Box 28, Sutland, Maryland, USA.

58. Drummond and Hillmer, *Negotiating Freer Trade*, p. 160.
59. Notes from meeting of Ashley Clarke with Walter Lippmann, 15 September 1942, CO 875/18/10.
60. Notes from meeting of Ashley Clarke with Walter Lippmann, 15 September 1942, CO 875/18/10.
61. Dower, *War Without Mercy*, p. 164.
62. 'They [media observers] greeted the British and American declarations of intention to give up extraterritorial rights in China as evidence of the end of the imperialism of the past and as proof that the American and British Governments are sincere in pledging free new world after the war.' Office of War Information, Bureau of Intelligence, 17 October 1942 cited in FO 371/30689.
63. 'In all the media there was agreement with the Richmond *Times Dispatch's* interpretation (11 Oct) that the declaration was "tangible evidence that the old age imperialism is ended, and that the world will enter a new era when peace returns".' Office of War Information, Bureau of Intelligence, 17 October 1942 cited in FO 371/30689.
64. Tinker, *Race, Conflict, and the International Order*, p. 19.
65. Dower, *War Without Mercy*, p. 164.
66. Report of the 'Detroit Committee for 1943' passed on to Colonial Office from Alan Dudley, Foreign Office, 10 September 1943 with comment on the Detroit Committee from the Consul General in Detroit, CO 875/19/3.
67. Report of the Detroit Committee passed on to CO via FO, 10 September 1943, CO 875/19/3.
68. Cited in Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, p. 61.
69. Reported in the telegram from Halifax to Foreign Office, 25 August 1942, CO 323/1858/22.
70. Telegram from Halifax to Foreign Office, 25 August 1942, CO 323/1858/22.
71. Extract of *West African Pilot*, 11 December 1941, CO 859/80/7.
72. 'Describing the fact that Southern soldiers have carried anti-Negro attitudes to England, to the surprise of Englishmen who "had got along excellently" with Negroes, *Time* (19 Oct) said, "it seemed as if the English people and American Negroes, if uninterrupted, might teach anybody something about democratic possibilities".' Office of War Information report, 24 October 1942, file 10131, FO 371/30689.
73. 'It is clear, however, that the official policy of the American military authorities is that white and coloured troops should not consort together. This, of course, is the reverse of our policy, which makes no distinction whatever on the question of colour amongst troops in the armed forces.' Note of interview with the Adjutant-General, War Office, 25 July 1942, CO 876/14.
74. Note of interview with the Adjutant-General, War Office, 25 July 1942, CO 876/14.
75. J. L. Keith to C. Jeffries, 31 July 1942, CO 876/14.
76. Memo J. L. Keith, 5 August 1942, CO 876/14.
77. Comment W. L. Rolleston, 10 August 1942, CO 876/14.
78. Comment Sir George Henry Gater, 11 August 1942, CO 876/14.
79. Smith, *When Jim Crow met John Bull*, p. 62.

80. Minutes of the Bolero Combined Committee, 12 August 1942 on the 'problem of American coloured troops' in CO 876/14.
81. Paper prepared for the War Cabinet WP (42) 442, 2 October 1942 on United States Coloured Troops in the UK by Lord Cranborne, CO 876/14.
82. The final paper used the Lord Privy Seal's suggestion, WP (42) 473, October 1942, CO 876/14.
83. A. H. Poynton to Mr Calder, 30 January 1940, CO 323/1801/13.
84. 'The Private Secretary at the Admiralty then said that this would make the reply inaccurate, as persons of pure European descent were eligible provided they were British born themselves, and their fathers were British either by birth or by *naturalisation*, whereas coloured persons could only be accepted provided that they *and their fathers* were British by birth.' Poynton to Calder, (his emphasis) 30 January 1940, CO 323/1801/13.
85. A. H. Poynton, 5 April 1940, CO 323/1801/13.
86. Calder in reply to Poynton, 13 April 1940, CO 323/1801/13.
87. 'I think that we might indicate that any publication of the special exceptions made in the case of Europeans only could be highly embarrassing to us, and that, as Mr Calder suggests we might ask the Admiralty to avoid any publicity on the subject.' Sir George Henry Gater, 15 April 1940, CO 323/1801/13.
88. Malcolm MacDonald, secretary of state for the colonies, 16 April 1940, CO 323/1801/13.
89. Sir A. Burns to Sir Cosmo Parkinson, 29 May 1940, CO 323/1801/13.
90. John Calder, 11 June 1940, CO 323/1801/13.
91. Sir A. Burns to Sir Cosmo Parkinson, 29 May 1940, CO 323/1801/13.
92. Telegram from the Governor of Trinidad to secretary of state for the colonies, 2 June 1940, CO 323/1801/13.
93. Sir Cosmo Parkinson to secretary of state, 1 July 1940, CO 323/1801/13.
94. N. J. Sabine, 26 February 1942, CO 875/18/10.
95. Hailey, 'The Colonial Problem', *Spectator*, 27 March 1942, p. 298.
96. A. C. B. Symm, India Office to Trafford Smith, 23 December 1938, CO 323/1613/7.
97. J. E. W. Hood, Crown Agents to the Colonies, to E. B. Bowyer, 15 September 1938, CO 323/1613/7.
98. Sir Cosmo Parkinson agreed: 'As Sir A. Burns says, it is largely a question of manners, and you cannot legislate for that.' 29 August 1941, CO 859/80/7.
99. Sir A. Burns, 29 August 1941, CO 859/80/7. Sir Alan Burns, the Governor and then Commander in Chief of the Gold Coast, seems to have maintained his preoccupation with manners. Even in his book, published after the war's end, he maintained that: 'It may be impossible to eradicate colour-prejudice altogether, but it should be easy, given sufficient goodwill, to remove some of its more unpleasant manifestations, and so lessen its effect, by no more than the avoidance of discourtesy.' Burns, *Colour Prejudice*, p. 12. Although, the fact that he wrote such a book indicates his awareness of the importance of the issue and he did also write that 'a civilisation which denies such equality of right to men of a certain colour, *because of that colour*, is not logical and cannot be enduring.' *Ibid.*, p. 149 (his italics).

100. Lord Moyne to Herbert Morrison, 27 June 1941 (and copy to Amery, Dominions Office) CO 859/80/7.
101. Minutes of meeting in the Colonial Office on Question of Introducing Legislation regarding the admission of coloured persons to hotels etc. Present: Mr Jeffries, Sir Grattan Bushe, Mr Paskin (all CO), Mr Mannatyne, Miss Goode (HO), Mr Field (IO), Mr Lewis (Scottish Office), Mr Innes (Lord Advocates Dept), 14 July 1941, CO 859/80/7.
102. Minutes of meeting on Question of Introducing Legislation regarding the admission of coloured persons to hotels, 14 July 1941, CO 859/80/7.
103. J. L. Keith, 22 August 1941, CO 859/80/7.
104. C. J. Jeffries, 27 August 1941, CO 859/80/7.
105. O. G. R. Williams, 29 August 1941, CO 859/80/7.
106. Sir Cosmo Parkinson, 29 August 1941, CO 859/80/7.
107. J. J. Paskin, 16 September 1941, CO 859/80/7.
108. A. Richards, 17 September 1941, CO 859/80/13.
109. John Paskin, 26 September 1941, CO 859/80/13.
110. John Paskin, 26 September 1941, CO 859/80/13. After Parliamentary Questions, 7 December 1941, where 'Mr Sorensen asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Government will consider the desirability of making a pronouncement at an early date to the coloured races of the Colonial Empire conveying the assurance that the principles contained the Atlantic Charter shall be progressively implemented respecting them, and that no fundamental distinction will be recognised between the political and economic rights of white and coloured peoples?', J. B. Sidebotham noted that: 'The work of collating the various statements of declarations which have been made by HMG at different times in this connection has been undertaken by Lord Hailey's Committee, and this is still in progress, Mr Pedler informs me.' 16 December 1941, CO 323/1858/21.
111. J. L. Keith to Sir C. Jeffries, 6 August 1943, CO 859/80/8.
112. Smith, *When Jim Crow met John Bull*, p. 86. Although Reynolds refers to Learie Constantine and reports that he had been working in Lancashire during the 1930s. Reynolds, *Rich Relations*, p. 306.
113. J. L. Keith to Sir C. Jeffries, 6 August 1943, CO 859/80/8.
114. *Evening Standard*, 2 September 1943, *Daily Worker*, 20 and 23 September 1943, *Reynolds News*, 19 August and 26 September 1943, *The Times*, 14 and 21 October 1943, *Daily Mirror*, 27 October 1943, *Daily Herald*, 28 October, 12 and 18 November 1943, *Daily Mirror*, 30 October 1943, *Guardian*, 5 November 1943, *Daily Telegraph*, 21 December 1943. Recorded in CO 859/80/8.
115. 'On the evening of 3 Sept, Mr Constantine broadcast a talk on the BBC Home Service in which he dealt mainly with colour prejudice. I saw the script but was not able to hear the talk. I have heard from many sources that it was restrained moving and effective. The broadcast naturally led to renewed comment in the Press on Saturday morning. Here again comment was objective and restrained.' Noel J. Sabine, publicity department, Colonial Office, 20 September 1943, CO 859/80/8.
116. Tom Driberg, MP, 5 September 1943 reported in CO 859/80/8.
117. Noel J. Sabine, 20 September 1943, CO 859/80/8.

118. Copy of cartoon on title page of Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics*, p. iii.
119. Noel J. Sabine, 20 September 1943, CO 859/80/8.
120. C. J. Jeffries to Sir G Gater, 7 August 1943, CO 859/80/8.
121. J. L. Keith, 13 September 1943, CO 859/80/8.
122. C. J. Jeffries to Sir G. Gater, 7 August 1943, CO 859/80/8.
123. C. J. Jeffries, 30 September 1942, CO 859/80/7.
124. Costello, *Love, Sex and War*, p. 319.
125. McLaine, *Ministry of Morale*, p. 270 citing Home Intelligence Weekly Reports, 25 August – 8 September 1942, INF 1/292.
126. Peter Fryer, *New Statesman*, 4 December 1987, p. 29.
127. Noel J. Sabine, 20 September 1943, CO 859/80/8.
128. C. J. Jeffries, 17 September 1943, CO 859/80/8. Rich notes that Constantine was awarded £5 damages. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics*, p. 161.
129. Smith, *When Jim Crow met John Bull*, p. 87.
130. Lord Cranborne, 27 August 1942, CO 859/80/13.
131. A special survey of the Office of the Inspector General of the US Army of racial incidents over three months from 19 November 1943 to 19 February 1944 showed an average of four incidents a week. Smith, *When Jim Crow met John Bull*, p. 140 and pp. 138–151.
132. Smith, *When Jim Crow met John Bull*, p. 86.
133. Cited in Smith, *When Jim Crow met John Bull*, p. 86.
134. WP (42) 473, October 1942, CO 876/14.
135. Smith, *When Jim Crow met John Bull*, p. 89.
136. Thorne, *New Community*, vol.3, no.3, Summer 1974, p. 270.
137. Weinberg, *A World at Arms*, pp. 439–46.
138. The Office of War Information (USA) admitted, in its report of 14 November 1942, that: ‘the success of the British in defeating Rommel in Egypt has been widely commented on in all media, but they differ sharply in awarding credit for the victory ... Editors and columnists, on the contrary [to the radio], did not consider the victory as a totally British achievement and few were inclined to credit British generalship with the success of the drive. Out of 52 newspapers commenting: 24 called it an Allied victory, 15 called it a British victory, and 13 called it an Axis defeat.’ OWI report, FO 371/30689 Paper 11204.
139. McLaine, *Ministry of Morale*, p. 257.
140. Butler seems to support my thesis that after 1943 the Colonial Office became more ‘adventurous’ in terms of thinking about postwar reconstruction. Butler, *Industrialisation and the British Colonial State*, p. 5.
141. Air Ministry reply to Colonial Office, 4 April 1944, CO 537/1223.
142. J. L. Keith to Poynton, 9 March 1944, CO 537/1223.
143. Wing Commander J. C. M. Gibb to Stanley, 30 November 1944, CO 537/1223.
144. A. H. Poynton, 17 March 1944, CO 537/1223.
145. P. Wilkins to Poynton, 10 October 1945, CO 537/1223.
146. Keith to A. E. Beattie, Edinburgh office of the Colonial Office, September 1944, CO 537/1223.
147. P. Wilkins to A. H. Poynton, 10 October 1945, CO 537/1223.

148. A. H. Poynton to Keith, Cohen, Sir George Gater and Sir C. Jeffries, 10 October 1945, CO 537/1223.
149. J. L. Keith, 16 October 1945, CO 537/1223.
150. Report by J. Paget, Commander in Chief of the Middle East Forces, to the War Office, 28 December 1944, CO 537/1266.
151. F. H. Anderson, 10 February 1945, CO 537/1266.
152. Sabben-Clare, 12 February 1945, CO 537/1266.
153. GHQ, Middle East to War Office, 26 March 1945, CO 537/1266.
154. Telegram from War Office to Commander in Chief, India, 17 February 1945, CO 537/1266.
155. Telegram from GHQ, Middle East, to War Office, 15 April 1945, CO 537/1266.
156. Telegram from War Office to AFHQ, 6 May 1945, CO 537/1266.
157. Telegram from AFHQ to War Office, 9 May 1945, CO 537/1266.
158. E. B. Sabben-Clare, 29 November 1945, CO 537/1266.
159. Telegram from Trinidad to secretary of state for the colonies, 28 June 1945, CO 537/1266.
160. J. L. Keith, 7 November 1940, Report on the guidance of the Joint Broadcasting Committee, CO 859/40/4.
161. Confidential Report on Colour Discrimination, welfare department of the Colonial Office, May 1946, CO 537/1224.
162. Kirk-Greene, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol.9, no.3, July 1986, p. 282.
163. Circular to the Colonies from A. Creech Jones, secretary of state for the colonies, 8 January 1947 and Memorandum on Legislation involving Colour Discrimination, 8 January 1947, CO 323/1879/5.
164. Circular to the Colonies from A. Creech Jones, 8 January 1947, CO 323/1879/5.

CHAPTER 4 DEFENDING THE EMPIRE

1. 'At Bretton Woods and later during the period of the Anglo-American loan, both sides displayed a keen sense of economic self-interest which enabled critics to see the rise of a new American informal Empire, or to hear the death rattle of British Imperialism. Such are the dialectics that have to be borne in mind in attempting to get at the economic element in trusteeship.' Louis, *Imperialism at Bay*, pp. 24–5. Also see Louis and Robinson, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol.22, no.3, September 1994, pp. 462–511.
2. See Reynolds, *The Creation of the Anglo-American Alliance*.
3. See Watt, *Too Serious a Business*, Kolko, *Century of War* and Kolko, *The Politics of War*.
4. Letter from Ivison Macadam, Chatham House to Viscount Cranborne, secretary of state for the colonies, 11 June 1942, CO 875/18/13.
5. Cell, *Hailey*, p. 236.
6. In the preface to the preliminary report of the conference, W. L. Holland, the IPR Research Secretary, wrote 'An important departure from previous IPR practice was authorized in inviting persons holding government positions to participate in the discussions, though only in their personal capacities.' Preliminary Report of the Eighth Conference of the IPR, *War*

and *Peace in the Pacific*, p. vi.

7. 4 June 1942, CO 875/18/13.
8. Minute by Sabine, 23 May 1942, CO 875/18/13.
9. Minute by Sabine, 4 June 1942, CO 875/18/13.
10. Minute by Thornley, 10 June 1942, CO 875/18/13.
11. Letter from Cranborne to Macadam, 15 June 1942, CO 875/18/13.
12. Memorandum (unsigned – possibly by Basil Newton), October 1942, in CO 825/35/5.
13. Minute by Gater, CO 875/18/13.
14. Minute by Sabine, 12 June 1942, CO 875/18/13.
15. Minute by Cranborne, 29 July 1942, CO 875/18/13.
16. Minute by Thornley, 10 September 1942, CO 875/18/13.
17. Minute by Gent, 15 July 1942, CO 875/18/13.
18. The full list of the British delegation was: Lord Hailey, H. B. Butler, H. Byas, Sir J. Clague, L. D. Gammans MP(C), A. Creech Jones MP(L), Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Longmore, I. S. Macadam, D. M. MacDougall, I. MacLennan, R. Opie, Sir J. Pratt, Sir G. Sansom, Sir Frederick Whyte, Miss Margaret Wrong.
19. Note by Ashley Clarke, 20 June 1942, in FO 371/30652, paper A 5374.
20. Roosevelt and Churchill met over a couple of days. In his speech on 9 September in Parliament, Churchill stated that the Declaration was signed on 12 August – see Cmd.6321, *Parliamentary Papers* (1940–1) VIII, p. 591. Its signing was publicized on 14 August 1941 according to Porter and Stockwell, *British Imperial Policy and Decolonization*, vol.1, p. 102.
21. Roosevelt cited in Balfour, *Propaganda in War*, p. 231.
22. Louis, *Imperialism at Bay*, p. 123.
23. Article Three of the Atlantic Charter, reproduced in Porter and Stockwell, *British Imperial Policy and Decolonization*, vol.1, p. 101.
24. Louis, *Imperialism at Bay*, p. 123 and pp. 124–5.
25. Lord Moyne, Memorandum on the Constitutional Future of the Colonies, undated – probably late 1941 or early 1942, CO 323/1858/20.
26. *Daily Herald*, 16 August 1941, cited in Louis, *Imperialism at Bay*, p. 125.
27. Louis, *Imperialism at Bay*, pp. 121–33.
28. Telegram from Sir B. Bourdillon, 15 November 1941, CO 323/1858/20.
29. L. S. Amery to Lord Moyne, 25 August 1941, with suggested memorandum titled: Post-War Policy and Reconstruction. Constitutional Development in Relation to the Colonies. Ministerial Statements. CO 323/1858/20. The telegram from Burma, 26 September 1941, complains that: ‘all Burmese papers except *Sun* unanimously condemn Prime Minister’s statement of 9th September [about the liquidation of the Empire] in no uncertain terms. For example, *New Light of Burma* says: “... It is deplorable that Mr Churchill does not realise that in such a war it is necessary to enlist the whole-hearted support of the subject countries and that in order to win such support freedom should be granted to these countries which we [are] no less worthy of the same than the European countries.”’
30. Confidential digest of the material passed through the American Division of the Ministry of Information in the month of April 1941: ‘It is based on incoming letters from the US.’ CO 875/11/13.
31. CO 875/11/13.

32. Ministry of Information report on censors findings for April 1941, CO 875/11/13.
33. 'As I understand the proposition [of propaganda in the USA], it does not look merely to immediate results, ie. American co-operation during the war, but to the more remote postwar future when we may have to defend our Colonial position in the eyes of the world and when American opinion may count for more than anything else.' Minute by J. E. Shuckburgh, 13 May 1941, CO 875/11/13.
34. Editors, *Fortune*, May 1942, p. 59, cited in Pijl, *The Making of an Atlantic Ruling Class*, p. 117.
35. Hancock, *Argument of Empire*, p. 8.
36. For example, printed Memorandum by T. North Whitehead, Foreign Office, dated 6 July 1942, CO 875/18/10. Whitehead notes: 'By their attack on Pearl Harbor the Japanese not only brought every American into the war, but, for the time being at least, they have killed the traditional concept of American isolation in world affairs.' Also, M. Butler notes on file FO 371/30652, 22 May 1942: 'The point about both the Wallace and the Henry Luce schools is that they are both Interventionist, and we ought to be able to work with either of them, especially as Henry Luce has just come out with a full blooded plan for Anglo-American cooperation ... I don't think we have yet heard any American ideas as to who is to rule or control the "Asiatic possessions". American imperialism has not so far been territorial outside the Western Hemisphere, but rather economic or commercial.'
37. F. E. Evans, 6 June 1942 notes in file FO 371/30652 paper A 5312: 'The depth of American ignorance of our Colonial practice is impressive and stressing and the criticism of those who have attributed the loss of our Eastern territories to the failure of our system of Colonial government drowns the voices of the few who are informed of our contribution to the advance and protection of backward peoples.'
38. Isaiah Berlin, 'Things which Americans hold Against the British', May 1942, FO 371/30656 paper A6681.
39. Minutes of a meeting held on 13 February 1942 at Ministry of Information to discuss propaganda regarding the British Colonial Empire in the USA. Present: Lord Dufferin (chair, MoI, Empire Division), Sir Donald Cameron (MoI, Empire Division), Mr Usill (MoI, Empire Division), Mr Darvall (MoI, American Division), Capt. Hamilton (MoI, American Division), Mr Sidebotham (CO), Mr Sabine (CO, Publicity Committee), Mr Vernon MacKenzie (British Library of Information, New York), in CO 875/18/10.
40. 'It has occurred to me that since in the immediate and the more remote future it is going to be of the highest conceivable importance that there should be a firm basis for Anglo-American friendship, any and every source of misapprehension or misunderstanding should be resolutely attacked. There can be little doubt that the Colonial question is such a source; and it may be that we could not only remove a cause of friction and lack of understanding but that by making a really determined and comprehensive effort to let America know all about our Colonial policy we could make of it a common meeting-ground for the exchange of ideas which would at the same time gain their confidence and perhaps serve as

- a basis for other and even more fruitful forms of cooperation.' Minute by N Sabine, 28 April 1941, CO 875/11/13.
41. Perham, *The Times*, 13 March 1942, reprinted in *Colonial Sequence*, pp. 225–6.
 42. Minute by J. B. Sidebotham, 15 June 1942, CO 875/18/10.
 43. Minute by G. E. Gent, 17 June 1942, CO 875/18/10.
 44. Parkinson, *The Colonial Office from Within*, p. 87.
 45. Captain Gammans, MP, *The Times* (between 15 February and 10 March 1942) cited by Elspeth Huxley in her first correspondence with Margery Perham which began their exchange published as, *Race and Politics in Kenya*, p. 15.
 46. Minute by C. G. Eastwood, 17 August 1942, CO 875/18/10, 'As you know, I think, Lord Hailey is going to America this winter to attend a conference at the Institute of Pacific Relations and it is important for him, therefore, to be kept in touch with American opinion.'
 47. Letter from Neville Butler, Foreign Office to G. E. J. Gent, Colonial Office, 8 October 1942, CO 875/18/10.
 48. Professor Tawney, working for the Foreign Office in the United States, wrote to Dr Tom Jones describing the American attitude to Britain on 22 March 1942. Censorship record of letter in FO 371/30669 paper 4406.
 49. Preliminary Report of the Eighth Conference of the IPR, *War and Peace in the Pacific*, p. 4.
 50. Cranborne, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Lords, 24 February 1942, cols. 16–24.
 51. Preliminary Report of the Eighth Conference of the IPR, *War and Peace in the Pacific*, p. 123 and p. 125 respectively.
 52. Letter from E. J. Tarr to I. S. Macadam, 4 July 1942, IPR Collection, Box 62 Mont Tremblant Conference II – Tarr, Edgar J., Papers in Columbia University Library.
 53. Letter from E. J. Tarr to Edward C. Carter, 23 September 1942, IPR Collection, Box 62 Mont Tremblant Conference II – Tarr, Edgar J., Papers in Columbia University Library, New York.
 54. Edgar Jordan Tarr (1881–1950), obituary in *New York Times*, 9 November 1950, p. 33 col.5.
 55. Hailey's Opening Statement, Preliminary Report of the Eighth Conference of the IPR, *War and Peace in the Pacific*, p. 4.
 56. Preliminary Report of the Eighth Conference of the IPR, *War and Peace in the Pacific*, p. 74.
 57. 'As was noted during the congressional debates of 1942–3, the naturalization law amounted to a pure "color" law, and placed a "stigma of biological inferiority" on the yellow races.' Dower, *War Without Mercy*, p. 164.
 58. Hailey's Opening Statement, Preliminary Report of the Eighth Conference of the IPR, *War and Peace in the Pacific*, p. 7.
 59. Sir George Sansom, Foreign Office in Washington, report on the IPR Conference, CO 875/18/14.
 60. Hailey's Opening Statement, Preliminary Report of the Eighth Conference of the IPR, *War and Peace in the Pacific*, 1943, p. 9.
 61. Cited in Cell, *Hailey*, p. 202.
 62. 'We are greatly attracted by Mr Hull's conception of "Parent States", and

something on the lines of his remarks on that point would be essential basis of any Declaration.’ Draft telegram for Washington, October 1942, CO 323/1858/22.

63. Hailey’s Opening Statement, Preliminary Report of the Eighth Conference of the IPR, *War and Peace in the Pacific*, p. 10 and p. 12.
64. Hailey’s Opening Statement, Preliminary Report of the Eighth Conference of the IPR, *War and Peace in the Pacific*, p. 15.
65. Marcus Garvey had organized a mass black separatist movement amongst poor blacks in Harlem, New York City, in the 1920s which argued for black people to return to Africa and found their own independent state. Myrdal wrote in 1943 of Garvey’s movement that: ‘It testifies to the basic unrest in the Negro community. It tells of dissatisfaction so deep that it amounts to virtual hopelessness of gaining a full life in America.’ Myrdal and Rose, *The Negro in America*, p. 243.
66. Walter Davenport, *Collier’s*, 21 November 1942, cited in OWI Weekly Reports 21 November 1942, copy in file FO 371/30689 paper A11371, p. 29.
67. Memorandum by Sir R. I. Campbell, 14 October 1942, CO 875/18/19.
68. Hailey, *The Future of Colonial Peoples*, p. 56.
69. Thorne, *Proceedings of the British Council*, vol.80, 1986, p. 354.
70. Letter from D. M. MacDougall, BIS in Washington, to Sabine, Colonial Office, 22 December 1942: ‘The conference was conducted against a background of two prevailing feelings. The first was reverence for China. The Chinese have taken American sympathy by storm: in American eyes, the Chinese are a nation of saints and heroes, above and beyond reproach.’ CO 875/18/14.
71. Letter from the secretary of state for the colonies, Lord Moyne, to Lord Hailey, 19 March 1941, CO 323/1858/12.
72. See CO 323/1858/20.
73. Introductory paragraphs to ‘The Constitutional Future of the Colonial Empire’ by Lord Moyne, in CO 323/1858/20. Hailey’s Romanes Lecture was delivered in the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford on 14 May 1941 on ‘The Position of Colonies in a British Commonwealth of Nations’.
74. Hailey, *The Position of Colonies in a British Commonwealth of Nations*, p. 41.
75. Sir R. I. Campbell, ‘Memorandum on British Imperialism and its relation to American Opinion’, 14 October 1942, CO 875/18/19.
76. Hailey, *The Position of Colonies in a British Commonwealth of Nations*, p. 11.
77. The Atlantic Charter, 14 August 1941, reprinted in Porter and Stockwell, *British Imperial Policy and Decolonization*, vol.1, p. 101.
78. Minute by G. E. Gent, 17 June 1942, CO 875/18/10.
79. Hailey, *United Empire*, vol.32, no.8, Nov–Dec 1941, p. 165.
80. *The Times*, 23 January 1943, cited in Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes*, p. 85.
81. Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, p. 211.
82. Lord Bledisloe’s speech, House of Lords, reported in *The Times*, 10 July 1941, p. 2.
83. ‘In that respect, as in other respects, the Bill which we are discussing this afternoon breaks new ground. It establishes the duty of taxpayers in this country to contribute directly and for its own sake towards the development in the widest sense of the word of the colonial peoples for whose good government taxpayers of this country are ultimately responsible.’

Speech by Malcolm MacDonald, former secretary of state for the colonies by four days and then Minister for Health, in the House of Commons on the Colonial Development and Welfare Bill, 21 May 1940, *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 1939–40, vol.361, cols 41–8, 50–1.

84. 'Before the passing of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act there was too much tendency to think of each Colony as a separate financial proposition instead of thinking of the show as a whole. Some of the Colonies are poor and some rich. The estate must be considered as a whole. We want no depressed areas in the Colonial Empire.' Speech by Harold Macmillan, under-secretary of state for the colonies, House of Commons, 24 June 1942, *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 1942, vol.380, cols 2002–20.
85. According to Kirk-Greene's introduction and notes from MacDonald's memorandum to the Treasury (CO 554/116/33501/68) this was the purpose of the research which became: Hailey, *Native Administration and Political Development in British Tropical Africa*, p. xi.
86. Hailey, *Native Administration and Political Development in British Tropical Africa*, p. 3.
87. Hailey, meeting of the Royal Empire Society, reported by *The Times*, 29 October 1941.
88. Hailey, *Native Administration and Political Development in British Tropical Africa*, p. 5.
89. For example, Lord Moyne: 'we should refuse the libels about our alleged Colonial exploitation' reported in *The Times*, 10 July 1941.
90. Lord Bledisloe's speech, House of Lords, reported in *The Times*, 10 July 1941, p. 2.
91. 'Where the sentiment [of racial consciousness] occurs, it has tended to manifest itself most clearly as the people of the dependencies advance in education and standard of living.' Hailey, *Britain and Her Dependencies*, p. 36.
92. Hailey, *World Thought on the Colonial Question*, p. 11.
93. 'In 1946 an economist made a pioneer investigation of the national income of Northern Rhodesia, and calculated that the output of the highly successful mining industry of that country had a gross value of £14.5 million. Only £6.5m of this was however spent in Northern Rhodesia and of that the share of African employees was less than a fifth. Her calculations showed that £10.4m of Nyasaland's territorial income of £13.8m in 1948 was earned by Africans. In Northern Rhodesia, with an African population four-fifths that of Nyasaland, the total territorial income was £39m but only £11.5m was earned by Africans. There were great problems about calculations of this kind, notably in the valuation of subsistence production; but none the less it seemed safe to assume that the benefit of the copper industry had not, at that stage, been shared to any significant extent by the African population as a whole.' Robinson, *The Dilemmas of Trusteeship*, p. 85.
94. Berman and Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley*, p. 165.
95. Kirk-Greene, *African Affairs*, vol.79, no.314, January 1980, p. 30 and see tables II and III.
96. 'it is desirable to commit the Americans, if possible, to the principle that

we and the other colonial powers concerned should have the unquestioned right to administer our own colonies, including those which we have temporarily lost to the Japanese.' Draft Statement for the War Cabinet, 6 November 1942 (final version 5 December 1942), WP (42) 544 in CO 323/1858/22.

97. Rapporteur's report of round table 1, p. 1 and, for example, 'The British position, in its general features, did not differ very much from the American. Whatever divergence there may have been largely revolved around the coloration of British thinking on specific issues by the uniquely British concept of the Commonwealth', p. 23 of Rapporteur's report on round table 5a, IPR conference papers (confidential report – subject to revision), IPR Conference, Atlantic City, 1944, IPR papers in Columbia University Library.
98. 'In other words, it was agreed that nothing should be promised to the dependent peoples during the period of the prosecution of the war, which the nations will not later be fully prepared to give.' Rapporteur's report on round table 5a, IPR conference papers p. 21 (confidential report – subject to revision), IPR Conference, Atlantic City, 1944, IPR papers in Columbia University Library.
99. Unsigned and undated (probably 1944) memo on International Supervision, CO 323/1877/4.
100. See letter from Arnold Toynbee, British Embassy, Washington to Nigel Ronald, Foreign Office, 12 September 1942, CO 875/18/10.
101. On 6 January 1943, Hailey was guest of honour at the Dinner Council of Foreign Relations, New York City, where Isaiah Bowman was the president.
102. Letter from Richard Law, Foreign Office to Colonel Oliver Stanley, secretary of state for the colonies, 11 April 1944 in CO 323/1877/4, emphasis added.
103. 'Americans left the conference very depressed. The worst thing of all was that the British reported that they had won a complete victory at the conference.' Letter to 'Ma and Len' from 'Mike', Mont Tremblant, 1 January 1943, copy of letter in CO 875/18/14.
104. Hailey spoke at Princeton University, published as *The Future of Colonial Peoples* and, before that, at the University of Toronto, published as *Great Britain, India, and the Colonial Dependencies in the Post-War World*. He spoke informally after dinner at Columbia University, at the Council of Foreign Relations, at the Ethnogeographic Board, at the Foreign Policy Association, at the Fourth Africa Dinner, and after lunch at Brown University. In a full itinerary, largely organized by Chatham House for the Colonial Office (IS Macadam, RIIA, to Miss Cleeve, Colonial Office, 10 December 1942, CO 875/18/13), Hailey also had occasion to meet many of America's influential and important businessmen and policymakers, such as Hamilton Fish Armstrong, editor of *Foreign Affairs*; Dr John Foster Dulles, Chairman of Commission to Study Basis for Just and Durable Peace; Dr Keppel, Director of the Carnegie Foundation; Isaiah Bowman, President of the Council of Foreign Relations; Dr Fosdick and Mr Willits of the Rockefeller Foundation; and Dr Anson Phelps Stokes of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. See itinerary and guest lists in Hailey Papers, Rhodes House, Oxford, HP Mss. Am.s.5.

105. Minute by C. G. Eastwood, 28 May 1943, CO 875/18/13.
106. Letter to 'Ma and Len' from 'Mike', 1 January 1943, Mont Tremblant, Canada, copy of letter in CO 875/18/14.
107. Letter from D. M. MacDougall, BIS in Washington, to Sabine, Colonial Office, 22 December 1942, CO 875/18/14.
108. 'Hailey throughout was truly superb. There was a good deal of intrigue at Mont Tremblant: it was an education to watch Hailey deal with it. I had no idea he was so effective in debate. If he had a fault it was that he was too obviously head and shoulders above anyone at the Conference: even his accomplished technique could never quite conceal the fact that much of the time he was tucking up his mental trousers to step gingerly through a great deal of intellectual ditch-water.' D. M. MacDougall, BIS in Washington, to Sabine, Colonial Office, 22 December 1942, CO 875/18/14.
109. Letter from D. T. Monteath to Hailey, 16 June 1942, permanent under-secretary of state collection, India Office Library, MSS Eur. D 714/25.
110. Quoted in letter from D. M. MacDougall, BIS in Washington, to Sabine, Colonial Office, 22 December 1942, CO 875/18/14.
111. Hailey, *The Future of Colonial Peoples*, p. 58.
112. Letter to 'Ma and Len' from 'Mike', 1 January 1943, Mont Tremblant, Canada, copy of letter in CO 875/18/14.
113. Report on IPR Conference by Sir George Sansom, Foreign Office, Washington, 3 February 1943, CO 875/18/14.
114. Quoted in report on IPR Conference by Sansom, Washington, 3 February 1943, CO 875/18/14.
115. Report on IPR Conference by Sansom, Washington, 3 February 1943, CO 875/18/14.
116. For example, see note by W. L. Rolleston, 10 August 1942: 'From a preliminary talk I had with him [Lt-Col. Rowe], I think he will advise considerable caution. The American and British points of view are so different (though the Americans consider we have pretty effective colour bar in some Colonies!) that he considers give and take on both sides to be necessary. Any attempt to "educate" the Americans [against segregating troops] would be greatly resented.' CO 876/14.
117. Letter from MacDougall, BIS in Washington, to Sabine, Colonial Office, 24 February 1943, CO 875/19/14.
118. Accompanying letter by Lord Halifax to Sansom's report on IPR Conference, sent to Foreign Office, 3 February 1943. Also Sir J. Pratt wrote to Ashley Clarke, Foreign Office, 29 January 1943 to say: 'We are therefore half way through the Conference and I am happy to report, that we have achieved a very considerable measure of success ... They no longer believe that an immediate liquidation of the British Empire will provide a simple remedy for all difficulties and to some extent we have been able to turn the tables on the Americans and make them realize that it is American isolationism and not British Imperialism that is the real culprit in the Dock.' CO 875/18/13.
119. Report on IPR Conference by Sansom, Washington, 3 February 1943, CO 875/18/14.
120. Report on IPR Conference by Sansom, Washington, 3 February 1943, CO 875/18/14.

121. 'As Lord Lothian once said, if the rule of dependencies has at times excited the baser feelings of greed, of political passion, and of scramble for control, it has also evoked many proofs of heroism, of devotion to the cause of weaker peoples, and of disinterested administration.' Hailey, *The Future of Colonial Peoples*, p. 11.
122. Hailey presented Dr Keppel with a special bound edition of *An African Survey* while in the United States on this trip. See letter from Walter A. Jessup, President of the Carnegie Corporation to Hailey, 23 January 1943 in Hailey Papers, Rhodes House, Oxford, HP MSS Am. s.5.
123. Myrdal, *The American Dilemma*, p. 1016.

CHAPTER 5 REFORMULATING IMPERIAL AUTHORITY

1. L. S. Amery, 25 August 1941, CO 323/1858/20.
2. L. S. Amery, 25 August 1941, CO 323/1858/20.
3. Lord Moyne to Amery, 26 August 1941, CO 323/1858/20.
4. Lord Moyne to Amery, 26 August 1941, CO 323/1858/20.
5. L. S. Amery to Lord Moyne, 27 August 1941, CO 323/1858/20.
6. Lord Moyne to Amery, 29 August 1941, CO 323/1858/20 and he continued. 'There are many Colonies where, for strategic reasons, we cannot waive our reserve powers and there are others where we cannot renounce the right to guide "peoples not yet able to stand by themselves in the difficult conditions of the modern world".'
7. Amery to Moyne, 29 August 1941, CO 323/1858/20.
8. Moyne instructed Christopher Eastwood to send both US and UK draft memorandums to Hailey, 3 September 1941, CO 323/1858/20.
9. Telegram from the Viceroy, 3 September 1941, CO 323/1858/20.
10. Statement of prime minister on Point III of the Atlantic Charter, CO 323/1858/20. See also *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, vol.372, cols 67–9, 9 September 1941.
11. '... the Joint Declaration does not qualify in any way the various statements of policy which have been made from time to time about the development of constitutional government in India, Burma or other parts of the British Empire.' Statement of prime minister on Point III of the Atlantic Charter, *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, vol.372, cols 67–9, 9 September 1941.
12. Statement of prime minister on Point III of the Atlantic Charter, *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, vol.372, cols 67–9, 9 September 1941.
13. The Colonial Office attempted to bring together past statements on policy on political advancement of the colonies. According to Louis, there was a 'pandemonium' caused in the Colonial Office by the search for suitable 'declarations', after prime minister Winston Churchill had stated in Parliament that a 'colonial charter' was unnecessary. Louis, *Imperialism at Bay*, p. 130.
14. Minute by Cranborne, 4 September 1942, CO 323/1848 cited in Louis, *Imperialism at Bay*, p. 133.
15. Letter to Sir George Gater, Colonial Office from Harold Butler, British Embassy, Washington, 15 February 1943: 'As you know, American thinking is apt to work on slogans. The Atlantic Charter is one of them. If we

- can show that it is applicable to our colonial policy, three quarters of the talk about “imperialism” will evaporate.’ CO 323/1858/23.
16. *Washington Post*, 15 October 1942, cited in OWI report, 24 October 1942, Paper 10131, FO 371/30689.
 17. Lee and Petter, *The Colonial Office, War, and Development Policy*, p. 126.
 18. Cited in Pearce, *The Turning Point in Africa*, p. 27.
 19. Hailey, *A Colonial Charter*, p. 5.
 20. Lord Moyne, reported in *The Times*, 29 October 1941.
 21. Hailey, *A Colonial Charter*, p. 5.
 22. Hailey, *A Colonial Charter*, p. 7.
 23. Hailey, *The Position of Colonies in a British Commonwealth of Nations*, p. 26.
 24. Hailey, *Britain and Her Dependencies*, p. 45.
 25. Hailey, *Foreign Affairs*, vol.21 April 1943, p. 409.
 26. Hailey’s Opening Statement, Preliminary Report of the Eighth Conference of the IPR, *War and Peace in the Pacific*, pp. 11–12.
 27. ‘A significant minority of educated people would subscribe to a statement recently attributed to Lord Hailey, to the effect that in colonial relations the doctrine of trusteeship should give way to a new doctrine of partnership.’ T. North Whitehead, Foreign Office report, on visit in June to the US, 6 July 1942 (U92/27/70), copy in CO 875/18/10.
 28. Lt-Col. Cantlie’s Report on Anglo-American relations in West and East Africa, June 1943, CO 875/19/3.
 29. Letter from P. D. Butler, in Cairo, to Sir D. Scott, 22 June, FO 371/30652.
 30. McCormick, ‘Abroad’, *New York Times*, 6 July 1942, extract in CO 875/18/10.
 31. Telegram from Halifax to Foreign Office, 25 August 1942, CO 323/1858/22.
 32. Telegram from Halifax to Foreign Office, 25 August 1942, in Postwar Policy and Reconstruction, Joint Anglo-US Declaration on Colonies, CO 323/1858/22.
 33. ‘We are greatly attracted by Mr Hull’s conception of “Parent States”, and something on the lines of his remarks on that point would be essential basis of any Declaration.’ Draft telegram for Washington, October 1942, CO 323/1858/22.
 34. Letter from Arnold Toynbee, 5 September 1942, CO 323/1858/22, also see letter from Christopher Eastwood to G. Gent, 18 September 1942: ‘I have shown this to Lord Hailey, who will certainly make a point of seeing Gerig when he is in America.’ CO 323/1858/22.
 35. Letter from Arnold Toynbee, stationed at the British Embassy in Washington, to Nigel Ronald at the Foreign Office after having talked with B. Gerig: ‘He had already taken the point that opinion in Great Britain, from the Colonial Office to the Fabian Colonial Research Bureau inclusive, is unanimously against international government and in favour of keeping dependencies under the existing national administrations of the Colonial Powers while raising them as quickly as practicable to something like dominion Status. He also realized that the Western-educated native intelligentsia doesn’t like the idea of international administration, because it thinks this would delay full self-government.’ 5 September 1942, CO 323/1858/22.

36. Letter from Nigel Ronald, Foreign Office to G. E. J. Gent, Colonial Office, 15 September 1942, 'requiring ministerial blessing for the purpose of determining the instructions to be issued to the British representatives attending the unofficial Pacific Relations conference in December and not in connection with the projected Declaration.' CO 323/1858/22 (emphasis in original).
37. Letter from R. K. Law, Foreign Office, to P. Emrys-Evans MP, Dominions Office, 12 September 1942, CO 323/1858/22.
38. For example, Paul Emrys-Evans MP planning with Lord Cranborne (written to as Bobbety), 8 September 1942, writes that: 'Attlee, however, said that you were the man to find a way out and I gathered he would go a long way to meet you. I was delighted to hear this and Dick thinks that the best thing is for Anthony to ask you and Attlee to dinner early next week. Leo could be dealt with separately, I think once a policy had been agreed between the three of you, Leo would not be obstructive.' CO 323/1858/22.
39. Letter from Lord Cranborne to P. V. Emrys-Evans MP, 9 October 1942, CO 323/1858/22.
40. Letter from Anthony Eden, Foreign Office to Attlee: 'The other alternation is the use of the phrase "co-ordinating the policies of the parent States" instead of "collaboration and consultation between". You may think that this is going beyond what we agreed upon, but I feel fairly sure that it is not going very far beyond it, and that we ought to go at least as far as this to try and meet the American point of view. I am afraid that if we submit to them too bare a platter, they may reject it out of hand.' 25 October 1942, CO 323/1858/22.
41. Note by Sir George Henry Gater, the permanent under-secretary of state for the colonies, 27 April 1943, CO 323/1858/23.
42. Sir George Henry Gater, 27 April 1943, CO 323/1858/23.
43. Minutes of a meeting, 3 May 1943, 11 Downing Street, with chairman: Attlee (deputy prime minister), Eden (secretary of state for foreign affairs), Lord Cranborne (Lord Privy Seal), Colonel Stanley (secretary of state for the colonies) and Mr Jebb (FO), and Mr Eastwood (CO), CO 323/1858/23.
44. Much to Christopher Eastwood's horror 'The theme of the preamble and, indeed, of the whole draft is *independence*. The word "independent" and "independence" are, indeed, mentioned 19 times in the [US] draft. We did not use the word once.' Comments on the American Draft, 21 April 1943, CO 323/1858/23 (emphasis in original).
45. Minutes, 3 May 1943 at 11 Downing Street, CO 323/1858/23.
46. Minutes, 3 May 1943, 11 Downing Street: 'it was not necessary at this stage to report to the War Cabinet. It would, indeed, strengthen our position if we could say that, while the American draft had not been seen by the President, our reactions to it had not been seen by the War Cabinet.' CO 323/1858/23.
47. Minute by Christopher Eastwood, 5 May 1943, CO 323/1858/23.
48. Hailey on the American Draft declaration, 5 May 1943, CO 323/1858/23.
49. Hailey on the American Draft declaration, 5 May 1943, CO 323/1858/23.
50. Letter from Cranborne to Anthony Eden, 28 October 1942, CO 323/1858/22.

51. Telegram (no.6230) from Washington to London Foreign Office, 24 December 1942, CO 323/1858/23.
52. Comments on the American Draft by Christopher Eastwood, 21 April 1943, CO 323/1858/23.
53. Minute by Thomas K. Lloyd, 7 May 1943, CO 323/1858/23.
54. Minute by Christopher Eastwood, 5 May 1943, CO 323/1858/23.
55. Minute by T. K. Lloyd, 7 May 1943, CO 323/1858/23.
56. The speech is reproduced in Porter and Stockwell, *British Imperial Policy and Decolonization*, vol.1, pp. 156–67.
57. Minute by C. Eastwood, 9 November 1943, CO 323/1859/8.
58. Hailey, *The Position of Colonies in a British Commonwealth of Nations*, p. 26.
59. Hailey, *Britain and Her Dependencies*, p. 12.
60. S. Hornbeck, 8 August 1942, cited by Louis, *Imperialism at Bay*, p. 166.
61. Hailey to Wilfrid Benson, 27 May 1942, Hailey Papers, Rhodes House, Papers on *African Survey* 600.18 s.20.
62. Hailey, *The Future of Colonial Peoples*, p. 53.
63. Hailey, reported in *The Times*, 14 December 1943.
64. Berlin, 23 April 1942, in Nicholas, *Washington Despatches*, p. 34.
65. Moore, *Endgames of Empire*, p. 19 and pp. 25–6.
66. Moore, *Endgames of Empire*, pp. 27–8.
67. Moore, *Endgames of Empire*, p. 89 and p. 90.
68. Moore, *Endgames of Empire*, pp. 91–9.
69. Wavell's diary, 8 October 1943, cited in Thorne, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol.10, no.3, May 1982, p. 345.
70. Berlin, 16 April 1942, in Nicholas, *Washington Despatches*, p. 31.
71. Hailey, reported in *The Times*, 14 December 1943.
72. Bernard S. Cohn, 'Representing Authority in Victorian India', in Hobsbawm and Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, p. 190.
73. See discussion in Chapter 2 and Cell, *Hailey*, p. 19.
74. The tragedy was that Britain further promoted tension between Hindus and Muslims since: 'The Government of India took advantage of its wartime emergency powers to suppress opposition, following the Quit India campaign of 1942–3, and coupled this with a further attempt to promote the Muslim League, which was regarded as being a more congenial associate than Congress.' Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism*, p. 195.
75. Moore, *Endgames of Empire*, p. 14.
76. Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, p. 243.
77. Cited in Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, pp. 242, 235 and 244 respectively.
78. Cited in Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, p. 245.
79. Thorne, *Allies of a Kind*, pp. 236 and 248 respectively.
80. Although generally US opinion had been critical of British policy in relation to India, certainly by August 1942 after Cripps's mission, the US public and their newspapers held a low estimation of Indians. The Office of War Information's survey of magazines and newspapers for that month indicated that, while 11 per cent of cartoons were on the Indian situation, 38 per cent of them 'definitely showed a favourable attitude toward Britain'. The report noted that: 'Related to the theme that England is being opposed by India despite the stupidity of such a course are a number of

cartoons which show Gandhi destroying the structure which Britain has built in India.... And Hungerford of the Toledo *Blade* shows Gandhi, a little rat-like man, hoping to get along with the Japanese snake while the British lion, nonplussed, looks on in amazement.... Extremely few of the cartoons favor India. Only five cartoons, or 3 per cent of the group, took stands favoring India and Gandhi. The Chicago *Tribune* Syndicate showed India as faced with a difficult problem having to choose between the frying pan of the British and the fire of Japan. Another cartoon from this syndicate raises the question of the application of the Four Freedoms to India. (This is the only cartoon in the entire group surveyed which made an effort to show Gandhi as an intelligent human being; in all the others he is caricatured in varying degrees of ridicule.) ... Finally, in this group, is one cartoon from the New York *Daily Worker* which demands that India be freed in order to defend herself. This is the only cartoon which even remotely suggests that India could defend herself, depicting it as a powerful man. Most of the other cartoons symbolize India as an elephant when depicting it as stupid and recalcitrant and as a pretty and helpless Indian woman when she is shown as a helpless victim of the oncoming Japanese.... In all of these [Gandhi] is made to appear as ridiculous in his person and policies as possible.... Here he has been given the stereotyped Semitic nose and facial structure and made to look a fool who could not possibly guide a country through a crisis.' Copy of OWI report, 22 August 1942, in FO 371/30689, Paper A 8246.

81. Hailey reported in *The Times*, 30 April 1942.
82. For example, see Berlin, 29 November 1942, in Nicholas, *Washington Despatches*, p. 120.
83. Hailey, *The Position of Colonies in a British Commonwealth of Nations*, p. 25 and p. 26.
84. Hailey reported in *The Times*, 27 February 1942, p. 8.
85. Arthur Dawe, Memo on a Federal Solution for East Africa, July 1942, cited in Robinson, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol.8, no.1, October 1979, p. 100.
86. Lord Halifax to Ministry of Information, 20 April 1942, FO 371/30669 paper 3903.
87. 'It is unlikely that we shall see in Africa a resistance to change so sustained as that which has preserved the caste system in India, or the mystical value ascribed to the cow. We need not expect to see an attachment to forms of religious faith so pronounced as that which has driven the Moslems and Hindus of India into two apparently irreconcilable political camps.' Hailey, *Native Administration and Political Development in British Tropical Africa*, p. 3.
88. Hailey speaking on 'The Future of British Dependencies in Africa' at a luncheon of the Royal African Society, Connaught Rooms with Oliver Stanley, secretary of state for the colonies, presiding. Reported in *The Times*, 13 April 1943.
89. Lee, *Colonial Development and Good Government*, p. 189.
90. Hailey, *Year Book of World Affairs*, vol.12, 1959, p. 23.
91. Hailey, *Foreign Affairs*, vol.21 April 1943, p. 409.
92. Hailey, *Foreign Affairs*, vol.21 April 1943, p. 410. And in Hailey, *Great Britain, India and the Colonial Dependencies in the Post-War World*, p. 23.

93. Colonial Office memorandum for the War Cabinet, 2 September 1941, in Postwar Policy and Reconstruction (Hailey's committee), CO 323/1858/20.
94. Hailey, *The Future of Colonial Peoples*, p. 62.
95. Colonel Oliver Stanley, secretary of state for the colonies, speaking at Oxford Conservative Association, 5 March 1943, CO 825/38/7.
96. Colonel Oliver Stanley, Oxford Conservative Association, 5 March 1943, CO 825/38/7.
97. Louis, *Imperialism at Bay*, p. 213.
98. War Cabinet Colonial Policy, Draft WP (42) 614, 29 December 1942, CO 323/1858/22.
99. War Cabinet Colonial Policy, Draft WP (42) 614, 29 December 1942, CO 323/1858/22.
100. Letter from Colonel Stanley to Bobbety (Cranborne), 30 December 1942, CO 323/1858/22.
101. For example Hornbeck was also worried about the impact of 'free immigration' noting that 'if the principle of equality is applied, any Japanese or Negroes might also go.' Cited in Louis, *Imperialism at Bay*, p. 174 footnote 53.
102. Condit and Lucaites, *Crafting Equality*, p. 174.
103. Hailey, House of Lords, reported in *The Times*, 8 June 1945.
104. Hailey, House of Lords, reported in *The Times*, 30 January 1946.
105. Minute by G. W. Gent, 14 October 1943, CO 825/38/20.
106. Cited in Lauren, *Power and Prejudice*, p. 148.
107. Memo by C. J. Jeffries, 8 October 1941: 'Mr Paskin's point about discrimination in the interests of the natives is a good one; but it is one to be considered in connection with subsequent practical action rather than in connection with the general declaration of policy.' CO 859/80/13.
108. Circular from A. Creech Jones, 8 January 1947, CO 323/1879/5.
109. Harris, *Race & Class*, vol.33, no.1, 1991, (pp. 1–30) p. 14.
110. '... Washington's first perceived great postwar challenge. Not the threat of revolution or the collapse of capitalism, but the failure of integration was the initial and most basic issue at stake in Western Europe – and it was never to disappear.' Kolko and Kolko, *The Limits of Power*, p. 712.
111. Thorne, *Pacific Historical Review*, vol.45, no.1, February 1976, p. 75 and p. 80.
112. Office of Strategic Services, Research and Analysis Branch (R&A no.1398), 'British Colonial Policy', 28 April 1944, p. 34, Notter Files, RG59, Box 66, File 484, Sutland, Maryland, USA.
113. Cited in Thorne, *Pacific Historical Review*, vol.45, no.1, February 1976, p. 82.
114. Thorne, *Pacific Historical Review*, vol.45, no.1, February 1976, pp. 90–3.
115. Kolko and Kolko, *The Limits of Power*, p. 35.
116. Note of conversation between Oliver Stanley and Dr Bowman, Colonial Office, 18 April 1944, CO 323/1877/4.
117. Report of a conversation between Dr Isaiah Bowman and Mr Jebb, Foreign Office, 12 April 1944, CO 323/1877/4.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

1. *Sunday Times*, 16 August 1992.
2. Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism*, p. 1.
3. Take newspapers, for example. Over the past ten years there has been a steady increase in the use of the word 'holocaust' to tenfold what it used to be. Using the *Financial Times* database *Profile* to search English language newspapers in Britain from 1984 to 1993 for the key word 'holocaust' provided these results. The number of articles using the word 'holocaust' increased tenfold in those years. The average number of articles (per month) rose steadily: 6 in 1984, 13 in 1985, 21 in 1986, 33 in 1987, 34 in 1988, 36 in 1989, 50 in 1990, 54 in 1991, 76 in 1992 and 80 a month in the first four months of 1993. Comparing 68 articles from 1984 and 1024 articles from 1992–3, indicated three main categories. Reference to a 'nuclear holocaust' went from 54 per cent in 1984 to 6 per cent in 1992/93, but doubled in actual numbers. References to the genocide of the Jews in the Second World War went from 24 per cent to 83 per cent of the articles. The remaining use of the word 'holocaust' increased almost tenfold, although its percentage of the total declined slightly from 22 per cent to 18 per cent. Overall the significant change was the increasing reference to the Second World War. This is not due to 50-year anniversaries, as it is largely fictional accounts that have increased. As recorded by one journalist, 'despite Adorno's contention that "to write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric", the Holocaust has proved an inspiration to a whole range of poets, novelists, composers and visual artists' (*Independent on Sunday*, 26 January 1992).
4. Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust*, p. 206 (his emphasis).
5. Dower, *War Without Mercy*, p. 35. and Lauren, *Power and Prejudice*, p. 144.
6. The themes were: '(a) the sanctity of absolute values, (b) the sanctity of the individual and of the family, [and] (c) the comity of nations.' Minister of Information, 20 September 1939, cited in McLaine, *Ministry of Morale*, p. 141.
7. Lord Moyne, Memorandum on the Constitutional Future of the Colonies, CO 323/1858/20.
8. Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism*, p. xi.
9. Perham, *Colonial Sequence*, p. 230.
10. 'The general atmosphere of acquiescence which our rule now enjoys owes much to the opportunities provided by the native authority system for the expression of native opinion.' Hailey, *Native Administration and Political Development in British Tropical Africa*, p. 11.
11. Perham, *The Times*, 14 March 1942, reprinted in *Colonial Sequence*, pp. 228–31.
12. Berman and Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley*, p. 165.

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- 1935 13 February, 22, 31 May, 14, 26 June, 4 July, 20, 26 July, 3 October
- 1936 16 June, 21, 30 July, 21 September, 3 December
- 1937 19 January, 20 January, 13 February, 23 February, 13 March, 29 May, 25 June, 26, 27, 29, 30 October, 1, 2, 6, 9 November
- 1938 7 January, 1 April, 25 October, 7, 8 November, 1, 2, 15 December
- 1939 2, 7, 8, 9, 12, 20, 27, 31 January, 7, 25 February, 9, 17 March, 27 April, 9, 12, 19 May, 7, 8, 20, 23, 27 June, 15, 26 July, 9, 13 November
- 1940 9, 27 January, 24 July, 9 September, 2 October (away in Africa mostly)
- 1941 5, 20 February, 15, 16, 17, 19 May, 20 June, 10, 17 July, 7 August, 2, 16, 29 October, 18 December
- 1942 4, 5, 27 February, 30 April, 7 May, 11, 30 June, 28, 31 July, 16 October, 8 December
- 1943 7,13 April, 18 June, 8 July, 8 September, 21, 27, 30 (letter) October, 1 November, 14 December
- 1944 17 February, 29 May, 28 June, 20, 25(review) July
- 1945 1, 19 February, 27 March (letter), 11 April, 16 May, 8, 15 June, 2 November
- 1946 30 January, 7 March, 26, 29 July, 13 November
- 1947 30 January, 6, 27 February

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MSS Eur. E 253	Sir Frank Brown collection, Hailey correspondence 1930–38
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